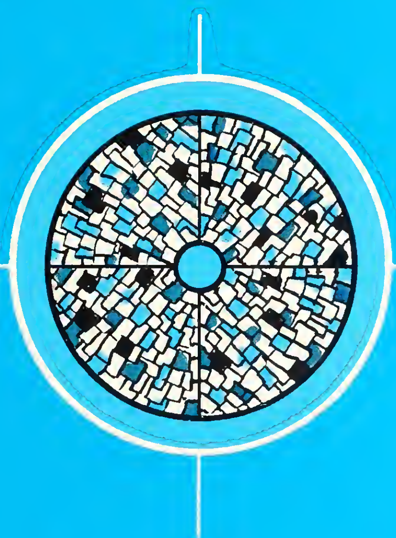


Christianity Today In The USSR

Howard L. Parsons

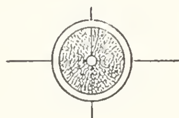
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2009

http://www.archive.org/details/christianitytoda00pars

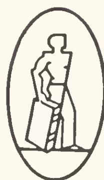
CHRISTIANITY TODAY in the USSR

WA.STATE COUNCIL OF ASF
P.O. BOX 46638
SEATTLE WA 98146-0638

Christianity Today In The USSR



Howard L. Parsons



International Publishers New York

© 1987 by International Publishers Co.
First edition, 1987
All rights reserved

Manufactured in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Parsons, Howard L. (Howard Lee), 1918–
Christianity today in the USSR.

Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
1. Christianity—Soviet Union. 2. Soviet Union—
Church history—1917– . I. Title.
BR936.P36 1987 274.7'0828 86-27320
ISBN 0-7178-0651-0 (pbk.)

Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements vii

I. Historical Background

Chapter 1. A Short History of Christianity in Russia and the USSR 1

II. Christians in the USSR Today

Chapter 2. The Russian Orthodox Church 17
Chapter 3. The Armenian Apostolic Church 44
Chapter 4. Roman Catholicism in the Latvian Republic 57
Chapter 5. Evangelical Christians-Baptists 64
Chapter 6. Lutheranism 70

III. Soviet Scientists on Christianity and Religion

Chapter 7. Editors of the Journal, *Science and Religion* 81
Chapter 8. Philosophers and Other Marxist Scholars 88

IV.

Chapter 9. Conclusions 151
Appendix: Rights and Obligations of Religious Societies Under the Law 177
Reference Notes 179
Annotated Bibliography 189
Index 193

Preface and Acknowledgements

This work has been written as a response to a need in the United States for information about Christianity in the Soviet Union. In our efforts to promote understanding and friendship between our two peoples, in our work for security, cooperation, and peace between our two governments and our peoples, we of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship have felt in the recent period that our own members, the Christians in the churches, the participants in the peace movement, and the American public at large need this information. For the sake of understanding, friendship, and peace between our two peoples, the objective need has been there since 1917. But developments in recent years—the Reagan administration's alarming escalation of nuclear weaponry toward nuclear omnicide; President Reagan's description of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire"; his reactionary use of religious ideology; the rapidly growing peace movement in the United States and the increasing recognition in it that we must deal with the people and government of the USSR as equals, learn the facts about them, and make peace with them; and the strong public stands for peace among the Catholic Bishops and the major Protestant denominations, the growing participation of Christians in the peace movement, and their corresponding interest in Christians and Christian institutions in the USSR—all these have brought clarity, direction, and urgency to the need of large numbers of people for this information.

The compelling motive behind this present study—and *a fortiori* the work of the Council—is this conviction: that the necessary path to the preservation and development of humanity is detente, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence among states of different social systems: that an essential step toward this end is understanding and friendship between the peoples of the nations; and that as the USA

and the USSR hold the decisive military, political, and economic power to determine the course of our precious race on this planet, peaceful coexistence between their states and mutual understanding between their peoples are required. Information and an open, appreciative mind are necessary for understanding; this study is intended to furnish information.

My booklet, *Christianity in the Soviet Union*, published by AIMS in 1972 and based on a study done in the USSR in 1970, might have been used for the purpose of at least partially satisfying this need. But it is out of date and almost out of print. Hence the present work.

This does not aim to be a complete and detailed survey of the subject, which is extensive and complicated. Instead, it is conceived as an introduction to some of the basic facts, issues, and perspectives that pertain to Christianity in the Soviet Union today, particularly in relation to the paramount problem of the world's people today, the threat of nuclear holocaust and the overriding imperative of disarmament, peace and development. I have tried to let the facts and the Soviet people, Christians and nonbelievers, speak for themselves. The place of Christianity in the Soviet Union must be seen in the broader context and history of religions there and in prerevolutionary Russia, in particular of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. But this work has been necessarily limited to Christianity in the present time; and the reader is encouraged to supplement the data here with other works on Christianity and studies on the other religions in the USSR. Moreover, with the resources and time available to me, I could not give full attention to all the branches of Christianity. But I trust that the selective picture I have given is not an unrepresentative one.

Most of this study consists of direct statements by Soviet persons whom I interviewed. While I have tried to transcribe from the tapes as faithfully as possible their words and meanings, I cannot affirm that I have always done so with full success. Inaudible sounds and translations not always clear to me rendered a perfect transcription impossible. I hope that my interviewees and my interpreters will forgive me for any inaccuracies.

In contemplating this project, I thought simply to revise my 1972 booklet. But though that contained much basic information about the history and state of Christianity in the Soviet Union, it was evident that to bring the subject up to date would require an altogether new work. The present study should be regarded as a sequel to the first work, which I trust contains useful information

both in the form of history and philosophy and in the form of personal interviews. So the first work can be read as a supplement to this; and a comparison between the two will reveal some of the changes that have taken place during this fifteen-year period.

Many persons have contributed to the making of this book. First of all, I wish to thank Dr. Alan Thomson, Executive Director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. It was he who, in this office, in his work in the peace movement, and in his many contacts with the Christians in the churches, conceived the idea of such a publication. It was he who negotiated my visit to the USSR through his counterparts at the USSR-USA Society in Moscow—Secretary General Valery S. Chibisenkov and Assistant Secretary General Natalia Semenikhina. I owe a debt of gratitude to them for arranging my stay and facilitating my travel and work in the USSR.

The responsibility for my accommodations and favorable conditions for my study was borne also by authorities at Moscow State University. For these necessities I wish to thank all of them, particularly Professor Anatolii Danilovich Kosichev, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and Professor Valerii Aleksandrovich Kuvakin, Chairman of the Department of the History of Philosophy of the Peoples of the USSR.

I must express my great thanks as well to all persons who freely gave of their time for the interviews that are reported here. I am thankful for the useful receptions arranged by the officers and workers at the Armenian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and by Edvins Pumpurs, Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. Special thanks are due to Dr. Yuri Vishnyakov of the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University, who served as my principal interpreter and as guide during my travels from Moscow to Zagorsk, Yerevan, and Riga. And I am grateful for the help of my other interpreters, Suren Goulian in Yerevan, Olga Dukule of Riga, and others.

In addition to these and those mentioned in the text, the following persons were of assistance to me in various ways—by their hospitality, conversation, interpreting, information, administrative work, and other kindnesses—and it is a pleasure to acknowledge with appreciation their assistance: Zorova Olga Aleksandrovna, Ruben Apresian, V. Brodov, Hakob Hakopian, Suren T. Kaltakhchian, Aleksandr S. Kaltakhchian, Olga Kirpichnikova, Tatiana Kushtapina, Tanya Lobachevoi, Yuri K. Melvil, Vladimir V. Mshvenieradze, Zinaida Nossova, Ilia M. Orlov, Aleksandr Panin,

Vladimir N. Shevchenko, Vladimir S. Shinkarenko, P. C. Shkurin, Holly Smith, Valentin A. Steinberg, and Hovsep M. Tutundjian.

Although I have not written about Judaism in the USSR, I attended a service at the Moscow Choral Synagogue and had an informative visit with some members of the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public, whose goodwill and cordiality I would like to acknowledge here: Mikhail S. Gluz; Oleg N. Rybalchenko; Adolf S. Shayevich, Chief Rabbi of the Moscow Choral Synagogue; and Samuel Zivs.

My appointment as a Mellon Research Fellow for the summer of 1985 and a grant from the Mellon Fund of the University of Bridgeport have provided me with the needed time and funds for this research. For this grant I am grateful to Dr. Edwin G. Eigel, Jr., Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs, and Dr. J. Russell Nazzaro, Dean of the College of Arts and Humanities of the University of Bridgeport.

Last and not least, I wish to thank Mrs. Deborah Parsons Rossitto, who has typed the manuscript and has helped to edit it.

Responsibility for this work rests with the author alone.

Howard L. Parsons
December 1986

CHRISTIANITY TODAY in the USSR

I. Historical Background

1. A Short History of Christianity in Russia and the USSR

The Eastern Slavonic tribe of the Rus appeared about 1500 years ago in the region between the Dnieper and Dniester rivers in what is now the Ukraine. These people arrived in Novgorod perhaps as early as 862 and soon thereafter in Kiev. Then in 988, under Vladimir, the dynasty adopted the Christian faith, taking it from the Eastern Church of Byzantium and making use of the vernacular Slavonic. Simultaneously the Church of Rome was expanding its influence in the West, converting the rulers of Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary to Christianity. As the conflict between the Pope and the Eastern Patriarch widened, Russia, while inescapably engaged in trade with Europe—in Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Germany—began to define itself as Eastern. This separation was enforced by the conquest and rule of the Mongol Golden Horde of the Tatars (c. 1240–1480) who sided with Islam over Nestorianism and Orthodoxy.

Geopolitically Russian history has been created in the antagonism between the northern forest zone and the steppe zone and the efforts of all rulers, even pre-Russian ones, to unify these two zones.[1] This shifting relation in turn has been shaped by Russia's relations to the West, by both the threats from the West and Russia's interdependency with it. Even in the early Kievan period (972–1237), in which the Russians held their ground in the transitional forest-steppe zone against the Turkish tribes of the southern steppes, the Russians maintained their contacts with both Byzantium and West. Thus Russian Orthodoxy, like Russian culture as a whole, has developed as a formation between Byzantium and Islam in the south and east, and the West with its pressures of Roman Catholicism and, to a much lesser degree, Protestantism. If we look at the distribution of the various religious faiths in the USSR today,

we find the most numerous group of Christians, the Russian Orthodox believers, mainly in the Russian, Byelorussian, and Ukrainian Republics; Islam in the southern and eastern Republics; the Armenian Christians in the peripheral southeast; and Western Christianity predominantly in the western regions—Roman Catholicism concentrated in the Lithuanian Republic, with remnants in the other Baltic countries, Byelorussia, the western Ukraine, and Moldavia; and Protestant Lutherans prevailing in the Latvian and Estonian Republics, while Baptists are scattered. These ethnic populations in the west, with their traditional forms of Western Christianity, are the survivors, reduced in numbers, of centuries of strife between eastern and western powers. Lithuanian and Polish empires, both Roman Catholic, once dominated what are now Byelorussia, the Ukraine, and even Moldavia—the Lithuanians with tolerance, with Poles with evangelical force.[2] Throughout these years of strife the Russians, with their own imperial designs and their nationalistic Orthodox fervor, held their own. Today these western Republics, with their western forms of religious faiths, live in peace within the Union of Republics. But the religious differences remain. And today in Poland itself, the modern heir of western religious imperialism, Roman Catholicism is still a considerable political force. In the eastern Republics, Islam as a faith never challenged Soviet power—though right-wing fanatics in Iran, Pakistan, and other neighboring countries pose a continuing threat.

Let us return to Russian history. The rule of the Mongols greatly contributed to the developing identity of the nation. The khanate from the start tolerated the Russian Church and the Khan eventually became the patron of the Church. More important, the protection provided by Mongol rule—in spite of the devastation of the invasion, harsh taxation, and military corruption under the khans—enabled Russian agriculture to thrive and prosper. As the khanate weakened and in time fell apart, the Russians, led by a vigorous movement within the Church, accumulated their own resources and forged their own independent identity. Moreover, at the end of the period of Mongol domination, the Byzantine Empire fragmented and finally collapsed (1453), freeing Russia and Orthodoxy from the last Byzantine bond and clearing the way for the creation of a large Orthodox Christian state, unique in history.

This religious and national independence was accomplished in the east, in Muscovy, over against the West and Roman Christianity. Tatar rule in the west had come to an end after only a century, to be

replaced by the Roman Catholicism of Lithuania and Poland. Russian economy, culture, and religion even under the Tatars would continue to find its way between pressures from both east and west, absorbing or otherwise adjusting to influences from each.

In the early history of the Russian Orthodox Church we can see the emergence and formation of three characteristics that have permanently distinguished it.

First, the Church in developing its own way of life and thought did so in reaction against its origins in Byzantium. In the creation of its identity it was from the beginning allied with the secular power of the tsar and depended on that for its life and advance. For two centuries, from 1037 onward, the Church was governed by the Patriarch at Constantinople and by Greek metropolitans and bishops. Thus Russian Orthodoxy was borrowed from Byzantium and was spread among the people by royal degree and power. Unlike Christianity in the West, it was not torn by intense class struggle, violent popular antagonisms toward the hierarchy, or reforms and revolutions; and the mainly rural laity either held on to their pagan practices or easily submitted to the regulations of the higher clergy. The primate of the Russian Church, the metropolitan of Kiev, was for the first two centuries appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople. But the local Russian princes had the power to appoint their own bishops, chosen from among the unmarried monks.

As the Church took on this national character, it also became divided within itself between the hierarchy of metropolitans and bishops at the top and the large number of married priests at the bottom. In the course of time the bigger churches and monasteries grew rich with tithes and land and other grants from the crown and drew away from the lower clergy and the people themselves. The rural and village priests were in fact hired and fired by the lords of the manor or the parishioners themselves.

Third, this division within the Church, with its base in economic power and collusion with the secular power, reinforced the general poverty and contributed to it a special class of paupers among the priesthood. The great mass of clergy, often unemployed and usually illiterate, became a parasitic drain on the economy until the reforms in the 18th century.[3] And these priests remained a culturally backward class up to the 1917 revolution.

Byzantium also bequeathed to Russia its legal ideas and system. Ecclesiastical courts held jurisdiction over clergy as well as over tenants and peasants on the lands of bishops and monasteries; they

even owned serfs. The Russians also adopted the Byzantine doctrine of the divine ordination and right of the tsar. The result was a more or less blind acceptance of autocratic rule in both secular and religious matters, a custom that, until industrial change in the late 19th century, helped to stifle deep-going social change.

In 1240 the Tatars destroyed Kiev, bringing to a close a brilliance that had already been eclipsed. Thereafter dukes warred ceaselessly with one another, with some attempt by the clergy to moderate them. Out of this disorder emerged three centers: Novgorod, Moscow, and Halicz. In Novgorod, ruled by a popular assembly, trade grew extensively and the republic waxed rich from its export of furs. Art flourished, and here the icon art of Andrei Rublyov (1370–1430) and others reached its perfection. Up to the 16th century religious conviction and sentiment dominated the arts of painting and architecture in Russia,[4] and this influence has remained as a distinctive feature of its historical heritage.

Under the Tatar rule the succession of Muscovite dukes from Aleksandr Nevsky onward paid obeisance to the khans at Sarai. In turn they obtained the power to collect tribute from neighboring dukedoms. During this period the monastic movement, protected by the state and inspired by both meditation and readiness for physical labor, generated considerable wealth in both the monasteries and the surrounding villages. From 1340 to 1440 some one hundred and fifty new monasteries were founded in the wilderness of Muscovy, as the pioneering monks followed the peasant movement northward beyond the Volga into the frontier. Monasticism stressed neither learning nor works of devotion nor thought. It "preserved the Palestinian communal spirit of charity and support of the needy and outcast." At the same time its "spirit of chastity, of humility, of patience, and of love" fitted well the "submissive endurance" that has characterized the Russian people for much of their history.[5] The most influential of the monastic leaders of the 14th century and the most revered today was Sergius of Radonezh; the monastery he founded, Troitse Sergeiev, has disappeared, but his memory is preserved in the cathedral of the Trinity which stands on the original site in today's Zagorsk. The monastic movement, zealous to realize the progressive values of Christianity, was a cohesive force—religiously, culturally, and ethnically; it was the zenith of Orthodoxy in a thousand-year history in which for the most part the Church was compliantly subordinated to the purposes of the state.

The leading role of the Orthodox Church during this era of

growth laid the foundation for a reformation movement in the Church after the liberation from the Mongols was achieved. The call for reformation found its voice in the idealistic, mystical wing critical of the mounting wealth and lands of the Church and in the practical Josephites who argued that the ongoing social work of the Church required both wealth and the protection of the state. A third group, the Judaizers of Novgorod, came forward with a heretical critique of icons and of ecclesiastical landed estates.

Agreeing with the demand for social reform, Ivan III c. 1500 confiscated Church lands in the region of Novgorod. But in Muscovy the conservative Josephites blocked him, promising to return their political support. The upshot was that the heretics were put to the stake, the mystics lost influence, and the collaborators acquired control over Church administration.[6] From then on the Church's work was inseparably bound to the policies of the tsar. The Church was still further weakened by the indomitable Peter the Great, who, following the Lutheran doctrine of *Cuius regio, eius religio,* denied the election of a new patriarch in 1700. Peter later abolished the office. It remained abolished until 1917.

During these two and one-half centuries of imperial expansion, the tsars exacted the heavy payment of serfdom from the peasants. From the Church, which on the whole cooperated with them, they confiscated 2,000 churches and large properties. Yet the Church's influence spread with the power of tsardom: Orthodoxy was divided into the metropolitan district of Moscow and western Russia; the Moscow Patriarchiate was established; and Orthodoxy was defended against the Roman Catholic West. Even in 1917 the Orthodox Church, stripped of political power and administrative autonomy, was still a great landholder.

The long atrophy of the Russian Orthodox Church, which had served as "the chief psychological basis of the Russian state,"[7] produced a protracted crisis of ideological leadership that was not resolved until the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917. In that year Communism supplanted Eastern Christianity as the state philosophy of the peoples in the newly founded Soviet Republic.

For a brief period after 1650 the Russian Orthodox Church asserted its independence under Nikhon the reformer and the nationalistic Old Believers. Nikhon had attempted to correct the Russian Bible, service books, and ritual on the basis of the most reliable Greek manuscripts and practice; the Old Believers, mainly from the secular clergy, objected to what they saw as centralization of the Church and the dilution of Russian Orthodoxy, and they

attracted those opposed to the hierarchy on nationalistic grounds. But after 1700 the Church lapsed into subservience to the tsars and became weakened by the spread of many small dissenting sects. Its hierarchy, riddled with personal and bureaucratic corruption, remained alienated from the lower clergy and the common people. Orthodoxy in Russia was too extensive to remain intact and unchallenged over the centuries. But its own weaknesses invited competition from other faiths both at home and abroad.

Throughout this long history the Russian Orthodox Church has been shaped by three conditions: the division and antagonism between the Western and Eastern branches of Christendom; the Russian Church's emergence into national independence from the patriarchate at Constantinople; and the Church's rivalry with and subservience toward the State.

The Roman empire itself was divided into two parts by Diocletian; Constantine removed the capital to Constantinople, and Theodosius completed the division in 395. Economic disasters and barbarian invasions brought on the decline and fall of the empire in the West in 476. But Byzantine society and Christianity in the East, with its ongoing Greek culture, remained untouched. Yet the Roman emperors in Greek-speaking Constantinople had no way of governing the Latin West, and by the time Charlemagne was crowned Holy Roman Emperor (by Western Pope Leo III) in 800, the separation was firmly sealed.

The division was exacerbated by repeated and futile attempts by the West to bring the East under its control: the struggle, begun by Emperor Leo III, to prohibit the Eastern use of images in worship (725–842); Pope Nicholas I's claim to the primacy of the Roman see over all patriarchates (858–898); the excommunication of the Eastern Patriarch Michael Celularius by Pope Leo IX because the former refused to accept Rome's universal jurisdiction—the "Great Schism" of 1054; the first crusade, called by Pope Urban II in 1095, resulting in the imposition of the rule of the Latin Church in parts of Asia Minor; the fourth crusade, which captured and plundered Constantinople in 1204, forcing a Venetian patriarch on it; the compelled submission of Emperor Michael Palaeologus to the Papacy at the Council of Lyons in 1274; and the Union of Florence (1439), proclaiming the primacy of the Pope in general terms—though permitting Eastern patriarchs to retain their rights, rituals of worship, and marriage of priests—a union that was short-lived, for the monks and people of Byzantium repudiated it. This last event, issuing from the Eastern emperor's appeal for aid to fight

the Turks, ended once and for all the power of Constantinople over the Russian Church. For when the metropolitan from Russia, a Greek by the name of Isidore, tried to read the agreement in the Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin in Moscow, Grand Prince Vasily violently intervened and stopped him; and Isidore having been allowed to escape, the Russians then consecrated one of their own as patriarch.

Byzantine soon fell to the Turks. The Russian rulers, already observing the breakup of Mongol rule over them and riding a century-long tide of religious revival, felt that the scepter of Byzantine imperial power had passed to them. Further, the Russian Church seemed the logical successor to the Church at Constantinople for leadership of Eastern Orthodoxy. The Grand Prince Ivan III (d. 1505) took the title of *tsar;* and for its part the Russian Church created the not so implausible theory of "the third Rome": Rome first, Constantinople second, and (after the perfidious Union of Florence) Moscow third.

In 1589 the Russian Church at last won its standing as an independent national church with patriarchal status; Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople, in need of financial help, was forced to grant this status in payment. And the ever stronger monarchy, built on the Byzantine ideas and Tartaric despotism of Ivan the Terrible and his precedessors, could demand it.

For a few years, in the early 1600s, the Russian Church and Russian State seemed to share authority: two Romanovs, son and father, became tsar and patriarch respectively. But in strife over economic and political power (in mid-16th century the monasteries owned one-third of the lands) the tsars won out. Nikhon—influential counselor of tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, wishing a Church superior over the State, forced out of office in 1666 by jealous nobles, Old Believers, and others—was the last patriarch of authority. In 1700 Peter the Great forbade elections and in 1721 installed the Holy Governing Synod appointed by the tsar and supervised by his lay representative. From this weakened position the spiritual power never recovered. Its ancient dream of an ecumenical Church, inherited from the Byzantine tradition of Christendom, had to give way to material forces and to remain only spiritual or hitch its institution to the engine of the secular State.

Today the Russian Orthodox Church bears within its historically conditioned consciousness these three problems: What should be its relation to Western Christianity? As a national Church, how shall it be related to its own nation's secular power and to the Churches

and faiths within and beyond its national borders: what is the meaning of ecumenism for it? How shall it interact with non-believers and the State in a Socialist society?

Large numbers of believers, whose groups were long established in old Russia, did not belong to the Orthodox faith. Roman Catholicism had had a presence and influence in the western lands of Russia since the early 11th century—the time of the sanguinary conflict between the sons of Vladimir the Saint, Iaroslav and Sviatpolk. Iaroslav, upholding Orthodoxy, defeated his brother who relied on the support of the Poles and the Catholics, and thus profoundly shaped the course of subsequent Russian history. Besides the Orthodox faithful and the Old Believers, numbers of smaller native sects emerged in the course of the centuries—the Khlysty of the 17th century who believed their leaders were successive incarnations of Christ; the Skoptsy or Eunuchs; the Dukhobors; and others. From abroad, Lutheranism came in with "the German colony" in Moscow in the 17th century—a strong influence on Peter the Great before he actually visited the West.[8] About 1750 Catherine II invited the Mennonites to Russia, and some 30,000 came and settled in the south. In the next century new religious groups from the West immigrated, including the Baptists, who went to the Ukraine, St. Petersburg, and the Caucasus. In the later part of the 19th century the Baptists were at work in Georgia. Seventh Day Adventists, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and other foreign sects are most recent arrivals.

With the founding of the Soviet Republic, the first socialist state, the inevitable collision between communism and religion could not be averted. For centuries—beginning with the mid-15th century Russian expansion to the southeast and running through the period of the empire up to 1917—the Russian Orthodox Church has been the accomplice of tsarism in the enslavement of peoples. The Church has been its necessary economic and spiritual partner. In 1917 rural peasants and industrial workers alike were sunk in the muck of poverty, the debasement of appetite, and the superstition of the icon. At the same time the new forces of capitalism in the cities—workers, unions, radical ideas, parties—were challenging the private property and power of the capitalists. Moreover, the ancient ideology of state religion, of the religious state—otherworldly, elitist, repressive—had become with increasing clearness anachronistic; it was discrepant with modern conditions calling for food, housing, education, and the equality of nations and persons. In such circumstances Lenin was correct in describing religion as "one of the most corrupt things existing in the world."[9]

Before the Bolshevik Revolution October 24–25, 1917 (November 6–7, new style) the tsar's family, landowners, and the Russian Orthodox Church held forty-two percent of the land. So immediately after the Decree of Peace on November 8, new style, the new Soviet government issued the Decree on Land. It stated that "the landed estates, as also all crown, monastery, and church lands, with all their livestock, implements, buildings and everything pertaining thereto, shall be placed at the disposal of the volost land committees and the uyezd Soviets of Peasants' Deputies pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly."[10]

In the course of the upheaval of World War I and the revolutionary events that shook Russia to the foundations, the Orthodox Church was therefore toppled from its prominent place of power and influence in Russian society. In 1917 it remained the one social institution unchanged by the reforms of the 1860s or the 1905 Revolution,[11] though a strong movement for independence from the crown and for restoration of the Patriarchate had come from laymen at the turn of the century; and it drew fresh impetus from the Revolution of March, 1917. On November 1 the Synod of the twelve main hierarchs did away with the office of the chief procurator (the tsar's spy). And on December 4, after the Bolshevik nationalization of land, a *sobor* (council) of the Church restored the Patriarchate—abolished by Peter in 1721—and installed Tikhon as Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia.

The new Soviet government was swift to respond, with a series of repressions lasting until 1923. Of course in these critical years the famine and the Civil War and intervention were the principal enemies of the government. But it realized full well that the material and ideological power of the Church so long cemented to tsardom must be smashed if the revolution was to survive and succeed. Moreover, many leaders in the Church went over to the Whites in the Civil War and supported the Allied intervention.

The Bolsheviks understood that they had to couple to their new economic order a new ideological order; they had to rebuild society from the ground up, reconstructing not only ways of making a living but also ways of thinking. The latter called for displacement of the central role of the Church both in the schools and in the other institutions of life. The illiteracy rate in 1914 for persons over ten was between 64 and 72 per cent,[12] and only one-half of the children of school age in Russia were receiving primary education.[13] Sixty-five per cent of all peasants, the largest class in the country, were poor peasants living in chronic hunger and disease. The Church owned and controlled immense wealth in lands, for-

ests, and commercial enterprizes and served as a convenient and obsequious arm of the Tsar in maintaining among the peasants an ignorant servility. Nearly half of the schools were in the hands of the Synod, religion was a compulsory subject, criticism of religion was illegal, atheist organizations were prohibited by law, and it was virtually imperative for a person to belong to the Orthodox faith in order to be enrolled in an educational institution and to hold a government job. For this needed mental strait jacket for the masses, the tsar subsidized the Orthodox Church; in 1907 he allocated thirty-one million rubles to the Church's maintenance, nearly as much as the amount for the Ministry of Public Education.

Such a policy made for growing opposition among the intelligentsia, reformers, and revolutionaries as well as among the millions of religious people who did not subscribe to the tenets of Orthodoxy.

On December 11 an ordinance was issued commanding that all religious organizations transfer "schools, seminaries, academies, lower, intermediate and higher schools and institutions" to the People's Commissariat of Education; and on December 18 a Decree barred religious marriages. On January 20, 1918 all monies from the state for the maintenance of churches, clergy, and religious ceremonies were cut off.

All these measures pointed toward the separation of church and state, which was legally affirmed in a Decree of January 23, 1918. The Decree asserted that "the Church is separate from the State" and is prohibited from enacting any laws or regulations restraining "freedom of conscience." "Each citizen may confess any religion or no religion at all." "Free performance of religious rites" is allowed so long as not disturbing public order or infringing on citizen's rights." "The school shall be separate from the church," the teaching of religion being "prohibited in all state, municipal or private education institutions where a general education is given"—though private religious instruction is permitted. "No ecclesiastical or religious associations shall have the right to own property" or "enjoy the rights of a legal entity." All property now owned by such associations "shall become public property." But "buildings and objects intended especially for religious worship shall be handed over by special decision of local or central authorities, free of charge, for use by the religious associations concerned." (An ordinance of August 24, 1918 giving instructions for carrying out the Decree permitted theological seminaries.) This Decree, "On the Separation of Church from State and School from Church," laid down the general lines for subsequent policy—though there were

excesses and "mistakes" in application and ambiguities in the policy on religious education.

Responsibility for carrying out the Decree on Separation lay with the eighth division of the Commissariat of Justice, which published a propaganda journal, *Revolutsia i tserkov,* leaflets, and posters, and sent out lecturers and debaters. The People's Commissariat for Education also carried out antireligious activity. The principal strategy for the decade following 1919 was formulated in Article 13 of the Program of the CPSU in 1919. That article called for "the complete destruction of the link between the exploiting classes and the organization of religious propaganda" as well as "the widest possible scientific-educational antireligious propaganda" which would "avoid any injury to the feelings of believers" and "the strengthening of religious fanaticism." Lenin's article, "On the Significance of Militant Materialism" (March, 1922), called for "untiring atheist propaganda," and "the scientific criticism of religion" to "rouse" the masses "from their religious torpor." Then in April of 1923 the 12th Congress of the CPSU urged a program to train "antireligious agitators and propagandists."

It should be noted that in the USSR the separation of church and state, which in the USA was an important achievement of the American Revolution and which prevails in some other capitalist states, not only liberated the Russian Orthodox Church from its collusion with and dependency on the old secular order. It also lifted the other faiths into a position of legal equality with Orthodoxy. Under the tsars the only officially recognized religion was Orthodoxy. Roman Catholics were associated with the conquest of Lithuania by Poland; the millions of Muslims were considered to be infidels; the Jews were outcasts; small sects like the Dukhobors and Molokans were forced out of the country; and the Baptists, with their missionary opposition to the ritual of the Orthodox Church, were branded, like other sects, as heretics and in 1894 were forbidden to congregate. Orthodoxy was so entrenched and dogmatic that the whole of the revolutionary movement shared the hostility of the other faiths to its "theocratic absolutism."[14] In 1905, when a manifesto permitted religious freedom, "there were probably more than 20,000,000 dissidents in Russia, counting Old Believers, Baptists, and others."[15] The freeing of these faiths from the oppression of Orthodoxy not only swept away the monopoly of the latter in public religious life; it also forced needed reform within Orthodoxy. As Bernard Pares has said, "The fall of Tsardom had been also the fall of Byzantium with its pomp and formalities, and the present sufferings of the Orthodox priests brought them infinitely

nearer to their flocks."[16] Of course through the centuries some priests had tended their flocks as good and faithful shepherds—but all too few.

Famine struck in 1921–1922; the harvest in 1921 was about forty per cent of the average for 1909–1913. Among the many causes for the famine, religion played a role in dividing and isolating the peasants from cooperative work and class warfare. To secure needed funds, in the spring of 1922, the government decreed the requisition of the valuable ritual objects of the Church. In the ensuing struggle many priests were arrested and some executed, including the Bishop of Petrograd; and Patriarch Tikhon was imprisoned. Upon the renunciation of his hostility to Soviet power, he was released in July, 1923. This event signalled the end of this early period of intense conflict between State and Church. (Though his successor was also imprisoned, the next acting Patriarch, Metropolitan Sergius, declared in 1927 his loyalty to the Soviet State.) During this period also the government supported schismatic groups within the Church. The most prominent and successful was the "Living Church" organized in the spring of 1923 by Archpriest Alexander Vvedensky. But it eventually failed for lack of popular support.

At this time a new strategy crystallized—concentration on anti-religious agitation and propaganda, which the Party regarded as "one of the best means of spreading party influence among the broad masses of the workers." Emelian Yaroslavsky, an old Bolshevik, emerged as the leader in this work. In 1925 the group behind his newspaper, *Bezbozhnik (The Godless,* or *The Atheist),* was organized into the League of Atheists, becoming in 1929 the League of Militant Atheists. Yaroslavsky's emphasis on scientific enlightenment and education won out over two extremes within the party—(1) the mocking iconoclasts who exposed religion "as a method of enslaving the workers" and (2) those who believed religion would disappear if propaganda were liquidated and knowledge of the natural sciences promulgated. In spite of the vigorous work of the League, the spreading popularity of atheism, especially among the youth, and the decline of church membership, the League in 1928 had only 123,000 members, about one-tenth of the active members of the CPSU. Under Stalin's leadership in the collectivization of agriculture, the party and government went all-out to eradicate the individualistic, acquisitive attitudes fostered by the Orthodox Church among the peasants in the kolkhozes and villages. On April 8, 1929 a decree restricted activities of religious societies to religious services alone, and on May 22 this regulation was incorpo-

rated into the constitution. While it affirmed "freedom of religious worship," it allowed "freedom of antireligious propaganda"—a formulation that appeared in the Constitution of 1936. Still, in 1937, Yaroslavsky estimated that while more than one-half of the city workers considered themselves atheists, more than one-half in the countryside counted themselves believers.[17]

After a brief search in 1937 for a link between certain priests and bishops and espionage and sabotage groups, and after the arrest of hundreds, a period of tolerance ensued. The government gradually reduced support of the League of Militant Atheists. In December 1938 the Central Committee of the League along with the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences acknowledged the "progressive role" of the Church in history and the connection of Christianity with Russian art and literature in the past.[18] Finally the Great Patriotic War against fascism (1941–1945) stirred the deep patriotic sentiment of virtually all believers. In September 1943 the government permitted the installation of Sergius in the Patriarchate (vacant since 1925); and Sergius conveyed to Stalin "the profound love and gratitude" of all church workers.

Tolerance toward religion by the communist state continued through and after the war because of the solace and strength that suffering believers found in their faith, the accepted separation of Church and State, and the unity of the people in the tasks of defense of the Motherland and of its reconstuction. During the tenure of Nikita Khrushchev (1958–1964) as Premier and head of the CPSU this policy was reversed. Antireligious propaganda was greatly stepped up through the schools, Houses of Culture, lectures, books, and the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, which revived the work of the defunct League of Militant Atheists. The Communist name-giving ceremony was initiated as a secular alternative to the ritual of baptism; substitutes were offered for religious holidays; individual-to-individual education was encouraged; women were concentrated on; and at one time children were not permitted to attend church services[19] and were denied religious instruction by priests. Five Orthodox seminaries and an undetermined number of monasteries and churches were closed—estimates of the number of churches closed range from one-half of the churches previously operating to 10,000.[20]

In summary, the struggle in the USSR between the Christian Church—chiefly Orthodox, but also other denominations—and the persons representing the State has been marked by several stages: the program of militant atheism against religion from 1919

to 1929 in which the Patriarch Tikhon first supported the White Army of resistance of Soviet power and then came over to the side of the state; restriction of religious activities as a way of implementing Stalin's program of collectivization of agriculture starting in 1929; acceptance of the "progressive role" of the Orthodox Church in history, Russian art, and literature; the cooperation during the Great Patriotic War, 1941–1945, when both Church leaders and laity unanimously supported the war against fascism and the Soviet government gratefully facilitated this cooperation; the postwar tolerance toward religion because of the straitened conditions of life; renewed State action against religion under Khrushchev—stepped-up anti-religious propaganda, the closing of seminaries, monasteries, and churches, the initiation of a secular alternative to baptism; and the last two decades of relative peace between the churches and the State.

Today, in a population of almost 278,000,000 in the Soviet Union, there are more than 20,000 houses of worship. They range from large churches of the Russian Orthodox faith (chiefly in the Ukraine and the Russian and Byelorussian Republics) and the numerous Muslim mosques, primarily in the east (there is one in Moscow)—to the prayer houses of small Protestant sects and the ninety-two Jewish synagogues. As there is no national religious census, freedom of belief being guaranteed by law, figures on the membership of the more than forty various faiths can be only estimates: Russian Orthodox—39,000,000;[21] Roman Catholic—2,000,000; Armenian Apostolic—1,000,000; Georgian Orthodox—1,000,000; Old Believers—1,000,000; Evangelical Christians-Baptist—500,000; and Lutheran—400,000. The various Christian sects, of Russian and western origin, include those almost extinct (Khlysty, Skoptsy) and Jehovah's Witnesses, Mennonites. Pentecostals, and Seventh Day Adventists, who have about 40.000 each. Muslims number perhaps 18,000,000 and religious Jews about 100,000; and Buddhism is the dominant religion among the more than one million of the Buryat and Tuvan Autonomous Republics in Central Asia.[22]

The constitution of the USSR (adopted October 7, 1977) says in Article 52: "Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion, and to conduct religious worship or atheistic propaganda. Incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited. In the USSR, the church is separated from the state, and the school from the church." Interference with any religious rite that is within the bounds of law is legally punishable. Likewise punishable is the

refusal of a job or admission to school or college, as well as dismissal or expulsion on religious grounds. No public document can require the citizen to reveal his or her belief.

Parents are free to bring up their children in accordance with the parents' conviction; but physical abuse and infliction of mental anguish are forbidden. The law prohibits any citizen, whether religious or not, from disturbance of the peace, violation of the civil rights of others, impairment of health, and refusal to discharge civil or public duties. Over the years portions of the Seventh Day Adventists, Pentecostals, Orthodox, and other groups have in varied ways violated Soviet law—refusing to register as a congregation, resisting military conscription, etc.—and have thus rendered themselves illegal.

The right to conduct atheistic propaganda is today, as in the past, systematically exercised by state organs. "The whole atheistic propaganda system is intended for educating people to a materialist world outlook." The broadest and most common method is dissemination of knowledge in the natural sciences, a required subject in the secondary, vocational, and technological schools. Courses in Marxism-Leninism are also required from high school onward. The materialist outlook is militantly put forward among the workers through public organs such as the councils on atheism in production collectives, Znanie ("Knowledge"), the press, radio and television.

The whole people through the State own all land on which religious buildings stand, as well as all religious buildings, with some exceptions. For example, the Patriarchate of Moscow owns its present buildings and has recently been given by the State the historic Danilov monastery—buildings and grounds—in a newly developing region of Moscow. On this site it is now restoring the monastery buildings themselves and constructing its own conference hall and hotel. Congregations make use of these state-owned buildings without rent, must maintain and repair them, and are free to improve them at their own expense. The government restores and repairs the many churches and other structures that it has designated as having historical or architectural significance.

In spite of this policy, which has resulted in many colorful and even dramatic restorations, numbers of valuable churches are falling into ruin for lack of attention from both believers and government. Alarmed by this unheeded disappearance of national treasures in Moscow, a young Communist scientist told me he had made a hobby of photographing these churches so at least to preserve this record of them. Occasionally one hears a sad lament

from non-religious people of how, on Volkhonka Street in central Moscow, eager planners in an earlier period levelled a historic church to make way for an outdoor swimming pool. Yet others will justify the displacement on the ground not of antireligion but of the necessities of progress. The abandonment of urban churches, the intense competition for urban space, and the demand for demolition of old and "unused" structures are processes of course taking place in our own society.

Congregations maintain their buildings, religious objects, equipment, operations, and leaders through voluntary contributions. They are not taxed. Clergy are paid according to the regulations of the governing organization of the particular faith. They receive fees for baptisms, marriages, and rites for the dead. New congregations may be formed on the initiative and legal registration of twenty or more adults over age eighteen and may receive land for free use on which to build a house of worship. Large religious denominations publish as many as fifty different kinds of materials—their own journals, sermons, theological studies, calendars, prayer books, hymnbooks, holy scriptures (Bible, Gospel, Koran), and the like. They also rent buildings for the making of candles and other religious objects. The Council for Religious Affairs, which is under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, supervises the enforcement of the law on religious organizations. Neither it nor any other institution or person has the authority to interfere in the affairs of religious persons and groups.

There are three Russian Orthodox seminaries and two academies (as well as eighteen monasteries and convents), two Roman Catholic seminaries, and an Armenian academy. The Muslims have a madrasah and a theological college, and the Jews a yeshiva. Roman Catholics, Protestants, and others are also trained abroad, and all groups maintain normal contacts with their counterparts abroad and with world religious organizations, like the World Council of Churches.

Since the beginning of the Great Patriotic War virtually all religious people have supported the socialist state of the USSR. Religious leaders in recent decades have been prominent in national and international activities for world peace, and it is said that the Orthodox church has contributed millions of rubles to the Soviet Peace Committee. This is credible if one accepts the report of a journalist[23] that the annual income of the Moscow Orthodox oblast churches is more than $6,000,000 and understands the passionate commitment to peace among the leaders and laity of this faith.

II. Christians in the USSR Today

2. The Russian Orthodox Church

Zagorsk is a small city on an open plain seventy kilometers northeast of Moscow reachable by electric train from the capital or by the ancient Yaroslav highway, now paved. It is the site of the major religious center of the whole of Russian Orthodoxy. Its Troitse-Sergeiev Monastery is a unique and rich assembly of religious architecture and art; and it is the principal place of training of leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church. Founded by Sergius of Radonezh in the 14th century, the monastery became a bastion in the defense against the Tatars and subsequently played an important role as a cultural center and fortress in the history of Russia. The Trinity Cathedral holding the work of Andrei Rublyov and his pupils stands out among a cluster of sturdy churches topped by dramatic blue and gold bulb-shaped domes. The tsar's summer palace is here, and a museum. Thousands of pilgrims journey hither every year from the cities and particularly from the more religious countryside to worship in the ornate Cathedral, to hear the polyphonic singing and the pealing of the great bells, to enjoy the mosaics and frescoes, face embroidery, and sculptures, to delight in the elaborate work with gold, silver, and jewels, and to kiss the icons and silver coffin cover of Saint Sergius. So many are the pilgrims, I was told, that they must be lodged in the homes in Zagorsk—at three rubles per day. In still greater number come masses of working people, not religious, and professionals from various parts of the USSR who, curious about their history and appreciative of beauty, wish to see and possess the wealth of their own national heritage.

The Troitse-Sergeiev lavra (monastery), this whole complex of religious buildings, is functioning today. It is one of several monasteries of the Russian Orthodox Church in the USSR. The Seminary and Moscow Theological Academy (founded in 1684) for

educating priests and other Church functionaries are situated here. My host at the Academy, Professor Konstantin Mihailovich Komorov, informed me that there is a second Seminary at Leningrad (founded in 1809) with its Academy. At these Seminaries the student normally begins study at age eighteen and goes through four years of study, followed by another four years at the Academy.

There are three Orthodox Seminaries in the country—at Moscow, Leningrad, and Odessa.[1] The Moscow Seminary is located at the monastery here at Zagorsk, since monasteries have been the traditional place for education of Church leaders. As there are 76 dioceses of the Church in the USSR and perhaps as many as 20,000[2] churches, in order to keep such churches in operation it is necessary to furnish priests to them. If every two of these churches were to be served by one priest, then to replenish the supply of 10,000 priests over a period of, say, 25 years would require at least 400 newly ordained priests each year. Yet the Seminaries do not train that number. On the morning in June when I visited the Moscow Seminary at Zagorsk, 250 young men were graduated. The difference is presumably made up in part by the traditional practice whereby a hierarch in a diocese ordains to the priesthood a layman who has aspirations to be a priest but lacks the specialized training. For the laymen so ordained the Moscow Theological Academy has an extramural department.

Konstantin M. Komorov is Professor of Old Testament at the Moscow Theological Seminary. After study at the Academy here he went on to write his thesis on the history of the Russian Orthodox Church and on the Holy Scriptures. He is not a priest, though for fifteen years he served as a subdean under Alekei when he was rector here.

The students now enrolled here, he said, number more than five hundred, and the number remains stationary. There are seven hundred in correspondence study—persons who are workers and study part-time. More than two hundred persons are studying at Leningrad. In addition there are about twenty candidates for postgraduate degrees for careers in teaching and research.

Professor Komorov told me that one way of recruiting students is by an advertisement printed in *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* which sets forth the entrance requirements. To be admitted to the Seminary students must be at least eighteen years old and be recommended by their parish confessor or diocesan hierarch.

The entrance examination calls for a knowledge of general sub-

jects as shown in school and a grasp of the fundamentals of the Orthodox faith, the ability to read prayers, and familiarity with church singing and reading. The curriculum in the eight years of study includes theology (dogmatic, moral, pastoral); Church history (the history of the Ancient Undivided Church, of the Slavonic Church, of the Russian Orthodox Church, of the Church in the world); the Old and New Testaments; homiletics; liturgy; Byzantine studies; and the history of Western confessions, church law, church art, and church singing. Russian and other languages are also studied, as well as the history of the Soviet state and the constitution.[3]

I asked the Professor to tell me about his specialty, the Old Testament.

"In the Seminary we are teaching the fundamentals of this subject. In the Academy we are widening some problems. Students study the notion of the Holy Scriptures, what the Bible teaches, the fact that the Bible is the universal world book published in 1,300 languages. They study the question of the origin of the writing of Scriptures, its content, and the stages of its development in human society. On this basis they deal with the problems of the ancient Jewish people in the Scriptures. We then study the Pentateuch and I pay attention to the six days of creation of the world on the basis of our modern science and modern thinking. Then we study the texts of the Bible and the translations into different languages of the world."

I asked him about Russian translations; he replied that the Russian Orthodox Church had used the Church Slavonic after Cyril and Methodius had invented the script in the 9th century. The Slavonic version is still used. In 1876 the Bible was translated into Russian for the first time, and in 1956 it was translated into modern Russian. The Professor noted that at the moment the Rector and some of the professors of the Academy were in Bulgaria to celebrate 1100 years of the achievement of these brothers. He spoke also about the millennial anniversary (in 1988) to mark the founding and history of the Russian Orthodox Church. A commission of the Church and its subcommissions are at work on plans for this "great date." "That is our culture," he said, "that is our history of the past. Without the past there is no present existence. That is the beginning of our Christian life of one thousand years."

Students come from all over but mainly from the Russian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian Republics, he said. They range in age from twenty to thirty-five. Women are not admitted, though in the

Leningrad Academy there are special colleges for women called church choirs. Women study the history and art of church song, receive training in the churches themselves, and have many opportunities for taking part in Christian life. There is a nunnery near Tallinn, one in the Ukraine, one in Moldavia, and one in Yaroslav. Some of them are agricultural and cooperative.

I asked whether the students had courses in philosophy.

He replied that they do not call it that, but they study logic and the constitution and the literature of the early Church fathers, as well as the problems of Christian philosophy and the subjects of theology, which is built upon philosophical principles.

"Do you study St. Augustine, Clement, Origen, Athanasius?" I asked.

"Yes. And Vasiliy (Basil) the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus. We study also Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, German philosophy, the philosophy of the ancient Orient, the history of Western religions, the Christian religion in the world, and all the confessions of Christianity—Catholicism, Protestantism, and Orthodoxy."

I wondered who might be the leading theologians of the Church today. He answered that he would prefer not to name anyone because for the past twenty-five years many have been writing on many subjects and trends in the yearbook, *Theological Studies.* The leader is a Professor Dmitri Nikolaievich Uspenski at the Leningrad Academy, a specialist on the ancient Church whose work has been printed by a State publishing firm. Professor Alexei Ivanov, also at the Leningrad Academy, has brought out a book, prepared for many years, devoted to Maksim Grek, who lived here for twenty years and who is buried here.

I inquired about the facilities for publication of the Russian Orthodox Church itself.

"We have a central publishing house," Professor Komorov answered. "But there are some special branches. There is a Church journal, *The United Church,* that we publish in the USA. There is a collection of theological works in French and in Russian. In the German Democratic Republic there is a journal of our Church, and in Canada and in the Ukraine." He added that Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk, Head of the Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchate and Editor of *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate,* which is sent to people in fifty countries, had asked him to write two articles on the occasion the fortieth anniversary (in 1985) of this Department. "It was an interesting work, but at the

same time there was a whole sea of religious literature published during those forty years that I had to cover."

It must be noted that this Department has the responsibility for publishing all the literature of the Church. Thus five Russian editions of the Bible in Russian have been published in recent years, and the New Testament has been printed twice in Russian with explanatory notes. Since 1959 *Theological Studies* has been issued; it had contained writings by Church leaders, fathers, and teachers of the past (some translated for the first time in Russian) as well as works by modern theologians. The *Orthodox Church Calendar* comes out yearly in three sizes—for pocket, table, and wall. Special booklets are printed to mark important occasions in the life of the Church—for example, a pamphlet, "Contributions to Peace-Making by the USSR Religious Organizations," published in 1977 for the World Conference, "Religious Workers for Lasting Peace, Disarmament, and Just Relations Among Nations."[4] *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, a monthly, appears in both Russian and English and may be subscribed to from the USA. It regularly includes sections devoted to news of Church life, sermons, reports of the work of the Church, and other activities in the peace movement, Orthodox Sister Churches, Oikoumene, theology, and legal advice.

I observed that the students in the later years of the ten-year school in Soviet society study Marxism-Leninism. "No," he corrected me, "they study a general introduction to social science."

"But," I countered, "they study some of the work of Marx and others, so it means the students who go to the Seminary would have some knowledge of Marx and Lenin."

"The question is whether they study Marxism," he commented.

I persisted. "My question is, how do they, being theology students, deal with that philosophy? What is their response to it?"

Professor Komorov gave me his answer. "You should understand that they don't receive any religious education at school. Nevertheless in the family or from family members they can get a religious education. Besides this, our churches are open and nobody asks who you are; you can come at any age. People can attend the services, the masses. And there they will hear Church leaders who are speaking on the problems of the Bible. These then are the two sources where they can get religious education.

"And then when a child becomes an adult, he can make a choice, whether he will be a religious person or an atheist. And if a man feels that he would like to study theology, he can deepen his

knowledge with the help of the literature that has been published here." He referred to *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate,* an eighty-page monthly that contains sermons, scholarly articles on theological questions, and other materials of the faith.

I asked the question about Marxism-Leninism and religion because Professor Komorov had mentioned that a Professor, the Metropolitan of Rostov, Vladimir, had been absent from the morning's graduation ceremony because he had gone with representatives of Orthodox churches to a place near New York City to have a dialogue with representatives of Lutheran churches on the topic of revelation. This dialogue is ongoing; next time the Orthodox believers will be the hosts. So I sought for more information about dialogue between the Russian Orthodox Church and other groups.

On the matter of dialogue with Marxist-Leninists, Professor Komorov like other religious leaders whom I interviewed stressed the proposition, without putting it into so many words, that believers and Marxist-Leninists do not require or want a verbal comparison of ideologies—first, because it does not promise to add anything of value to their individual and common life, and second, because they are already fully united in their allegiance to the values and goals of the socialist society and in their practical efforts to realize them. "I took part in the Great Patriotic War," said Professor Komorov, "and was wounded in it. After the war was over, many people from different parts of our country came here to the Academy and Seminary. At that time there were civilians here; they graduated and became churchmen. But we have many such people in the Church like myself who took part in the Great Patriotic War."

Professor Komorov is proud of the foreign contacts of the Church and its growing international activities. Students here take study trips abroad, to Rome and Geneva, and some study in Czechoslovakia. In exchange, students from other countries come to study at the Academy—from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and some Arab countries. In the Leningrad Academy there is a faculty for foreign students. One student has even arrived from the USA.

The role of the Russian Orthodox Church in the ecumenical movement is growing year by year. Its relations with the Roman Catholic Church, the Ancient Oriental Churches (Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Syro-Jacobite, Catholicosate of the East-India), the Old Catholics, Lutheran, Reformed, Methodist, Baptist, and other Protestant denominations are developing. Likewise the Church has

strengthened its ties with the World Council of Churches, which it joined in 1961, working particularly for "peace in a spirit of truth and love" and supporting the Council's stand "for social justice, against neo-colonialism, racism, poverty, hunger, and for equal rights for women." It has further cooperated in peacemaking and ecumenical work with many confessional families—the Lutheran World Federation, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the World Methodist Council, the Baptist World Alliance, and the World Student Christian Federation. It has friendly ties with continental ecumenical councils like the All-African Council of Churches and in fact in 1959 was a founding member of the Conference of European Churches, a European ecumenical group of 108 member-churches from twenty-six European countries. Since 1956, as a participant in the Christian Churches in the USSR, it has had regular exchanges with the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA.[5]

I said to Professor Komorov that I knew the Russian Orthodox Church is very active for peace in this country and elsewhere. Do the students study issues of peace?

"I can say for myself that I assigned the topic of documentation concerning Old Testament teachings on peace in the world. One student, now teaching in Odessa, connected the Biblical theory of peace with current problems, finding that the word 'peace' can be read more than twenty times in the Old Testament. In 1982 his paper was presented at the World Conference on Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe. In our lectures to students we very often use the word 'peace'; and the problems of peace are included in our prayers, we well as the problems of particular peoples in the whole world. The education of people in the cause of peace is taking place in the Church every day and on every occasion. Peace has been deepened on the basis of theology, by which we are creating sound fundamentals and principles for thinking about the problems of peace and defending these principles."

In response to my question about his own writing on questions of peace, he mentioned an article, "The Theological Foundations of Peace," which appeared in the 1960s in *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*.

The long-standing position of the Russian Orthodox Church toward peace and the Soviet State as expressed in *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* has been concisely stated by Professor Komorov himself:

> The peacemaking of the Russian Orthodox Church occupies a place of special importance in the journal. And this is only natural considering that the Church had suffered the horrors of war together with all the people of their country. The journal itself was born in the hard war years. Already then the mighty voice of our Church urging all the Orthodox to struggle against the Nazi aggressors sounded from its pages. Having lived through the war with all the people, the Russian Orthodox Church is doing everything to help avert another war. . . . We, churchmen, see the hand of Divine Providence in the fact that the Soviet Union stands for peace and is a reliable bulwark of peace throughout the world.
>
> The peacemaking of the Russian Orthodox Church is extremely intense. Suffice it to say that *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* has devoted more than 2,500 articles to ecclesio-patriotic and peacemaking themes, of which 1,160 are original articles and papers, and over 1,000 official documents. It has carried close to 500 reports on the participation of the Russian Church in peace conferences and meetings in this and other countries.[6]

As we reached the end of our interview, which was conducted as we partook of a fine dinner, Professor Komorov lifted his glass of wine and proposed this toast:

"We are very glad that you have come here, and we thank you especially for your interest in the life of the Russian Orthodox Church—not only because you sought information but because you asked us about our attitudes toward peace. Peace for us is like the oxygen by which we breathe. In the memories of the older generation, the arduous and horrible days of the war still remain, and the wounds in the hearts of our mothers, sisters, and wives have not yet healed. There are trees at Leningrad that are veterans of the war, stripped forever of their branches. Such signs of the war can be seen throughout our land. That is why peace for us is not a facile phrase, a mere idea. It is the lifeblood and activity of our existence. It is our state of mind, our cause, that we carry as long as we live. All who are struggling for peace, who are doing all they can in this cause, are working not only for the preservation of peace; they are preserving our very life.

"Nowadays some people in the world are talking about 'Star Wars.' Yes, this is a romantic phrase. But in fact it is a very serious matter. Space is a place not only for our dreams but for spacecraft that will be of practical help to humanity. We must use the cosmos for peaceful purposes. When we turn it into a cemetery, we have become deformed. It is our fervent wish that our brothers, our

friends, the American people will understand the danger of this disaster and will let the cosmos remain peaceful, so that Soviet and American cosmonauts will be peaceful friends in their cosmic spacecrafts.

"I remember the moment at the end of the Great Patriotic War when together with the Americans we prepared to make a toast to our joint victory. It was a holiday. We raised our arms in friendship. And we toasted our triumph over fascism. That is why today we have many ties and contacts in our Church with the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA. It is why we have dialogues with churches and relations of friendship between our people and many peoples throughout the world. So I would like to toast to the hope that present and future contacts between peoples, like past ones, will promote peace and the preservation of peace in the world."

* * *

I went to the offices of the Moscow Patriarchate where I was received by T. A. Volgina who is head of the English section of *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* in the Publishing Department. He explained that this building is the property of the Church since it was built by the Church, though the land is owned by the State. It is financed by sales from publications. Before 1981 the Patriarchate was located in the monastery of Novodevichy and very shortly it will be moved to the Danilov monastery here in Moscow. Mr. Volgina, who graduated from the Moscow Theological Academy and wrote a thesis on theology there and has worked here for twenty years, has visited many countries, including the USA in 1983 and in 1984 with a delegation led by the Metropolitan of Moscow, Yuvenaliy.

The *Journal,* he said, is published in 30,000 copies in Russian and 3,000 in English. The English version, started in 1971, grew out of the realization that it was necessary to give the brothers and sisters in Christ in foreign countries an opportunity to read about the Orthodox Church in the USSR.

About twenty different kinds of materials are published here—namely, the *Journal,* half a dozen types of calendars, cards, brochures, booklets, posters, and photographs of icons and of churches, of the Patriarch and Bishops and Metropolitans. These publications are distributed through the parishes and the diocesan centers of the Bishops. They are sold by the priests and are a

principal source of income of the Church. For each day the calendar lists the names of several saints and Scripture selections to read on that day. It also includes the text of the services for specific churches, and the hymns to be sung. The Book of Psalms and a Book of Prayers for private use are also published; the latter, from 250 to 1,000 pages, will cost about two rubles.

Mr. Volgina said that the State does not regulate the prices of these items. Nor does it control the content of the publications as long as no laws are violated, and there are certainly no publications that are contrary to the Soviet constitution. The only difference between publications has to do with the availability of paper for printing. The State allocates the paper equitably to all parties.

After the Great Patriotic War a Russian translation of the New Testament was published five times, the last edition in 1983. The Bible has been printed in 7,500 copies, with about 2,500 pages; it cost thirty rubles and was sold out immediately.

I asked Mr. Volgina why more copies were not published.

The State has a central planning structure, he replied. This publishing house is small, our requests are included in the State plan, and we get a certain amount of paper with which we can do as we wish—printing Bibles or calendars or dividing the amount.

He spoke about the many parishes of the Church in the USA and Canada, mainly Alberta. I asked him whether their publications could clear up certain prejudices about the realities of socialism. He said that they were doing their best but that publications are only one way; they are making use of trips abroad, meeting with people from abroad here, and meeting in other countries. "Probably you know that some of this prejudice comes not only from misunderstanding but also hostility. One of the Americans when he was shown the Bible printed here in the USSR—and it was printed in Moscow, at one of the State publishing houses—said he did not believe it had been done. It was false writing. He said that it cannot be that a Bible would be printed and published in the USSR.

"The center of the spiritual life of the Russian Orthodox Church is the religious service. That is why we are publishing very many books for religious services. These books being published by us not in Russian but in Church Slavonic—because our religious service is being held in the old Slavonic language, the language of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But it is clear to the believers."

Besides these printed materials, the publishing department produces slides, photos, cassettes, the videocassettes—though "we don't yet have the strength to put these things on a commercial

basis." It also houses a small place of worship, the Domestic Chapel of St. Iosif of Volokolamsk.

Mr. Volgina showed me through the corridors and offices of the Patriarchate. The many photographs on the walls give one a picture of the activities, interests, and contacts of the Russian Orthodox Church—the monastery of Mount Athos; Orthodox churches including those destroyed during the Great Patriotic War; a Lutheran church in Riga and one of Old Believers; occasions in remembrance of the fortieth anniversary of the end of the War; the monastery of Kholokolaps, bombed by the German Nazis; the Dimitri Donskoi tank column contributed by the gifts of Church people to the Red Army in March 1944; and the Russian nun, Elizaveta Kuzmina-Karavayeva, known as Mother Marie, who during the French resistance against the Nazis in Paris in 1942 saved many Jewish children, and who, three years later, in the Ravensbruck concentration camp, changed clothes with a young Soviet woman and died in her place in the gas chamber. Mr. Volgina noted that "many of our priests participated in the war and were decorated."

The photos also showed the extent of the engagement of the Russian Orthodox Church in ecumenical work for peace: the World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe (1982), which featured addresses by Patriarch Pimen and Reverend Billy Graham; the Second Special Session on Disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly (1982) at which Patriarch Pimen spoke; the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver (1983); and the Conference on Disarmament and the Rational Use of Space for Atomic Purposes (1984). There were also photos of many leading religious personalities: the Metropolitans of Tallinn and Riga; General Secretary A. M. Bychkov of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists in the USSR; Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios of Delhi (Malankarese Orthodox Syrian Church, India); Reverend Richard Andriamanjato (Church of Jesus Christ, Democratic Republic of Madagascar); Bishop David W. Preus (Lutheran Church, USA); Reverend Martin Bailey (United Church of Christ, USA); and others.

For press conferences and the showing of films, the Patriarchate has a medium-sized room where, under glass cover, ancient Bibles and other church literature are kept. The busy editor-in-chief, Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk, head of the Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchate, has his offices here. Publications

for 1984–1985 included *Theological Studies* No. 25, the Orthodox Church Calendar, *Services of the First Week in Lent*, one of the series *Menaion* (the seventh book in a yearly cycle of liturgical literature), *The Holy Gospel* (for liturgical use), the first album of records of the series, "The Millennium of the Baptism of Russ," and other materials.

* * *

The Russian Orthodox Church places high significance on its bonds with churches abroad not only for religious reasons but because ecumenical ties are a way of contributing to peace. I talked with Dr. Alexy S. Bouevsky, Secretary of the Department of Interchurch Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate whose field of study was canon law and who has worked for the Patriarchate for thirty years.

He began by recounting some of the highlights in the history of the relations between Russian Orthodox Church and the USA. In the eighteenth century the Church had a mission in Alaska. Later parishes were established in the section of San Francisco that came to be called "the Russian Hill," which became a place for trade and a kind of spiritual center for Russians. After Alaska was sold, the See of the Church was moved to San Francisco. At the beginning of the century it was transferred to New York City where believers opened St. Nicholas Church on 97th Street East.

I asked him about the criticism that there is no freedom of religion in the Soviet Union.

"We have always been asked that question," he said. "It is completely irrelevant. It is the result of this tension. This argument about the absence of religion here is used in the struggle against our society and the argument and this question have been present for the sixty-eight years of the existence of the state. According to the Gospel, one should 'come and see.' But we don't have adequate means of communication to counter this information.

"As far as religious circles in the West and in the developing world are concerned, some changes have occurred in these past years in their attitude toward us—great changes. We have contacts with churches in many parts of the world, and we have close relations with non-Christian religions and maintain active contacts with them. And these people who maintain good contacts with us have the right idea of the religious situation in the Soviet Union. Churches here—not only the Russian Orthodox Church but others—are members of the World Council of Churches. We are

members of the Conference of European Churches. We are involved and very active in many religious conferences and meetings. And the attitude toward us has changed greatly. During the first decade after the war, the attitude was just complete denial of religion in the USSR; people used then 'the touch of the clergymen's beard' to test whether they were real. Then people came to realize that there was a Church, though they still thought that our Church is a poor and oppressed people. Now the attitude has completely changed. Those who come to us, who know us, who maintain contacts with us, consider us a partner, no longer conceding privileges to us as they did in the past by looking at us as oppressed. So now we have relations of mutual respect, understanding, and cooperation. No problems exist in our relations.

"The problem now is that the masses of believers abroad, in the West and in the developing world, the general public, are under the influence of propaganda, of the mass media. We are at a disadvantage in this situation because we don't have comparable means of counteracting this propaganda. We don't have the means to neutralize untruth and injustice. But we are quite accustomed to this situation and we are trying our best to bear witness. We think we have succeeded somewhat and believe in the help of God.

"As far as the internal situation is concerned, we appreciate the experience we have gained as a Church living in a new situation, in a socialist society. We consider this experience very valuable."

Our conversation was interrupted as some men in religious garb left the adjoining office. "They are Buddhists from Sri Lanka," Dr. Bouevsky explained. "To arrange such visits we maintain cooperation with Buddhists in many parts of the world. Throughout the millennium of the existence of the Russian Orthodox Church, it had to live side by side with other religions like Buddhism and Islam and Judaism. Today we have enormous Muslim communities in our country, many millions.[7] They live in central Asia, the Caucasus, the Transcaucasus, and the European part of Siberia. In Moscow there is a very large Muslim community. When they celebrate feasts or holidays, the local traffic police must block all the traffic. We have both Shi'ites and Sunnis. We have very good and cordial relations with them.

"These contacts are stimulated by the favorable atmosphere in the country. First, that there are no conflicting or confrontational elements or classes in the society helps a lot. Other societies may not have experienced this situation.

"Islam and Christianity are close to each other. Islam of the kind

that exists in Iran now is politicized. It is not good there. But normally it is very easy to work with Muslims. I will give you an interesting example. We have close relations with Muslims in Syria, where the Supreme Mufti is Sheikh Ahmed Kaftaro. Many Christians can safely subscribe to his theological statements. So that our faiths are quite close.

"The evil is the political elements in this. Love and Christianity and the position of clericalism are not issues.

"We have theological dialogue with Muslims in our country. There is a theological academy in Tashkent. The people there have conversations with the Leningrad Theological Academy of the Russian Orthodox Church. They have many things in common. We have Orthodox parishes in the Muslim areas of the country. People used to exchange visits during holidays, Orthodox visiting Muslims and vice versa.

"We have Buddhists in Siberia, in Buryatia, so we maintain good relations with Buddhists. There is a Buddhist scientific center in Moscow. And there are Jewish communities in many parts of the country, and we maintain fraternal relations with them. We have very much in common with them, because Christianity sprang from Judaism.

"But we have deviated from the main idea," said Dr. Bouevsky. "We consider our experience as a Church living in the first socialist state to be very valuable. This experience has not been easy, because historically the relations between Church and State did not develop very smoothly. And in prerevolutionary Russia the situation was very difficult. One should know our history well in order to understand the situation. The Russian Orthodox hierarchy, the ordinary clergy, were part of the people and the nation; they shared their interests with the people. And these clergy were spiritual instructors of the people. They just lived with the people. They educated people in parish schools, because the system of education was poorly developed. They taught children to read and write. They acted as physicians to a few people, and they counselled them in the meaning of the law. So they were really part of the people—the majority of them. There was of course an elite connected with the bureaucracy. Hence the majority of clergymen supported the Revolution.

"But the Church leadership was part of the state machinery, the establishment. Since Peter the Great the Church has been included in the establishment. But many persons who belonged to the establishment opposed the Revolution. And among the Church leaders

there were people who supported the Revolution and understood the situation—for example, Metropolitan Antony of Leningrad who supported the people's aspirations. But the situation was not peaceful. It was natural that the people rejected the Church leadership which was part of the establishment. A majority of the leaders of the Church opposed the Revolution. And there was tension between the Church and the State in our country because of that. So the process of restoration of relations between the Church and the State was very hard. But it took place; and when the Church was headed by Metropolitan Sergei (Ostrogorodsky), one of the leaders in the prerevolutionary Church, he never shared entirely the popular sentiments. But he had a principled position, sharing the interests of the people.

"The process has become much better after the war. When the war started, Metropolitan Sergei ussued an appeal to the people, and this appeal was immediately distributed among the believers.[8] He considered himself as belonging to the people.

"Now the relations are quite normal, the Church and the State respect each other. We participate in the life of the society and we have no problems here. It's a good example for other socialist states, especially those that are just choosing now the way of socialist development. They have more advantages from the viewpoint of the development of humanity. But it's a very complicated problem. I have tried to give you just the idea."

"You mentioned something about the participation of believers in social reality. Will you clarify this?" I asked.

"Members of the Church," he answered, "are citizens of the country. Everyone in his or her own place participates in the life of the society, beginning with political life in any kind of activity, including activity in the neighborhood, the community, the village, and the city. We can't divide people between believers and nonbelievers. Nobody asks whether a person is a believer or nonbeliever. By his Christian behavior he bears witness in the society.

"The Church as an institution has the task to educate people to show high morals in their family life, in their social life. The Church educates people to be good citizens. Official representatives of the Church participate in many public orgnizations in the society. The Church has made large donations for the restoration of monuments of architecture, the arts, and war memorials. At the present time a war memorial is being built in Moscow, so we have made our own contribution to its construction. We have contributed to the Red Cross, and through it we help people in emergency

situations in the world. We cooperate with the Peace Fund, contributing to the peacemaking of our people and organizations. We participate in the restoration of historical monuments, and our representatives in these public organizations together with other representatives of the society join in solving social and political problems."

I interrupted. "You yourself are a member of a board of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries."

"Many people," he responded, "are on the boards of many public societies. Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev is a member of several societies. Then I am on the Soviet Peace Committee's Public Commission for Liaison With Religious Circles for Peace. Archbishop Pitirim in the Department of Publications here participates in many public organizations. Many representatives of hierarchy and clergy participate in public organizations and these friendship societies."

As Dr. Bouevsky had spoken of the education of the Church and the forms of education, I inquired about these issues.

"This is the basis of pastoral activity, of course, the education of the people. There are various methods of education. First, people are educated in parishes and in families of believers. Then catechism is conducted through sermons and services in the churches. Every service must have a sermon in which the preacher educates the parishioners about the Church in society. Then we have the Publications Department that distributes many publications among all believers in the country.

"With respect to this education, the training of pastors is very important. A student who has graduated from one of our three seminaries can take holy orders and go to work in a parish. He can then study by correspondence at the Academy while working at a parish. There are about 1,500 such students studying by correspondence. In the Academy students go more deeply into theology as everywhere in higher educational institutions, and the Academies train persons to be theologians and bishops. Theology needs to be developed; it can be developed only by those who have sound academic theological education."

"In connection with the education of priests and theologians," I said, "could you say some things about Christianity and socialism. Some people in the USA believe they are contradictory and irreconcilable."

"This idea," he answered, "is the main argument used against socialism, and it is a false argument that was used in Chile when

Allende was killed. It is one of the arguments which is completely false and untrue. The socialist conception, both political and social, can be considered to be Christian. It does not contradict Christianity at all. That we have different world views does not prevent us from working together. So it's a wrong idea. And this idea of the USSR as an atheistic state is quite wrong, because both believers and nonbelievers live in it in mutual respect and equality before the law. Those who propagate this idea don't know what they do to lead people astray. And this argument is always used to preserve the status quo. But it's a very interesting question, Christianity and socialism.

"Dialogues are occurring now between Christianity and Marxism. Marxists from our country who participate in this dialogue come from the International Institute for Peace in Vienna. This Institute, in cooperation with the Department of Theology of the University of Vienna, has been maintaining the dialogue for many years. It's a very good idea, and both Marxists from the USSR and representatives of the Church here participate. It's a very healthy dialogue that helps us to cooperate and to live together."

"Dr. Bouevsky," I said, "you have spoken of the wrong idea that socialism is not Christian. Could you be concrete and spell out your concept of how socialism and Christianity are compatible, leaving aside the differences in the world views?"

"I will tell you," he said. "I will just finish my account of the Academies and Seminaries. The main task of education in the Seminary and Academy is the education of good pastors who can teach the parishioners to be good Christians and good loyal citizens, because a good Christian and a loyal citizen are identical, in our view. A good citizen implies in our view a person who has a good attitude to all people irrespective of their world views. This is what we call 'internationalism' in our society.

"I wanted to mention it because it's one of the main parts of training pastors. And the basis of this education is studying our Church tradition. Every pastor should know the service very well to perform it according to traditions and rites of the Church. This is one of the main things in training pastors.

"Now, your question. In the program of the development of the country there are many elements—economic, political, social, cultural—which our Christians share completely. And there are concrete examples. Let's take the political side—say, foreign policy. Our foreign policy of the country is directed to mutual understanding and good cooperation between nations. As a Church we

share this policy, because from the Christian point of view all people are brothers. As St. Paul said, there are no differences between the Greeks and the Jews. So we share this position.

"To be more precise, the leadership of the country expresses the will of the people, including us Christians.

"As far as the internal situation is concerned, we are building a classless society. This is a Christian position. Equal opportunity for all people—this is also the Christian point of view. That is, equal opportunities in culture, in education, in economy, and in social life, including medical treatment, social welfare, everything. Equal opportunity is also the task of the Christians. We call it early socialism or communism. The idea of early Christians was equal opportunity. It's very difficult to find any element of this program that would contradict the Christian point of view.

"As far as belief and nonbelief are concerned, we have different positions. We consider faith and ideology. But we think that these differences are natural, because every person has the right to his own views and commitments. So it is very difficult to find elements in this program which contradict our perspective. We haven't reached yet a level in which we make use of all the opportunities of socialism, and we are only on the way of realizing all the possible benefits of socialism.

"As human beings, sometimes we err. Our country is surrounded by hundreds of military bases, and there is no town in this country that is not under targetting from these bases. Boycotts and similar things do not contribute to the speedy realization of all the benefits of socialism. But we are convinced that we will make use of all the opportunities afforded by socialism and the whole world will see them.

"In conclusion I want to tell you one thing. We are preparing to celebrate the millennium anniversary of the Church in 1988. In connection with this and with the need of the Church, the state has given us a monastery at the request of the Patriarch—a centennial monastery. It was founded in the thirteenth century by the first prince of Moscow, Danil, the younger son of St. Aleksandr Nevsky. For two years we have been restoring the place. It's very nice. We plan to finish it by 1988. We must not only restore buildings but construct new buildings. Together with this large Danilov monastery a large area was given to us, and on it we plan to build a Church hotel and a conference hall so that we will have our own and not need to rent the State's. Within the monastery itself the Patriarch will live and the Holy Synod will have its offices. We have

laid the foundation and all the drawings are ready and by the first of September we should finish the foundation and start building walls. That will be accomplished in 1988. Much restoration has been done. This will be the pearl of Moscow. All central offices of the Church will be in this monastery. It will be the spiritual and administrative center of the Russian Orthodox Church. We wanted a monastery for ourselves because it's no problem to work in a monastery rather than a secular place. The building for our own department is ready and we are moving shortly. We will be able to hold our internal conferences there. Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow we will hold a conference in the monastery.

"There is already a religious community of ten monks in the monastery and we plan to extend it. The economic manager of this work is Viktor Igumen, a young monk who is a construction engineer by profession. The work is done by secular organizations and we administer the work. The whole monastery is headed by the Father Superior, Evlogii. He has been manager of the Holy Trinity Lavra, the monastery at Zagorsk, and was also Professor of the Moscow Theological Academy there. You should visit the place. There are services every day, in the morning and the evening. It's very interesting and the place is beautiful. There is a workshop for icon painting, and several dozens of icon painters work there."

I turned back to the question of dialogue. "You talked about the dialogue in Vienna between the Marxists from here and the people there at the University and the Institute. What about dialogue here? Do you consider that as not really needed?"

"We are in dialogue every hour and every day," said Dr. Bouevsky, "the dialogue of our everyday life, our cooperation. We Christians express our positions in our everyday life. We don't speak about what is better or about belief or unbelief. We don't think such a question would be useful for us and for Christians. Our task is to be with our people and to work together for the benefit of the society. There are no other tasks. This is the main task in our life. We must justify our faith by serving our neighbor in the society. Of course when I say all this, that does not mean that we are all very good Christians. Christians differ from one another. But we are doing our best. It's natural that we have many shortcomings, and when I speak about these things that doesn't mean that we are perfect Christians. But we are trying to be worthy of our human dignity."

I asked whether he and his co-workers had published anything on Christianity and socialism.

"In our *Journal* and theological works we touch upon these problems. We work in this field because we consider it important. Life itself requires it. I will give you an example. You know what theology of liberation is. It's mainly Latin American theology. Around this theology there are discussions, and many positions are voiced, including the position of the Vatican and the Curia. Many questions are asked about our people living in a socialist society and our attitude toward the concepts of the theology of liberation. People use Marxist concepts in the theology of liberation. We cannot reply that this theology does not concern us. We must answer these questions about our attitude.

"This simply illustrates that we should think about developments in the world and work out our attitude. We have a special Commission for Christian Unity of the Holy Synod. It's a large Commission with some thirty members, among them theologians, bishops, clergy, and laity, and is headed by Metropolitan Filaret. It meets regularly and has been working for several decades. The commission is now considering a draft of a Church document on Christians on War and Peace. As soon as it is ready we will submit it to the Holy Synod, and after it is considered there it will become the official position of the Church on this question. You know that the National Council of Catholic Bishops produced a very fine document.[9] There is only one chapter that we cannot accept in this document. It analyzes the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. It is based on the stereotypes that exist in the West. We are not offended at all because we consider it normal for them in their situation to produce that. It would be surprising if they wrote anything different.

"Our document will be very important. Why? Because in our time we have many very difficult questions, difficult for the Church. For example, the question of nuclear deterrence. It's a moral matter. It is unacceptable from the religious point of view. It's very difficult to evaluate this. But it is the only thing to keep peace at the moment. So what is our attitude? There are many questions that are very difficult for religious consciousness. And all of Christianity is discussing these problems now. We must produce our own point of view. Deterrence is not acceptable as a norm. But we should elaborate our clear position. We have many questions of this kind.

"And now in preparing for the millennium celebration, we must reflect upon our historical existence as a Church. One of the main stages in our history was the reforms of Peter the Great concerning

the Church. This is the project that I am working on now. In spite of the burden of everyday business, I have managed to prepare an article on this for *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate.* This is an important question because Peter's reforms started a new period, a Synodical period in the life of the Church. And it is a very important question for understanding the relations between the Church and the state and the concept of their relation before the Revolution. I carried my study up to the restoration of the Patriarchate in 1918. I have evaluated the whole Synodical period when there was no Patriarch in the Church."

I said I understood there is no religious census because of the constitution.

"It would be wrong," said Dr. Bouevsky, "to say that we have no statistics at all. We don't count our believers. The Baptists have a census. We don't have statistics, but the data on our Church including the theological schools and internal Church life you can get from Metropolitan Aleksei who is a chancellor of the Church. The research on the Church that he conducts shows some statistics on the number of parishes and number of clergymen. But because it is a living organism and in keeping with the tradition developed after the Revolution, we don't have statistics. This is the Russian Orthodox Church. But other churches, like the Baptists, count their believers."

I observed that I had seen various estimates of thirty million or more members in the Russian Orthodox Church.

"It's very rough. It is very difficult to count them. There are very small parishes that cannot even have a priest; they cannot support a priest. So one priest must care for several parishes. And there are different situations. One parish may have several priests because it is too large. Even in Moscow we have both very small parishes and very large ones. There are many millions of believers." Here Dr. Bouevsky listed the other major faiths, Christian and non-Christian, in the USSR, to underscore his point that "we have many believers in the Soviet Union."

As he wished me well in my work, Dr. Bouevsky noted once more that "there is no greater danger than confrontation between our states" and "no nobler task than establishing relations of cooperation and mutual understanding between our nations."

"Our experience has shown," he said, "that we have close contacts with our American brothers and sisters. It is not difficult for us to discover a common position because we are close psychologically. We quickly understand one another. We have very warm relations

of trust and confidence. This can be a seed for the development of good relations not only between the churches but among nations. Because, you see, I think that American clergy differ much from ordinary people [are more alert to the need for cooperation and understanding]. The same is true with us."

We agreed that the Reagan policy is terrible and must be changed. "But we will hope and work for a better future," he concluded. "We will pray for your success, because life will prevail. You know, something that causes great harm in the world usually produces some rational things. Human beings are capable of creating ultimately good results. So we wish you success."

The position of the Russian Orthodox Church on the paramount and urgent question of peace is grounded in the religious conviction that all life and indeed all reality on this earth and in the cosmos is a single order created and sustained by God, that any disruption of this order—within the integral individual personality, in interpersonal relations, in the Orthodox Church and Christianity, among religions, between states of opposed social systems, within the ecological order, in space—is a sin that brings destruction and evil, and that our moral and spiritual obligation is to devote ourselves to the maintenance and development of this order. Since the Great Patriotic War the Church has tried to apply this conviction of faith to the strategies of making peace and justice.

When in 1952 the world was facing the threat of atomic war, Georg VI, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, initiated the first conference of representatives of all Churches and religious associations in the USSR. The Orthodox Church joined in the united effort. A second conference took place in Moscow in 1969, attended by many foreign guests. In 1977 a world conference was convened under the theme, "Religious Workers for Lasting Peace, Disarmament, and Just Relations Among Nations" followed by the third conference in May 1982, "Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe." Participants adopted an Appeal to the Leaders and Followers of All Religions, an Appeal to All Governments, and an Appeal to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament. Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia, who presented the Appeal to the United Nations General Assembly, took the lead in the work of this conference. The outlook of these representatives of the world's major faiths coincides with the conviction of the Russian Orthodox Church that we are members one of another and are called to preserve, maintain, and develop our constructive

mutuality with others and with nature. Patriarch Pimen summarized this religious outlook as it bears on peace in this way:

> The conference especially stressed the following characteristic features of a religious world outlook: first, faith in the fact that human life is not confined to earthly existence, and, second, the conviction that an individual human life is closely bound up not only with the lives of absolutely all people on Earth, but also with the existence of the entire world, so life in the broad sense is an organic interconnection. Damage to one of the component parts of this vital organism inevitably entails negative consequences for all the others. Consequently, the defence of life on Earth is the direct and highest obligation of every believer, the implementation of which should definitely lead him to the ranks of the inter-religious peace movement.[10]

* * *

Viktor Igumen greets us inside the gate of the historic Danilov monastery. A young monk in his twenties—of blue eyes, ruddy complexion, auburn beard—he wears a loose, light-brown frock and sandals. This monastery is in the southern district of the city of Moscow, near the Moscow River, five kilometers from the Kremlin. At one time it was an outpost: in the late thirteenth century it was founded as a fortress at a time when Moscow became the capital of the principality of an independent Muscovy. Now, year by year, the neighborhood becomes more crowded with its broad avenues, the rush of traffic, and high office buildings. The cloister stands as a physical testimony, at least, of the obduracy of the past in the present; and spiritually it signifies the mutual presence of Christianity and Marxism in today's Soviet society. In one way the monastery is an anomaly—a secluded island around which the currents of modern urban life swirl, partially protected by its tall but crumbling wall; at the same time it represents a premodern view of life and history that is still at work in the souls of millions in this industrial and scientific nation.

The belfry of the Church of St. Simeon Stylites where we enter has recently been restored. In fact, the whole of this large tract of land and its buildings, fallen into desuetude and decay for decades, has been given over for restoration and use to the Russian Orthodox Church by the State—without cost to the Church, and in perpetuity. An enormous construction project, begun in the autumn of 1983, is now under way; and Viktor—his family name, by monastic custom, has been dropped—is the financial officer in charge of overseeing the project. He is pleased to find his vocation

here. "Labor is God's command," he says. "Laborare est adorare." It is expected that all will be completed by 1988 in time for the celebration of the one thousand years of life of Russian Orthodoxy. The Church has established a "Fund for the Restoration and Construction of the St. Daniel Monastery Ensemble" to which individual believers and parishes abroad may contribute. In response to their requests to contribute, an account has been opened at the USSR Bank for Foreign Trade in Moscow.

Once on the grounds of the cloister, we find ourselves in the midst of a scene of odd contrasts. Masons are carefully at work on the columns and brickwork of ancient churches. Carpenters are sawing timbers. The ground is torn up with ditches; pipes and cables are ready to be laid. We walk through the dust and talk over the din of the machines of workers. A medieval monastery is being remade under the hands and eyes of modern laborers and craftsmen.

Viktor strides vigorously from site to site, proud to show me around and describe the transformation going on.

Danil Aleksandrovich (d. 1303) was the younger son of Aleksandr Nevsky; the monastery, founded in 1282 and named for him, is said to be the oldest in Moscow, though nothing here is preserved from that time. The most ancient artifacts here, including the wall of the monastery, date from the sixteenth century, the era of Ivan the Terrible. Several churches, in various stages of repair now, stand within the walls of the cloister. Among them are: "the masterpiece of the cloister," the Trinity Cathedral, founded in the 1840s; the Cathedral of the Holy Fathers of the Seven Ecumenical Councils; and, on the ground floor under it, the Chapel of the Protecting Veil of the Mother of God. The Trinity Cathedral was out of use from 1928 to 1983, but when it is restored by the end of the year services will be conducted in it.

All of the many icons and iconostases are under restoration, some from the seventeenth century. A copy of the Vladimir Icon, which has been venerated in the Church since ancient times in many cloisters (as here) and churches, has been placed here. Most of the workers on the restoration of the icons are women, qualified professional painters in the art. While they are paid for their work, Viktor assures me that "all of them are believers."

Ten monks now live in the community here. (In the Trinity Church at Zagorsk there are more than 120.) The numbers will increase as the monks are needed. They are doing restoration work as well as work in finance and administration. Plans call for about

fifty eventually. But life is difficult today, Viktor says, and a monk's life particularly demands sacrifices.

In addition to all the elaborate restoration of the churches, cathedrals, chapels, icons, iconostases, and altars, workers are creating buildings that will house the whole Patriarchate. Viktor points out that the whole complex will be the Spiritual and Administrative Center of the Russian Orthodox Church. It will be a union of monastery and Church—the first of its kind in all of Russian history. In past times the Russian Patriarch did not have any centers permanently connected with monasteries. Viktor believes this union will make the work of the Church more effective.

The physical transfer of the rights of use of this large area of land in the city of Moscow marks a significant event in the long history of the Church—and certainly significant in the history of the Soviet Union. All land of course is and remains forever the property of the whole people as represented through the State. The property here up to now has been used by a factory standing on the grounds; the factory will shortly move out, as the Church assumes sole use of land and buildings. The whole area is five and one-half hectares—thirteen and one-half acres, or more than the space of twelve football fields.

This action of the State toward the Church is simultaneously an expression of its general policy of protecting the artifacts of the whole national heritage. Some six hundred of these in Moscow—palaces, houses, public buildings—are now protected by State law and by Article 68 of the constitution; "Concern for the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural values is a duty and obligation of citizens of the USSR." In the case of Church buildings, here at the Danilov monastery as elsewhere the Church bears the cost of the restoration since it plans to make use of the buildings.[11]

Viktor shows me the mock-up of the structures for which the foundations are now being dug—one floor below ground, two above. On the upper floor are the residence of the Patriarch, the Patriarch's *blok* or set of rooms and offices, the administrative offices of four stories (already occupied and in use), a room for the Holy Synod, the home church, a meeting hall, a study room of the Patriarch, a meeting room of the Holy Synod, a dining hall to seat one-hundred, a kitchen, a hotel, a conference hall of two-hundred seats, and small halls in the conference hall for sectional work. The ground floor will be given over to rooms for secretaries, the typing bureau, and similar services. Viktor is pleased with the hotel.

"Guests from abroad and Russian priests can stay here. Now we have no such places for them; visitors must stay in government hotels."

The planning of the building, which will face inward toward the monastery, has been the work of the Church's own architects, and the hotel has been designed by an organization of professional architects in the Moscow Soviet. The construction is modern and the style will be compatible with the style of the monastery.

While this project represents material progress, Viktor is at pains to underline its spiritual purpose. "The Danilov monastery is a holy place in Moscow. Prince Danil was the first saint in the region of Moscow. During the past two centuries, prominent leaders of Russian culture were buried here; one could say they were the flower of our culture—Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol; the brilliant Russian philosopher and poet, Khomyakov; Samarin, a philosopher and Slavophile; the painter Perov; the composer Rubinstein who founded the Moscow conservatory; the Tretyakov brothers who founded the Tretyakov gallery; the poet Yazikov; and many others."

At some point their remains were removed. In the course of time the whole monastery had become a cemetery, and though the cemetery was moved, many bones have turned up in the present excavation. Periodically they are collected, consecrated at a service, and reburied. There is a plan to restore a small memorial church on the grounds of the monastery and to restore the names of all buried here.

Coming to the end of our tour, I put some specific questions to Viktor.

Q: What about the relations between the Church and the State today?

A: The attitude of the people and the attitude of the State toward the Church have changed. It can be seen. A more accommodating attitude on the part of the new leaders has appeared, as well as a positive attitude from the common people. It is hard to fix the exact time when this change started. But it did not come suddenly.

Q: Why is there an increasingly better relation between the two?

A: We are believers and we believe in the divine-human process of history. God is guiding the process and human beings are participating and God is participating in this process. It's up to God. He can stimulate the process and he can dissent from it.

You can see a change in the opinion of nonbelievers toward believers. From this you can see that probably no antagonism at all

exists between the two. At least you cannot see this. I can say from my own experience that organizations do not show any antagonistic attitude toward us and people in the organizations show their interest in helping us and in cooperating with us.

Q: In the United States we read statements by your Patriarch Pimen and we have delegations from your churches, and they create a good impression, because they speak for peace and friendship.

A: As human beings we follow international events. In spite of them, the Soviet people and the American people have good will toward one another and are not antagonistic toward one another. That is why we are worried that in the sphere of politics these attitudes of good will are missing. Certainly the Church at various levels should do its best to find the path of maximum cooperation between powerful states like the USA and the USSR.

Q: What message can you give me to take back to the Americans?

A: You know, there are not two multiplication tables; there is only one for all people. And all approaches to the good should be one. That's why we should believe that the force of good is stronger than the force of evil. Among the Russian people we have many believers. This is my Mother. This is my Friend. And we can say that we are believers, we believe, we believe in God, and our friends believe in God, and all of us are striving for good. I believe that in the United States there are people who can testify as I do.

Our two peoples have more that unites us than divides us. The political sphere is less important than the sphere of the human soul. The soul, according to Christ, is the most valuable thing in the world. And according to Tertullian, the soul is Christian by its nature. That is why we should believe and hope that the good will win. Christ said he was victorious—and we believe this.

3. The Armenian Apostolic Church

Armenia as a land is not so much a country as it is the image of a solitary divinely mad mystic of the desert whose brilliant vision of fervent color has suddenly materialized—thrown out as rocks and boulders and rugged mountains, split into gullies and ravines and rocky valleys, shaped into deep blue sky and tawny deserts and lavender hills, and beaten on by a merciless orange sunshine.

Armenia lies in the latitude of southern Italy and Greece and has, like them, a subtropical climate abounding in hot, bright sun; but it sits 1500 miles east of Greece, between the Black and Caspian Seas, between the mountains of Asia Minor and those of Iran. It is an Asian land—today one of the Republics of the USSR.

We are flying to Armenia from the capital in the north, from cold rainy Moscow in June, where eight million souls wrapped in winter stoicism await a delayed spring. Ahead, in this sunny clime of the South, summer is near noontide. We fly over the snow-covered mountains, the frozen slopes and valleys and rivers, the lakes reflecting the silver light. The mountains are massed-up and aloof, dividing the Caucasus in two; and very soon we are looking down on Armenia, and geometric fields appear, green and brown and then yellow as the grain has ripened. High cumulus clouds and thunderheads race past, telling us that warm rain has come or is on the way. Below are single homes, adobe, with flat roofs, among green fields, lined by trees. One may make out large pipes—irrigation that makes the desert to blossom like the rose. It looks like Arizona.

After we come down and go out into Yerevan and the countryside, the features are striking and dramatic. The city is enclosed on two sides by wooded slopes, and though the whole territory is undulated, as one views it from the heights of the Motherland monument one gets a breath-taking view of a modern city, with its

tall buildings, broad avenues, and cultivated grass, gardens and trees. Yet through it runs the ravine of the Razdan River, with its dull brown cliffs, a reminder that this is still a land of primordial upheavals created by earthquakes. We are taken on a tour outside the city, up the hills, around the rugged mountains, down into the hollows and valleys. Rocks, rocks, and still more rocks!—small and gigantesque, they have been tumbled hither and yon in endless profusion.

Armenia is high upland. When rocks can be cleared away and irrigation is accessible, crops are grown on natural plateaus or flat areas carved out from the mountains. But the greater part of this soil is stony and dry; it is gashed and ridged, uplifted and folded—not a landscape but a rockscape The vivid colors vibrate in the arid, shimmering air—from the gray and yellow steppe, the beige barren desert, the green vegetation and flowering in the river valleys and watered plots. Nature imitates the painting of Martiros Saryan and the hard, bright-edged music of Khachaturyan. One must be such an Orpheus to win over these stones by the charms of art.

Thales said all reality is water. Here one can say it is rock, assuming its various forms—melted, hardened, brittle, dense, heaved up, layered, twisted—precipitous canyons, escarpments, peaks, volcanoes still but only slumbering. The land is therefore a defiance to those who dare to plant themselves in the harsh high face of it and on its ungenerous soil—and such people are like rock and have been so for centuries, like those durable Greek laborers whom Deucalion and Pyrrha, saved from the flood, created out of stones as they flung down the stones behind them. The modern Armenians rightfully trace their ancestry back to the Old Stone Age half a million years ago.

The center of Yerevan is lush like paradise with flower beds and trees lovingly shading the shops and outdoor cafes. There, nature has been tamed and civilized. Then, about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the cool breeze unfailingly comes down from the hills to the north, one sits down to enjoy *khorovats* (kebab), *lavash* (bread), Armenian wine, and good friends. What a transmutation of nature has been wrought by the toil and sweat of these people! And socialism has had something to do with that.

Here I think too of the Holy Land, where wilderness of desert and mountain gave birth to craggy prophets and a deep attachment to a national tradition mingled with religious memory and hope. These are people of small lands of Asia, living at the crossroads of

trade routes and the trampling march of imperial armies. They are peoples conquered, divided, scattered—victims of genocide—yet maintain their identity. As one gazes off into the horizon, from anywhere in Armenia, one's eye is caught by two great snowy peaks, Mount Ararat and Mount Araghats. Mount Ararat, said in Genesis 8:4 to be the resting place of Noah's ark, rises out of the soil of Turkey to the west. But the Armenians in their hearts and minds claim it as their own, for that region is where their ancestors dwelt and worked for many millennia. Ararat is a permanent symbol of Armenian history and culture. And that history is painted in the colors and framed in the forms of Christian sensibility and symbolism.

What is Christianity in the USSR? A westerner, an American from the USA, thinks of the Russian Orthodox Church, with its 39,000,000 or more communicants, dispersed mainly through the Russian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian Republics, having a history of almost 1,000 years. But here in the Armenian Republic another branch of Christianity is nearly twice as old—the first and the oldest of state religions in Christianity—the Armenian Church. The Echmiadzin Cathedral, which is in the Holy See of the Armenian Church, in a town twenty kilometers from Yerevan, is in fact at its foundations the oldest Christian church building in the world. A Soviet guidebook states that it was "the first Christian church to be built on the territory of the Soviet Union."[1] The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic is the smallest of the fifteen Republics in the USSR, but with the possible exception of the Roman Catholic Lithuanians it has the highest percentage of Christian believers in its population. The reason is historical. From the fourth century onward Christianity has been closely intertwined with the Armenian language, literature, and other strands of culture and history in Armenia. It is therefore not easy today to determine just who is "Christian" and who is not inside the borders of Armenia. I asked our interpreter in Yerevan whether it was true, as I had read, that thirty percent of Armenians are believers. With an ironic twinkle in his eye, he smiled and answered, "We are all Christians!" All, that is to say, are proud and informed Armenians—which means that all appreciate their national Christian heritage. One source asserts that eighty percent of Armenian parents bring their children to church to be baptized.[2]

I have spoken of the Christian coloring taken on by Armenian history. The classical evidence for this in the visual arts comes from the miniatures for book illumination now preserved in thousands

of manuscripts in the Matenadaran Library in Yerevan. Examples of this delicate art appear as early as the sixth century. But the Golden Age of the glorious miniature, the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, brought to a climax the sense of national consciousness, past and present. Under the protection of feudal barons (themselves ruled by the Mongols) Armenian culture flowered in the building of churches and palaces, monastery schools, scriptoria, and academies in Gladsor and Tatev that taught philosophy, theology, rhetoric, grammar, music, painting and calligraphy.[3]

These miniatures are skillfully composed, greatly varied, gorgeously colored illustrations of figures, scenes, and stories from the Old Testament and the New Testament. Looking at them one understands the meaning of the term "illuminated manuscripts"—in this land of intense sunshine the hues of life still glow from these painted pages and bring to light the Biblical narratives.

Likewise the collections of art work in the treasury and museum of Echmiadzin exhibit the intimate relation of the arts and Christianity in Armenian history. In sculpture and architecture a listing of eighty-six "relics of the material culture of the Armenian SSR" contains for the much greater part designations of Christian construction—churches, temples, cemeteries, basilicas, chapels, and the like.[4] We ourselves in our tours saw some of these monuments: the twelfth century set of cave monasteries in Gagard where whole places of worship have been hewn out of the rock of a hillside (instead of cutting away the space to reveal the form of the stone, as in traditional sculpturing, the artisans have carved away the stone to reveal the form of the space of chapels and cathedrals); ninth century monasteries, built of heavy basalt, erected on a peninsula overlooking Lake Sevan; the robust and finely proportioned church of St. Ripsime, a post-Romanesque building of the seventh century, outside the entrance to Echmiadzin; the church of St. Gayane, as old; and the cathedral of Echmiadzin itself, dating from early in the fourth century. The present Catholicos of Echmiadzin has been vigorous in the renovation of many of these ancient religious structures.

In 301 or 303, Gregory, a lay missionary educated in Caesarea, went to Armenia and succeeded in converting and baptizing King Tiridates. Thus Armenia became the first nation in the world to become Christian, adopting the faith before Constantine made it the official religion of the Roman Empire some years later in that century; and it has remained so through nearly 1,700 years. The

early Armenian Church was in friendly contact with the bishop of Jerusalem, taking its lectionary and calendar from there. And though the Church was prevented from participating in the Council of Chalcedon (451) because of the sanguinary war with Persia, and therefore rejected the Council's formulation that Christ is "acknowledged in two natures," divine and human, distinct but united—it did not side with those who held that the human in Christ is absorbed into the divine.[5] In short, it followed the teaching that came to prevail as orthodoxy. More important, the Christian faith became a lasting glue that held together the people through the thick and thin of invasions, exiles, persecutions, and wholesale massacres running on for sixteen centuries.

Nevertheless, the Armenian Church became separated from the rest of Christianity, while at the same time the nation was severed from Persia; and having its own language and culture it began to go its own way. Then followed in succession Persian and Arab suzerainty, the Bagratid dynasty (from the eighth century onward) in which agriculture and building prospered, the rule of the Seljuk Turks (who had been beaten back for a period in the eleventh century), domination by the Kurds and Tatars, conquest by the Ottoman Turks, and finally, from 1829 to 1877, the friendly occupation by the Russians under whom great economic and national progress took place. At the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish war in 1878, however, the British, securing their commercial interests, took on the role of "protecting" Turkey's Asiatic frontiers against Russia. Caught in this Anglo-Russian conflict, national parties arose among the Armenians—the Hunchak with their "Christendom and humanity" of Europe, and a Socialist Revolutionary federation (Dashnaktsutyun) in 1890. Russia, which had earlier liberated from Persian control the plain of Yerevan and Echmiadzin, the religious center, and which enabled the Church to reorganize itself, reacted strongly against the policy of the Turks and British. It prohibited the Armenian language in Transcaucasia, closed the schools there, and in 1903 confiscated all Church properties.

At the same time the British evaded their obligation and between 1894 and 1909 the Turks murdered more than 100,000 of the Armenian minority. During World War I, the Turks decided to deport the whole of the Armenian people then living in Turkey to Syria and Mesopotania, claiming they were disloyal.[6] The result was the first holocaust of modern times. In the spring of 1915 nearly 1,500,000 people were slaughtered and more than 600,000 were driven into the deserts of Mesopotania where most of them

died. Some 300,000 found refuge in Russia while others migrated to the Middle East, Europe, and the USA.[7] Today one may see, on an eminence not so far from the center of Yerevan, a memorial dedicated to the victims of the 1915 genocide. A slender, pointed obelisk, split into two adjacent pillars, rises high over a broad, paved area. Next to it are twelve very large, trapezoidal-shaped pylons leaning against each other in a circle, forming a single, silent, resolute structure. This monument is very meaningful to the Armenian people, gathering together the memories of past sufferings, the confidence of present-day success, and the promise of the future. Far in the distance stands the snow-capped Mount Araghats, a reminder of the endurance of the land and the survival and triumph of its people.

The Armenians today are at pains to stress their historical ties with the Russians. The two peoples helped one another in repelling the Polvotsi, Pechenegi, and Seljuks; the Kievan prince Vladimir married Anna, sister of the Byzantine Basil II, who came from an Armenian dynasty; in 1410 the Armenians fought alongside Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians in the battle of Grunwald against the Knights of the Teutonic Order; when the Turks and Persians conquered Armenia, the Russians took in their refugees; Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, and Catherine II extended ties in the forms of trade, Armenian participation in construction of Russian towns, and battles against Turks and Persia; and Russia liberated Yerevan in 1827. At the same time the long years of aggression and oppression of tsarism are recognized by the Armenians.[8]

The Bolsheviks and the revolutionaries in Armenia had a common enemy, the tsars and the ruling class around them. *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels was translated into Armenian in 1887 and in 1898 the first Marxist societies were founded. Then in Yerevan, in the period of 1903–1905, the first Bolshevik organization came into being. Even before that, in 1902, the League of Armenian Social-Democrats was formed and in its Manifesto it pledged its support of the Russian and Armenian proletariat. Lenin welcomed the Manifesto. Among the many Armenian revolutionaries and martyrs, the name of Kamo stands out (Simon Ter-Petrosyan). His daring deeds, his courage under torture, and his Houdini-like escapes transcend the most imaginative fiction writing.

In 1917, the year of the two Russian revolutions, the Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis formed a Transcaucasian federal republic and in the spring of the following year the three parts

became independent republics. However, a bourgeois party, the Dashnaktsutyun, coming to power in 1918, could not arrest the economic ruin, hunger, and epidemics that destroyed more than one-third of the population. In September of 1920 Turkey once more invaded Armenia, subduing most of the country in only a few days. But the Russians, who had conquered Azerbaijan in April, fighting off the joint effort of the Allies and Turkey to control the region, entered Armenia in November of 1920. Together with the Armenians they drove the Turks from the country and overthrew the ruling government. On November 20, 1920 Armenia was proclaimed a Soviet Republic. On March 12, 1922, the three republics, unified as the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, were taken into the USSR. On December 5, 1936, with the adoption of the second constitution of the USSR, the federation was dissolved and the three nations became constituent republics in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In the two decades that followed the proclamation of socialism in Armenia, sharp controversy marked the relations between the State and the Armenian Church. On December 17, 1920, just three weeks after the socialist State was born, a State decree nationalized all cultural institutions and their movable and fixed property, and on the last days of December all real estate was nationalized and all religious subjects and services were forbidden in schools. The Catholicos Georg V accepted without resistance the disestablishment of Church power and property. Further, early in 1921 the administrative bodies of Echmiadzin were suppressed, the seminary was made a public school, and the library, museum, and printing house were reorganized as scientific-cultural institutes of the new state. But the books and manuscripts of the Echmiadzin library, removed to Moscow during World War II for safekeeping, were returned in April–May 1922; and in 1939 the Echmiadzin library was moved to Yerevan, becoming in 1959 the Matenadaran, an institute for scientific research. This splendid collection, now the Maesrob Mashtotz Matenadaran Research Institute, contains more than 13,000 ancient manuscripts of works by Greek, Syrian, and other authors that exist only in Armenian translation. There are also priceless manuscripts in other languages. Much of the material has a religious character. This fact is respected, but the manuscripts are now in the public domain and are available for study by scientists from all over the world.

On April 12, 1928 all landholdings of the Echmiadzin monastery were handed over to the peasants for their collectivized use. In

January of 1928 an illustrated atheist review was launched, *Anastoats (The Godless);* in October the first conference of the Union of Atheists of Armenia was held; and in November of 1929 an "antireligious university" was opened in Yerevan. As in Russia, the Free Church Brotherhood was started in Georgia as a schismatic movement to weaken the larger body, aiming at apostolic simplicity, liberation from the monarchical rule of celibate priests, adoption of modern Armenian, abolition of peculiar clerical dress, practice of honest means of income, and propagation of canon law among believers. But the movement had little effect.

It is worth noting that the coming of socialism to Armenia did not affect the ecumenical relations of the Armenian Church inside or outside the USSR. Echmiadzin sent consultants to Lausanne in 1927 and to Edinburgh in 1937 for the World Conference on Faith and Order. Its representatives attended the Assemblies of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948 and in Evanston in 1954, and so on thereafter. Such ecumenical activity has been greatly expanded under the present Catholicos Vazgen I.[9]

Before he died in 1930 Catholicos Georg V made some modest reforms. Under his successor, Khoren I (Muradbekian) who governed from 1932 to 1938, a period of relative good will and mutual understanding prevailed. But thereafter, Stalin's rule brought political purges and inactivity in the churches, all of which were closed. Toward the end of World War II religious toleration was introduced by the State, for the Church had energetically supported the defense of the Motherland. On April 19, 1945 the locum tenens, Archbishop Georg, in an interview with Stalin, obtained permission to reorganize the diocese, elect a new Catholicos, and reopen the seminary. Unanimously elected and installed as Catholicos in June 1945, upon action of a general assembly of clergy and laity from around the world, Georg VI (1945–1954) "revived the congregation and seminary of Echmiadzin, reorganized the diocese of Armenia and of the other Soviet republics, regularly published the review *Edchmiadzin* (Etchmiadzin) and the church calendar, and undertook to renovate the cathedral of Echmiadzin."[10] He also governed the dioceses of the diaspora, except those of Syria, Lebanon, and Cyprus, which are ruled by a Catholicos residing at Beirut. His joint efforts with the Soviet government to encourage Armenian patriots to come home resulted (1945–1949) in repatriation of about 100,000. He was also active in the cause of peace, collaborating with the Russian patriarch Aleksei and the Georgian patriarch Callistratus.

The present head of the Armenian Church is Catholicos Vazgen I. He was born as Levon-Karabet in 1908 in Bucharest, and after majoring in pedagogy and psychology at the University of Bucharest he served as parish school teacher there and was ordained celibate priest in 1943 in Athens. After theological study he was elected prelate-in-charge for the diocese in Romania, then in 1948 ruling prelate, and in 1951 bishop. In 1955 he was elected Catholicos. In 1956 he travelled extensively to visit Armenian communities throughout the Middle East, Italy, France, and England; in 1960 he was in the USA, South America, Lisbon, and Paris; in 1961 in Turkey and Vienna; in 1963 in Europe again, the Middle East, and India; in 1965 in Cairo and Addis Ababa; and in 1968 in the USA. He undertook the renovation of the major churches in Armenia, upgrading the work at the seminary of Echmiadzin, and edited the journal of the Church and its calendar.[11]

I interviewed the Catholicos in one of the many buildings of the Armenian Church at Echmiadzin. In the center of a pleasant park-like area, with its plots of grass, rows of flowers, and tall shade trees, stands the oldest structure of all, the Cathedral—rebuilt and revised many times since its foundation was laid in the early fourth century. In the typical pale pink tufa stone of Armenia, its parts record the styles of the passing centuries: Roman, Byzantine, Arabic, Persian. This is a hot, southern climate; irrigation and watering must go on constantly—and it does—to maintain this pleasant and peaceful spiritual center for all Armenians in the world.

We are ceremoniously and warmly welcomed by the Catholicos in his black robe and black hood. His fair skin and white beard set off the black. He has a kind, earnest face and a quiet, modest manner of speech. He seems tired—and concerned. He is accompanied by Archbishop Sion Manykian, an American citizen who presides over the eastern diocese of the Armenian Church in the USA.

His Holiness tells me at the start some of the vital statistics about the history of the Armenian Church. His Holiness is its 130th Catholicos—he and his people have an extraordinarily long history to look back over. The Armenian population throughout the world is about seven million now. Three million live in Soviet Armenia, and another one-and-a-half million are in the other parts of the Soviet Union, principally Georgia, Azerbaijan, and the North Caucasus. The remainder are scattered in different countries all over the world. In the Middle East there are more than half a million. In Europe the majority are in France—300,000; lesser numbers are

found in England, the German Democratic Republic, the Balkans, and the USA. In North America, including Canada, there are about half a million. South America has 120,000 to 130,000, most of them in Argentina. From the spiritual point of view the spiritual center of all Armenians is Echmiadzin. The center has organic links with all the churches abroad; mutual visits go on. And the Church is developing friendly relations with other denominations—Roman Catholic, Anglican, Russian Orthodox, and Protestant. In 1962, it was accepted into membership in the World Council of Churches, along with the Georgian Orthodox Church.

"One of the very important goals of our Church," said Vazgen I, "is to participate in the struggle for peace. We approach the problems of peace as Christians, and the Gospel of Christ is the guiding star for us. And since the world is threatened by such great dangers, we think that the Gospel, the message of Christ, is useful and very important in this time."

His Holiness mentioned his own personal appeals for peace and the appeals of other clergymen, as well as his participation in international world conferences. "In this way," he explained, "we are trying to do our duty. Of course we are very concerned about this question because we are the sons of the Armenian nation, because for our nation throughout the centuries we were always troubled by the absence of peace, the sufferings, and wars—not our own wars but the wars of other nations.

"It is well known," he went on, "that during World War I the population of western Armenia was completely massacred in the genocide of 1915 when two million people died. During World War II also we had a great number of victims. So it is natural for us as representatives of the Armenian nation that we do not wish war to break out anywhere. And we are very glad that the Soviet government, the Soviet leaders, are the great advocates of the cause of peace in the world."

I said that it is important for the American people to know about his position on peace and the position of his Church, of the Gospel, and of Jesus The Prince of Peace. And I observed that many Christians in the USA do not know of the Armenian Church or other religious bodies in the USSR and their strong position on peace.

"Many of our leaders are troubled," he replied. "It is impossible to be a Christian and not to be an advocate of peace."

I pointed out that while generally Christians in the USA want

peace very much, they also have a fear and misunderstanding concerning the Soviet Union and what is happening there. I said I had come to find out about the freedom of his Church.

"Those who have such an opinion," he observed, "must come here and see. Especially on Saturdays and Sundays everyone can see that a lot of people freely come here to Echmiadzin. We have many churches here—more than fifty—and all are functioning. We are rather satisfied by the conditions created by the Soviet government, and we do not see any obstacles in our religious activity. And there is no hostility between believers and nonbelievers. We live harmoniously together. Each one respects the position of the opposite side."

I asked His Holiness to say a few more words about the situation of peace and the Church in the larger world. He had mentioned the relations of the Armenian Church to the other major branches of Christianity. "You see yourself as members of this movement for peace among the churches as well as in the world," I observed.

"This activity of different churches toward strengthening peace," he answered, "is done through different international organizations. For example, there is a conference of Christian churches, whose center is in Prague—the Christian Peace Conference; next month there will be one great international conference just on this question of peace. And concerning the World Council of Churches, in their agenda these questions of nuclear disarmament and of strengthening peace also have a place."[11]

I noted that in the 1970s there had been a period of detente, of peaceful coexistence, between the USSR and the USA, and we were all hopeful that it would continue. But in recent years we've seen a return to the cold war. "How do you see the future emerging out of this present period of great antagonism and tension?" I asked.

"As concerns the future," he replied, "I personally am very much troubled—because on the international level I don't see any agreements between the States, effective agreements, toward banning nuclear arms, for example, and weapons of mass destruction. Concrete examples of the effective development of this process do not exist. For you can't accomplish everything merely with appeals. Something must fortify your appeals. And we wait and hope that the Geneva talks between the USA and the Soviet Union will bring us to some concrete measures. If this does not occur, then the future is in danger."

"The Soviet people remember," he continued, "what happened

before World War II in the 1930s, such as the activities around the League of Nations in Geneva. Many conferences on peace took place, conferences on disarmament, and the like. There were unending talks on disarmament and peace. But the war became a fact. So mere words are not enough. There must be real disarmament, not only words. And unfortunately we have not seen the fact of this disarmament, and we are very much troubled by this."

I asked him what is the role of the Church, of people in the Church, and of public opinion in this process of moving toward real disarmament.

"From that point of view," he said, "we have some advantage, because the ideas on peace of our government and the ideas on peace of the Church coincide. And in our sermons delivered to the public, we also speak about peace. And so the ideas of the government and of the Church concur and are harmoniously linked to each other. There is no difference."

I asked this influential religious leader what message I could take back to the American people from His Holiness, from Echmiadzin, from the Armenian Church, and from the Republic of Armenia.

"I was twice in the United States," he answered, "in 1960 and 1968, in different cities, for about two months each time, and met not only Armenians but also Americans on different occasions. I must testify without doubt to the peace-loving spirit of Americans. I believe that at this moment the American people are the same as then. They are sincere and optimistic, I am sure. And there are many events in American history that show that the American people were striving for peace not only in America but also between peoples. It is very important that the peaceful spirit of the common people of America continue in the direction of the struggle for peace, so that in the end the government of the United States will become again peace-loving and carry out the policy of its people."

During the turbulent centuries of Armenian history, Echmiadzin has served as the central national symbol, the rallying point for the loyalties of all Armenians, Christian and non-Christian. Throughout all invasions, conquests, occupations, and dispersions, it has stood independent of both the Western and Eastern branches of Christianity as it has endured the onslaughts of political and military enemies from all sides. That is why all Armenians come to pay tribute and homage here. In today's nuclear age, Echmiadzin has become another kind of center, a center in an ecumenical

movement for peace, a center reaching out to Armenians in other countries, to other Christians and other faiths, to all peoples, in the search and the struggle for world peace. With its own historic experience as the recurrent victim of war, it is eminently suited for this all-important struggle and task.

4. Roman Catholicism in the Latvian Republic

Not having the time to visit Lithuania, where Roman Catholics in the USSR are concentrated, I went to see the Roman Catholics in Riga in the Latvian Republic to get information and insights into the nature and work of their Church.[1]

Roman Catholicism among the Lithuanians dates from early times. Squeezed between Livonia (Letts, Latvians) in the north and Prussia in the west, the Lithuanians in the middle of the thirteenth century fought their way free and their leader, Mindaugas, was baptized in 1251 in the Roman Catholic faith and two years later crowned king by Pope Innocent IV. This faith continued as the predominant one through the centuries during which various foreign armies, cultures, and religions—Polish, German, Russian, Byelorussian—flowed back and forth across the land. In 1791, just before the partition of Poland and the dissolution of two centuries of Polish-Lithuanian union, the grand duchy of Lithuania, a mixture of Byelorussians, Poles, Lithuanians, Jews, Russians, Latvians, Germans, and Karaims, had 1,500,000 Uniates, 1,470,000 Roman Catholics, 250,000 Orthodox, 140,000 Raskolniki (dissidents from Russian Orthodoxy), 60,000 Protestants, 385,000 Jews, 40,000 Muslims, and 5,000 Karaims (medieval, Jewish, anti-Rabbinic scripturalists).[2] Given such a mixture and such centuries of warfare, it is no wonder that the faith in this region that best survived has acquired a specific vigor and tenacity, operating today more than seven-hundred churches; that the hierarchy of this intensely nationalistic church achieved a special power and authority for its role in the people's resistance to the regimentation of alien cultures and languages; that as the church grew rich in land its leaders became alienated from the real interests of the people; that during the two decades after World War I the Church became extremely reaction-

ary; and that the separation of Church and State in 1940 set the clergy still more at cross-purposes with the people, turning most clergymen into active collaborators with the occupying Nazi forces. Under socialism the Roman Catholic Church in Lithuania continues, as in Poland, to hold on to its strong national and cultural roots; and it remains the only part of Catholicism where the Mass is still said in Latin rather than in the native language.[3]

Besides its historic position in the Republic of Lithuania, the Roman Catholic Church has parishes in nine other of the Union Republics in the USSR, each united in independent curias or departments. In the Republic of Lithuania six centers—dioceses and archdioceses—govern the parishes. In the Republic of Latvia the parishes are ruled by the Archdiocese of Riga. In Transcarpathia the Roman Catholic Church has a Vicariate in Uzhgorod in the Ukrainian Republic. The various curias carry out the affairs of the parishes, such as appointing and replacing priests. The heads of the curias are appointed by the Vatican, visit the parishes, and supervise their activities.

Today the Roman Catholic Church in Lithuania commands a proportionately large following. William M. Mandel estimates that one-half of the 3,500,000 people in the Republic are members of this Church.[4] Further, the overwhelming majority of Roman Catholics in the USSR are to be found in Lithuania. Historically this has been so. The seminary that trains priests for all the Roman Catholic churches in Lithuania is in Kaunas. Founded in the last half of the nineteenth century, it was closed during the Nazi occupation but resumed activity in 1944 after the Soviet army had driven out the invaders. Many priests died in concentration camps and mass executions, but students gradually came and since 1945 some 445 students have been graduated as priests; they comprise about sixty percent of all priests at work in Lithuania today. The rector of the seminary is Reverend Victoras Butkus, who obtained his degree at Lateran University. Nearly all of the professors have studied abroad. The program of training follows the lines laid down by the Second General Council of the Vatican, so it is essentially the same as that in all Catholic seminaries in the world. The Seminary has ties with the four dioceses and two archdioceses in Lithuania as well as permanent relations with the Vatican. As the seminary like all religious institutions in the USSR is supported by voluntary donations of believers, it has resources to provide students with free tuition, room, board, textbooks, and other necessities. Today there are about 720 Roman Catholic priests in

Lithuania and every parish has a priest; but because many priests are ready to retire the Church has needed to train more clergy.[5]

Latvia ranks next to Lithuania in numbers of Roman Catholic believers, with not quite two-hundred working churches, I was informed, and with one-hundred and five priests, some of whom serve three churches. The remainder of the Catholics in the USSR are scattered in sparse numbers in Byelorussia, the Transcarpathian region, Estonia, and elsewhere.[6]

Riga now has eight functioning Roman Catholic churches. A bishop governs the diocese of Riga and a second diocese is under a bishop at Liepaja. The whole of Latvia is overseen by the Cardinal whose seat is in Riga.

I was driven to one of those churches with Nikolai Andreevich Kokorevich, the deputy of the Plenipotentiary Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. This is the body estabished to insure compliance with the laws concerning organized religious faiths and their activities. There are eight confessions in Latvia, he said, the Lutherans having the greatest number of communities while the Roman Catholics have the most individual believers. Other faiths are the Russian Orthodox, Baptists, Old Believers, Adventists, Pentecostals, and Jews. The Methodists and the Moravian Brethren in Latvia have joined the Lutherans.[7]

Mr. Kokorevich, cordial, brisk, and business-like, told me about the work of the Council for Religious Affairs and the cooperation that it has had with the seminary next door to the church we were about to visit, the Church of St. Francis of Assisi. Built in 1892, at some distance from the center of Riga, the church was designed to provide more space for its worshippers than its predecessor in the city, St. Albertus, could accommodate. It is in the Gothic style and its art portrays the life and sufferings of Jesus in the mode of the German *Kummerstunden.* Mary, the Mother of God, is prominently featured here as in other Roman Catholic churches in Riga.

The reason is long-standing. While the Germans in the twelfth century were conquering and colonizing the Livs (Latvians) on the coast of the Gulf of Riga, they were imposing not only German culture but also its particular form of Christianity. In 1199 the Archbishop of Bremen made Albert von Buxhoevden the Bishop of Livonia. In 1200 Albert came and pacified the "treacherous Livs," forced them to build the fortress of Riga, and dedicated Livonia to the Virgin Mary. Thus the territory, both Latvia and Estonia, was for centuries called Marienland by the Germans. In

1202 Albert, obtaining a bull from Pope Innocent II, established the crusading Order of Knights of the Sword. By the end of the century, when the Germans had mastered "the land of the Virgin," the Latvian and Estonian peoples "were now Christians, but they had lost their land and freedom and had become serfs of their conquerors."[8]

The altar of this church pictures St. Francis of Assisi, shown embracing Jesus on the cross, and St. Teresa the Younger, St. Anthony of Padua, Francis' pupil, and St. André Babola who died at Pinsk. The art here is clearly western, not Byzantine; we are a far cry from the Orthodox tradition of Kiev and Moscow. As the art in this church in Riga portrays western saints, so the bishop and cardinal over it look westward and maintain ties, however slender, with the Bishop of Rome and the Patriarch of the West.

At the church and seminary we are received by Reverend Leo Dzenis, who is dean of the seminary as well as a pastor of a church in Bauska. He spoke with enthusiasm of his participation since 1969 in the Berlin Conference of European Catholics. The Conference, devoted to peace, disarmament, justice, security, and cooperation in Europe, has every year since 1964 convoked meetings in different parts of eastern and western Europe. It embraces prominent clergy and laity from virtually all European countries. In friendly relations with the Vatican, the Conference members participate in frequent meetings sponsored by other peace organizations, religious and secular. Dean Dzenis is a member of the International Continuation Committee of the Berlin Conference, and Professor Dr. Victoras Butkus, Rector of the Seminary for Priests in Kaunas, Lithuania is a member of the presidium of this Committee.

Using the historic *Pacem in Terris* of Pope John XXIII as its foundation and inspiration, the Berlin Conference of European Catholics represents Christians of twenty-three nations. The International Continuation Committee meets twice a year, endeavoring through cooperative actions to compel governments to work for peace. Its General Assembly meets every three years, drawing up resolutions and disseminating information to the Roman Catholic world of Europe. It met here in Riga in 1975 at a time when the Helsinki Accords were signed. From its beginning the Berlin Conference has joined in the work of other organizations in the struggle for peace. It has ties with Pax Christi and with PAX, a Polish group.

Dean Dzenis and his colleagues let me know that since 1984 there

has been a Latvian Cardinal, Julians Vaivods, who lives at the St. Jacob's Church in Riga and who will soon be ninety years old. This appointment indicates the Pope's realism, though his antipathy to Marxism and liberation theology is well known. The College of Cardinals now has 152 members, of whom Pope John Paul II has appointed sixty. It was noted that the College includes nine cardinals from European socialist countries: two from the USSR, three from Poland, two from Czechoslovakia, one from Hungary, and one from Yugoslavia. Further, on April 24, 1985 the Pope appointed as Cardinal the Archbishop of Lviv (Lvov) in the Ukraine, Myroslav Ivan Lubachlvsky. Although his appointments are generally conservative, the Pope has brought into the College an unprecedented number of prelates from developing countries. And while the Roman Catholic Church represents a major ideological opponent of Communism in the world, parts of it are a powerful force for peace. The churchmen whom I met in the Soviet Union, of all denominations, expressed pride in their international bonds and their ecumenical work, which is concentrated on the issues vital to peace.

There are two Roman Catholic seminaries in the USSR—one in Kaunas, Lithuania, and the St. Francis seminary here, which serves other Republics. The Kaunas seminary has 150 students. The St. Francis seminary is smaller, enrolling at present fifty-three students; of these, thirty-two will go to serve churches in the Ukraine, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Estonia, Moldavia, and Byelorussia. Professor Vaivods, who teaches Latin and other subjects at the seminary, said there are two full-time professors as well as some part-time instructors. In a six-year curriculum there are twenty-eight required subjects, among them philosophy (seven courses), Church history, theology, dogmatics, morals, church constitution, exegesis, music, pastoral care, homiletics, and languages—German, Polish, Russian, Latvian, and Latin.

Reverend Olgets Daletski is the pastor of the Church of St. Francis of Assisi here and serves as the financial officer of the seminary. He recounted to me how in 1982–1983 the second of the two buildings of the seminary was improved and completed, in no small part through the volunteer labor of the members of the congregation. He himself designed the building, which includes a dining hall and a small chapel for the students, reconstructed from a dormitory and classroom. "It was a satisfying operation," he said. "We were able to obtain all the materials we needed, solving our problems in good cooperation with the State. Many people and

institutions took part, assisting with materials and techniques and participating in planning. Engineers worked in the technical control; and at the end, painters and decorators. It was a hard job for the members of the church, with a little more than a year between the first work on construction and the start of classes the following September. What we could do by ourselves we did. Special work, such as needed for electrical work and fire protection, was done by special enterprises on the order of the church. If materials can be bought from the State, then we can do our work."

I asked if the church needed special permission to obtain the needed materials.

Reverend Daletski replied that every building constructed in the USSR must be approved by the office of the chief architect of the State. And a congregation purchases materials and services from the State as any other organization would.

Mr. Kokorevich of the Council for Religious Affairs elaborated on this relation between the State and the individual church. The Council for Religious Affairs here in Latvia is a member of the All-Union Council for Religious Affairs centered in Moscow. The Soviet constitution states that every person in the USSR can choose any religious belief or can choose none at all. Each person is responsible to the State law. In all documents a person cannot be required to state whether he is a believer or not; all are the same.

Some people in the West, he said, contend that the Council dictates rules to the churches. But this is not so; just ask the Professor or Dean. The Council does not enter into the question of eternal life.

I asked about the separation of Church and State.

Yes, he said, there is a separation of Church and State. Therefore a coordination of Church to State, and State to Church, is needed. The West says that the Council for Religious Affairs watches over the churches. But the Council only determines whether the churches obey the established laws. All the organs of the State must abide by the laws. For example, a church leader may feel he is not justly understood or that his rights are violated. He can then approach the Council for a judgment on his case. For example, one of the buildings of the seminary in the process of construction was in need of a copper plate. But copper is not sold in shops; it is controlled by the State planning committee. So the church asked the Council to help it obtain the plate.

Buildings and land, he continued, are the property of the State, which provides the use of them to the congregation in perpetuity.

An executive committee of twenty adults can organize a church and its activities and are then responsible for maintaining the building and the land. Buildings cannot be appropriated, except by the Council of the Supreme Soviet. A contract is signed for the use of the building. Properties like treasures and paintings are owned by the congregation. Before socialism, it was not possible for the church to manage the affairs of its property. But now these changes make it easier to do repairs for the restoration of church buildings. Thus once a kilowatt of electricity cost twenty-five kopeks; now the cost is four kopeks. No papers are needed for repairs. The Council for Religious Affairs gives assistance in obtaining materials.

I inquired about their publications.

In 1958, replied Professor Daletski, 25,000 prayerbooks were printed for believers, given to them free of charge. The State published the books, and the Roman Catholic Church in the USSR paid the State publishing house for the printing. At the end of this year, 25,000–30,000 prayerbooks are to be published in a new edition. In our reformed system, we are preparing a book for daily prayer.

In addition, six volumes of the Old Testament and New Testament have already been published by Progress Publishers, translated from the Latin into Russian. Every day we use a selection from the Bible. The New Testament is in the Latvian language; it was published in 1964 in 5,000 copies. A professor is working on a translation of the liturgy—portions of the Bible—that is to be published. We have a Polish translation of the Bible already in use in churches, and we get copies of the Bible in German and Italian. We do not print a journal, he said.

5. Evangelical Christians-Baptists

In the USSR today the Evangelical Christians-Baptists are a Union that includes Baptists, Evangelical Christians, Christians of Evangelical Faith, Evangelical Christians in Apostolical Spirit, and Mennonite Brethren.[1] The highest body of the Evangelical Christian Baptist Union (ECB Union) is the All-Union Congress consisting of representatives from all the churches. To carry out the decisions of this Congress and to serve as its central governing board, a Council is elected. This is the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (AUCECB), which in turn elects its own Presidium. This organization of believers is the largest, strongest, and most flexible of the Protestant sects; other sects, like the Old Believers and Molokans, have dwindled to small numbers. Members of this faith are to be found primarily in the western parts of the Russian Republic, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and the Baltic Republics, with a membership of 500,000 or more.[2] Scattered congregations exist in Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, and other Republics. In the Central Asian Republics, where there is a noticeable decline in religious belief among the Muslims, Mandel reports that "only Baptists seem to be building new houses of worship."[3]

The administration of the Church is organized into eleven regions which are overseen by sixty-four superintendents. The work is carried out in twenty-six languages. The Union includes more than 5,000 congregations and groups, and in the 1979–1984 period 268 new congregations were registered and more than two-hundred prayer houses were built, repaired, or rebuilt. Also 40,000 persons were converted to Christ and in addition, 5,600 persons belonging to other congregations outside the Union joined it.

According to the Evangelical Christians-Baptists, their movement originated in three places—the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and

St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). Believers were called "Stundists" in the Ukraine (from the German *Stunde*—hour, the hour of congregating or of Bible study), "Baptists" in the Caucasus, and "Pashkovites" in St. Petersburg (after Pashkov, a retired colonel).

Evangelical Baptists date their beginnings from the moment in 1867 when N. I. Voronin was baptized in the Kura River in Tbilisi. Earlier in the century the Stundo-Baptist movement, arising from German evangelical and reform groups of the eighteenth century, had made its way into the South of Russia and then emerged with Baptist teachings from Bessarabia and the Transcaucasus. In reaction against the ritual, distance, and autocracy of the Russian Orthodox Church, many new spiritual groups sprang up not only in Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Moldavia, but also in Estonia and Latvia. In 1861 the first baptisms through faith were performed by Pastor Adams Gertner in Latvia, and in 1884 the various churches were unified.

So rapid and extensive was the spread of the movement that in 1894 the tsar's government forbade its believers to congregate. But it grew. By 1905, when the tsar was forced to grant religious freedom to all groups, there were more than 20,000,000 sectarians in Russia[4]—Old Believers, Baptists, and others.

The spread of the Evangelical faith was greatly speeded by the fact that at the beginning of the nineteenth century many people had access to the Gospel in their own language. Then in 1876 the publication of the Russian Synodical Bible stimulated religious interest, which persisted in face of imprisonment and exile. In the early 1900s the Baptists began to publish their own journals. The tsar's government then tried to return to its repressive policy, and during World War I banned the Bible School and closed many prayer houses. After the Revolution the Evangelical Brotherhood went through rough times, with their ups and downs.[5]

In 1944 the two movements of the Evangelical Christians and the Baptists formed a Union, and were joined by the Christians of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals) in 1945, the Evangelical Christians of Apostolical Spirit in 1947, and the Mennonite Brethren in 1966.[6]

Originally attracting people who were in reaction against the liturgy and formalism of the Russian Orthodox Church, who longed for an emotional and personal experience akin to that of the early Christians, who wished to have direct contact with the Bible—"the cradle in which Christ is laid," as Luther put it—the Evangelical Baptists have always represented a contrasting ex-

pression of faith to that of the Orthodox. In their sermons and songs they give vent to fervent feeling; and the Scriptures, particularly the Gospel, are central to their faith. Bernard Pares has observed that when the Communists after the Revolution attacked "the terrible corruption" of the Orthodox Church and little remained of it except "the beautiful ritual with its heart-searching music," all Christians were forced to rethink their essentials. "All sorts of frippery that had surrounded religion fell away in tatters of itself." Thus, "it was in fact to plain Bible Christianity that the Church was brought back. That was what gave the Baptists their chance."[7]

The Evangelical Baptists strongly emphasize the publication and study of the Bible. In the period of 1959–1979 they published the Bible twice in "great circulation" and the New Testament once. Baptist theology is thus based on the fundamentals of Holy Scripture inspired by the Holy Spirit, which is the foundation for the propagating and strengthening of the faith. The Bible is the basis for the sermon, which is central to the all-important church service. It is supplemented by the singing of hymns (of which there are 2,000) by both choir and congregation. Bible study is also necessary to carry on the education of the children in the home. "Parents in our country enjoy the right to educate their children in the spirit of the Gospel and to visit worship meetings together with their children. Education of children in the love of God, neighbors and Motherland is a right of believing parents. All the believers of the Evangelical Bapitst brotherhood pay great attention to Bible studies. Knowledge of God's Word is the prerequisite of the saintly and devout life that corresponds to the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ."[8]

In the period of 1979–1984 the Union published these works: 15,000 copies of the Bible—of these, 10,000 copies were sent by United Bible Societies; 40,000 New Testaments; 30,000 hymnbooks; 15,000 hymnbooks with tunes; 2,000 German Bibles; 7,000 German New Testaments; and 7,000 German hymnbooks. For the first time ever the Russian Bible is to be published for the blind in Braille. Calendars are published in Russian, Lettish, and Estonian. In the 1974–1984 period the United Bible Societies provided the Union with about 100,000 copies of religious literature in Russian and German. *Bratskii Vestnik (Fraternal Herald)*, a bimonthly of eighty pages, contains spiritual articles, news about peace activities, ecumenical affairs, and local churches.

There is no seminary in the USSR for the training of Baptist

ministers. Consequently, in the past the Baptist Church in the USSR, like its counterparts in the West, has tended to ordain ministers with little or no specialized education. It has sent and still sends a few men abroad for theological training; in 1985 two were studying in the Geman Democratic Republic and three in Czechoslovakia. Correspondence Bible Courses provide training for aspirants to the ministry, and from 1979 to 1984 some 369 persons studied in these Courses and 214 completed them—164 as pastors and fifty as choir leaders. In the last fifteen year period the courses have trained about 600 local church ministers, among them seventy choir leaders. Yet because of the growth in the number of communicants there is still a "lack of ministers in a number of regions." To remedy this the presidium has suggested that full-time pastors serve two or three congregations, that the Church "promote younger brothers for the ministry as pastors and deacons," and that it "support gifted sisters in their ministry of the word." Women are not ordained as preachers and pastors.

Like their brothers and sisters in the Orthodox faith, the Baptists underline the necessity of unity in all areas and at all levels of their activity. "The unity of believers is one of the most important conditions of building the Kingdom of God on the earth." Baptists oppose the "separation and isolation" that characterized the early Evangelical movement and call for "the spirit of tolerance, politeness, and brotherly attitude toward differently minded Christians." Moreover, they believe that the only way to true unity among the various Christian persons and sects is "living faith in Christ and ardent love of Him."[9]

Unity starts with the local congregation, where members, having accepted Christ in their hearts and having received baptism through faith, are then ready to receive the water baptism, a symbol of one's death and resurrection with Christ. But such initiation into the fellowship cannot be spontaneous. It must be prepared by "faith and knowledge of the fundamental truths of the Gospel." The person must be at least eighteen years old to be taken into the fellowship of the church; infant baptism is excluded. Faith must be maintained and strengthened by participation in the service with its sermon, singing, Scripture reading, prayers, ceremony of baptism, Lord's supper, and fellowship.

One Sabbath I attended the ten o'clock morning service at the Baptist Church in Moscow. This is the largest Baptist church in the USSR; more than one hundred persons join the church every year. More than a thousand worshippers packed themselves into the

seats, aisles, and hall spaces of this old but well kept building. (Congregations meet in special buildings granted by the State or in premises rented from persons or local authorities.) People remained attentive throughout the two-and-one-half hour service—even the many old women in scarves standing in one great mass in the aisles and weeping cathartically during the mournful hymns of the choir and responding with sympathetic cries to the long, rhythmic, hypnotic prayers of the preacher. The mood of the congregation was one of solemn meditation and introspection. Two-thirds or more were women; few were young people, though about one-half of the large choir was under forty years of age. Some of the young men, to judge by their dress, were foreigners; 2,000 foreign tourists visit this church every year. A dozen or more deacons stood at platforms and during the communion service distributed the bread—large, home-baked loaves, broken off piece by piece by each person—and the wine, sipped from high silver goblets and passed from one communicant to another. Clearly this was a meaningful ceremony to all participants.

Reverend Ilia M. Orlov, who is one of several ministers at this large Baptist church in the USSR, greeted me after the service. I reminded him I had been here at the church in the summer of 1970 and had met him again when he was in a peace delegation hosted by the American Friends Service Committee in Connecticut in early 1981. He gave me a photograph of Reverend Billy Graham in the pulpit when Graham preached at this church in 1982.

The Union of Evangelical Christians-Baptists has taken an active role in cooperation with other faiths of the Soviet Union for the purposes of ecumenical concord and world peace. It joined in the conferences for peace with other denominations convened in 1952, 1969, 1977, and 1982. It has had increasingly cordial working relations with these sister religious groups.

Likewise it has been vigorous in collaborating with religious organizations on a global scale, beginning with its membership in the Baptist World Alliance since the latter's formation in 1905. Today it participates in the work of the World Council of Churches, the European Baptist Federation, the Conference of European Churches, the Christian Peace Conference, and the Ecumenical Youth Council in Europe. In recent years it has sponsored three International Seminars-Consultations in Moscow for representatives of Baptist Unions in socialist countries on the theme of Life and Peace, Choose Life, and Confidence-Building: the Road to

Peace and Cooperation in Europe. It maintains fraternal relations with the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA.

For the Union the pursuit of peace among nations is a central theological and political concern. "Constantly praying to God for world peace, taking part in many Assemblies, Conferences, and Congresses where problems of peace are being solved, we consider that thus we are fulfilling the commandment of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ Who said in the Sermon on the Mount: 'Blessed are the peacemakers for they will be called the children of God'."[10] It contributes also to the Fund for Peace and Preservation of Cultural Monuments, which draws on voluntary gifts from individual and organizations and is the major financial source for the powerful peace movement in the USSR. "But our main contribution," it asserts," is our work for peace and incessant prayers for it."[11]

Evangelical Christians-Baptists affirm their loyalty to their Motherland, the USSR. They report their unity with their compatriots in their participation of believers in their country's defense during the Great Patriotic War and their "productive work" to build the country's agriculture and industry before and after the War. Above all, they firmly stand behind the government's consistent and long-term policy of peaceful coexistence and disarmament. "We are glad that our country is in the vanguard of the movement for peaceful coexistence among nations."[12] These words are not empty. Their meaning can be seen embodied in the day-by-day actions of the many believers who are working to bring about peace on earth.

6. Lutheranism

Next to the Baptists, the Lutherans are the largest Protestant denomination in the USSR. There are a number of much smaller Protestant denominations, migrants from the West, in various parts of the country—the Methodists, mainly in the Estonian Republic; the Mennonites in the countryside from the Ukraine to Siberia; the registered (and unregistered, hence illegal) Seventh Day Adventists and Pentecostals; the unregistered Jehovah's Witnesses; and others. In addition to these originally western Protestants, there are many small and older native groups, such as the Old Believers, Dukhobors, Molokans, Subbotniki, Malevantsi, Israilitiane, Skoptsy, and others.

Lutheranism arrived early in Russia. In the mid-sixteenth century, with the shift of Russian contacts away from Rome and the South to the northern Protestant nations, German settlers and Lutheranism began to filter into Russia. As the chief military and hence religious rival of the Catholic Polish power in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Swedes left Lutheran influences in the Baltic region and elsewhere—though these influences were insignificant alongside the economic and commerical ethos that the Russians acquired from the West. More influential than Lutheranism itself was the spirit of skepticism, tolerance, and individual pietism produced by the western Protestant confessions among the Orthodox, coupled with the disruptive dissent of the Old Believers. At the end of the eighteenth century Catherine, a born Lutheran, shared in the tolerance of the Enlightenment toward a variety of faiths. That tolerance was in part a reflex of the great proliferation of religious groups—a growth stimulated by the repression of Orthodoxy and the tsar on the one hand and by German Protestant ideas on the other. (In the nineteenth century Baptist influences quickened the ferment.) Lutheranism as such

never took wide root in the overcrowded religious soil of Russia. To this day it is more or less limited to the Baltic region in the west of the USSR.

The window to the West admitted only this little Protestant light; for one-thousand years Russian religion so far as it existed has been fundamentally Orthodox and secondarily Muslim. Even the Baptists, who came in very late by the back door, number no more than half a million, while the very powerful and long established religion of the West, centered in the Catholic Rome, was turned away by the Russians at various points in history. This historic tension between, the Orthodox East and the religions of the West—overlaid on the conflict of basic economic interests—has no doubt shaped present-day attitudes on both sides, if only to create a certain estrangement. The ideological differences of course have been widened by the twentieth century differences, real and imagined, between communism and capitalism. At the same time Russian Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism share common historical and theological roots, which are in fact the basis for the present growing spirit of ecumenism. And for the same reasons Protestantism in both East and West participates in this.

Let us now turn to Lutheranism in Latvia.

Reverend Eric Mesters is the pastor of the St. Trinity Lutheran Church in Riga in the Latvian Republic and serves on the Consistory, the highest ruling body of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Republic. Altogether, he informed me, there are 300,000 Lutherans in Latvia, with lesser numbers in Estonia and Lithuania, the other Baltic Republics. These Republics have their own independent Consistories, headed respectively by an Archbishop and a chairman-president. There are in addition scattered congregations of German-speaking Lutherans in Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Novosibirsk, and one German church in Riga. The Reformed Church, closely related to the Lutheran, has communities in the Latvian Republic and in the Transcarpathian Region of the Ukrainian Republic.

Reverend Mesters is superintendent of the German-speaking churches and has contact with Lutheran churches in the Federal Republic of Germany. I interviewed him at his office in a building in Riga that houses office rooms, a conference hall, and the study of the Archbishop, Reverend Janis Petrovich Matulis.

He greeted me with an expression of earnest support for our project to disseminate in the USA information about the Christians in the USSR. "It will help our common cause of peace in the world,"

he said, "to prevent the horrors of war that we have survived. I myself was a participant in the Soviet army and I know what it was."

I asked him about contacts and exchanges with Lutherans in the USA.

"Yes, we are having contacts with them so that they can know about our life in Latvia. Every year we publish our calendar, which reflects and chronicles our church life. Through our calendar we have reached the Archbishop of the Lutheran Emigration Church, Reverend Arnold Lusis, and every pastor of that Church."

He explained that the Emigration Church originated with the believers abroad who left Latvia in 1944 at the time of the liberation of the country from the Nazi occupation by the Soviet army. Its headquarters are in Toronto, Canada.

I asked him if they were unfriendly.

"It's difficult to answer this question. There are people who have contacts with us, who come here and become acquainted with our lives. We let them come to church, see our life, and evaluate our sermons. It is our first aim to make them acquainted with our life, our task, our work. But some of them are under the influence of some circles in the USA and other circles who are unfriendly to us. They have other views. Nevertheless we are approaching them and we want to be friendly and to have cooperation between us. We had a very good example of this in Vancouver where the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches was held in 1983. Archbishop Matulis and I were there, and Archbishop Lusis and Reverend Abolinh of the Emigration Church. We had a very good meeting, talking very much. We are doing our best to make our relations friendly and peaceful."

Reverend Mesters spoke of the ties that the Lutheran Church in Latvia maintains to various bodies abroad. In 1984 he attended the General Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Budapest, where he met with representatives of the Emigration Church. (The Federation's new president is Bishop Dr. Zoltan Kaldy of Budapest.) He has met here in Riga Dr. Paul W. Wee of the USA National Committee of the Federation and knows other clergymen in the USA. The European Secretary of the Federation, Dr. S. Dahlgren of Sweden, serves four European churches and is scheduled to be in Riga July 21 of this year to celebrate the tricentennial of the publication of the New Testament in Latvian. Dr. John Wikstrom, Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Turku and Finland, will also come.

When in 1983 we celebrated the 500th anniversary of Martin

Luther's birthday, he said, the pastors of all our Lutheran churches in Latvia and elsewhere assembled in Riga for a conference addressed by Dr. Karl Mau, the General Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva.

In 1982, he recalled, he took part in the historic World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe in Moscow attended by more than 500 delegates from almost one-hundred countries. There Billy Graham delivered an address calling for Christians "to cooperate with all who honestly work for peace in our world."[1] Last year (1984) Graham returned for a twelve-day visit to the USSR and had sermons and meetings in Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk, and Tallinn, Estonia, a center of Lutheranism. Of his first visit he reported that there had been "no restrictions" on his messages "nor at any time has anyone suggested what I should say."[2]

The Lutherans have published their church calendar (yearbook) in 15,000 copies, distributing it through the churches and accepting voluntary contributions. In 1960 they published a version of the New Testament in about 1,500 copies and now have prepared a new translation to be printed in 2,000 copies. (The first Latvian translation of the New Testament appeared in 1685.) The new translation is for use by Baptists in Latvia as well and by believers in the six Latvian churches in Lithuania. (The Bishop there now is Janis Kalvanas.) These six churches date from the time of Tsar Alexander I, when Latvians went to Lithuania to propagate their faith.

The new translation will be printed by a State publishing house which the Church will pay as every other enterprise does. Hymn books have been twice published.

In accordance with the Lutheran tradition, Reverend Mesters said, there are no Latvian translations of the Old Testament. "Some Bibles were published before the war, and they are in Gothic. And young people don't know Gothic. But we urgently need to publish the New Testament in a modern language. And the family has its Bible. Don't think that we don't have the Old Testament. Every family has it—in Gothic. Old people can read it easily. But youth cannot."

For the religious holidays, he continued, we have a tradition of printing special leaflets for Christmas and Easter. On Victory Day, May 9, we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the end of the war in a special ecumenical service. All confessions are represented—Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Baptist, Adventist, Pentecostal, Judaic,

and others. We also print leaflets for funeral ceremonies and for the holiday in September to celebrate the Bible.

I put this question to Reverend Mesters: "It's said by people in the West, in the USA, that there's no freedom for the churches here. What would you say to that?"

"Freedom of believers, freedom of religion, is based on the constitution of our state. There is a special document on the Church and religion in the USSR. It guarantees the freedom to attend churches, to organize religious ceremonies. This is different from the constitution. The constitution is a general law of the State. This law is the concrete application of the constitution. It is a collection of all the regulations and laws on religion from 1917 to the present. In this document are stated the rights and responsibilities of the Church. At present the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR has worked out a new collection of these regulations. The session of the Supreme Soviet has to approve it, and after this it will be published. That's why we have the freedom for every believer to come to the church to pray and to perform religious duties."

To safeguard this, he continued, we have a Lutheran theological seminary here in Riga. More than forty students are there. The students come mainly from Latvia; before, they came from Lithuania. It's at a building of the Church of St. John. There are ten or twelve instructors. The students do not live there but come every month for a session and examinations. This year in January five students graduated and went to serve churches in Latvia. And women are studying there; seven have graduated and now are pastors of churches. The first ordination of a woman took place at the start of the 1970s.

"Is the ministry of women accepted by people in the congregations?" I asked.

"Yes," he replied. "There was a lot of gossip in the beginning, but now it is all right. Because Reform Lutherans do have women ministers, and they are accustomed to them."

We spoke about the 1983 anniversary of Luther's birth and the different appraisals of Luther from the religious and Communist sides. I then asked Reverend Mesters whether there were any dialogues here between believers and Communists.

He replied: "No special ones, but through various organizations we take part in peace conferences and the peace councils. And we are connected with the Latvian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. That's why through this organi-

zation we have contacts. That is our common cause. We have a common task. In accordance with our beliefs, our understanding, we are taking part in different peace activities of the Society. We understand that these friendly relations with the believers of other churches serve to establish contacts. To this end the delegations are doing much."

I commented that he and his group are lucky because they have a society that everyone accepts. "You can unite on the construction of society, on peace. But for us dialogue is important because it's a way of bringing people together to work for peace. People realize that in dialogue Christians and Marxists have common values."

Reverend Mesters then spoke with deep fervor: "In this respect I would like to say some words. There was a Great Patriotic War here from 1941 to 1945. Both believers and non-believers had only one goal, to liberate our Motherland. The believers took part in these hard, strenuous years of the war. And after victory the believers along with other people shared in the reconstruction of the economy, the reconstruction of socialism. That's why there is no difference between believer and non-believer. Because now the first task that we have in the world is to prevent a nuclear war. That is our common task, and both of us are undertaking the fulfillment of this task. It gives us an organic connection with one another.

"We are praying for peace.

"Still more. After the 1982 World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe, Round Table Conferences were held in Moscow. I attended one in February of this year (1985) at which representatives from all countries were present. The question was, What would happen if a nuclear war were to begin? Experts from the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Soviet Union demonstrated what the results of a nuclear conflict would be. They call this 'nuclear winter.' That is why we are taking part in these conferences and other activities for peace." (The meeting referred to was the International Round Table Conference of Religious Leaders and Experts on "New Dangers to the Sacred Gift of Life: Our Task." It was held in Moscow February 11–13, 1985 at the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church and organized by the Working Presidium of the World Conference, Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe.)

I asked Reverend Mesters about his view of the relations between Christians here and Christians in other countries in the struggle for peace—whether these ecumencial relations here in Riga and the

USSR and the world can be helpful for peace. And would he say something about the future of the Church in the world?

He replied that "without any doubt" they could. He said that he himself had been active in three conferences with Japanese Christians, two of them in the USSR. This year their delegation of Christians from the USSR will go to Japan to a peacemaking conference on the invitation of the United Christian Church of Japan. The Japanese in turn will take part in the meeting of the Christian Peace Conference in Prague in July.

"I think that in the future the work of the Church in the world will continue more intensively. Why? Because of the Third World. I have been to Africa and I saw how the Africans prayed and how they lived. That's why I think that in the future the Church will take a more active part in the affairs of all society.

"The danger of war, of armaments, is a very serious problem. Not only I but many others believe that God would not allow what he had built to be destroyed. Several times the world has been on the edge of catastrophe. It was really the will of God that the people understood the danger and responded at once—because it was people and not the locator of the plane that decided. The locator was only a device. But today the great danger is that it is not the human being who regulates these things but the machines themselves. For this reason the participants in our Round Table Conference sent to our Secretary General Konstantin Chernenko and to President Ronald Reagan their appeal that the danger of nuclear destruction must be prevented."

At this point another pastor, Reverend Karlis Gailitis, entered the conversation and said he would like to add something on the last question. "Everyone besides us would like to see a good future, because every human being wants to live. It's natural. Certainly we understand the danger. We are engaged in the struggle for peace as a Church and as a whole society. Yet armaments continue to grow. If there is peace, the Church will have a future. And in the future, despite religion and nationality, the people of the world will come to understand one another like brothers and sisters."

As one of a delegation of Soviet religious workers in several cities in the USA last year, he said they had been received warmly, with goodheartedness and love.

"What about Reagan's Christianity?" I asked him. "He uses Christian language in a crusade against Communism."

"I can't say," he replied, "because I don't know the details. I can

only say that his Christianity does not coincide with the Prince of Peace."

"His ideology is very dangerous," I added, "because he uses Christian concepts to condemn the Soviet Union as evil. He says our country, the USA, is spiritual, we believe in God, we have to prevent the spread of evil."

He answered: "I think that this ideology is in general against the Bible, against Christianity. To destroy the life which was created by God is a great sin. In spite of racial and other differences that God gave to human beings, the sun is shining for everyone. Life is given to all."

I turned to Reverend Mesters again, recalling that he fought in the Soviet army in the Great Patriotic War and asked him if he wished to say something to the American people from that perspective.

"In 1945," he reminisced, "as a soldier in the Soviet army I met with the English army in the city of Grabow in what is now the German Democratic Republic. Thirty-nine kilometers from the Elbe at the city of Gardelegen I met with the representatives of the American army. And I want those friendly relations of the soldiers of the Soviet army with the American soldiers to continue. The main thing is to preserve the joy that we had when the war ended."

I observed that many people have forgotten that time or have wanted to forget it, including President Reagan.

"It cannot be forgotten," he said solemnly. "It is our common history. We had a common enemy, German Fascism, and against it many countries fought."

In order that I might see and feel the sufferings of the people of Latvia under the Nazi occupation, as well as the courageous resistance against it, I was taken to the Salaspils Memorial near Riga. In the midst of the conifer forest, green and peaceful now, lies a broad grassy plot, which at first sight seemed to be a place of tranquility. The birds were singing, a June afternoon sun was shining, and one felt serene in the balmy air under the blue sky. But here, at this very site, from October 1941 to the summer of 1944, stood the central tower and the forty-five barracks of the fascist death camp where more than 100,000 people from many occupied lands were lodged—and where they lost their lives—by insult, terror, torture, hunger, cold, disease, exhaustion, shooting, and hanging. The victims of this butchery included 7,000 children. (At the concentration camp near the Riga-Daugavpils highway another 47,000

prisoners of war were murdered.) Here the camp was enclosed by a double barbed wire fence and watch towers manned by guards day and night. Today, at the threshold of the Memorial, one sees a long high wall of concrete that signifies the final border that separates the living from the dead. On it is written, "Beyond these gates the earth groans."

As one enters into the space beyond the wall, one notices countless wreaths and bunches of flowers laid on the low wall at the left—flowers of mourning, of thought, of troubled concern, laid on this still marble of remembrance. At the same moment of recognition, one discerns in the distance, against the sky, several widely spaced sculptured figures—towering, angular, stern, and stark, raised up in gray concrete from earth toward heaven—as if declaring to both earth and heaven their message of liberation and of warning. They seem the very materialized spirit of resurgent life, a resurrection out of the agony and death.

On the left, in back, there is the figure of the Mother, tenderly protecting her children, calm and dignified in the face of death. She stands near where the children's barracks once stood. Well ahead of her a woman kneels, her lower face covered with her left arm; she is named "Degraded"—but deeper than the name beats the brave heart of Refusal. On the other side, opposite her, a figure face down forces its stiff arm against the earth; it is rising against its falling; it is called "Unbreakable." And in the center of the cluster stand four gigantesque statues in prison dress. One holds a falling comrade; a second lifts high his right fist; a third holds aloft his left fist and arm, joining it to his right arm and fist—they are "Solidarity," "Solemn Oath," and "Red Front." Eloquent testimony to heroism in the horror, to honor that spurns debasement, and to love triumphant over death!

The road on the left leading into the forest represents the real road of Nazi fiendish design along which feeble old people, despondent mothers, little children, and grown men were forced to walk toward execution—The Way of Death. The road that circles the grassy area is The Way of Sufferings—for along this prisoners were driven mercilessly until they fell, undernourished and wasted, to their deaths. On the right, beyond The Way of Sufferings, where once the gallows stood, there is now built a rectilinear pillar on which one reads these words in Latvian: "Here people were put to death because they were not guilty. Here human beings were put to death for being human, each one of them, for loving their Motherland."

Love of our individual and common humanity; love of our homeland, love of our planet; and unwillingness to walk the way of mass suffering and death—this is why all here in this country are so passionately for peace. This is why the people of Latvia—men, women, and children, old and young, Communists and believers alike—are mortally afraid of a nuclear holocaust. This is why all are determined to prevent it and are striving mightily in their struggle toward peace. This is why the Soviet people fervently repeat the words, as if they were a sacred vow: "Nikto ne zabyt, nichto ne zabyto"—"Nobody forgets, nothing is forgotten."

III. Soviet Scientists on Christianity and Religion

7. Editors of *Science and Religion*

Nauka i Religiia (Science and Religion) is the principal popular magazine in the Soviet Union for the propagation of a scientific point of view on the issues of life, particularly those issues raised and answered by religion. It is an illustrated monthly of sixty-four large pages, with several hundred thousand copies of each issue, costing forty kopeks per copy. The June issue of 1985 contains articles on atheistic propaganda ("concrete, creative, effective"), the future of graduates, a "school of joy" (No. 762 in Moscow), prejudices about the handicapped and their education, lethargic sleep ("protective reaction of the organism"), sin and the fall (two articles), Mahomet, historical Smolensk, "Russian Orthodoxy and Russian Culture: Falsehoods and Reality," and Sun Myung Moon in Latin America. Included too are answers to readers' letters and "The Mysterious Stranger" by Mark Twain, honoring the 150th anniversary of his birth. For many years Mark Twain has been immensely popular among Soviet readers.

The newly appointed Editor-in-Chief of this journal is Dr. Vladimir Feodorovich Provatorov. The Assistant Editor-in-Chief is Boris Maksimovich Maryanov.

Q: Mr. Provatorov, can you tell me about your work and your position toward Christianity here in the Soviet Union?

A: I will divide the answer into parts. First, on the work on the journal, Boris Maksimovich will give you information. With respect to the second part—our attitude toward Christianity—probably you have talked with many people here on this problem and certainly our attitude would not differ from theirs; and I can tell you our view. We have a definite attitude toward religion and the Church. Believers make up a great part of our society, working and doing all the things that others do. In this sense we see religious

activities and institutions as a part of our society in process of realizing its aims. That is our general attitude toward all the religious trends and institutions in the Soviet Union. Certainly religion is settled and fixed in the constitution, in the general laws of the society, and in other laws, as well as in Party documents and the recent Plenum of the CPSU. And work has been done in the new edition of the Program of the CPSU and this question will be decided there.

Q: So at this point there is no contradiction between Christianity and socialism where the Christians participate?

A: In this sense there is no contradiction. In political and social affairs, there is no contradiction. (Before the Helsinki meeting [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1975] Patriarch Pimen told the world press that there are no antagonistic contradictions between Church and State in the USSR.) But in the political sense, some contradictions can arise. What are they? First of all, some of the believers break the laws in certain aspects.

Q: What would be an example of that?

A: There are some cases where people make use of religious facilities for the undermining of socialist society and its development. The usual case is a believer connected with a foreign propaganda agency or intelligence agency from abroad. Georgi Vins—maybe you know—was expelled from the Soviet Union for this kind of activity. He was one of the religious leaders of the Baptist Church, living in Kiev, and he is now in the United States.[1]

One of the arguments that gives support to the proposition that there is no contradiction between the State and the religious establishment is that as a rule two parallel processes are going on: the same religious organizations which are in conflict with the Church are at the same time usually in conflict with the State. Vins represented such a group. This process takes place with some regularity in all socialist countries.

Another conflict that can arise between the State and the religious establishment occurs when the activity of the Church injures the rights and freedom of the individual person. Then the society takes the side of the individual and contends against the religious establishment and defends the individual. Sometimes the local administration of government can be the source of conflict, as when it does wrong or its attitudes toward religious people or the religious establishment are not correct. The Council for Religious Affairs should oversee this and it is responsible for such matters and for settling such questions.

Q: On the issue of religious world outlook, where there is a definite contradiction, what is your general position in *Nauka i Religiia?*

A: Since the believers are Soviet people and in principle have the same political position as nonbelievers of the USSR, taking part in all the activities of the society in building Communism, there is only one difference and that is in world outlook. The difference is the difference between the materialistic point of view and the idealistic one. At the basis of their world outlook religious people believe in the supernatural, and this is not accepted by the materialist. That is why our journal appeared. In it we are trying to explain to our readers—to nonbelievers as well as to believers—how the world functions and what are the laws of its functioning relevant to a wide range of questions and problems. Here we make use of the natural sciences, the theory of Darwin—which is very important for us—the materialist understanding of the world's structure, the research on the cosmos during recent years, the sciences that pertain to human beings, questions of psychology, consciousness and superior consciousness—in short, knowledge about the surrounding world and the laws of the functioning of the world.

This journal is one of the most widely read in our society. We publish about half a million copies. The secret of this is that we are writing about the wonders of the world but we explain how they come about. And this understanding comes by means of the materialistic grasp of the world. We address problems like flying saucers, the abominable snowman, telepathy, extrasensory perception, and comets from outer space. The latest wonder that we have been trying to explain is the shroud of Turin [it is said to have covered the body of the dead Christ and to have retained through two thousand years the image of his form.]

Q: Some people at the University told me that some students have become interested in these things.

A: This interest has existed among people for a long time. We acknowledge that science cannot answer with finality all the questions of these phenomena. But we describe these problems and explain the approach of the scientists in the analysis of the phenomena, and we stress that nothing can be supernatural in these things and everything can be discovered. And for all these wonders, we explain, there will eventually be answers and the wonders will be explained from the materialistic point of view.

Although our journal is called *Nauka i Religiia,* its content is not restricted by the meanings of these two words. We provide for our

readers a materialistic understanding and explain the history of humanity, the place of religions in the development of this history, their role in the history of human culture, and the present-day position of religion in various countries. We aim to awaken the interest of our readers in all these questions we are dealing with and to bring to bear on these problems the materialistic, scientific explanation.

Q: Would you say you engage in polemics? How would you describe this approach? It's a positive attempt to bring a scientific approach to these wonders. This is a Marxist-Leninist critique of religion.

A: Not at all. The critique that is a part of the activity of the journal is a continuation of this process. One can say that we are giving the critical explanation of the religious doctrine of the human being, the critique of the moral doctrine of religion and the social doctrines of the Church.

Q: In what sense is this not a critique?

A: You can call it a critique but at the same time it is a positive explanation of the religious understanding of various social and moral phenomena. We understsand the Marxist-Leninist critique in two ways. The positive and constructive critique pertains to ideas (about phenomena) that are not in antagonistic contradiction to Marxism-Leninism. It has as its goal to reform and to overcome the misunderstanding of the phenomena. But there is a critique that is directed to what is anticommunist, i.e., ideas about phenomena that are antagonistic to Marxism. (We have self-criticism in the Party, but it has another goal, i.e., to overcome some mistakes.) In this system of critique concerning religion, we are constructing a system of arguments to help the reader to overcome his or her religious understanding of certain things.

There is one more activity that is very important in the activity of our journal—and in the work of atheists in the Soviet Union—and that is this: the driving force to help the person overcome religious illusions. These illusions are powerful in the life of the individual, for they give him or her the wrong understanding of the world, the wrong program of activity, the wrong aims in life and in the system of values, and so on. For these reasons we want to help the person to conquer these illusions and to be liberated from them. That is one of the points: we think that we are liberating persons, but our enemies think that we are making them poor spiritually. And even in Marx we can find that the overcoming of religion is not the impoverishing but rather the liberating of the human being. And

practical life supports this view. Sometimes our enemies say we are struggling against the believers. But we are not struggling *against* them; we are struggling *for* them, for their spiritual liberation. That is the motive of our work. We are somehow stimulating the very work of the people.

At the same time we would like to stress that in some aspects religion helps us ourselves to discover faults in our own work. Religion is concerned with some unsolved problems in sociology, epistemology, and other philosophical problems. That is why we are enabled to locate these problems and heed them and try to solve these weaknesses in our own point of view. At the same time our relation to religion gives us an approach to practical problems and thus we are discovering some social phenomena that are the reason for the movement of people to religion; and we can regulate our practice accordingly. In one sense it is a paradox that religion can demonstrate something to us. At the present, then, religion illuminates some current and urgent problems in the society.

Q: Do you have letters from readers with questions and arguments from them?

A: Of course. We receive about three thousand letters each year. The journal *The Human Being and the Law* gets about three million letters each year, but that is not unusual. Both it and our journal deal with the problems of everyday life, and most of the people who write to us are writing for solutions.

Q: Are there groups who use this journal as a study guide and basis for discussion?

A: On some materials there are such discussions. We have readers' conferences and I have taken part in dozens of these. Discussion takes place in the journal around the letters too. Our journal founded the club of the readers of the journal, and there are a thousand of these in our country. Many are in libraries, institutes, and schools, and at plants and factories too. At the meetings of these clubs there are discussions of the material printed in the journal.

Q: What kinds of responses do you have from believers?

A: Their responses come through their letters. Sometimes they come here to the office in person and we talk with them—but not very often. I can classify the readers into certain categories. Some are fighters against atheism. As a rule their letters are anonymous, and they use foul words, calling on God to punish us. People in the second category do not agree with us but they make an effort to enter into a constructive dialogue with us. We develop a bond of

friendship with these people, and with some the exchange of letters has gone on for several years. In the third category are believers who are trying to reflect on their ideas and who truly want to listen to the other side and to understand it. Usually these people are grateful for the explanation of certain things about which they have been thinking. The last category includes writers of letters—not too many—who as ex-believers thank the journal. Some of them, having quit the Church, become proponents of atheism.

Q: Do you have exchanges with other journals?

A: With *Világossag* in Hungary, *Ateizt* in Bulgaria, *Ateismus* in Czechoslovakia, *Argumenti* in Poland, and *Czlowiek i Swiatopoglad* in Poland. We have continuous cooperation with these journals and we visit back and forth. We print reviews of these journals, and they print reviews of our journal. We know there is a journal, *Atheist*, in the United States, but we have no contacts with it. There is a journal of atheism in India. The Society of Giordano Bruno in Italy has a journal called *Ragione* and usually it prints our material. In the Federal Republic of Germany we have contacts with *Freidenken*.

Q: May I ask you as Editor-in-Chief why you came to this position? I am interested in your ideas of what the journal should do.

A: I did organizational work before I came here, and during that time I had the chance to think about certain problems. But I was very busy, and now I have the opportunity to carry out my ideas in my practical work. I think that in the journal some lines should be expressed more sharply. The journal is interesting and good but must be improved. I think that we can do more on the problems of the world outlook and on the development of science, on astrophysics, genetics, and so on. These problems as treated in the journal would be directed not only to the reading public but also to natural scientists. Why? Because these problems of world outlook have not yet been explained in science itself—i.e., the problems arising from the epistemological roots of religion, or idealism. These exist under socialism. The work about which Lenin told us in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* is still going on. That is the line that is not developed and that I would stress. This journal does well with the general reader. But this new material would be devoted to a group of the intelligentsia who need it. When we had a meeting with Academician Batov he told us it would be interesting to have this material in the journal because even academicians would like to think about such problems. I have been surprised and shocked to learn that some academicians are believers in spite of the fact that they are leaders in socialist society. They ought to think

seriously about this problem. Even if there are only a few of such cases, there is a problem and it should be recognized.

The second problem for the journal is cooperation and communication in all the areas of the issue you raised, namely, religion and socialism. It is not very critical for us. But the problem of our Polish friends and some others have forced us to look at this issue more carefully.

There is another thing I would like to include in my new work. We are contemplating making the journal more popular but at the same time not sacrificing its theoretical quality.

Q: I think now, with Reagan's policy against detente and for confrontation, it's important to step up our exchanges and meetings for cooperation and peace.

A: We have a certain problem when we speak about the peacemaking of the Church in socialist countries. I can tell you as a friend that our united actions with the Church certainly help in the struggle for peace. That's why we are engaged in this action and succeeding. But at the same time some people put obstacles in our ideological path. They are relying on the authority of the Church. But surely they understand that life will take its own course. They understand that the main thing is peace. And if peace is established, we will not make any concessions in the ideological sphere, in our world outlook. Ideology is very important, but in political and practical activity we are united.

8. Philosophers and Other Marxist Scholars

I

Professor Mikhail Petrovich Novikov is head of the Chair of Theory and History of Scientific Atheism at Moscow State University. He is the author of *Tupiki pravoslavnogo modernizma* (*Impasses of Orthodox Modernism*, 1979) and other works.

Q: Let us begin with your views on the role of religious persons and institutions in your society and in the work for peace.

A: Practically all the religious organizations in the Soviet Union actively participate in the peace movement of our country. All consider the main enemy of humankind to be war. The Russian Orthodox Church has taken many initiatives to call various international conferences on peace. In them many representatives from Christian organizations throughout the world have participated. An example is the World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe, in May 1982. I remember this conference very well because Billy Graham, a very famous and prominent preacher in the USA, participated in it. He also visited Russian Orthodox churches, synagogues, Baptist Church houses, and Muslim mosques, going to different places and talking with people. He got a quite adequate impression about religion in the Soviet Union.

Pimen, the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, presented the major report at this conference, and practically all the participants supported the major points of his report. The first point of the report is that we must prevent war before it starts; then we must ban the weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear bombs. We must appeal to the governments of all countries to take practical measures to prevent war and to reduce arms. The members of the conference asked Patriarch Pimen to present this appeal to the United Nations, and he did.

This position of our religious organizations in our country—and we have forty-six different organizations—is an expression of the views of believers who belong to these organizations. And it is not only the opinion of the believers in the Soviet Union. It is the view of most people here—the defense of peace—and the view of the mass media, because in our country only mad people would support war.

You will find a lot of materials on peace in Russian in religious literature, especially periodicals. As for secular outlets, such materials are published in *New Times, Soviet Union, Science and Religion, Man and the World* (in Ukrainian), and elsewhere. Our periodicals publish a lot of information about religious activity for peace.

As I understand it, the Russian Orthodox Church actively participates in the Peace Fund of the Soviet Union. As is its right, the Church contributes money to it.

Q: I have read somewhere that it sometimes contributes one million rubles to it.

A: We have no such data. But for our rich conditions, a million rubles is not big money. These contributions are voluntary only. Many people contribute to the Peace Fund. We not only talk about peace but we do something.

Q: During my interview with you some years ago you discussed the relation between Marxism-Leninism and religion, on which you had done much research. Would you make some comments on this relation, particularly with regard to the peace question?

A: We have no such problem concerning the relation between believers and nonbelievers. In my own view and belief, I think that certain propagandistic efforts have tried to find contradictions between the two. I think they have false targets. If you could stay here longer and observe everyday life, no one will ask you whether you are a believer or not. We do not even keep in mind such questions. Only when we study religious literature do we become concerned about the problem of religious consciousness. The problem of relations between believers and nonbelievers was solved a long time ago. More than seventy years ago Lenin formulated the principles governing such relations in his works, *Socialism and Religion, The Attitude of the Workers' Party Toward Religion, The Attitude of Classes and Parties Toward Religion*, and *On the Significance of Militant Materialism*.

There is another question. Why is there atheistic propaganda? Why do we create it? We consider the atheistic world view an integral component of the scientific world view. So we can ask why we must *not* propagandize a system of scientific understanding of

the world. But if we understand atheism in a deformed way, if we understand atheistic ideology as having nothing to do with reality, then this kind of question can arise.

Usually the situation is this: some people construct the wrong image of atheism in the Soviet Union, and thereafter they fight against this wrong image, ascribing to us something we have nothing to do with. It is very common for logical men to distort the facts, to invent a false notion or put into a certain notion the wrong contents, and then to criticize it.

Q: So atheism, you say, is a component of the scientific world view. And religion in unscientific. So we have a conflict.

A: But the idea that atheism has nothing to do with science is shared by a lot of religious people. Most believers consider atheism as something unscientific—even opposite to science.

Q: In your struggle for the atheistic, scientific point of view could you say something about the conflict between the scientific point of view and the religious, nonscientific point of view? There is a difference in ideology, in world view.

A: But actually there is not any conflict if we have scientifically grounded atheistic propaganda. We do not have any conflict between the religious world view and the scientific, atheistic world view during the process of propaganda.

Q: Maybe religious people would accept science in education, medicine, economy, and questions of peace. But in matters of the meaning of life things are different.

A: Of course. You are right. But in such a case we have to consider the essence of life. What kind of conception or theory does Christianity offer us? Religion took and assimilated a system of values that was predominant and prevailing for a certain historical period of time. If we read the Bible, sacrifice and joy in death are seen as good. But then we must explain how these views were grounded and how they arose. Thus those people in ancient Rome, let us say, constructed the initial basis for Christianity, and death was better than life. A French scholar, a specialist in the history of Christianity—by the way, he was shot and killed by the Nazis—said: "Christ won because Spartacus lost." In other words, if we would like to understand something, we must pose the question historically to find how it evolved, what kind of period it existed in, what it is now.

Personally I consider the Christian conception of life to be one that is not humanistic. Why? Because the Christians consider this the only life that we have, a preparation for the eternal life. But if you do not believe in the eternal life, this life is the only life we

have. This religious concept is not humanistic because it denies the people who do not believe in eternal life. I cannot understand the contradictory nature of the religious concept because people accept as normal a religious system of values. But even as a minimum in their practical life, people hold certain scientific views. This is one of the difficulties for the people in the USA when you need to make Darwin's teaching compatible with Christianity. This is a social conflict.

Q: How do you explain this contradiction here? In a socialist society, how do you explain this persistence of religion, of a non-scientific way of life, for almost sixty-eight years? I don't know whether you call it a contradiction.

A: We have causes for the existence of religion in the Soviet Union. There are social reasons, such as a measure of involvement of certain people in certain kinds of social relations. Let's take the problem of pensions or retired people. Here there are epistemological reasons. When science cannot give us answers to their questions, then such people go not only to the scholars but to the occultists. Now especially we have claims of spiritualistic phenomena like extrasensory perception and seances.

Then there are psychological reasons—the influence of the family on the children. Family education is autonomous. The private right of the family is constitutional, so that nobody can interfere in this process except where the education has social consequences. One more thing—a lot of people who light candles in the church do not believe either in God or in the Devil.

Q: But why do they do that?

A: Fashion. Just to be extravagant or to look like everybody else. Sometimes young girls wear something not beautiful just for the sake of the popular mode. They harm themselves but they do it just the same. Some people lose their health at the beach in order to be dark. It's fashionable. This is a special type of person. We do not discuss this problem.

Q: An American scientist told me that it is a question in his mind whether these contradictions are remnants of the past or whether they are an inherent part of socialism. What is your view on this?

A: Religion is a self-contradiction from the past. Otherwise it would not exist under socialism. It existed for fifteen thousand years before socialism. It is in our heritage—which of course includes not only religion. Ours is a very rich heritage, especially in spiritual aspects. It's very hard to reject one's heritage. And at the same time there is a heritage that no one wants to accept.

For some people the notion of "communism" has been trans-

formed into a certain label that is dangerous. Even for me, a professor, this is hard to understand. We invite a delegation here, they come, they are critical people, even anti-Soviet. We talk with them, but they do not seriously consider what we say. For example, we received some women from the United States, from the National Council of Churches. We had some talks. I said, "I am a communist, an atheist. Look at me. I'm a peaceful person, and I have no expansionist ideas."

I want to say something more. I am a veteran of World War II, and it's usually hard for me to understand how it's possible to kill children, women, old people. We couldn't believe that Germans could do that—a country of Goethe, Bach, Beethoven, Hegel, Herbart, Marx.

Q: In my previous interview with you, you spoke of returning from the war to a devastated home and town.

A: Yes, that was so. It was terrible. To understand it, you should see it. Everything was destroyed—Stalingrad, Voronezh, Skol, Kharkov—that was the time. How wonderful it was that the American people and the Soviet people had one common enemy—fascism; and we defeated the enemy by our common efforts. What that meant could be better understood by people who struggled against fascism in World War II both in the United States and the Soviet Union. It would be wonderful if both the Soviet Union and the United States could defeat such a common enemy now.

Q: While communists, religious people, and all the people in the USSR agreed on the fight against fascism, we in the USA need to create a similar agreement in our country.

A: What is the problem? Why can't you find the common points of agreement on peace issues in the United States?

Q: I think people do not have enough information and practice. People in general are for peace. And the public opinion polls show that about three out of four people want disarmament, negotiation with the Soviet Union, removal of nuclear weapons, a freeze on the production, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons, and so on. But they do not understand what Reagan is doing and what the Soviet Union is doing and what it represents. So there is still a great fear of communism and ignorance about it. The media, the press and television, perpetuate the stereotypes about the Soviet Union.

Let me ask you: If you could speak to all the religious people in the United States, what message would you give them that's most important?

A: Believers in the Soviet Union believe in the same God as

believers in the United States. Nobody can interfere in their affairs, in their beliefs. Article 52 of the Soviet constitution guarantees to everyone freedom of conscience—that is, the right to be a believer or to be an atheist. Any interference, any abusing of the rights of believers, is a violation of law, punishable by law. We respect religious people and their views. Nobody regards believers as second-class people. They have the same rights as others. We have no special registration under the question, "Are you a believer or not?" We deal with the problem of religion, but we do not know how many believers we have in the Soviet Union. Nobody knows. Talk that believers in the Soviet Union are discriminated against is not true, as well as charges that believers have problems because they are believers and that authorities put them in psychiatric clinics. All such talk is just meaningless repetition, propagandistic invention, and nonsense. You know, some criminals when they are arrested declare themselves to be believers and then certain radio stations in the West start up a campaign in behalf of these people.

We are well aware of the peace movement in the United States. We know that a number of religious organizations, including the Roman Catholic Bishops, participate in an active movement for peace. Most believers and atheists in the Soviet Union support and share this attitude for peace. Because for everybody in the Soviet Union there is no more important problem than the defense and preservation of peace. If war were to break out, we would not talk about problems of believers and problems of atheism. Catastrophe we must prevent. We must discuss not only the problems of peace but the struggle for peace. We can only welcome the activity of many religious people and organizations throughout the world who are protesting against atomic explosives.

Q: People in the United States, religious people, ask about the future of religion in communist countries, especially in the Soviet Union. How do you see the future of religion here and in the developing socialist society?

A: As Marx said to the correspondent of an American newspaper, the Chicago *Tribune*, religion will disappear step by step to the degree that socialism is developed.[1] I don't want to make any concrete prediction because I am sure that sooner or later humankind by its own will will reject religion as a form of consciousness. I believe that the religious understanding of the world has no prospects, no future. But that does not mean, it cannot mean, that religion will be eliminated. The process of the withering away of religion will not occur through artificial pressure of certain social

forces. Religion will go away only when we will have no reasons or grounds for its creations and its existence. It is as such, we think, a phenomenon like politics and law. Until the time when we will not have the conditions of such social consciousness, like legal and political consciousness, until these conditions pass away from the scene of history, religion will continue to exist; it will exist as long as there is imperialism.

Q: Some people say Marxism is fine, but if I have troubles, if I have a death in my family or if I feel lonely, I wouldn't go to a scientist; I'd go to a priest for sympathy and consolation, for support, for personal counselling. Under socialism can you provide an answer, an alternative, to such crises?

A: Your question, especially its first part, reflects only one side of the problem. Historical experience tells us why some people go to the priest and other people go to the restaurant. They look for consolation in different places. The man who needs illusory compensation for certain values can look for different ways to get values. In *The Brothers Karamazov* one of them goes to the monastery, another goes to the restaurant. It's a historical truth. People need to have certain compensation. But if they do not find it, they go to religion.

What can socialism provide for personalities in such cases? I think first of all that socialism gives confidence in tomorrow, in the future. We had here recently a French professor. We went to the restaurant and were drinking champagne. He's a rich man, a very nice person. Very honest, in spite of his idealistic, bourgeois views. At our parting I said, "Serge, why are you so gloomy?" And he replied, "Where will you work in September?" I answered, "Why are you asking?"

He then said, "You will work in the same place. But I have a more complicated situation. If I have signed a contract, I will work. If not, then I will lose my job. I don't know where I will be—in Bordeaux or Marseilles. Moreover, I am a specialist in Soviet philosophy. I don't know whether I will have an audience for lectures." So confidence is very important.

Q: Socialism provides the material basis for life, for confidence.

A: Not only material. Actually we do not think much about material goods in the Soviet Union. But it is a complicated problem, not simple. You know, it is a moral problem in the workplace, in the moral and psychological climate, in the collective where you work. Everyone has very stressful moments in his life. We lose people; people die. The relations within the collective system can offset

these critical times. Among believers, if someone experiences such a moment of crisis, the members of the community rally around him. They help him; they give him support. Usually in such cases people do not speak about religion. It is good collective work. It is easy to overcome this moment of crisis.

The last point is not religion but the problem of people, of human relations. One can be a believer, but he or she may not have a soul that experiences real suffering for people. And people can be unbelievers but can be very moral, very honest persons. The relations between people depend not on religion but first of all on human causes.

I will consult with my nearest friends before I will go to the priest. I will listen to them first of all. We share our views, we discuss our problems and our difficulties. Who has no difficulties? Every person has them. There's no life without difficulties. But difficulties can be different. People will die. This is the peculiar feature of all of life. Some people do not pay attention to that. Others will have joy because they will inherit something. The problem is human relations. Who will be a person for another person? It depends on whether I consider another as a person or as just an object. As persons we go to the priest as a *human* being and not as a special person. Personally [considering the priest as a person and his relations to us as persons] we sometimes know we should go to the bad priest but not to another, especially if we know this second priest is not very good in his moral qualities. Maybe you do not have such priests, but we have.

Q: Thank you very much.

A: We have talked very openly. I don't know how fully I have satisfied your interests, but please understand that I told you all that I know and my way of understanding the problems you raised. All these problems are not only pure philosophical or scientific problems. As such they do not deal with personality or new times. Probably we discussed yesterday's problems. It is my great wish that you in the United States will understand us better and will not judge us on the basis of wrong information.

II

Professor Evgenii Georgievich Yakovlev, who lectures in the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University, is the author of *Iskusstvo i mirovye religii* (*Art and World Religions,* 1977) and other works.

Q: I am here to gather information about the place of Christianity in your society.

A: I can speak about the sphere of culture. There will be a celebration in 1988—a thousand years from the date when Christianity was introduced into Russia. In connection with this date we are discussing the ideological aspects of this problem. There are two views—that religion is not a part of the culture, and that it is. I believe that religion is an element of the culture, because it is and it was a form for expressing feelings of linkage not only between the masses of people and Christ but also between people themselves.

So these theoretical problems have become a practical problem. At the session of the CPSU held in June 1983 it was noted that many in the USSR are under religion. What are the reasons for such a state? First of all, it is related to the problem of realization of the national-historical values of the people. Some young people are interested in church art, in processes going on inside the church. And sometimes this interest is connected with the wish to know the culture, sometimes not. Second, to my mind, is the loyal behavior of the Church. Nowadays our Orthodox Church is a very active fighter for peace. It supports all political, social, and economic processes of our society.

Q: Do you mean that because the Church is loyal to socialist reality people are attracted to the Church?

A: Not only that. There are other reasons. Maybe one reason is the threat of nuclear war. Maybe there are certain difficulties that our society has.

Q: Is the interest in the Church increasing, decreasing, or remaining the same?

A: It's difficult to say the Church is progressing. It has been modernized by these problems—in its ceremonies, in its performance of the mass, in its ideology. It tries to take account of the level of knowledge of people today. Of course the Orthodox Church is not as modernized as the Catholic Church. It has a very traditional system.

Concerning the problems of culture in connection with this situation—the Church has declared that the culture was founded by the Church, and that is why its influence on the people is increasing.

The second problem is ethical. There are some negative processes in our society in the ethical sphere. The Church has asserted that the human being is a spiritual being. So spirituality is understood in an illusory way, not materialistically. But this assertion has had influence on some people. This idea that the moral is a spiritual process strengthens the position of the Church. So the Church

is fighting against materialism and pragmatism, against people's pursuit of clothes, money, and the like.

Q: On the matter of spirituality, do you engage in direct polemics with the Church on this question?

A: No. There is a magazine, *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate,* where there are discussions among priests on this problem, on art, culture, and morality. We have an opportunity to look through the magazine. And in our articles, for example, in *Voprosy filosofii, Filosofskie nauki,* and *Nauka i religiia,* we state our opinions, and there is a discussion; but it is not a direct discussion with believers.

Q: Can you explain why? There was a period in the early days after the Revolution when there was a militant attack on religious ideas. And now, are the tactics different?

A: This line was connected with the first stages of the Revolution in our society, with the fact that the Church was anti-revolutionary. And now it is loyal.

Q: You are an authority on questions of art and esthetics. Historically much art and religion have been closely connected. How do you deal with this question, theoretically and practically?

A: The essence of this connection between art and religion is this. Historically there was a very adverse relation between the two. What makes the Church is not only the role of the ceremony but the work of art; and there are contradictions, both esthetic and religious.

As for practical comments—we preserve religious architecture because it makes various use of the arts. The arts may have lost their religious function, but they keep their esthetic one.

Q: How would you define religion in general? How do you conceive of it?

A: My definition of religion is in accordance with the definition given by Friedrich Engels: religion is the domination of humankind by external, alien forces of society and nature. For example, a person who does not understand our roots in nature believes that these forces are in fact dominant. If people can understand the reasons for social domination, they will eliminate religious beliefs.

Q: What does it mean in your view that religion will decline as human beings have more power over nature?

A: There will be some unknown things, but that absence of knowledge will not occur in religious matters. We will never know everything. But our unknown will be of another kind.

Q: How do you explain the activity of religious people in the peace movement?

A: I think the reason for this process is connected with the

position that emerges when there is a struggle to solve common human problems, a struggle for what is right. The value of human life is important for people whether they are religious or not; it is common to all people.

Q: Many good Christian people ask whether communism and religion can exist together on the same earth.

A: These questions are put in Lenin's works, in *Socialism and Religion* and elsewhere. Answers have been given. Religion is a concrete, historical fact. As far as the Revolution of 1905 is concerned, there were a lot of religious people and nonreligious Communists engaged in it. In the Communist Party of Italy there are some Communists who are religious. Communism and religion are in a dialectical relation to one another. In our Party in the USSR there is no coexistence between religion and members of the Communist Party. So historically that relation has been established. In other conditions maybe there is another way for the resolution of this problem. Historically a period might come when socialism and religion will coexist; and the disappearance of religion will take place not as a result of state power but consciously, and as Marx said religion will fall asleep.

Q: Would you say religion is limited in socialist society here, limited by law, by the State, but it's not oppressed?

A: We can say that every State has its own relations with religion. We want to preserve a scientific view of the world and we can't allow the Church into education in the schools. But we allow people to have freedom in their beliefs. The goal of our State is to raise a generation that possesses scientific understanding.

Q: Some religious people say that science is only *one* way to view the world.

A: We must change their minds, but it is difficult. For some that is impossible. And there is no need to change their minds. We must educate a new generation. There are some people in our country who think that science is one way to know and religion is another. And if it is a very old man, we can't change him. We must take a dialectical position, a flexible one, but principled.

III

Professor Aleksandr Mitrofanovich Kovalev is Chairman of the Department of the Theory of Scientific Communism in the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University. He is the author of *Obshchestvo i zakony ego razvitiia (Society and the Laws of Its Develop-*

ment, 1975), and other studies. I met with him and some of his departmental colleagues.

Q: Let me ask first about your general view, the Communist view, of religion.

A: First, your formulation of the question embraces most of the general problems of society. In general, the attitude of Marxism-Leninism to religion comes out of a sociological approach. What is the cause of the appearance of religion and the attitudes of Marxism-Leninism to it? That is the first problem.

The second problem concerns the process of revolutionary struggle going on in developing and capitalist countries. What are the tactics toward religion from a Communist point of view? What is the sociological approach to these questions?

The third problem is the problem of religion in the condition of real socialism. What is happening to religion under socialism? How is its influence decreasing under working class power? Why is it decreasing? If it exists, what are the causes of its existence? What are the ways of overcoming it?

Fourth, the fate of religion in future Communist society—what are the perspectives of religion in our society?

Which of these four groups of problems would you like to discuss most?

Q: Our people want to know about Christianity here. Some think there is no religion here, no freedom. They think that religion is oppressed, that religious people are not engaged in the peace movement, that they are opposed to socialism. We need to know about religion in the condition of socialism here, what is happening, whether the influence of religion is decreasing, why, and something about the future of religion.

A: It is well known that in old Russia there were very strong religious feelings. If we look now at the current generation or the previous one, we can see that the influence and development of religion among the people after the Revolution, especially after the industrialization and agriculturalization before the war, considerably decreased. There were some mistakes made by the administration—there were instances of the destruction of the churches, the dismantling of bells from the churches, and so on. But this was not the cause of the decline of religion. There was a deep objective and subjective order in the changes taking place. Among the objective causes I would say the Revolution gave rise to a great creativity of millions of people. In my opinion, before, in the inactivity of their oppression and the inability to solve their problems on earth, they

looked to the sky, just believing. Then socialism opened up a new creativity for the masses. The people began to build big industrial centers. They began to look not to the sky but to the earth. This is one of the main causes that must be considered.

In the short period in which we rose from underdevelopment to a big industrial and developed country, the people began to live better. This was a fast process. The world view and the attitude of the people toward religion changed. In their unrest the people saw that their problems could be solved on the earth and not in the sky. The education of the masses and the process of cultural revolution also influenced this process, and atheistic propaganda too was created. And if this atheistic propaganda had had no objective foundation it would not have succeeded. There was another time in Russia when objective conditions were different and such propaganda failed.

The question is why religious belief still exists. Sometimes in different periods and in different traditions it can increase. What are the causes of this process?

There are internal and external—national and international—causes. Take the external. One of our newspapers published a letter from an American school teacher who wrote that he was shocked by this fact: he asked his pupils what would happen to them when they become adults; and all of them wrote they would be burned at the end of a nuclear catastrophe and there would be no future at all. This letter was addressed to some of our organizations, and he asked them to explain why it is so. Then our authorities organized a similar questionnaire for our pupils and some pupils in socialist countries and did not say anything to them about this letter of the American teacher. All the pupils wrote about the changes, the new scientific techniques, and their own lives, and they were all optimistic.

There is a question that is connected with an understanding of the process of religion in socialist countries. People find out that there is a danger of nuclear catastrophe, and surely this affects some parts of the population. And while in our society youth has such an optimistic view of the future, an opposite tendency has emerged. Probably we should find out the general causes for this. Maybe some mistake in our ideological work, maybe some shortcomings in our atheistic propaganda, some difficulties in our social life, some psychological problems.

During the Great Patriotic War one soldier was taken prisoner in a concentration camp. There he became one of 234 prisoners, selected by specialists. The prisoners were fed crushed glass for a

period of time. But this man was distinguished by his strong belief in the future and his deep desire to return to his homeland and to tell to the people everything the fascists did. Of the 234, all died except this one. His conviction enabled him to live. So the problem of how to act in the face of great danger is connected with the will of the people to survive and to overcome the danger.

The more the laws of socialism are being developed and the stronger they are, the less becomes the objective base for religion. Probably some shortcomings, some faults, contributed to the existence of religion in society. The stronger is socialism, the less the influence of religion. Certainly social consciousness is relatively independent of social being, and our development in social achievements may not directly influence consciousness.

It's a very important fact that twenty million of our people died in the last war and this influenced religion. That's why there is this horror of war and this sorrow of the people over those who died.

The forms and conditions of struggle when the working class is under the condition of socialism are different from those under capitalism. The forms of progress are different. If you take the socialist state, the struggle for peace by a member of that state means that he will do his job at his workplace and will work better.

Q: Do you discuss religious education? In the United States we have freedom to have religious education, so there are many religious schools.

A: I talked to one student from the Academy of the Russian Orthodox Church at Zagorsk and he told me that he is getting a monthly salary of 150 rubles; whereas the students here at Moscow State University get only forty-five rubles.

What does "freedom of religious education" mean? If we consider all these babies and children, they don't understand religion. That's why we have seminaries; when people become adults they can decide what they can do or not do. That's why if we were to have religious schools that would not be freedom. It is the freedom for adults to give their children compulsory religious education; this does not mean freedom. That's why it is difficult to say whether there is freedom or unfreedom for the child who is given compulsory religious education.

Q: Would it be possible for a mother to have children from other homes to come to her home to teach them religion? Is that legal?

A: It is certainly a fact. In the Orthodox Church it is usually not done. In the Baptist Church children are brought into the home for teaching. This is not illegal.

Q: What are your ideas on Reagan's religion? He uses religion as

an ideology to defend his militaristic position, saying the Soviet Union is "evil."

A: This is bad political propaganda from the right wing.

Q: But it's a crusade. For progressives in America it's a problem because he appeals to religious people. Sixty percent of Americans are officially Christians. So he tries to use Christian ideology to defend his crusade. So it's important for us to expose this.

A: He is trying to do this not only to Americans but to Christians of other countries. He is trying to equate socialism and evil for Christians so they will understand socialism and atheism through the category of evil; and for Christian people that is very dangerous. We do not mix the religious categories and the political ones.

The fact that we have an atheistic country does not mean that this is the result of some force. We understand that atheism is the very will of the people with the changed social conditions. Let's say sixty percent of the Americans are Christians. Reagan is not logical, because he is a defender of pluralism and at the same time he wants everybody on earth to be religious. Our people have sovereignty over their own affairs and that must not be forgotten; we have the right to believe or not to believe. It's up to our people to decide. You should go to our churches to see for yourself.

My grandfather was a leader in the Church before the Revolution in Mogilov in Byelorussia. My parents were peasants and worked on collective farms. Nobody led them away from religion. But they were indifferent to religion. They were ordinary peasants, and they died without any church influence. Some people like Reagan are trying to force religion on others. There are priests who will do anything, and the result is a quarrel, an ideological tension with the will of the people.

Q: People in the United States say, "Maybe the Soviet people are for peace, but the government is not." What is the best answer to this?

A: Let me begin from the opposite side. Why do they put this question? They believe that the Soviet people are forced to live in socialism by the government. But let's put the question in this way. In February 1917 the bourgeois revolution took place in Russia. People say that it was the real democratic revolution, but that the October Revolution, organized by Lenin, was a coup. But after that the Civil War began. The question was decided not by voting but by the active participation of arms against arms. The forces were not equal—the people on the one side against the counter-revolutionaries.

I don't remember those times of the Civil War, but I do remember the times of the Great Patriotic War. I participated in it. Even in the most arduous period of this War our belief in our victory did not forsake us. And we did not believe that some order other than socialism could come to our country. After the War we believed that there should be only socialism. That is why this belief and will of the people was tested not by words but by war, by deeds, by trouble, by blood, by everything.

Let's look at the current problem. What are the arguments? Why do they say that our government doesn't want peace? What do the reactionaries say about our government? What do they want?

Q: Reagan says and has said since the 1950s that the Soviet Union is preparing a nuclear war against the United States and that the United States must prepare to become superior, to strike first, to win a nuclear war.[2]

A: When World War I started, we were not there. We were not a socialist country. There were no Bolsheviks in power. But the War began. And World War II began without the participation of the USSR. War is not caused by socialism. The capitalist system itself creates the cause for war.

No government can unleash a war without the moral preparation of the people. Such preparation is not here, but the preparation is taking place in the United States. One of the main tenets of Marxism is that peace works for socialism. War is dangerous to it.

The Communist Party is not something external to people but it is a part of the people. The people support it because the best part of the people come into the Party. The Party carries out the will of the people.

Q: The Soviet people have always liked the American people, but now that they (not all) have elected Reagan I don't know how long this friendliness can last.

A: We understand that Reagan is not the people. Because of your system of voting, you are divided. But there won't be an end to our friendliness. During the War there was a great sympathy among us for the people of Great Britain and for the Americans. And even to the German people in 1942 we said that Hitler can come and can go but the German people will remain. There is a difference in our attitudes regarding the political leader of the nation and the nation as the people themselves. Now we have the German Democratic Republic. Of course the presence of Reagan is an influence on the attitude of the Soviet people toward America. Nevertheless, our attitude depends mainly on the feelings of the American people and how they will decide their way of life in the

future. We have a lot of sympathy toward the American people, you know.

IV

Professor D. M. Ugrinovich is a member of the Department of Scientific Atheism in the Faculty of Philosophy at Moscow State University. He is the author of *Filosofskie problemy kritiki religii* (*Philosophical Problems of the Critique of Religion*, 1965) and *Vvedenie v teoreticheskoe religiovedenie* (*Introduction to the Theoretical Science of Religion*, 1973, 1985). He has done research in the United States.

Q: Could you tell me the main objectives of your research on scientific atheism?

A: The problems are complex and we have many problems of atheism. If you want to know which problems are the main ones of our work that we teach here, that is one question. If you want to know the problems of scientific research, they are very many, as in every science.

Q: I want to know how your research relates to the social problems, particularly the existence of religion, religious ideology, and religious practice.

A: A very important part of our course of scientific atheism is the science of religion, or in Russian *religiovedenie*. This is the main object of my investigation. I have a book, *Introduction to the Theoretical Science of Religion;* the second edition will come out in June of this year.

Q: That was the first book here on that subject?

A: Yes. This book has three parts: (1) philosophical problems of the scientific, Marxist investigation of religion; (2) sociology of religion; and (3) psychology of religion. Then we have of course history of religion, a special part of science of religion. I do not deal with it. We have other authors such as Professor S. A. Tokarev who has a popular book, *Religion and History of Peoples of the World.* Krivilov wrote a two-volume *History of World Religions* dealing with Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. My field of investigation is the theoretical problems of the science of religion—philosophical, sociological, and psychological. For you, I think, the most interesting problems are the sociological ones and sociological investigations in the field of religion in the USSR.

Q: Our religious people want to know the social situation, what the Church is doing, what the Communist Party is doing, what the schools are doing, how religious thought and feeling are treated,

what the outlook or religious people is in social activity, and the false conceptions about what is happening to religious people.

A: I can speak about new sociological investigations that are published now. The scientists are interested in the theoretical and empirical link. A sociologist in Voronezh, named Gemyanov, published a book of his investigations done in 1981–1982. His results showed first of all the percent of religious people in the USSR. There are different myths and rumors about the percent of religious people in our country. This investigation is representative for three regions [oblasts]—Voronezh, Kursk, and Belgorod—in general, for middle Russia. And these are the results: religious people [Christian] are ten percent of the population. So it's not as much as many people think. There was another investigation in Stavropol in 1983 showing that twelve percent are religious. So we can say that the view that we have very many religious people does not correspond to reality.

Q: The study was based on a questionnaire?

A: Yes. There were standardized interviews. Then interesting also is the dynamic of religiosity in the USSR. We have very interesting results in Voronezh because there was a very large investigation in 1965 by another scientist, M. K. Tepliakov, and this was repeated in 1980–1981, after fifteen years. The results are that religiosity did not decrease much—only 2.8 percent during such a long period.[3] So the process of secularization is going, but it's going slowly. Why is it going slowly? There are many, many causes—social, psychological, and others. I can speak about them if you wish.

I think that the main social causes for religiosity in our country are some social problems that we are trying now to solve. But until now they are not solved. First of all, I mean the social inactivity of masses of citizens. Now there are many socially passive citizens. I do not mean that they do not participate in production, but they do not participate in social, political, and cultural activity. And the social passivity of some people in our country influences their consciousness and is connected with their religiosity.

The other social problem is that religious traditions are deeply connected with national and ethnic traditions and with traditions in everyday life. This connection explains why we have many people participating in religious rituals. We have many more people who participate in religious rituals than believers. So nonbelievers participate in some religious rituals. For instance, baptism is such a tradition in Russian folk custom, a deep historical tradition, and it's

not easy to overcome this tradition. The main problem is to build a new system of new socialist rituals. We are working in this direction, but there are many problems now.

Q: You have a tradition in which the students at graduation put flowers on the grave of the Unknown Soldier. That's a socialist ritual.

A: Yes, and it has its influence. But, you know, for instance, baptism—we ought to have a ritual when a child is born. We have—but not in every place, in every village and small town. We do not have the organizational and material facilities for this ritual. So that's also a problem. And during the last very great historical period there was a connection between ethnic or national consciousness and religious consciousness. Religious traditions are connected with ethnic traditions. It's also a problem. Because up to now many people think that some traditions or rituals are national traditions—for instance, circumcision by Muslims. They say that if I am Tatar or Bashkir or Kazakh—so what? We have many ethnic groups with such Islamic traditions. So it's not very easy to break this connection. That's the second very great social problem.

And the third problem is the problem of many psychological and, in general, spiritual needs of the people. They must be satisfied. So we cannot now say that all spiritual or psychological needs of all the crises of our people are satisfied. Now we have some problems—for instance, the need for interrelations with other persons during the crisis for older and retired people. We do not always have favorable conditions to satisfy such needs. And the people in the Church or the Baptist group satisfy these needs. Then there are psychological needs—for instance, the need for consolation is an objective need of many, many people. But consolation from people, that's one thing, and consolation from the illusory object of God and so on, that's another. If people do not get consolation from other persons connected with them through work and otherwise, they will need this religious consolation. Take esthetic needs. The Orthodox Church has historically had a very great experience in using esthetics for its goals, because the Church's activity is also esthetic though it has specific ideological content. There are moral needs—for instance, now it's a great social problem that we are dealing with, to overcome alcoholism. But I can say it's also connected with religion. For instance, for Baptists it's a very important argument that they are moral people, that they do not drink, and so on. And this is an argument for many people who go to these Baptist groups and communities.

So you see that the overcoming of religion in our society is not a process that functions only in consciousness. It's a process that has various social contexts; it is connected with many social problems that we must solve.

Q: What about a philosophical need for orientation to history, to nature, to the world?

A: There is also such a need. It's a need for a world outlook. Each man has such a need. And religion also fulfills this need.

Q: How do you deal with that? In this country Marxist-Leninists historically have been occupied with building a real society, and this particular aspect of your existence—which is of course very deep—has not received full attention. Marxism is the great alternative to religion in the modern world.

A: Ideologically it's a great alternative to religion as ideology, but it does not include union with religious people. So this is a dialectical approach. Of course we say that our ideology is quite different from religion's, and we cannot say that we must take something from religion and so on. But that does not mean that we must only enter into a confrontation with the religious people. No, we must not, we must not. Most religious people—I think ninety-nine percent of them in our country—are honest citizens. They are working, they are politically quite loyal, and so on.

Q: Some of our students, when they study Marxism, say it's scientific and all right, but it's too cold; religion gives poetry, symbolism, warmth, a sense of identity with the universe.

A: You know, I would say each science *per se* is cold. But if you want to speak about our way of life, our socialist way of life, it's not cold. It has many rituals and esthetic moments and expressions and so on. And our people also have some feelings connected with their ideology and ideological orientations. Science is always cold. Of course I cannot say its problems are cold. We must do very great work to improve our society, and in the field of the satisfying of spiritual or psychological needs there is very much to be done. But we cannot say that we do not understand this, that we do not work in this direction. We understand these problems; something is done, and it must be done.

Q: Do you teach students?

A: Yes, of course. I am teaching these ideas in my lectures.

Q: And how do the students respond to your ideas? You probably do not have many religious students.

A: Very few. They are in some faculties, but they are exceptions. Most students are not religious, and in the Faculty of Philosophy

practically all are not because they must study dialectical and historical materialism. If they are religious they must go to Zagorsk but not here.

Q: What about religion and the peace question?

A: I think that in this field we are trying to work with the religious people and with religious organizations. Our religious organizations are doing a great deal of good in this field. That's the question that must exclude confrontations of world outlook. It's not so important whether people for peace are religious or not religious. The most important thing is that they are for peace, for disarmament, and we must work together with them and do it in our country and in the international area. I think you know that there are many forms of such cooperation with religious people. Some representatives of religious organizations are in our Soviet Peace Committee and the World Peace Council and other groups. And there are conferences of religious people who are working for peace. Very many religious organizations from our country take part in these different meetings and conferences.

Q: When these people participate in peace work, probably they see the identity of human interests between Marxists and religious people.

A: Of course.

Q: They understand Marxism-Leninism.

A: It's difficult for me to answer for all religious people. There are different types, and I personally know, for instance, some religious people in western countries. They say, for example, "I am a Catholic Marxist." Do you know Professor François Autard in Louvain? He's a very interesting man, a psychologist, with many investigations and books. And he said that in social problems he is a Marxist, that Marx is quite right to say that the basis of social development is economic, that class struggle is the main force, and so on. But he says that in general problems, in problems of world outlook, "I have my own positions, I am a believer, I believe that God exists," and so on. Of course for me it's very difficult to connect logically such a religious world outlook and the Marxist conception of society. It's an individual, psychological case. And I think that many religious people in our country are also trying to connect religious convictions with some elements of Marxism. But that's their problem, not ours.

Q: Is there any particular message you would give if you were speaking to Americans in the peace movement?

A: I think it would be the same as most Soviet people would give.

We want to work together to have good relations, peaceful relations, and we want to *change* American-Soviet relations in the direction of peace and detente. I was in the United States, at the State University of New York in Albany, in 1979. The atmosphere in general, I think, was better than it is now—much better. After SALT II, it was strained, and it was another situation. Yes, of course now it's much worse.

Q: But the peace movement is stronger.

A: Now the Catholic Bishops have made their statement. Did they change their attitude toward peace and disarmament stated in 1983?

Q: No. Now they are working on a similar statement on the economy.

A: Very interesting. In general, it's a very big change if we compare their attitudes in the 1960s. And Billy Graham—how do you evaluate his social attitudes?

Q: Very useful, very important. He was here last autumn, 1984, and this past spring he showed a two-hour film of his visit on national television. He's very influential against Reagan, against the Moral Majority. So the situation is very mixed. I think Reagan has probably reached the limit of his influence. Congress is now beginning to resist his budget.

A: Let us hope, let us hope. Let us see what will happen in Nicaragua.

Q: In our situation we have tried to work with people of religion, to cooperate, to stress the points of unity.

A: I think it's quite right as a position, because in this situation in the USA the main problems are those of peace, disarmament, and certain social progressive measures. So cooperation with religious people is the main problem for all progressive forces.

I am preparing now a book on psychology of religion, to be published in 1986. I used many western sources, mainly American, because I think that in these branches, sociology of religion and psychology of religion, the most interesting works in the western countries are in the USA. Philosophy of religion is a branch where ideological differences are most important, but in these branches we can find much interesting material.

Q: Do you know the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion?

A: Yes.

Q: Are their methods and studies similar to yours?

A: There are some similar points—empirical data of course; and methodological questions are very important also. We have other

theoretical positions, but I can find much that is interesting. There are many empirical investigations, and these are always interesting.

V

Professor E. F. Sulimov is Chairman of the Department of Theory and Practice of Communist Education at Moscow State University.

Q: We need information about the place of religion in Soviet society.

A: Our ideology is that in practice we have freedom of religious activity and the freedom of atheistic propaganda. We are of the opinion that the belief of the human being is his sovereign right. But as Marxists we are convinced that religious beliefs stand in the way of a person's realization of his essential powers as a human being. That is why communist education has as its task the overcoming of religious beliefs. Thus we all are trying to find the arguments that will convince the people that these religious beliefs are not useful to them. But we hold that on many questions concerned with the fulfillment of democratic goals religious people are our allies. The religious person can be a good worker and a good citizen, and can fulfill the norms of the morality of society. With such religious people we are ready to engage in cooperation on many questions. If a person's religious beliefs are not dangerous to the activity of the society as a whole then we should postpone propaganda on the question to a future time.

Q: What would that propaganda be?

A: We are trying to present the fundamentals of the scientific world outlook to him and, on the basis of science and life, to give examples of life experience. We are trying to show that religious beliefs and ideas are illusory reflections of the world. We are in particular finding many common positions with our religious citizens on the questions of the economic development of our country, many moral issues, and of course the struggle for peace in the wide democratic meaning. Ideologically we are different. Nevertheless this difference does not stand in the way of solving some practical and political questions.

Q: You spoke of your common positions on moral questions. Could you elaborate that? What are some of the points in common on the moral questions?

A: Religion and our morality, in the sense of human norms, are similar in some aspects. Religion condemns stealing, and Commu-

nist morality does also. We condemn the use of force and so does religion. We are trying to direct attention to human possibilities, and religion does this too.

Q: Which possibilities?

A: A comradely attitude toward each other, respect, good manners, good relations with others, human norms of common living. Communist morality has taken from past thinking the material of these moral norms and is seeking to enrich them. In these human norms we do not differ much from religion. We even consider that in some cases, when there are no other stimuli, religion helps to establish human norms of morality.

Q: Let me ask about dialogue.

A: We have it. Religious organizations are publishing their materials—brochures, books, journals. We are publishing ours too. And on some questions we have discussions connected with world outlook. It is not person-to-person dialogue. But we have examples of personal contact. Our representatives in this Department have not yet had such contacts. But the specialists in atheism and the history of religion have had such discussions. In the 1920s, when the question of atheism was for the first time widely raised, such discussions were very popular and common and at the same time on a very high level. Soviet leaders such as Lunacharsky, Yaroslavsky, Bogdanov, and many others took part in such discussions.

Q: Do you have materials used in the classrooms on these issues of scientific communism and religion? What do they say?

A: We have a scientific division of labor. Particularly on the problem of atheism, we ourselves do not make use of lectures and we are not publishing materials on this problem. We have a special Department of Scientific Atheism. In connection with the analysis of world outlook and ideology, we include in the material of our lectures the problems raised in criticism of religion, but only some fragments.

Q: What about the textbooks in the schools?

A: We present the base, the world outlook. A part of the textbooks for school children is on social science and a part is on philosophy. And in these textbooks religion is criticized as a form of idealism. But there is no special course on atheism or religion in these textbooks.

In our higher education there is a course on scientific atheism, but it is not big. And in our University we have the same course. All students take it. It's for one semester.

Q: What about the institutes?

A: They have the same course, but for thirty-six hours.

Q: You spoke earlier of how Communist education overcomes the religious world view. Concretely, how do you proceed?

A: Among the students at the University, we have practically no religious believers. And if there are some believers, they do not advertise their belief. Probably they feel that it is not very easy to do so. As a result we don't have any contacts with believers and our antireligious activity is expressed in the depiction of the common world outlook. Customarily the teachers at the schools are prepared from the point of view of our world outlook. They are guided by a materialist world outlook and are teaching it. This education begins in the kindergarten. The teachers may be religious believers, but they don't teach their religion to the school children and must teach according to the scientific view. We don't have the conception of a pluralistic approach to the Church, and the professors of the institutes cannot just believe anything ideological as they wish.

Q: So the State does not ask whether a teacher is a believer or not?

A: No. That is the teacher's personal opinion. It is up to him. But when he is teaching, he must present the scientific world outlook. But we have religious institutions and in them people are teaching religion. But they are Church-owned, not State-owned.

Q: What are the forms of the teaching of religion?

A: In the seminaries and academies they have a special course in theology in which the Bible is taught. The collective of people who study there study dialectical materialism too. They have a chance to choose anything from dialectical materialism or religion.

Q: What about the Church? You could say that if there's a sermon or the reading of the Bible that is education. But is there education in the homes?

A: In some cases the parents are believers and the children are not, and vice versa. We think it is impossible—and it is prohibited—to separate the parents from the children by force on religious questions. Of course there should be discussions within the family. But we think that we cannot regulate these matters by administrative measures.

VI

Dr. A. A. Guseinov teaches in the Department of Marxist-Leninist Ethics of Moscow State University. He is the author of

Sotsialnaia priroda nravstvenosti (*The Social Nature of Morality*, 1974), a comparative analysis of the Mosaic *lex talionis* principle and the Golden Rule.

Q: Can you tell me about your work on the question of the relation between morality and religion?

Q: We have some scientists who are specialists in the correlation between Christian morality and our moral principles.

Q: You spoke of "correlation." Does it mean what these two positions, Christianity and Marxism--Leninism, have in common?

A: In general, I would say that Christian ethics is normative ethics and our ethics has features in common with it which contain the human content of morality. In essence Christian ethics has taken those moral principles with human content that had been developing during the rise of civilization on the eve of the transition from slave society to later civilization. A typical example is the Golden Rule of morality which occupies a central place in the Gospels. In Marxist ethics as in the Soviet Union it has been adopted and it is being developed, in the recognition that in this Golden Rule important moral truths are revealed. Many examples of principles can be given, especially if the human content of morality in its most abstract form is brought out, and there are identities of our principles. There are identities in some of our language of value, making it possible for us to have dialogue on positive questions. Thanks to this human content the participants of dialogue are not always deaf to one another.

Q: Could you say something about dialogue? Do you have face-to-face dialogue?

A: I have not participated in public dialogue with the representatives of religion in this country. But I took part in dialogue twice with theologically oriented ethicists from the West—from the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria.

Q: When was that?

A: During the last five years. Twice two delegations came here. The dialogue was not published.

Q: What was your estimate of that dialogue?

A: I appreciate it as a common dialogue with persons who subscribe to other interpretations of these common principles. Our approach was so common that I would call myself a theological ethicist, because in the human content and the real moral evaluations they were identical with us. In the negative evaluation of consumerist morality we shared the same opinion. They used the images and words of the Bible; but in the understanding of reality

at an abstract level there were many similarities between us. In one of these dialogues the representatives of theological ethics could not precisely answer why they were theologians. In particular, they looked on Christ as a real historical personality. They even called him Jesus, not Christ, and they changed his name from the religious name to a name associated with his place of birth—the Nazarene. One of them was speaking of religion without God, and sometimes, he said, the automobile is regarded as a "god."

I had the impression of a process that began in modern times, in the sixteenth century, with the interpretation of religion as moral theory—as in Erasmus of Rotterdam, particularly in Luther, then in Russia in the nineteenth century, in Tolstoy, in Vladimir Soloviev. This process has come so far now that there is no God in religion, there is only morality.

Q: You said an automobile can be considered a god?

A: One of the Neo-Protestants said that for a consumerist person the automobile becomes a god. But for him and his friends, he said, the real God is in good interpersonal relations, or love.

Q: Did you criticize that, or accept it?

A: You see, I approached that from a position outside religion. When they said that God is in human interrelations, then there is no God, there is only the question of good. What is good? Good in interrelations or in automobiles, a good house, and so on. When they put forward that idea, I was in solid agreement with them.

Q: You agreed that *good* is in human relations?

A: Yes. It's tradition to call that "God"; it's tradition to call that "good." I don't like to quarrel about words.

One of our writers, speaking of love, said, "Oh, Pushkin, Pushkin, Pushkin! This is a religion." For our ethics, for our spirit, for our national mind, Pushkin is a religion too. This is the drive that is accented.

We are talking now about common features and not the differences.

One more feature. In this country, for example, for the Baptists or others, it is good for a person to do good work, to be a disciplined and responsible person.

Q: Because of religion?

A: They give such religious justification. Or from the other side, the whispering in the street when somebody says, "Why are you lying? You must be kind to each other." And the other one says, "Oh, I am not religious to be kind."

Q: Do you deal with questions of practice, ethical education?

A: Of course. These questions are raised in the process of teaching. The study of ethics is compulsory at two places: first, when we are covering the history of ethics and the place of medieval ethics in this process, and second, when we are covering the problems of morality and religion. Besides this we depend on the questions of students and on the problems that are raised during the meetings.

Q: What are some of the main moral influences in the family and the school? How does the ethics of Communism actually get into the education of the child in the home and the school?

A: It's not necessary to describe to you some special rules for this process. The situation in this country is different from others. The relations in the family and the school are constructed on a non-religious foundation. That is the general rule. And I would say the direct polemics with religious moral values in the school or family does not exist. In the families where the parents are believers some processes of religious education may go on. These are particular cases and the situation is different. And that is why the question should not be put as to how the Communist ethics comes into the school or family, but vice versa, i.e., how some religious norms can be known to some children of families in the secular schools.

Q: Are ethical principles explicitly taught? Are there courses in ethics? How does the school shape the moral character of young people?

A: That's too big a question, difficult to answer at once. But in principle, the general line is clear. The relations in the school, between the children, between the teachers and pupils, are built on the basis of socialist morality—on the principles of values such as love of work, collectivism, responsibility, self-giving, and others. Of course these values are given and fixed in pure form. The main thing is that they be incorporated in the life of practice in the school. From the first course onward the pupils begin to take part in public work. What does this mean? Some are responsible for the class library and others take care of the animal corner in the classroom. They give help to the pupils who don't study well. In short, they practice the moral principles that one must help another person and make a contribution to the cause of the collective. The children are taught these principles in practice earlier than when they hear them expressed as moral norms. The principles of the practice of moral education are based on ancient everyday philosophy: the best education of the son is the example of the father. That is thus the family, the school, the whole society. We have some exceptions to this principle, because sometimes the father is a bad

example—not literally the father, but any person who must serve as a model.

Q: Do these problems come from the remants of previous society or are they inherent in the human situation? Are they part of a certain level of socialism? I am thinking of the general problem of ethics, the problem of developing a higher practice and consciousness.

A: That's too general and too big as a question. But I would say in the most general sense that most Soviet theoreticians think those faults with which we are dealing now should be interpreted as originating in our reality. I will give you one example. One of the specific causes that results in many faults has a pure socialist character. We have introduced into economics too many moral criteria. The leaders of the production process take into consideration human problems of the workers as much as the increase of production. As a result the economy suffers, there is a low level of economic development, and the standard of living is low too.

Q: It's not quite clear to me. How does the manager of production or of a plant express this concern?

A: He cannot fire any worker.

VII

Dr. V. I. Garadzha is the author of *Neo-Thomism, Reason, and Science, The Crisis of Contemporary Protestantism and the Search for a "New Theology"* (1973), and other works. He is the Director of the Institute for the Scientific Study of Scientific Atheism.

Q: The main idea here is to get information for our peace movement. People want information about the status of religion in the Soviet Union, about relations between the State and the Church.

A: I will invite to join us the Chairman of the Sector for the Study of Religion in the Socialist Countries, Dr. Yuri Petrovich Zuyev, a specialist in Russian Orthodoxy.

Q: I would like to find out about the work of your Institute, your perspectives on religion, Christianity, and the relation of atheism to believers, your estimate of the nature and strength of the Church, what the Church is doing in the peace movement—in short, the main facts about Christianity situated in the Soviet Union.

A: First, some words on our Institute. We do scientific research on several problems. The first is atheism as it exists today in socialist countries—first of all, in our country. For comparative purposes we

are analyzing materials on the position of religion in other socialist countries. The question for us does not concern theological problems but rather the problems of how and in what direction the changes in religious traditions and in religious consciousness are being fulfilled. That means the relations between believers and nonbelievers in our country and the problems of atheistic education. Our work on this first set of problems pertains mainly to Christian Orthodoxy, Islam, Catholicism, and some Protestant Churches—Baptists, Adventists, and others.

The second direction of research is the study of the activities of the principal religious centers—first of all, the Vatican—and then all the problems that are concerned with the role of religion in the political and ideological situation in the modern world and the ideological struggle. We study particularly the using of religion in antisocialist propaganda.

The third direction is the development of theoretical problems of Marxist-Leninist atheism and its history. For us this is now very important because there are many writings on atheism—first of all by the Catholics—and false things have been said about atheism. There is an open effort to propagate the view that atheism is the ideological base for a civilization that forces human beings to be slaves in society.

Last, we are dealing with the ecumenical movement and its World Council of Churches.

These, then, are the general problems we are dealing with. But within these broad sets of problems there are many other problems that are important for us now. First, we are studying those tendencies that are characteristic of religion in the modern world. These are chiefly the social and political problems, the so-called politization of religion. This is a result of the fact that religious leaders are trying to answer some current vital questions, some global issues, and they are trying to solve these on their own by religious ideology. That is why they are addressing the problems of ecology, the future, peace and war, and so on. Our research is directed at understanding how these problems are reflected in religious consciousness. We must deal with these questions because religion is now a serious political institution and it has assumed a political role in world affairs. Our work is connected with the region of the Islamic world, for example, Lebanon, and with communal religious strife in India. It is also connected with the United States, where there are some religious tensions, and with Latin America.

The real situation is that the mass media shows a lot of evidence

that religion today is engaged in political processes. So we are studying the problem and trying to solve the question of what is happening to religion, whether or not its influence has been increasing, and how we can correlate these facts with the Marxist understanding that religion is a historical phenomenon and that social and scientific progress will cause its position to decline—i.e., whether these facts contradict the Marxist understanding of religion or not. What does the very fact of the existence of religion in the Soviet Union and in socialist society tell us? Is it a fact that religion is decreasing, or is it a permanent phenomenon in human society?—because the world has changed but religion is still here.

So the question arises about the social role of religion. We ask whether there is evidence that religion is taking part in politics. If so, that means that we should revise our Marxist understanding of religion and its role in the activity of human society.

In addition, many problems come to light concerning our understanding of the role of religion in the State, particularly in this country's history and the history of culture. Such questions are being raised now in connection with occasions like the 1988 anniversary of one thousand years of Christianity on Russian soil. We are facing a problem when history is being used to lift the prestige of religion, first in the USSR and then in Poland and elsewhere. The adoption of Christianity as a State religion in Russia coincided with the rise of the State and the appearance of national consciousness. There are other problems reflected in the appearance of this particular Russian culture. For us it is important to unveil this objective, contradictory process of religion in the history of this society.

One more problem that is worthy of mention: religious feelings are manifested not only in traditional institutions and phenomena but also in the conditions of the scientific-technological revolution. There are some non-traditional religious phenomena occurring, i.e., para-scientific claims, which are religious remnants.

Before we come to the question that you put concerning the role and position of religion in this country, perhaps you have some questions on the problems mentioned.

Q: It seems that as the institutions for the influence of religion decline, its politization increases. For example, Reagan frequently uses religious ideology. Do you have specific studies of this?

A: We are working on this problem. In essence the situation is clear. The politization of religion is still real religion. Religious feelings in the traditional sense are receding. The use of religion

for political aims has negative effects for religion itself, because it is becoming apparent that religion is being used in a way contrary to its aims. And it is now understood that religion is a matter of human nature rather than something transcendental. For the religious person it is a shocking fact that his understanding of religion and his religious feelings can be used politically to serve antihumanistic purposes. In particular, our authorities in the Russian Orthodox Church, as far as I know, are quite negative toward a political use of religion such as is evident in Reagan. On this Patriarch Pimen wrote an open letter for peace to President Reagan, and it was published in our newspapers.

Q: So there is a polarization of religious forces—humanistic and antihumanistic.

A: And therefore it often happens that religion in its politized form becomes unacceptable to religious people. For example, it is a fact that in Latvia and Lithuania when the preacher or priest uses many political themes in his sermon the people object. They say there is too much politics in religion.

Q: Could you say something about the participation of the Orthodox Church and the Baptist Church in peace work?

[At this point, Dr. Zuyev took up the interview by answering questions about the Orthodox Church.] The Russian Orthodox Church as an institution has taken part in the peace movement from the first steps of the organization of this movement in this country and from the first years of the international peace movement. The representatives of Russian Orthodoxy are the members of the Soviet Peace Committee and the World Peace Council. In this country, the Russian Orthodox Church works at this level. As it is the biggest religious organization in our country, it is assuming a leading role among other religious organizations. Its ideological foundations in participating in the peace movement comes out of a religious understanding of the fate of humanity on this earth, out of the universal moral norms of humanity. And its position on this issue and its attention to it has its effect on other religious organizations and causes them to attend to it.

Q: Coming back to more theoretical questions—you spoke of the role of religion in history, in the future. How do you see the role of religion through history from now on?

A: I think that the farther back we go in history to ancient times, we can see the greater is the place that religion occupies in society. Certainly the history of previous centuries is the history of religion. In the appearance of secular art some of the masters of the human

soul emerge and are not religious. The secular state appeared as the State and State institutions were freed from religion. In this process one can understand the rise of modern science too. I think that the decisive battle between religion and science has passed, and in this battle religion was defeated. I mean by this two things. First, the appearance of the scientific world view in the domain of world outlooks brought forward the truth about the world, the truth being discovered by science. Religion could not control that process nor could it offer an alternative picture of the world. Its efforts today are directed to maintaining a religious understanding of the world in such a way that this religious view can coexist with the scientific world outlook. It is clear to everyone that religion cannot explain the phenomena of science like the structure of the universe and other things.

Q: As I understand it, you cooperate with religious people in their humanistic work and values. How do you approach the other part of religion, the supernatural? Do you directly criticize that? Do you have polemics with religious thinkers?

A: Surely we should not underestimate the complexity and delicacy of these problems. We understand and differentiate the two levels of the opposition of religion and science. There is first the level of the world view, the philosophical level of understanding, including the complex of questions such as whether the world was created by God or existed from eternity, questions about the immortality of the soul, and so on. And here the opposition of the understandings of the religious and scientific outlooks is necessary and cannot be overcome.

Q: Do you mean that the religious people cannot be persuaded to become scientific?

A: No. In our attitude toward the believer, toward our work with him, first of all we should discover the common features that unite us in the struggle for social progress and social peace. And we think that taking part in solving these problems is the most powerful force for changing the world outlook of the believer himself.

Q: Are the members of the Orthodox faith ready to cooperate with nonbelievers and Communists in the work for peace?

A: The Russian Orthodox Church is cooperating in the struggle for peace with secular social organizations that exist in this country. And in these social organizations, as well as political organizations like the State councils or Soviets, believers and nonbelievers take part together. Since 1946 the Soviet Peace Committee has been working, and from its beginning the Russian Orthodox Church has

been a member of it. That is to say, concerning the social and political questions of life and the political appreciation of the problems of the struggle for peace, the Russian Orthodox Church shares our common position. It is another matter that it grasps these problems from its religious attitudes and perspectives, which differ from those of nonbelievers.

Q: Some critics in the United States say, "Well, the religious people in the Orthodox Church in the USSR are not free, the Church is limited and suppressed by the State in Soviet society, and if it speaks or works for peace it's just doing so to accommodate itself to Soviet society." What would be the answer to that?

A: The Church reflects the feelings and interests of the believers themselves. The believers understand the problems of the defense of peace in the same way as nonbelievers—as citizens of this country. That's why the Church cannot take another position on this problem; it cannot oppose the people, because they want peace.

Q: Some people in our peace movement want an "independent" peace movement in socialist countries. And some of the religious people want to make contact with their fellow Christians here to develop an independent peace movement. Would you say something about that?

A: Among the religious organizations there is interdenominational work, as in the Christian Peace Conference. The representatives of Christian religious organizations take part in it, and they come from various countries in the world. And within the Christian Peace Conference the religious organizations of the USSR have contacts, particularly with the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA. We can see that in this cooperative movement some alternative conceptions on peace are held. The position on the problems of peace that is agreed to in the work of the Orthodox Church with the National Council is not different from the position of our religious people and our nation.

Perhaps some confusion arises because those who want this independent peace movement do not understand our situation. The Party and the State understand that there is no more vital problem than the problem of peace and war. Peace is the highest value of all our values. Nothing can justify war; no argument can support it. For example, for us we cannot accept the argument, "Better dead than red." That is the first point. Second, this most vital task cannot be solved except through the efforts of *all* the people of different political, ideological, and religious views. That is our common, general, human task. What could be the alternative to this question

from a religious position? No—there cannot be *any* alternative position. That is why the Church has no reservations and does not give up its religious principles when it is struggling for peace.

There is a deep unity, an equivalence at the core, in these different positions and approaches in the peace movement. That is, the questions of peace cannot be the subject of political bargaining. They are too serious. That is why from this viewpoint you should understand the danger when those people try to make the subject of peace a matter of political bargaining. They want to split this movement, particularly on a religious basis—to destroy its unity. And when they do this, the influence of the peace forces decreases, because the unity of action is broken up.

VIII

Mrs. Nora L. Hakopian is President of the Armenian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and a Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Republic.

Q: Professor Hakob Hakopian has said that the Armenian Apostolic Church disseminated the culture and controlled the schools.

A: Yes, before the Revolution. In some regions there were only Turkish schools. As my friend said, from the very beginning of the Revolution, we have been struggling to realize the ideal of atheistic society, to make society human. We are aware of the danger that people might be deceived by the Church. But we are not struggling against particular members or priests of the Church. And we do so not by the methods of prohibition but by the methods of convincing people. Prohibition would simply foster the growth of interest in religion.

We distinguish two approaches to the people of the Church. I think we have believers here, and a part of these do not carry out their faith. But in a ritualistic way they attend religious ceremonies that are esthetically satisfying. And the Church in its propanganda uses architecture, music, and the arts in its wedding celebrations and other rituals. These rituals have a very popular appeal. Among the youth there is a demand to register for marriage. I am convinced that ninety-nine percent of those who are married in the Church are not believers. They pay their respect to our tradition. I think that we must develop the beauty of our civil rituals. When we built the Palace of Youth we included a hall for wedding ceremonies. At one time there were more couples who wanted to be married there than could be accommodated. Perhaps at that par-

ticular time there was a falling off of interest in the religious ceremony.

Q: When was that?

A: At the end of the 1960s and the start of the 1970s. But our attitude is one of respect for the leaders and members of the Church. We understand that all of us unite in the struggle for peace. We respect the Catholicos because he consistently stresses the achievements of Soviet Armenia in his speeches and in his statements as a priest. And the different services of the Catholicos play a great role in uniting the Armenians living here and those of Armenian origin who are living abroad. So our respect for the person of the Catholicos is not respect for the idea of the Church. The real state of things is this: if there are still believers, if there is a Church, it is better that the head of the Church be wise and not blindly fatalistic, and that he be thinking flexibly and comprehensively about real affairs, and that he be a real person.

We are fighting and we will continue to fight for the cause that will eventually eradicate religious feelings from the consciousness of people—not through force but through our propaganda work. This is the struggle for the consciousness of the people.

As you know, there are some Marxist parties in the world who, according to the traditions of their countries, have agreed that some of the members of their parties could be believers. But in our country believers are excluded. We think that the Party is that part of society whose members have the most highly developed consciousness. To enter the Party one must surmount the restrictiveness of the religious view.

* * *

Lazar Soudgian is advisor of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Armenian Republic of the USSR. The Council is a group of persons appointed by the Council of Ministers.

Q: Can you give me an orientation to your work here—how you are organized, what you do, what your relations to the Church are? First, the Council at the level of the Republic, and then how it works here in Yerevan.

A: This Council was founded in 1943. The main goal of this Council is to maintain connections between the government and the Church and to deal with questions arising in their relations to one another.

Q: To maintain those relations?

A: Yes. While the Church is separated from the government

here, there are still some questions related to building and foreign relations, for example. Such questions of course lie within the competence of the government. There are some other questions in which the Church has an interest but which can be solved only through governmental organizations.

Concerning building and construction—the Church is doing some repairing and restoration of all the monasteries besides building some apartment houses for clergymen, and the government is helping with building materials for these purposes. Tomorrow you will have a chance to go to Echmiadzin and to see the new buildings constructed with the help of the government.

Q: Are these buildings the property of the State?

A: No. They belong to Echmiadzin.

Q: When you say the government helps with building materaials, do you mean that it helps to secure and make available the materials?

A: Yes. According to the State prices the government sells different materials to the Church—stone, cement, and so on. [The State prices for all materials, it was explained, are lower than the prices in the stores.]

Q: That's a benefit to the Church. And all the land, as I understand it, is owned by the State.

A: Yes. But this land occupied by the Church is given to it for use free of charge and for an unlimited period of time.

Q: If a church, such as an old church, has historical value, does the State help with the payment of repairs?

A: Usually the Church does this restoration by means of its own resources. But not always. For example, our main church, the cathedral at Echmiadzin, was provided with a great sum of money in 1955 by the government to help to restore this oldest building on the territory of the Church. Actually this repair of the church, as you will see tomorrow, was done by means of government money.

With respect to the churches that are restored by the funds of the Church itself, we are speaking only about the active churches. For in Armenia we have more than three thousand churches and other religious buildings, and all the active churches are restored, reconstructed, and repaired by the Church.

Q: How many active churches are there?

A: Twenty-one churches and seven monasteries.

Q: What happens to these others among the three thousand? Are they just empty? They are not working churches.

A: The others are considered to be historical monuments, and there is a special department, a governmental organization, that deals with the repair and restoration of the rest of these buildings and churches as historical, architectural monuments. This department is under the Council of Ministers.

Most of the three thousand religious monuments are only foundations. A great number of these completely ruined structures are being restored by this department for preserving historical monuments, and they become monuments for tourists to see. There is a tourist bureau that organizes special excursions for this purpose.

Q: How many have been restored?

A: Now most of those churches that are important from a historical and architectural point of view have been restored. And restoration depends on the possibility; if you have only a foundation, restoration is not possible.

A great sum of money is spent for restoration. For example, today you will see one of these restored pagan temples. It was ruined completely by an earthquake in the tenth century.

Q: Suppose a group of people wanted to organize a church. What would be the procedure?

A: If a group of adult people of twenty or more want to be registered as a religious organization, they must file an application with the Council for Religious Affairs. If they are acting within the frame of our law and if facilities such as a church or building are available for their activities, they are registered. If it is possible to provide them with a building—it might depend on the territory where the community is—they are given a building by the government for use as a church. Recently two communities asked the government to make it possible for them to organize, and two churches were opened according to their wishes, one in Yerevan and another in Razdan. Now these two churches are active and clergymen for them have been appointed by Echmiadzin.

Q: What else does the Council do? It sees that the law is obeyed by religious communities?

A: Yes. One of its objectives is strictly to enforce the law.

Q: People contribute money to the Church. Is this contribution registered? Must there be an accounting to the government concerning the amount of money?

A: No. This matter depends on the will of the believers and it is not under the control of the government. The profits of the Church are not taxed. The Church has the right to use all its money

as it likes. This is true everywhere in the Soviet Union. The reason is that this money given by believers to the Church is given of their own free will.

Q: So the Church is completely separate from the government with respect to choice—i.e., the constitution guarantees freedom of religion and freedom of atheism.

A: Yes.

Q: But there's also freedom concerning money. The Church has its own contributions that it can spend as it wishes as long as it works within the law.

A: Article 52 in our Union constitution says that freedom of conscience and freedom to be an atheist are guaranteed. You know that in the matter of religious freedom before the Revolution the positions of various Churches in society differed from one another. For example, in Russia alone the Orthodox Church occupied a leading place; the other Churches, so-called sects, were persecuted by the tsarist government or were tolerated. It was out of the question to speak of any freedom of conscience. Only after the October Revolution of 1917, by Lenin's 1918 decree separating government from religious schools, did people secure the right to be a believer or to be an atheist. And today on the basis of Lenin's decree we Communists deal with this question of belief and non-belief. We uphold this idea of freedom of conscience. The government does not interfere in the affairs of the Church, and the Church does not interfere in the affairs of government.

We believe that the main goal of religious organizations is to satisfy the religious feelings of believers. To secure this satisfaction, all the facilities are available in our country. These are, first of all, good church edifices with all the facilities. Second, it is necessary that the Church has its seminaries and academies for preparing its clergy. It must also have its religious media, such as a publishing outlet. All these facilities it has.

Q: Can you tell me about the publishing?

A: There is an official issue of a journal from Echmiadzin called *Echmiadzin*. It is a monthly, is printed in Armenian, and is sold in the churches and also distributed among the Armenian churches all over the world. Each year the Church issues a calendar which lists all the dates of holidays, historical events, and so on. During the last ten years the New Testament was published in Armenian in about 50,000 copies. It is sold in the churches, not in the shops. The last issue cost about ten rubles.

Q: As a matter of history, can you tell me when the first translation of the Bible into Armenian appeared?

A: Actually the Bible was one of the first books to appear in Armenian. It was translated from Greek at the beginning of the fifth century just after the creation of the Armenian alphabet. Previously the ceremonies of the Church were conducted in the Greek [and Syriac] language. From the time of the adoption of Christianity as the state religion up to the creation of the Armenian alphabet, a period of about one hundred years, religious literature was in Greek; there were no written texts in Armenian.

Recently there have been many publications. The reminiscences of Patriarch Vazgen I, which relate his journeys to different countries, have been published in eight volumes; the title is *Eight Journeys.* He was elected to the office of Catholicos in 1955. Now they are preparing in two volumes a book about his activity before being elected Catholicos as well as his activity thereafter. They are also preparing now to publish the whole Bible for the first time in the contemporary Armenian language, i.e., the language of eastern Armenia. The Bible has been published abroad several times but in the western Armenian language. For ten years the scholars have been working on this translation of the Bible.

Q: Does your Council for Religious Affairs have meetings with the Church leaders?

A: We meet according to the necessity—sometimes every day.

Q: What would be an example where a meeting would be necessitated?

A: For example, the last meeting was on the question concerning the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Catholicos in office. We discussed what guests from abroad they must invite, what steps should be taken for this celebration, and so on. Earlier there have been meetings on questions of the publications mentioned.

Q: Would it be correct to say that the main aim of the Council for Religious Affairs in its work with the Church is to develop harmonious relations?

A: Yes. It is important to mention that the Council is dealing not only with the Armenian Apostolic Church but also with religious organizations of different faiths on the territory of Armenia. More than ninety percent of believers belong to the Armenian Apostolic Church. But there are Muslims, Russian Orthodox believers, and members of different sects—Baptists, Molokans, Adventists, Pentecostals, etc.

Q: We read sometimes about Adventists who dissent, who refuse conscription into the armed services. It is said they have no freedom. What is your comment on that?

A: In this Republic of Armenia there are no such Adventists. These Adventists are reformists. The Adventists here do not create this problem. The members of the Adventist community here serve in the army.

IX

Professor Mikhail Maslin is a young lecturer at the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University. He has taught and done research in the United States and is the author of "On the Blurred Mirror of 'Sovietology'," which appeared in the collective volume, *Zaatlanticheskie mify i realnost* (*Transatlantic Myths and Reality*, 1984).

Q: Would you give me your views on religion and Communism?

A: Yesterday I told you about my attitude to anticommunists' interpretation of Marxism as a kind of religion. I think theirs is a wrong intepretation, because we know that Marxism is a kind of scientific world view and therefore Marxism and religion in general hold contradictory views. Marxism is a scientific philosophy and religion is a world view based on faith and not on a scientific attitude toward reality.

But this position cannot exclude a friendly attitude on the part of some religious thinking persons toward Marxist ideology in general. For the influence of Marxism is great and deep, and the influence of the Marxist world view is very intensive. And within the sphere of this influence there are not only Communists and progressive thinking people who are actively struggling for socialism but also honest people who believe that we must live together in this world and therefore must cooperate. So I don't exclude cooperation between religious thinking persons—Christians and people of other religions—and Communists. The question of the attitude of Marxism toward religion in this sense of the word is the question of cooperation and mutual.action in the name of progress, in the name of peace, in the name of our future.

But I have also told you that Russian culture is the field where anticommunists especially find religious arguments from the writings of Russian counterrevolutionary thinkers—for example, Berdyaev, Shestov, Frank, Lossky, and others. In this *radix* of Russian religious thinkers we can find many notions about communism as a kind of religion. And we can find that in the books of modern

anticommunism. For example, Berdyaev wrote in the book, *Vekhy* [*Landmarks*], that religion is the only way of thinking of the Russian people, that Orthodox religion is the only way of everyday life and morals of the Russian people. Therefore the Russian people are a religious people and Western people are rational people. Communism is the product of rational, Western civilization and Communism was imported into Russia as a hostile ideology and world view. But in Russia, said Berdyaev, Communism became a kind of faith because the Russian people are religious people and therefore religion and Communism became synonyms in Russia. He wrote that Russian populists *(narodniki)* believe in people as religious people believe in God, and so on.

These notions, these falsifications, can now be found in the anticommunist writings of such men as James Billington and George Putnam. Putnam wrote a book, *Russian Alternatives to Marxism. Christian Socialism and Idealistic Liberalism in the Twentieth Century.* By "alternatives" he means god-seeking.

Q: Some of this sounds like Solzhenitsyn.

A: American students asked me, "How can you interpret the world view of Solzhenitsyn? Maybe Solzhenitsyn is a kind of Slavophile." Of course he is not, in my opinion, because Slavophilism is a movement of more than a hundred years ago. This movement arose in Russia in the 1830s, and it was a liberal, bourgeois movement. Its ideology was a Russian,bourgeois, liberal ideology, and Solzhenitsyn and Slavophilism have nothing in common. For Solzhenitsyn is an emigrant, he wants to prove his originality in the West, he wants to create his own place, to get publicity in the West; and therefore he writes about the special Russian soul and the necessity for the restoration of religion in the USSR. His is a kind of utopia, a very conservative utopia. I myself consider Solzhenitsyn an anticommunist who writes about the Russian soul in order to present a false interpretation not only of our modern life in the USSR but also of the whole of Russian history. We know that the history of Russian culture is not the history of religious thinking alone. In our history we have many revolutionary thinkers, atheists, and materialists. In this respect our history displays the same laws of development as any national development in the history of philosophy—for example, the struggle between materialism and idealism. In Russia we can find not only religious and conservative attitudes toward the world but also revolutionary attitudes. We know there were prominent revolutionaries in the nineteenth century but also in the eighteenth century—for exam-

ple, Radishchev, a prominent Russian revolutionary; the Decembrists; the heroes of Narodnaya Volya, a pre-Marxist revolutionary party; and many others.

So some men in the West now have asserted that the Russian revolutionary tradition is one of terrorism, that Russia is a country of terrorism, that Russian revolutionists are always terrorists, unthinking men with bombs, and so on. It's a false view. Of course in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement there are pages of terror. But this terror was not terror for the sake of terror. The terror of the Russian revolution was the answer to tsarism, to oppression, the policy of Russian tsarism. That's my opinion about such falsifications.

Q: How do you see religion today? Many Americans think that Christianity and socialism are just antagonistic. But several persons whom I have interviewed here made the point that Christians not only accept socialist reality but support it—not only because they are good citizens but because, they say, true Christianity is for brotherhood, peace, equality, freedom, development, and so on. How do you see this now, this view of Christianity, in the light of the history of Christianity—mainly the Orthodox Church—in Russian history?

A: Of course we must strive to see Christianity not as a whole and undivided image, because the religion of Christianity has passed through many historical stages. The religion of the first Christians was the religion of slaves. This kind of religion took an impressive and active role in the struggle for a new society, for a new formation, in an anti-slavery revolution. Of course the Christian religion in the Middle Ages is very different from the Christianity of slavery. Then religion is capitalist society, religion in Russia during feudalism, Christian Orthodox religion in Russia during the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth century—they are not the same things. In the eighteenth century we can see the process of modernization in Russia when secular thinking and attitudes toward the world began to develop very rapidly. In this sense Russian society of the eighteenth century was a more secular society than that of the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century it was still more secular than in the eighteenth. Of course the positions of Orthodox religion were very strong because the Church and State in Russia shared many common aims. And very often we can see an interesting thing: Church ideologists were also government ideologists—for exam-

ple, Pobedonostev, a reactionary who was at the head of the government's department of religious affairs as the Chief Procurator to the Holy Synod. Dostoevsky criticized Pobedonostsev, and Pobedonostsev criticized Dostoevsky, in spite of the fact that Dostoevsky was a religious man, utopian and religious. He wrote about the Russian people as *bogonosets,* that is, people who always believe in God, who have God in their hearts.

Then about the status of religion in contemporary, Russian, Soviet society. We must look at the positions of religion during the years after the last war. Many people lost their relatives—husbands, sons, and so on—and the war produced a new wave of faith and religion. Of course the main roots of this religiosity were not in the structure of our society. There were outside reasons for the activization of this religiosity. And in the 1960s and 1970s the postwar religiosity in the definite sense of the word was eliminated.

But today, in my opinion, we have in our society a new kind of religiosity among intellectuals. For example, some writers in their stories about peasant life want to stress the originality of Russian peasant life and native traditions. And in some stories we can find some elements of "new" religiosity as it is called. For example, Vladimir Soloukhin has written about icons, churches, and old Russian church painting. Some people consider these writings to be an appeal to study religion and the old Russian Church traditions.

In this sense of the word "religion," we must prepare here a very important event—the anniversary of one thousand years of the Russian acceptance of Christianity. The Russian Orthodox church is using this anniversary as an opportunity to propagate more broadly its Orthodox religion. Of course Orthodox religion played a very important role in our history. It was a good factor in the struggle against enemies, as in Kievan Russia against the barbarians. Religion played an active role in the unification of Russian lands and in the cooperation of Slavic peoples—Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and others. Therefore we must not deny an active, historical role of religion in the history of our country.

But the historical role and the contemporary situation are not the same things. Our everyday life today does not have a very great place for religion. As for myself, I have attended religious ceremonies at church perhaps only two times in my whole life. It was out of a kind of curiosity. Of course I have visited old churches to get knowledge about icons and old Russian art; it is mostly an

esthetic interest, not a religious interest. Religion plays no role in my life, except in the esthetic aspects—I mean old church art (it's very interesting), architecture, music.

Q: What would you say attracts young people to the church, if they are attracted?

A: I haven't noticed any special attraction. Some people use icons and other things of Church ceremonies to trade, sell, and make money.

Q: You said earlier that the roots of religion are not in the structure of society. You were speaking of the years after World War II. You meant that the anxieties, the fears, the sorrows caused by the war came not from your institutions but from the war and the devastation of people. There are still these anxieties to some extent—let's say, in old people who lose their health or who are approaching death or who suffer disappointments. These lacks and needs are real and produce a desire for escape or consolation or hope for an afterlife. To what extent are these studied and recognized in your society, and to what extent do secular institutions deal with them? Because these people will go to the church or to the priest for counseling, for an ideology, for a meaning of life, and so on. There are many psychological problems. When I was here in 1970 doing a similar study I asked this question of some of the people like Dr. A. I. Klibanov who had studied religion; and he said, "Well, in the early days we thought that religion would disappear in a generation or two if we would just solve the economic problems. But there are subtle, sociopsychological problems."

A: Many other problems—for example, the prolem of alcoholism. We still have in our society many drunkards who spend and waste their money, health, and time in this way. And the wives of such persons are of course unhappy; they want to create a real life, a good life. But their husbands' behavior is bad. Therefore they seek a compensation in religion. I have met some women with this attitude toward religion. Once on the train I met a young woman and I noticed a Bible in her hand. I learned that she lives in the suburbs of Moscow, in a village. And I asked her, "Why do you read the Bible?" And she answered that some guys had come to her village. They were very crude in their behavior toward her, they used bad language, they drank too much. And disliking these things she went to her grandmother, who gave her the Bible. She likes to read the Bible, and reading it is a compensation for the bad attitude of the guys toward her.

Q: Are these attitudes part of the structure of society? Do they

come out of the institutions of socialism and their shortcomings? Socialism is a humanistic, materialistic philosophy for the life and development of people. The problem is to put it into practice. These lacks and crudities that you mentioned occur because the people in the system are not effective. Some people say that human beings will always be defective, there will always be failures in persons and institutions, and therefore there is no way of preventing a turning to religion. How would you answer that?

A: Because we are Marxists the most fundamental question of course is the question of economics. As long as the economic problems are unsolved, as long as we have shortages in foodstuffs and other products, we will have social problems. But economic problems are not the only problems. It's very important to provide psychological help for people. Our organizations—Komsomol, social organizations—have sometimes provided only small opportunities for people to obtain psychological help. People with a collective attitude, a mass attitude in these organizations sometimes forget an individual approach. That is a real problem. And therefore some people want a more individualized attitude. They want to receive individual help. And in my opinion our institutions must be more active in this sense, more individual in their work, more individual in their attitudes.

Q: More oriented to the needs of the individual?

A: Yes. Mass attitudes must not deny individual attitudes. Both attitudes must work in dialectical cooperation.

Q: Is this problem discussed at all?

A: The problems are discussed in our newspapers. For example, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* discusses the problems of the young generation and relations among young people. As for my own opinion, in true Communist society there will be a place for individual tragedy. That is a real question in every society—for example, a mother loses her son by death. Our task is not the task of utopian thinking; it is not to eliminate this fact of the individual and to make all members of our society the same, with the same attitudes.

Q: What about the question of the meaning of life, the philosophical structure of thought and values whereby one interprets constructively and creatively life, not only the values but the tragedies? Some young people say, "Well, Marxism is fine, it's scientific, it has to do with nature, history, laws. But it's not sufficiently versatile. It doesn't give me a sense of how to deal with the everyday problems of disappointment, frustration, and failure." Existentialism, for instance, people compare with Marxism, because it's

very personal, very concrete—at least it attempts to be. So these young people are looking for something more intimate and personal than what (they say) Marxism-Leninism provides. What would you say about that?

A: In my view the problem of personality is very important in terms of Marxism-Leninism. But our philosophical science, our Marxist philosophy, did not pay much attention during the 1940s and 1950s to solving the problem of personality. Then the attention to the problem of personality—anthropological problems—arose in the mid-1960s. We had no serious Marxist studies before the 1960s about the problem of personality. Now we have some good studies by L. P. Bueva, A. G. Myslivchenko, Boris Grigorian, and other philosophers. With respect to personality in the writings of our philosophers in the 1960s, a new attitude to the problem was elaborated because the problem was very real. (It was very real for Marx himself, especially in his early writings.) That is why Soviet philosophers studied this problem during the 1960s and 1970s. But as for the view that Marxism is not in good touch with personality, that is not correct in my opinion, though we can speak about a weak elaboration of the problem in our literature. For example, our Party and Mikhail Gorbachev have spoken of *chelovecheskii faktor*—the factor of personality. He stressed this as one of the decisive factors in our life today, and he said that often we are talking much and not doing much, that we must work, and that we must not divorce our thinking and our doing.

This is the problem of our real moral attitude toward life. Some people assert, "I am for socialism, I am for communism," but their real position in life is not that of a socialist thinking person. It's a great pity we still have much crime, hooliganism, and so on. As I said before, it's not only an economic problem but also a very deep moral problem. It's a pity but it's the truth that law and morals in our society are not identical. We have laws and militia and crime, and we must use punishment.

Q: Can you make a prognostication of the future of religion? You're a historian and you've studied a thousand years of Russian history. You've seen religion grow and then decline after the Revolution.

A: I suppose that the future of religion in our society will be more in the intellectual form of religion or in the form I mentioned—for example, in the stories of writers and in paintings. Do you know the Russian painter, Ilia Glazunov? He is a very interesting present-day painter, very prominent, with good portraits,

mainly in the Russian Museum at Leningrad. He has painted portraits of Salvador Allende and Indira Gandhi. He also paints about old Russian religious life. Of course his paintings are very highly artistic, but you can find religious themes in his painting. That is why I said to you that we might come to a new form of religiosity, maybe a kind of religiosity that is in touch with a higher creativity.

Glazunov was a child of the Leningrad blockade. He suffered too much, too much; and after the war he became a very good painter. His family was not religious. He suffered during his childhood under the blockade. Most of his paintings are historical.

Q: Does he present these religious figures and themes in a sympathetic way?

A: He wrote a postscript to his portrait of Ivan the Terrible, saying that it was not a real portrait but a product of the imagination and that we must understand Ivan the Terrible. You can see some religious symbols in his work.

Q: Does he portray a religious consciousness or spiritual insight in these persons?

A: His manner is realistic. But some details in his paintings are of religious origin, like a cross or candle.

Q: Do you see religion in life, these churches, these sects, the Orthodox Church, gradually diminishing?

A: I suppose so. The churches are a product of the Russian people. Architecture is a part of the people. The main builders of the churches were simple people. Of course the architect is a highly educated man and the design of the church is a product of developed talent. But the churches are created by the hands of simple people; this is a thing of the people's doing. And in this sense churches will never be eliminated from our life. They are a part of our history, our culture, our people's arduous labor.

Q: And what about the worship in churches, the religion, the faith, the beliefs—will that continue?

A: As fas as conservative religious ceremonies are concerned, I think they have no future They will gradually disappear.

Q: When?

A: Maybe in two centuries—if the development of our society will be peaceful, free of invasion. But we cannot and we must not predict these new forms of religion.

Q: At the office of the Orthodox Church today I asked a question about literature and education. And the people showed me copies of the Bible and their journal.

A: It's a very important book, very intelligent. I have an interesting edition of the Bible—printed on the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first Russian translation of the Bible. It is not correct for some people in their antireligious propaganda to say that the Bible is a bad book, that to read it is not good. That's wrong—because if the Bible were a bad book, why then did people believe it for so long?

X

Dr. Vladimir N. Sherdakov is a research scientist in the Ethics Sector of the Institute of Philosophy in Moscow. A specalist on the subjects of ethics and Christianity, he is the author of *Sotsialno-psikhologicheskii analiz khristianskoi morali (Social-Psychological Analysis of Christian Morality,* 1974) and *Illuzia dobra: Moralnye tsennosti i religioznaia vera (Illusions of the Good: Moral Values and Religious Faith,* 1982), among other works.

Q: I would like to get your perspectives on the situation of Christianity here, the relations of Christianity to the socialist order and the State, what prospects are for the future of Christianity, and what are some of the factors that make for the continuation of Christianity.

A: You see, the thesis of the incompatibility of religion and socialism is untrue. Those who hold this thesis are trying to threaten religion. In Afghanistan, for example, they are using this method, as well as in the United States. The Russian Orthodox Church and Islam in the USSR support the main ideas and values of our socialist society. In this I am positive they are not lying and they are not contradicting their essential teachings. You cannot find anything in the Koran or the Bible that is contradictory to the idea of the common ownership of property, which is the main foundation of socialist society.

Q: Is this a special field of research of yours?

A: I am doing research on traditional moral values in religion, especially in Christianity and particularly the morality of the Gospels. What I say is not only my view but that of my colleagues as well. And as far as I know this view corresponds to the official point of view of this country's authorities—the government, the State, and the Party. If anybody from the government or the State were to declare that believers are dishonest or unjust, he would be answered with a negative response not only from believers but also from the nonbelievers as well. As far as I know, such declarations

have not been made. Vice versa, it is our asessment that most of the believers here are as good as nonbelievers. Extremists and lawbreakers may be found among both groups. So I am surprised by President Reagan's declarations that atheists are untruthful and that they cannot be trusted. And Reagan's judgment is easily accepted by the American people without any strong opposition.

Q: Have you written articles and books on this question?

A: I have many articles and some books. They are devoted chiefly to the problem of ethics and the relations between religion and morality as well as between atheism and morality. Most of the ethicists and specialists working on the problem of religion in our society believe that religion will continue to exist in this society for a long time. And though atheists take as their aim the complete eradication of religion, we do not believe that this aim can be achieved by physical force. And we think that everything will happen according to the prognostication of Marx who said that religion will disappear when true relations between people as well as between people and nature are established.

Some of our atheists are perhaps trying too much in their administrative measures to prevent the actions of certain extremists and to eliminate religion. Our main principle is the consolidation and union of believers and nonbelievers in the struggle for peace and for the resolving of the social problems in our society. To my mind some contradictions have arisen out of certain political aspects—in the relations between some people in the governmental administration and the Church (their wrong activity) and from the extremists among the clergy who are breaking the laws.

Q: Can you be specific about this activity of the administration?

A: If we look at the problem historically, there were periods when the atheistic section of the population was extremist, both on the side of some atheistic propagandists as well as the representatives of the administration. Of course this should be understood as a reaction to the role played by the Church under the tsarist regime when the Church defended the interests of the tsar. The first revolutionary period was the time of a decisive break with the Church by the liberated people. In that context such actions were accepted and understood. But now, when we take a historical view of it, we think that some of the actions were wrong.

At the end of the 1930s some repressions and wrong positions were taken toward some of the religious clergy.

Q: Could you give me an example of that?

A: An example would come from 1937 or 1938 or 1939 when

religious people were repressed on the basis of their ideology and religious belief. These facts can be found in our literature, our fiction—for example, in the work of Abramov. I have many examples in my works. It was a very difficult period.

During the Great Patriotic War no question of *any* repression arose. Today the question of the attitude of the government and the State and of religious people concerning their relations to each other is one of mutual respect. In many instances the clergymen of the Church are recipients of the awards of the State. I am aware that the bourgeois press in the West is writing a lot now about the explosive growth of religion here. It is often said in this press that among the intelligentsia, the students, the youth, and other strata of the society, religious belief is widening, and journalists even call it a "religious renaissance." I have been dealing with this problem for more than twenty years; for a long period I worked in the Historical Museum of Religion and Atheism in Leningrad. And I can say for sure that the strengthening of religiosity here, strictly speaking, cannot be affirmed.

Let me explain the basis for this assertion of the journalists. The overcoming of religion and the detachment of people from religion in the 1920s and 1930s was so decisive and quick that since then a lot of people have gradually forgotten about religion and don't know what it is. And with the rise of the educational level in society, the interest of people in the traditions and history of the society has been increasing. As you know, a part of this country's history is connected with religion, particularly the spiritual life of society. In this respect we can say that the interest in religion is growing. It is a natural process.

Q: But people are not becoming more religious?

A: Certainly not. But sometimes among the intelligentsia you will find that religion is highly valued. Religion exerts this kind of positive influence in matters of morality and art. And such an influence you can find rather often among nonbelievers. We atheists think that to stop the growth of the interest of the people in past history and religion is not necessary; people should satisfy their interest. We would like for our youth and the people who have an interest in the past and in religion as a part of our past to acquire a true understanding of the role of religion in the past. We are struggling against the vulgarized interpretation of religion that we had in the past. Not everything in the past was good nor is everything good that occurs in the present. We believe that many fundamental things created by people in the past should be preserved.

And now many people are raising and discussing these issues, and one can find in the last ten years a lot of material on them in the newspapers, magazines, and journals, and on radio and television. Today we do not have the attitude that religion and the State are incompatible, an attitude that existed in some periods of the past. And I think that such a changed attitude is good.

Q: You mentioned earlier that the vulgarized interpretation of religion in the past is now being struggled against. Would you explain what you mean by "vulgarized interpretation"?

A: There were many popular publications in which the part played by religious belief was sharply criticized without any scientific approach. Some parts of the Gospel were poorly interpreted. Some religious principles were wrongly interpreted, and not in the same sense in which believers understand them. Atheistic literature was quite abundant and varied. Sometimes the critique of religion was done by people who were not specialists. But now the time has come for a deeper philosophical understanding and ethical analysis of religion. That is the view of the greater part of my colleagues.

Q: Could you tell me then what you are doing on the ethical analysis of religion? What are some of the results of your work?

A: The thesis of the contradiction between Communist morality and religious morality is false. Logically of course we as Communists should say something quite different from what religion says. But we do not create our moral principles and our moral positions out of a contradiction with religious morality. The heroes of Nietzsche who are the mirror image contradictions of Christian morality or the heroes of Dostoevsky are not acceptable for us. In the situation of the ancient Christian people as well as in that of contemporary religious people we can find a lot of similarity with our morality.

Lenin sharply criticized the negative attitude toward religion. He said that original Christianity had a revolutionary, democratic essence. If Christian people are struggling in peace-making, we certainly do not oppose them. That is, our attitude today toward the principles of religion such as the principle of love of neighbor is different from the attitude of the Russian Marxists before the Revolution. For example, moral self-development as the method of resolving social problems, as it was put forward by Christians before the Revolution, was not accepted by Marxists. Tolstoy and Dostoevsky were talking about this. In that period and under those conditions the principle of love had a different meaning and served the cause of collaboration and union between classes. But

now one of our main principles is, "person to person is a brother."[4] Even the principle, "You shall not steal," has changed, because under the conditions of its origin what was meant was that you must not steal someone's property; but under our conditions this principle has achieved its true essence. For since we don't have private property in this society, you can steal only from society or from someone else who owns something by reason of his labor. Private property itself, in its essence, is stealing.[5]

Q: You said that "love" before the Revolution had a different sense and it served the cause of the union of classes. That means the ruling class and the working class. Now, how would you define this concept of love of neighbor?

A: This principle takes on its main meaning in the conditions of our society.

Q: What is that meaning?

A: It is one of the main components of our Moral Code of the Builders of Communism, to love your neighbor.

Q: What does it mean? How does it differ from the previous sense?

A: Because there are no classes now. We have a classless society, and if this principle works in a class society it means a struggle for peace between the classes. But in a classless society there is not a struggle for peace between the classes but rather between equal masses of the society.

Q: So what is love concretely?

A: It is a many-sided attitude. But we can say it is a giving of the self to the people.

Q: And what is the meaning of the statement, "person to person as a brother"? Is that a slogan?

A: It is a slogan as well as the practice of our relations.

Q: Could you explain it to me?

A: It means concretely that the attitude to another person in socialist society should be as to an equal human being; and if you struggle with some negative features of that person the struggle is not against the person but for the improvement of the person.

Q: Do Christians accept this concept of love?

A: They affirmed this traditionally. They never rejected this principle. But before the Revolution, in the culture of class society, this principle played the part of serving class collaboration.

Q: So they said it but they did not practice it.

A: They were teaching this, and they taught that worker and capitalist should be brothers, and so should peasant and lord. And revolutionary Marxists raised the slogan for the struggle against

the hated exploitation. And this hatred and hostile relation between the classes were understood by Marxists and were used by them to secure the victory of love between the people. We can understand this issue just as well by relating it to the question of revolutionary force in society. Today the necessity of force is decreasing, and as a result we are opposed to the use of *any* force against personality.

But at the same time there are some points on which Communist morality and Christian morality differ. They are contradictory in their attitude. We say that to establish our ideals we should base our activity upon ourselves. Nobody can guarantee social justice except us ourselves. We believe there is a contradiction within the attitude of the believer between what he ought to do according to God and what he ought to do according to his own principles. According to Max Weber, this is one of the primary contradictions of the religious consciousness. This contradiction between the strong necessity of God's will—which cannot be discussed—and the necessity of the believer's own personal and human morality, that is a contradiction between his outer necessity and his inner necessity.

Q: What is the prospect for religion in Soviet society? What do you see in the future in the next hundred years? Let's assume we will have peace.

A: I think that under these conditions religion is being ethicalized. People look to religion as a way of fulfilling their moral needs. They are seeking psychotherapeutic procedures. The future of religion of course will depend on what we are able to do in our country, how well our actions succeed, and how our social relations develop. The more people will understand one another, the more they will love and look after one another—the less will be the necessity for attachments to a transcendental power. These things are more fundamental for this process than the weight we give to atheistic propaganda. We do not think that everything is based on education. And in our country we are optimistic toward these problems. But we must not consider the struggle against religion to be our main task. It is more important to unite all the people, believers and nonbelievers, for our practical, social reconstruction, for any mobilizing of the struggle on a religious-nonreligious base. And our main goal in the constitution is founded on this principle.

XI

Dr. Janis Vejs works at the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. Since

his 1969 article on the Marxist-Christian dialogue, which appeared in *Transactions of the Latvian State University,* he has pursued research on questions of religion and has published a number of articles on the subject. He informs me that he is now studying "the so-called 'religious language debate' (or else 'Wittgensteinian fideism') in the Protestant theology of English-speaking countries."

When visiting Riga I met Professor Vejs, along with Professor Valentin Steinberg, Director of his Institute, at the Latvian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. In our conversation it became immediately evident that for some time he had been engaged in research on my topic of study, so I asked him to write out a summary of his views. His statement follows:

A small group of associates at the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR is engaged in research on the trends and dynamics of religiosity in this Republic. Usual sociological methods are used—questionnaires, data analysis, interviews, and so on. Candidate of Philosophy Arnold A. Podmazov's book, *Contemporary Religiosity: Distinctive Features, Dynamics, Crisis Phenomena,* is scheduled for publication at the end of this year.

The general trend is a constant decline of religiosity and a spread of secularism in the postwar years. This is demonstrated by available attendance figures, performance of religious rites, the number of parishes in operation, etc. A considerable shift towards secularization is registered also in the minds of believers—e.g., a less rigid belief in the supernatural, in life after death, etc. The moving away from religion has been particularly speedy in Lutheran parishes. This can be explained by the sociopolitical role the Lutheran Church played in the past—especially in the prewar bourgeois Latvia, where it was in fact elevated to the position of *de facto* state religion and given various forms of undeserved assistance by the ruling class. It can also be explained by the collaborationist policy of the Church with the hated occupation regime during World War II. (One-half of the total priest force fled to the West at the end of the war, afraid of the people's retaliation for their unpatriotic activities.) After the War, the artificially inflated number of churchgoers rapidly diminished to its "normal" size.

In the past twenty years (1964–1984), due to the drop in the number of churchgoers, many parishes simply disappeared. Among them may be named fifty-six Lutheran parishes, twenty-five Russian Orthodox, seven Old Believers' parishes, and five Adventist parishes. No Catholic parishes have so far disappeared,

but in some of them the number of members has reached a critical level, and it may be expected, that in the future some of the Catholic parishes will stop functioning. (It should be explained, that a parish here is not a territorial entity, but a group of like-minded believers. If the membership of such groups falls below twenty people, they are considered extinct.) It should also be mentioned that not a single of these parishes was, so to say, "pressurized" by secular authorities—the local Soviets. They all disappeared due to lack of believers.

In the 1970s and 1980s the process of secularization generally slowed down, although it continued proceeding steadily. It is explained by the fact that to a great majority of younger and middle generations secularization became a part of their world outlook and a way of life.

Various secular pastimes are promoted by the state and public bodies in order to secure a rich and variegated spiritual life for all people—folk dancing, singing, theatre, arts and crafts, clubs of various interests, etc. In effect, they serve also to turn the people's minds away from religion.

Marxism-Leninism does not consider religion as an "enemy" or religious people as guilty of "treason" or any such thing. Religion is just wrong, unscientific, irrational, and in the worst case, it can be used for reactionary purposes (and has been used as such by the exploiting classes over the years). Latvian history gives amply evidence of it. At best, religion in one way or another stands in the way of a full and rich development of the potentials of human personality. It hampers the acquisition of a worldly, optimistic outlook, which allows a person to realistically assess his position in the world. Blunting the edges of class consciousness of the exploited masses is just one aspect—and socially a very important aspect—of this quality of religion. Thus, the overcoming of religion for Marxism-Leninism is not an end in itself (and this is why the Soviet power does not "prohibit" religion), but this is a part of our struggle for a just and truly humane society—a brotherhood of people, living here and now and shaping the future of mankind. In a specific sense we consider that cooperation with religious people, their involvement in public affairs, their participation in the solving of outstanding problems, etc. is the best way of fighting religion, i.e., of persuading believers, of letting them become aware of the fact that religion offers an inferior form of analysis of social phenomena in comparison with those tools which have been developed in secular, Marxist-Leninist world view. Thus, a dialogue between

Marxists and Christians, which is taking various forms in various parts of the world, and which we understand primarily as cooperation in the solving of burning social issues (among which the fight for a peaceful world is of paramount importance) is not tantamount to any form of ideological compromises. The *locus classicus* for the Marxist attitude to this problem is in my opinion the work of V. I. Lenin, "Socialism and Religion," and in particular his words to the effect that "the unity of this truly revolutionary struggle of the exploited classes, directed at the establishment of Paradise on Earth is of much greater importance to us, than unified opinions of proletarians concerning paradise in heavens." Other works of V. I. Lenin, which are relevant to this issue, are "On the Attitude of the Workers' Party Toward Religion" (1909) and "Class and Parties in Their Relation to Religion and Church" (1909). Needless to say, the works of Lenin form the basis of our theoretical thinking as applied also to the new realities of social life. Soviet philosophers, in particular those dealing with the problems of the Marxist-Christian dialogue, are actively discussing various attitudes here. Relevant to the problem of demarcation between an honest cooperation and a principal ideological stand is the following simile, which I have developed, and which, in my opinion, helps to bring over the Marxist versus the pacifistic stand on the issue.

The pacifistic view is this: "If a house is on fire (as our present world is dangerously close to being), we do not distinguish who thinks what, provided they contribute, each in his or her own way, to extinguishing this fire." Such a view proposes to overlook the ideological differences in the name of joint action.

To this a Marxist replies: "True, if a house is on fire, everything feasible should be done to put the fire out. However, in order to achieve this end, one should not just act (somehow); one should act effectively. And if we see that our fellow fire-fighters are using methods that are not effective enough (for example, not holding the hose properly, etc.), we are fully justified in pointing this out to them, of letting them know, that there are more effective methods available for achieving the end they desire. That is the ideological part of the dialogue of cooperation.

This simile could be extended ever further. If there happen to be persons among the fire-fighters, who, for lack of knowledge, or for some other more sinister reason, are trying to extinguish the fire with petrol, it would be criminal negligence to let them proceed with their activities in the name of the "all hands to the pumps" attitude

I hope the implications of this simile are self-evident for the assessment of the present Marxist-Christian dialogue.

XII

Professor Valerii Aleksandrovich Kuvakin is currently the Chairman of the Department of the History of Philosophy of the Peoples of the USSR at Moscow State University. Three times in recent years he has pursued research in the United States. A former Dean of Foreign Students at the Faculty of Philosophy of Moscow State University, he is the author of *Kritika ekzistentsializma Berdyaeva* (*Critique of Berdyaev's Existentialism,* 1976), *Religionznaia filosofiia v Rossii* (*Religious Philosophy in Russia,* 1980), and *Marksistskaia filosofskaia mysl v SShA* (*Marxist Philosophy in the USA*, 1980). He is also Editor-in-Chief of *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta (Moscow University Herald).*

Q: What are the role, the activity, the rights of the Christian people in this country?

A: I think being here you learned that the problem of religion in the Soviet Union is not a simple one. And maybe the reason for that complexity consists in the very fact that religious consciousness is very complicated. This includes not only beliefs in the supernatural phenomena and some sort of transcendental world, but it includes certain moral standards and even ideological ideas. On the other hand our society is a socialist society. It means that we have a certain ideology to build socialism, to build a society which has in our understanding equal opportunities for everybody, a society which has its basis just social relations, including economic possibilities, social ownership, etc.

At the same time socialist society has a certain ideology, a certain philosophy, which we consider scientific philosophy. And we relate our philosophical views in general with the ideas of Marxist-Leninist philosophy or Marxist-Leninist teaching. It means that on the basis of discussion of ideological aspects or rather the philosophical basis of Christianity on the one hand and Marxism-Leninism on the other, we have a sort of discussion. And we try to prove that Christianity is not a scientific world view. And being not a scientific philosophy, it cannot be a real basis for adequate orientation in the world, especially in terms of social relations. So it means that all the field in which we have controversies with Christianity in the Soviet Union is the field of ideological questions, the philosophical aspect of religion. But behind this aspect we have

extremely important borders of unity. It means that we have not any real contradictions between believers and nonbelievers as the citizens of one socialist society. It means that both believers and nonbelievers participate in the socialist society as active members of society. All believers are loyal to the Soviet power. We have actually the same political views, the same political philosophy. And at the same time the Soviet government from the beginning of its existence announced that people cannot be subdivided on the basis of their personal views. It means that all people in the Soviet Union are equal in terms of their beliefs, their consciousness, their philosophy. It means that nobody could be discriminated against on the basis of beliefs or nonbelieving. It means that society cannot interfere in Church life, but at the same time the Church cannot interfere in the social life, in the process of education, and in political life.

So now we have actually a social, political unity between all strata of society in the Soviet Union, including believers, not only Orthodox Christians but Muslims, Protestants, Catholics, and other members of religious confessions.

Q: Many Americans believe that the socialist order does discriminate against religious people and believe that Christians cannot be socialists.

A: I think it's easy to see that religion as a certain form of social consciousness is so complicated and maybe flexible that it could be combined with almost any kind of political philosophy. You know there are right-wing Christian political parties. There are liberal Christian movements. There are socialist Christian movements. In the Soviet Union there are talks among believers about the phenomenon of Christian communism or Christian socialism. It means some theologians, religious people, in the Soviet Union try to build a sort of bridge between their religious views and political views.

Q: Did you find this in your research on the nineteenth century too?

A: Of course the idea of Christian communism is very old. But for us the only field in which we argue with the Christians in the Soviet Union is the field of scientific dispute. It means we argue with the believers only on the basis of science, trying to show that the religious world view is not scientific. It doesn't provide good, adequate orientation for people. That's all. And we are arguing with them only on the basis of scientific controversies.

Q: So your appeal there is to scientific theory, to facts, to practice?

A: We compare Christian beliefs as ideology, as certain philosophy, with scientific philosophy, by which we mean Marxist-Leninist philosophy, or dialectical-historical materialism. We consider this philosophy as the greatest achievement of humankind, as the best result of the world-historical-philosophical process, as a phenomenon which accumulated and accumulates now the best results of the scientific-philosophical-ethical-esthetical thought of humankind. It doesn't mean we try to be separatists, being Marxist-Leninists. Maybe you know Lenin said it's impossible to be a Marxist if one does not study the whole rich heritage of humankind in the field of culture and spiritual life.

So it means for us Marxism-Leninism is the *last stage* of the world cultural development of humankind. And it means that we consider Christianity from a historical viewpoint as a specific phenomenon of social consciousness. We do not struggle with an ideal God. We do not struggle with people who believe in God. Let them discuss this problem, whether God exists or not. It's no problem for us. The only problem for us is to provide social conditions which can assure people that there is no special necessity to believe in God. We try to understand and try to show to believers that to be a believer does not mean to be a creative personality, because to be a believer doesn't mean he as a person is mature. It means that almost everybody can mislead him, at least in a political sense. And that is why we try to show that during the whole history of Christianity mostly ruling classes, leading social-political groups, tried to use religion as a tool for discrimination, for misleading people, for exploitation. That's why for us it is very important to show the social, political, and economic roots of religion and church activity. And we believe that it's possible to build a society which is free from religion. It is a society of free people, free in terms of their own destinies, their own moral standards. We believe that it's possible to build a society in which people will consider themselves as the real substance of history, a society in which people can cooperate with nature and with each other on the basis of human freedom and scientific understanding of the outside world.

Q: Then your appeal is to the real, everyday, practical conditions of life by which human values can be realized?

A: Yes. We usually consider the moral values of Christianity and other religions as a part of all-human morality, as we call it, or all-human norms of morality, because there is no special religious morality. All morality comes from the everyday experience of life, of people. So we don't consider that there is such special phenom-

enon as religious morality. Religiousness is just different forms of believing in the eternal life, in God—a mood. But these ideas do not consist in any moral standards. They prescribe, maybe, or guide certain moral values. They ascribe to paradise certain beliefs which come from our earthly life. That's why we do not consider religion as some moral teaching *per se*. We try to show what religious consciousness is by its nature, by its internal contents. But first of all we try to explain the origins, the social roots of any transcendental beliefs. And showing that we try to persuade people, "Do not believe in the things which really do not exist."

Q: Would you say that these illusions persist not so much because the economic conditions have not been corrected, because they have in the socialist order, but perhaps because certain personal conditions still require in some these illusions?

A: Of course there are a lot of post-imperialist and social circumstances which promote the believing of people, especially if we will take into account that the Church exists in the Soviet Union as a real phenomenon, a social institution. And reasons to believe exist in the Soviet Union. So it is not surprising that we have a lot of beliefs. But you know religion is a very old historical phenomenon. It's impossible to build a new society without religion for even one hundred years. And then we have very complicated relations with the world capitalist, papalist system. Then we have certain so-called global issues—let's say, pollution or ecology. It means that the world is moving by contradiction, and the real contradictions could not be understood very easily and quickly. And so we say that there are certain epistemological or gnoseological and social roots of religion. As for the social roots of religion, maybe it's easier to overcome them rather than the epistemological roots of religion, because the contradiction between knowledge and ignorance is one of the most fundamental contradictions for human life. For human beings, the entities which have the possibility to know something, knowledge is needed. The need for knowledge is one of the basic features of the human being.

Q: And religion supplies that need by illusions?

A: Yes. And religion provides the easiest way to overcome this.

Q: It's simple. Comforting, perhaps.

A: Yes. And it gives certain psychological relief, at least for a while, in terms of knowledge. But of course religion is a very interesting phenomenon, through which people can realize their needs for fantasy, let's say, frustrations of certain unreal needs. Maybe people even can know that their desire is not real, but

nevertheless they try to satisfy it through religion. Maybe it is some sort of art or creativity. You know, it's complicated. That's why we are talking about sociology of religion or psychology of religion. It means that it is a very complicated phenomenon. But I believe that people will develop their creative possibilities in the field of art, moral life, political activity, science, etc. Maybe they will not need to preserve such phenomena as in religion.

Q: Do you believe that Marxism-Leninism can in the long run answer the questions, in theory and practice, that religion has posed?

A: I think religion maybe within certain limits corresponds to the needs of people to find just a final solution, a final endlessness, to reach eternity, infinite fulfillment. In other words, religion is an illusory way, a false way, to reach something final—in space, time, our capacities, everything.

Q: Is that need for something final a genuine need?

A: It is one side of the contradictory needs—the need for something stable and the need for change. We are dialectical entities. But at the same time maybe we sometimes are tired. We try to stay on one of the poles of this contradiction. Some people try to fulfill their needs on the pole of stability. Other people try to satisfy the needs of the pole of struggle or transition. But the real life is the unity of contradictions—stability in change, development and something stable. Maybe some people can say that it is a tragedy. But I think it's a question we can ask but we cannot answer.

Q: Marxism-Leninism is a philosophy of process, of change.

A: Yes. But at the same time it considers the real world as a unity of continuity, stability, and qualitative changes, as a unity—both something stable and something changing.

Q: So what can you say to the person who wants to build a permanence? The religious person says God, the afterlife, eternal life. And what can the answer be from the point of view of communism?

A: Some people say, "Oh, it's not interesting to be with God because there is no struggle, no challenge, no choice, no process, no changing. And how can I feel free if I know that God can do everything for me?" It's a problem of choice. I think that some people can wish stability as a permanent struggle.

But in spite of our desires, our subjectivity, there is a certain objective process, and the point is just to study this process, this objective process. Maybe that's the only way for us to understand ourselves.

Q: That takes courage.

A: It takes a lot of courage, a lot of patience. And sometimes I think Marxist-Leninist philosophy includes some elements of the Stoic approach to objective reality.

Q: Selflessness. One must forget one's own individual desires in a sense, insofar as these are desires that are purely subjective, that cannot be objective—for instance, the desire to live. We are faced with death. But I think a social philosophy like Marxism-Leninism, a philosophy of history, of nature, means that we have to go beyond our individual death to the life of our species. Isn't it so?

A: Yes. Most people consider their personal life as temporal and do not believe in the transcendental. But some people say we can admit the infinity of ideas and even consciousness but on the basis of scientific understanding. But I think only science can give the answer about that—not our desires, not our subjectivity. Our subjectivity and our desires could be moving forces toward knowledge. But they don't give the answer.

IV

9. Conclusions

1. *The USSR is fundamentally a secular society, not religious.* Like all present-day developed societies, the USSR is built on large-scale industry, science, technology, large cities, public education, and now the advance into automation, computers, robots, and the other refinements of the scientific-technological revolution. Moreover, the dominant and explicit form of thinking, based on the premises and methods of the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, is scientific. Within such a political economy and ideology, religion as thought and practice must take a secondary place.

This should surprise no one who understands history and the evolution of the modern world. Wherever it has occurred, the transformation of a feudal economy to a capitalist one—i.e., the shift from rule of society by a land-owning Church to rule by monarchs and then a merchant class represented by monarchs or parliaments—has brought a progressive subordination of religious interests to the secular power and secular ideology. The revolution of capitalism was both a transformation in the productive forces and relations and a transformation in world outlook. In its general spirit and direction, capitalism was and is this-worldly and not other-worldly, materialistic and not spiritualistic, scientific and not religious.

When, for example, the rebellion of the American colonists against the British king succeeded at the end of the eighteenth century, the ex-colonists, having many dissident faiths, each of which, to get freedom, had to grant it to others, separated all religion from the State. (Eventually religion was removed from education through the creation of the common school.) The Americans laid the foundations for a secular society, allowing for the "freedom" of a great variety of faiths within the bounds of secular economy, politics, law, education, and culture. This separation of State and religion prevails today in the USA and is widely accepted.

Likewise when the Bolshevik revolution succeeded in 1917, the people began to create a society of Soviet power, a socialist and secular society ruled in principle by a this-worldly, scientific management of the affairs of economy, politics, law, education, morality, and other areas of social life. The ruling ideology of tsarism, supplied in large part by the supernaturalistic spiritualism of the Russian Orthodox Church, was displaced by the new outlook of the natural common sense of the peasant and industrial worker, of materialism and science, of Marxism-Leninism. The property of the Church was quickly appropriated for social use; and a mass campaign was undertaken to uproot the centuries-old religious ideology from the minds of the masses. Yet religion—as individual thought and subjective belief, as church buildings and ritual objects and worship services, as devotional literature—survived. But it did so removed from its ruling position; it became one of many social institutions under the rule of a secular economy, State, and laws.

The profound transformation from a supernaturalistic to naturalistic world view which marks our epoch is occurring in all countries, capitalist, socialist, and those in transition from one to the other. Caught up in this transformation in capitalist countries, religion faces a crisis of choice: it withdraws from the world process or elects to participate in it; and in the latter case it either reverts to reaction or sides with progressive forces. Socialist societies deliberately advance the secularization process by economic, political, legal and educational subordination of religion to the socialist order. I may illustrate this transformation by a particular experience of mine.

Today the skyline of Riga in the Latvian Republic is defined by seven or more church towers, still awesome when one looks up to them from below or down from their dizzying heights. But most people here do not wish to worship. What they want and turn out for in droves is the "Days of Art" whose bright costumes fill and color the broad square in front of the Dom Cathedral—or, as I myself could see and hear one cool June evening, a stunning organ concert inside the huge amplitude of the Cathedral. There, in this church that is no longer a church but is given over to public use, the high stained glass windows still stand in all their vivid glory of reds and blues, and the vast room resonates with the sound of the great organ and the gorgeous notes of the male soloist. We listen—rapt but not religious—to the resurrected voices of Bach, Nardini, Schubert, Liszt, Wagner, and others. Over the high pulpit that overhangs the central aisle stands the Archangel Gabriel—

darkened by time, he holds in his right hand his slender horn and blows down on the assembled multitude the mixed message of wrath and mercy; and in his left hand he holds a wreath of victory. Thus for a long age lived the otherworldly fears and hopes of the generation of the faithful who came and sat here and looked with uplifted eyes to the judgment of the heavenly powers in the drama of salvation.

Seated now inside this room of crowded memories we listen to the exquisite and divine "Ave Maria" with its religious theme that Franz Schubert had already transformed early in the last century—unaware that we are situated in the midst of history's intertwined and tangled contradictions. Nearly all of us are secular people hearing religious and very human music in a church that is and is not a church, inside the Latvian Republic, within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in a whole global community swept onward in the most revolutionary transition of its history. Nothing seems to withstand change; even the apparently enduring sentiments of this music and architecture are somewhat altered in this setting. Transformation is the powerful law of our epoch. The religious heritage of the past, carried by these forms into the present secular life, is being absorbed and transformed by it. Yet the heritage persists and is preserved, affecting secular sentiment, thought, and practice.

2. *In accordance with the constitution, the laws, and social practice in the USSR, Christians today are free to believe and to worship in keeping with their convictions.* They are likewise free to organize congregations, to rent, construct, and use buildings for the purpose of worship, to hold services, to conduct rituals and celebrate religious holidays, and in these ways and others to transmit their faith to the younger generation. Some denominations—the Russian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Armenian Apostolic, Lutheran, Georgian Orthodox—have their own seminaries in the USSR. Church leaders have free access to the leaders of other denominations in the Christian faith and other faiths in the USSR as well as to their counterparts abroad.

Many people in the West perceive the Revolution of 1917 as the initiation of the repression of Christianity. But in several senses the reverse was the case. By the Revolution scores of millions of Christians were liberated from the long drawn-out sufferings and terror of "theocratic caesaropapism" (T. B. Masaryk). The faithful of Orthodoxy were liberated from the arbitrary and cruel rule of the hierarchy, some of whom were shaken out of their autocratic as-

sumptions by the popular thrust of the Revolution. The small sects and denominations like the Baptists, who had been suppressed minorities under the iron heel of Orthodoxy, enjoyed a new freedom. Comparing their prerevolutionary state, both mundane and spiritual, with their postrevolutionary state, the vast majority of the faithful today would not care to turn the clock of history back.

But this liberation was not an unmixed blessing. The wholesale and merciless oppression of tsarism and the Orthodox Church, once toppled, produced a bitter reaction against Christianity among its victims. Once the centuries-old burden had been lifted from peasants and workers, once the huge difference that liberation made dawned on them, their resentment often knew no bounds and could not be contained. And it deepened, and their zeal was still more energized, when they listened to the acute critique that the trained Communists brought to the ideological struggle against religion. The result was an excessive crusade in both theory and practice—a result that Soviet scholars today are ready to admit.

3. *Like believers in other faiths, all Christians with few exceptions accept the conditions, limits, opportunities, and moral values of Soviet society and contribute to it.* They are ready and willing to live in it, obey its laws, work in and for it, and labor alongside others to solve their common problems. They subscribe to its basic moral values, norms, and aims. They try to carry out these in their personal and social lives. Accepting and contributing to Soviet society takes several forms.

There is, first, patriotic loyalty to country. Christians share in the feeling of all Soviet people that they would never revert to tsarism nor accede to subversion, invasion, or the attempt to exterminate their society in a nuclear holocaust. Like all Soviet citizens, of whatever religion, world outlook, ethnic background, or culture, they have a long memory and have not forgotten the Great October Revolution, the famine, the Civil War and foreign intervention, the enforced isolation, the industrial and agricultural struggles of the 1930s, the tragic toll and mighty triumph of the Great Patriotic War against fascism, the arduous labor to rebuild their country after the War, the alarming escalation of nuclear arms in the past forty years, and the struggle of the Soviet people and government for peace. No force in heaven or earth could move these Christians to separate themselves from love of their homeland, its society, and its people. Christians and Marxists in the USSR disagree on the final nature and destiny of things. But they are solidly united in their labor and social life. It is this common commitment, practical and

human, that runs deeper than ideological differences. It was such a bond that bound together believers and nonbelievers during the War and does so today in their embattled stand for peace. This cohesive power of the people has no regard for theory. It does not lose its way among abstractions and distinctions. It pulls and grips the people to earth with the gravitational force of necessity. Ontological arguments fly away with the wind. Everybody *believes* in defending the Motherland, in creating peace; everybody *disbelieves* in fascism, in a world of nuclear ash.

There is, second, the contribution of productive labor to the people's political economy. As in other societies where Christians dwell, virtually all Christians in the Soviet Union are well integrated into their society. True, a Christian—or anyone else who does not hold the Marxist-Leninist philosophy—is not admitted to the Communist Party. Yet Party members make up only about ten percent of the adult population so that most positions in the State apparatus and in the great number of voluntary civic organizations come from outside the ranks of the Communists. And while most of these in turn are Marxist-Leninists in their world view, the prevailing test of a person's worth is his or her capacity to do the job at hand. And besides the salaried jobs, which have included as many as 2.5 million unfilled jobs in recent years, there are the many millions of jobs in public organizations that call for workers—the trade unions, friendship societies with foreign countries, peace and solidarity committees, and the bodies of people's control, numbering about ten million people, who enforce the fulfillment of state plans, correct violations of disciplines, and oversee management and bureaucracy.

Under the constitution Christians enjoy the same freedoms and rights as everyone else—the right to work and to choose one's type of job in accordance with one's "inclination, abilities, training and education, with due account of the needs of society"; the right to rest and leisure; the right to health protection; the right to maintenance in old age, sickness, and disability; the right to housing; the right to education; the right to enjoy cultural benefits; the right to participate in the management and administration of state and public affairs; and so on. (Articles 40–48) Such rights are guaranteed to everyone quite apart from personal belief and ideology; for Article 52 of the constitution guarantees to all "freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion, and to conduct religious worship or atheistic propaganda." Thus it is forbidden by law to require one to state one's belief on any

official form or document. Refusal of a job or of admission to a school or college to any citizen, or expulsion from a job or school, on the basis of belief is contrary to law and punishable by law. Likewise interference with the performance of a religious ritual and with the distribution of atheistic propaganda is illegal.

I have heard from Soviet people occasional stories of the denial of educational rights to religious persons, and critical literature is quick to make such allegations but thin in their substantiation. But we should not be surprised at the existence of more than a few such cases, considering circumstances of Soviet life and history. From the other side, we should not be surprised at the existence of people, religious or nonreligious, who could not bear to live in a socialist society; all social systems have had their share of egocentric people.

There is, third, the exemplification of the common moral values of humanity in the family, workplace, and community. Christians have always affirmed the values of truthfulness, sincerity, honest work, modesty, self-sacrifice, service to others, and the principle of "One for all and all for one." Though no one perfectly fulfills these ideal forms of value, Soviet socialist society consistently holds them up as the goals and standards of human behavior. Thereby Christians are called upon and encouraged to be obedient to this component of their historic vision.

4. *Since the end of the Great Patriotic War in 1945, Christians have been active in many ways in the all-important struggle for peace.* This participation embraces the study of the Biblical message of peace, prayers for peace, and sermons and publications for peace. It is manifested in public declarations of the Church for peace, in the official engagement of the Church in ecumenical meetings and statements for peace, and in international gatherings and appeals for peace. The Church in its various branches during this forty-year period has borne growing witness to its faith in the Prince of Peace and his message of Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward All People. And the work for peace is inseparably linked to work for development and justice.

In this testimony of both words and deeds the Christian Church in the Soviet Union has not only responded to the world-wide awakening and militancy of the religious peace forces, an awakening to the gathering thunder that threatens nuclear doomsday. From its own side it has helped to enlarge and strengthen the ranks of those on the march for peace in all parts of the world, including secular peace forces such as the Union of Soviet Societies for

Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Peace Fund, and the World Peace Council. In this very urgent and actual endeavor, the ecumenical ties across denominational lines in the Soviet Union have advanced and grown firmer. Various faiths are more understanding, more tolerant, more appreciative of one another—more cognizant of the fundamentals of the Christian faith they share, and more sensitive to the needs and opportunities of a global humanity longing for the ministry of reconciliation, peace, justice, and fulfillment. Ecumenical ties across national and continental boundaries have likewise lifted the horizons of Church people in the Soviet Union—giving them a clearer understanding of the universal problems of peoples and nations and of their own mission in ministering to the world community.[1] The outpouring of warm response to Reverend Billy Graham, for example, expressed this sense of our common human frailty, hope, and need for worldwide understanding. It affirmed our solidarity and unity as much as an identity of intellectual belief and ideology.

The forces of secularization and "the acids of modernity" since their origin have weakened religious outlooks and religious institutions. Therefore ecumenical thinking and cooperation within nations and across national boundaries between the denominations are useful ways to render the Church more unified and effective. In the contemporary crisis, which for the faithful is both political and religious, the various denominations of Christians have found new vigor in their coming together with one another and with Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, and others in their own country. And those denominations of the Christian Church who belong to the powerful body of the World Council of Churches have both given and received strength in that membership. This widened work is not only a holding or defensive action. It must be understood as a creative and progressive response to the new and momentous challenges of the modern world. As the historic vehicles and disseminators of values, religious institutions have been compelled to face up to the critical global questions of peace and war, development and poverty, and equality and inequality. Some religious people and groups have chosen reaction, injustice, and the negation of death. Others have chosen progress, justice, and the affirmation of life. So far as the Christians of the Soviet Union have taken their stand on the side of peace and life, of progress and justice, they have experienced a new sense of the meaning of their faith in the world today. And in this respect their faith does not

separate themselves from others but rather joins them to non-Christians in the greatest cause on earth.

5. *The position of the ruling party, the CPSU, and the State toward Christianity today (persons, congregations, clergy, and administrative bodies) is a complex of policies adapted to the subject and the circumstances—it is a dialectical attitude that includes both affirmative and negative moments.*

First, in official policy members of Party and State are expected to uphold a scientific philosophy and method in all matters and hence to be critical of religion. At the same time they are urged to treat those who do not accept such philosophy—religious people—with the same regard as they would anyone else. "The Party uses ideological means for the broad dissemination of a scientific materialistic view of the world, and for overcoming religious prejudices, at the same time respecting the feelings of believers."[2]

There are several reasons for this attitude. The first is that *prima facie* every person, every citizen, deserves respect as a person quite apart from his or her beliefs.

Second, "many religious organizations play an important role in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and resolution of the global problems of the contemporary world"; and therefore it is argued that "we must not wound the feelings of believers, and we must not allow democratic forces to be split along religious lines into atheists and defenders of religion."[3]

Third, argument and behavior that hurt the sense of identity and self-esteem of believers are usually counterproductive, causing them to remain even more firmly fixed in their beliefs. A distinction is drawn between (a) the individual personality along with the work of the believer and (b) his or her system of religious over-beliefs, which are considered to be fantasy and illusion. The personality must be respected and not humiliated or degraded; and his or her ideas must be altered or eradicated in the most effective way possible. A head-on polemical attack is usually not the best way.

This approach in practice corresponds to a new emphasis in the scholarly understanding of religion. From the Enlightenment onward the critique of religion concentrated on the belief in the supernatural and the fictional and imaginary character of the objects of such belief; but the Marxist today must grasp these ideas and their real meaning as functions of their social context. Thus religion is viewed as a real phenomenon arising out of social consciousness and common faith, out of a search for moral, human values and ways of avoiding evils. Dogmas, myths, and rituals are

thrown up by people in this effort and reflect the content of genuine human morality.[4] Marx himself, it is asserted, used an "objective method" that showed that religious ideas are reflections in the consciousness of whole masses of people struggling with problems of nature and society; and these ideas are compensations, illusions, and fetishes that mirror the failures of such mass practical activity. Thus, it is said concerning religion, it is the laws of social development, "not religious or educational activity, that, in the final analysis, determine its fate."[5] This viewpoint has always been in the writings of Marx; but what is striking is that after nearly seven decades of intensive atheistic education some Soviet scientists are recognizing that education is not as determinative as long thought.

Fourth, from this new sociological view of religion comes another attitude toward Christians: cooperation in everyday life, in place of work, in social life, in political work for the improvement of conditions at home and for progress in the struggle for peace and justice in international affairs. Collective work, concrete example, personal emulation—these are considered to be the best teachers, not abstract critiques of a person's ideas. This attitude has its counterpart among Christians, who believe that the virtues they demonstrate in practice will convince unbelievers of the rightness of their faith. But a deeper motivating condition for both sides is the necessity of work, of constructing a developed society, and of saving the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe.

A fifth official attitude is opposition to all acts of disruption and destruction of the working of the socialist order by law-breaking when such acts are done in the name of religion. For most societies we could assume this attitude to be normal, and it would not be worthy of mention. All societies assume the right to curb and punish law-breakers. But for many years a loud hue and cry has been raised in the West by those who have supposed that "religious dissenters" have been tried, convicted, sentenced, fined, and jailed for their religious beliefs. But this supposition is not supported by the evidence. People are punished for specific acts of law-breaking If a specific illegal act, such as organizing a congregation without registering it with the government or printing and distributing an unlicensed religious tract is carried out, what is punishable is not the religious content of such an act but the status of the act under the law. Critics may object that the law is too restrictive. They may or may not be so; in any case, that is an issue for the Soviet people to decide. Furthermore, secular laws generally do not protect religious people *ad libitum.* From time to time in the United States one

reads of a person who murders another "because God told me to do so." But to try and imprison such a murderer is not regarded here as an infringement on the person's religion. That Americans may print and distribute unlicensed religious tracts shows that the legal bounds we draw around religion are different from those in the Soviet Union. And the definition of those bounds did not drop out of the sky; it came out of seventeenth century England and the struggle of political and religious radicals against the Crown and our own distinctive economic, political, and religious history—as the Soviet definition of the legal position of religion came out of their history.

A recent statement summarizes the position of the Soviet Communists in this matter:

> *There must not be any let up in work with such a particular group of the population as believers.* Part of the people—and, frankly, not such a small one either—are still under the influence of religion. Numerous ideological centers of imperialism are trying to maintain and, moreover, foster religious sentiments and impart to them an anti-Soviet and nationalist bias. A special stake is placed on religious extremists, while allegations about 'violations of freedom of conscience' in the USSR are spread.
>
> What can be said in this regard? Everyone knows about our constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience. The communists are consistent atheists but they do not impose their world outlook on anyone. Our method is education, conviction, propaganda. But when we come across facts of violations of socialist laws and subversive political activity which is only camouflaged by religion, we act as our constitution requires.[6]

Sixth, the ideological struggle goes forward uninterruptedly against the supernaturalistic and nonscientific world outlook of religion. Since the beginning of Soviet Russia, this has been a consistent policy, except for the war years. But whereas in the early years strenuous massive efforts were made to wipe out religious ideology willy-nilly, without regard for the consequences, the emphasis today—when religion as institution and ideology has no material base and limited psychological power—is flexibility and persuasion. The overcoming of the religious world outlook is viewed not as an end in itself but as a symptom of a deeper problem and as a means to personal liberation.

Soviet scientists underline that the work in scholarship, propaganda, and agitation is not a simple and negative exercise designed

alone to demystify and dissolve the idea of God and other religious notions. Taking a psychological and sociological approach, they believe that all ideas are in some sense the reflexes of everyday practical activity, of social relations, and of personality structure. Therefore for convinced believers the corrective of illusory ideas—as religious ideas are considered to be—lies not in intellectual negation but in changed practice, changed social relations, and changed personality structure. And such changes cannot be accomplished easily and quickly. Systematic and sustained attention must be given to the reformation of the conditions of the upbringing of the young in family, school, and cultural institutions. Greater progress must be made in the scientific, esthetic, and moral education of adult working people. The point of ideological work is not merely ideological. The point is to help people develop and realize their own needs and powers as creative and social beings. It is to help them clear away all obstructions, mental and physical, theoretical and practical, in this process.

6. *The differences between Christianity and Marxism are in part differences in their conceived human values.*

As a world view that has come to state power, Marxism-Leninism faces in religion, particularly Christianity, two deep and complex problems. The first is physical and historical. Religion in the USSR is and has been for nearly seventy years a physical fact of marked proportions, an inheritance from the past that cannot be easily altered or abolished. The church buildings are there, the objects of ritual, the religious paintings and music and litanies and other art—and, as heavy and obdurate, the physical habits of masses of people, sometimes as resistive to change as the stones of the temples themselves. Theirs are the habits of generations of cultic practice, habits of feeling and emotion, habits of thought exercised in a religious context. In this sense religion is a physical presence in socialist society that will not be effaced by force. If it is to be diminished in strength and influence, what is to be done?

For the new Soviet State the first step toward an answer was the 1918 decree on religion which socialized all Church property, placed the leasing of buildings in the hands of the State, separated the Church from the State and from schools, forbade all monetary transactions by the Church except voluntary contributions, and limited religion to the privacy of conscience and worship. Ten years later, in 1928, a decree required that religious organizations of twenty or more adults must register with the government, exclude children, eschew cultural activity, submit to removal of their ex-

ecutives by the State, and limit their activities to their own geographical area. These restrictive regulations were rigidly enforced through the 1930s and up until the concordat of the Great Patriotic War. But in 1959 the Khrushchev policy imposed on believers harassment, investigations, interrogations, demotion and dismissal from jobs, expulsion from study in higher education, and interference with worship. During 1960–1964 one-half of the churches were closed. The Baptists and the Orthodox protested. After the departure of Khrushchev in 1964 the closing of the churches ceased and the use of force was modified. Atheistic propaganda continued, making massive use of lectures, pamphlets, books, radio, television, newspapers, clubs, group discussions, and the schools. Scholarship shifted to concrete, practical, applied research.[7] During the last two decades Soviet Party leaders and scientists have come to realize that abstract refutation of religious ideas, slogans and rhetoric, and coercive measures against religious practices are not the most effective ways of reducing religion's hold and influence. Today scientists emphasize the creation of secular rituals and holidays. They urge cooperative work with believers—in places of work, in civic affairs, in the cause of preserving and strengthening peace, in the attainment of a more just international order. They are at work improving the positive content of a scientific orientation to the world.

While confronting these problems of how to deal with religion in practice, Soviet scholars have come up against a second and equally stubborn problem, the philosophical one. Here I refer not to questions of ultimate reality but to questions of human values. Marxism in its foundation is a philosophy directed to the natural, material, social world. It is a philosophy of social action, of collective problem-solving through reason, science, technology, and political work. It reflects and is eminently fitted for the modern scientific-industrial revolution and owes its success to its power to understand and guide this revolution. Marxism is convincing to energetic and rational people—to youth, to physical and mental workers, to scientists and other members of the intelligentsia, to technicians and managers, to political organizers and planners. It stresses the domination and control of the environment, both social and natural, finding its fulfillment in social action and progress. It does not rank highly meditation and detachment, or the experience of intense personal feeling such as felt in church ritual and liturgy, or the jubilation of the evangelical heart and the desire to do good, or the qualities of interpersonal love. Communist morality is not

opposed to moral feeling and sentiment, but prescribes that they be expressed in collective actions for the material and cultural development of all.[8]

By contrast, the Christian religion in its classical form has its center in love. It is not a path of life directed to thought combined with militant struggle, either personal or social. In fact it turns away from the struggle for power and the dominant remaking of nature, society, and history in favor of a life dedicated to the selfless service of others. In its motive and consequences, it is personal and not institutional. For Christians the detachment of thought and the attachment of practice are not conceived to be instrumental to the all-round development of personality or to the reconstruction of social institutions. These, like all else, are secondary to the union and ecstasy of love. Human realization for the Marxist comes through the regulation and release of desires in the real external world, in the collective task of manipulating materials and recreating the social order. For the Christian, however, release comes through love of others, of all persons ideally; and desire, whether biological or mental, is subsidiary to that love. I was struck on seeing, in one of the church offices in the Soviet Union, some of the workers greeting one another with their holy kisses.

Christianity in the Soviet Union appeals precisely to those who by temperament or social situation find that the values of traditional Marxism do not meet their personal needs and wants. Such are sizable portions of those not in the work force—the retired, dependent, elderly, some women—as well as those otherwise alienated from the productive processes of society, processes in the economy and in decision-making groups that are fulfilling to those who participate in them. Aside from the able-bodied who might be and could be brought into these processes by effective social policy, children, certain elderly people, certain of the disabled, and the chronically ill will never be integrated into these processes. At this point the socialist formula, "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work performed," has been and must be rethought and broadened to take account of such persons.

With regard to those drawn to Christianity in the USSR—as for the slaves of the Roman empire and the peasants of European feudalism—the Christian message of faith, hope, and love speaks to their condition of geographical displacement and psychological separation. It often answers, however well, to their need for an intimate and meaningful community. In Marx's language, their religion is "the spirit of a spiritless situation"[9]—though, to be sure,

that situation is qualitatively different from the situation of the oppressed in class societies, is not endemic to the society, and can in principle be overcome by sound social and cultural policy.

Yet the lure of the Christian message—or any similar message—is not merely a social phenomenon symptomatic of illusions of heart and mind. It affirms perspectives and practices that are not central to the formal philosophy of Marxism, though they are not necessarily denied by that philosophy—the importance of tender compassion for others, the need for purity of heart, the corruption of sinful selfishness, the self-destructive dangers of power, knowledge, and material possessions, and the temptations of pride that lead to personal arrogance and social tyranny. So far as these perspectives are essentially human, people will be drawn to them, in whatever philosophical or religious form they may be expressed.

Traditional Christianity has been syncretistic and flexible, manifesting its basic values in many different ways and adapting its practices to a variety of social milieus. Christian history has given rise to certain elemental institutional forms: the "church" type of organization dispensing grace through sacramental rituals and a hierarchy, claiming all members of society and adjusting to and serving secular society; small communities—"sects"—composed of voluntary members in an exclusive fellowship of love, with strong group identity and some hostility to other groups; and the "denomination" that liberally grants membership, tolerates heterodoxy, and accepts the prevailing politics and ethics of surrounding society. Further, Christian groups have variously accentuated different components of the faith—knowledge and belief, emotion and feeling, and practice, either in ritual or in good works for individuals or society.

In the history of Russia and the USSR the Russian Orthodox Church has been built on a strong traditional liturgy closely associated with national and cultural tradition. In the process it has drawn and held the faithful not through thought but through icon art, music, and the personal emotions of serenity and elation generated in the worship service. The Baptists, who are still sectarian with denominational leanings, organize their faith around other values. They are bound to one another by close ties of family and religious commitment. Their high moral standards are reinforced by these bonds and group sanctions, and in fact they tend in this respect to move toward congruity with Communist morality. As the Orthodox service gives peace of mind and esthetic pleasure to those in need of comfort, the Baptists provide the warmth and

stability of the small primary group for persons uprooted by the great social upheavals of Soviet history and present-day industrialization. Like certain other sects, such as the Pentecostals, the Baptists also offer emotional outlets in their services—with their congregational singing, preaching, fervent prayers, and frequent communions—the balm in Gilead for dislocated and lonely people. Some of the faiths, rebellious against Soviet ideology and policy, are even "revolutionist"; they represent the ideological opposition of religion to Communism, a form of opposition that is generally very weak in the Soviet Union because religious belief as knowledge is weakly developed in the predominant faith, the Orthodox.[10]

All these various religious groups with their various appeals can attract and hold people as long as no competing alternative is available. Marxists in the Soviet Union have therefore a range of religious situations to deal with; "religion" in social life is a conglomerate of communities answering with variable effectiveness to a variety of human needs, some genuine, some spurious.

7. *The present strength, special role, and future of Christianity in the USSR are unclear.*

Precise and comprehensive information about the numbers of Church members and believers who are not Church members in the Soviet Union does not exist. Some denominations do not conduct or do not publish their own censuses; and in accordance with the constitution the government has no census concerning numbers of believers and nonbelievers. Although some bodies like the Baptists claim a growth in religious interest, there is probably an overall slow decline in religious membership and interest. One of our interviewees cited above referred to studies showing that in the early 1980s ten and twelve percent of the people sampled in four different places of the Russian Republic were religious (Christian, in these studies). One of the studies indicated a decrease of 2.8 percent among believers from 1965 to 1980–1981. A recent study of religiousness in three regions of the Latvian Republic showed that for Catholics, Orthodox, and Lutherans, 69.8 percent, 57.1 percent, and 56.4 percent respectively remained believers over a ten-year period; a small portion (3.3, 1.7, and 1.8 percent) became more believing while a few were converted (3.4, 2.5, and 2.8 percent). But large numbers became less believing; 23.5 percent of Catholics, 38.7 percent of Orthodox, and 39.0 percent of Lutherans.[11]

What special and advanced virtues, if any, do the Christians have to bring to Soviet socialist society? Church historians distinguish

between opposed types of Christian organizations and activites: the priestly and the prophetic functions, the Constantinian and apocalyptic traditions, and the Church that is adjusted to the world and the State over against the sect that either withdraws from the social order or rebels against it (Ernst Troeltsch). The established Church has always been conservative, allied with the ruling classes, and therefore, when confronted with social innovation and heresy, reactionary and protective of ruling class interests. Progress in religion has appeared in those radical and heretical groups whose physical and ideological refusal of the old order reflected—in religious form—the antagonistic movement and aspirations of a new class. For example, when the feudal economy, dominated by the land-owning Catholic Church, organized around status, authority, and hierarchy, was giving way to the class of individualistic merchants, industrial entrepreneurs, townsmen, and the jobless peasants, squeezed into poverty in this transition—a new form of Christianity arose giving ideological expression to the revolutionary movement. That new form appeared in the thought of Huss, Münzer, Luther, and many others. As Engels put it, "The ineradicability of the Protestant heresy corresponded to the invincibility of the rising burghers."[12] In like manner the early Christian community was a communal revolt of the poor and dispossessed against imperial rule. Progressive religion has been the trumpet of the progressive classes in successive class battles throughout a large part of history.

But what is religion to do in a secular society of socialism—in which all exploiting classes have disappeared, the ruling power has passed into the hands of the people (still classes of workers, collective farmers, and intelligentsia), the destructive antagonism of classes is a thing of the past, progress is defined as the development of socialist society in the direction of communism, and religious activity as distinct from secular is essentially personal and peripheral to the driving forces of society?

On this question the Christians in the Soviet Union with whom I talked communicated two thoughts. First, the Christians, accepting the material foundations, moral values, and goals of the socialist economy and State, can contribute their best to the fulfillment of these goals. These values are fundamental human values that Christians have affirmed for two thousand years and that they now for the first time in history have an opportunity to help to incarnate on a large scale in social practice. Second, the Christians can strive to embody in their own personal attitudes and actions the spiritual

virtues that they take to be grounded in a transcendent and eternal order above and beyond this mundane world of society, history, and nature. This world of the spirit, of the soul, of the Divine Life is traditionally believed to be different from and opposite to this world with its matter, energy, space-time, and human values. It is in tension with this world. But the tension is not antagonistic. Faith is not conceived to be in contradiction to the humanistic goals and achievements of socialism. Rather it is seen as a perfecting of the good life to be achieved here below. Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Byelorussia has written:

> The life of man and humanity is a gift of God and therefore it is sacred. . . . The principal idea of Christianity is the reconciliation of the Creator with Mankind through the Sacrifice of Crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ Who fulfilled the will of His Heavenly Father . . . reconciling the world unto himself. . . . We, on our part, believe and confess that reconciliation with other men is a step towards reconciliation with God. How can you love God if you are not reconciled with your brother (1 Jn. 4.20)? asks Holy Scripture. . . . Our path to God lies through men, because God too appeared to us through Incarnation. . . . man, due to free will granted him, is responsible for preserving peace and life on Earth. . . . We stand for the harmonious advancement of every nation so that every individual will have unlimited opportunities for personal development and will, in return, dedicate himself to the service of all.[13]

Socialism in the USSR—now in place almost seventy years—has altered the thought and practice of religious people and their institutions. It has removed the Church from economy and politics by socializing the Church's property. It has excluded the Church from education by putting the schools into the hands of a people's secular State. The creation of works of art is now no longer the monopoly of an ecclesial hierarchy with its skilled hirelings; the life of the arts and culture now belongs to the people, freely to create and enjoy. The corruption of a parasitic class has disappeared. Church leaders have been displaced from positions of unearned power and privileged comfort. Many casual and frivolous believers have fallen away. Lay Christians have been stripped of their self-righteous surety and their irresponsible escape into fantasy—compelled like everybody else to labor for the common good by the sweat of their brows, and reduced to the bread-and-salt essentials of their faith. They have learned from the everyday life of socialism the meaning of the Gospel: that we are judged by our fruits; that faith without works is dead; that whatsoever we would that others

should do to us, we should do even so to them; that love is the fulfillment of the law; that if anyone says he loves God and hates his brother, he is a liar; that the poor shall be rewarded and the rich sent empty away; that the peacemakers are blessed as children of God, and the gentle-spirited shall possess the earth.

Out of its persecutions, tribulations, and sufferings, out of famine, civil war, intervention, blockade, subversion, world war, cold war, and the imposed burden of an arms contest—out of the mounting specter of nuclear nothingness—a portion of the Church has been purified of much pretension and egoism. Its thinking has been refined in the fires of sacrifice. It has addressed the momentous issues of peace, the reconciliation of nations and races, and the dispensation of freedom, equality, and justice for all peoples. It has learned the lesson of comradeship and unity. Hitherto abstract and esoteric meanings of "transcendence" have been transformed into the immanence of historical struggle, where life is preserved and renewed and good is made incarnate by the labors and blood of the common people.

Therefore all those self-proclaimed "Christians" who have fled from this historic task and test and who conspire to bring down socialism in one way or another are false Christians: either they hold a naive and unknowing conception of their faith, or they are subversive wolves in the sheep's clothing of the Church.

The future of Christianity in the USSR of course depends in large part on what the Socialist State and Christians do in coming years. Since 1917 the State has profoundly altered the position, activity, and strength of Christians and Christian institutions. It has destroyed the economic power of the Church by socializing its property. It has displaced its political power by separating Church from State. It has greatly reduced its educational sway by the establishment of public schools, the prohibition on private schools, and a virtual State monopoly, public and secular, over the media and the arts. It has made notable progress in removing conditions that commonly lead to the adoption of religious faith and practice—poverty and material want; ignorance; spiritual isolation and alienation; passivity with respect to democratic decision-making and the productive process; lack of vocational skills and of a developed personal and cultural life; deprivation in the satisfaction of personal, interpersonal, esthetic, social, moral, cognitive, imaginational, and other needs; an impoverished sense of the meaning of life and want of an authentic world view—of society, history, the earth, and the cosmos, and of our place and role in our world.

The State has not been so effective in changing the influence of primary groups (the family, the intimate circle) on religious feelings, beliefs, and practices—or in redirecting the inertial force of social, ethnic, and religious tradition. Religious painting, music, prayer, ritual, and scripture persist—not only because they are familiar and habitual; they touch deep emotional springs in memory and human need, rebuild emotional bonds with others, recall the past, celebrate the present, and generate hope toward the future. For many they give a satisfying structure to psychic life.

Marxism-Leninism is an objective science, a passionate program of social action for the improvement of things. It is not concentrated on the spiritual state of the individual personality—though it by no means considers that unimportant. As a philosophy Marxism-Leninism has no ritual of confession, repentance, forgiveness, and redemption. It is not concerned with the theory and discipline of individual salvation. It offers no drama of soul-making, of paradise, fall, alienation, reconciliation, and everlasting life. It tells no fables, legends, epics, or cosmic stories of archetypical heroes or magnificent gods who hold the destinies of worlds in their hands or win those worlds by supernatural deeds. Marxism has no overruling myth, no emotional and personal narrative that moves the elemental feelings of people. It narrates no Garden of Eden, no primordial parents of the human race, no personal Savior, no death and resurrection of the body, no communion of saints, no life everlasting. Nor does it have a baby in a manger, a myth of the Messiah arrived and yet coming, a Cross and a Crown, a Madonna and a Kingdom of heaven. Nor a last judgment, an end of all earthly things, and a final revelation. But Christianity, in its traditional dispensation, has. As an institution almost 2000 years old, Christianity, with its poetry and myth and fantasy, with all the arts of its rituals, with their affecting human images and their vivid evocation of a common human condition, has through such symbolism maintained a powerful hold over the hearts and imaginations of masses of people.

Yet, by its theory and practice, Marxism in its short career on this planet has managed to attract and organize more than a thousand million people within its economic and political world and to mobilize many more millions, in both developed and undeveloped countries, in the direction of socialism. It is far and away the most consequential economic, political, and philosophical movement of this century. The task of developing the arts, the rituals, the emotional appeal, and the familiar institutions in ways to compete with

Christianity and other religions lies before it. And what Communists do in the future will be affected by transformations in Christian belief and practice (as Christians will also be affected by changes among Communists) and by the evolution of their common social life.

The decisive long-range question for Christianity in this setting is whether it can adjust its mode of thought to the demands of a socialist order and, more important, to the general world view underlying the sciences. This in fact is the intellectual problem for all religions whose patterns of thought took their rise and shape in a prescientific era. The collision between the old supernaturalistic world view and the modern one called for by a secular world and science defines the intellectual crisis of religion in our modern world. Can religious devotion and thought create fresh meaning and relevance through a new way of thinking that grows out of our common life and is compatible with what scientific studies tell us about history and nature? Various forms of religious humanism, naturalistic theology, and liberation theology in Latin America—which combines political and economic liberation, class struggle, and class consciousness with spiritual liberation from sin and liberation into communion with Christ and one another—such are some attempts to revitalize faith in our present world. And Marxists generally welcome such movements. But in the USSR it is not evident that this kind of reformation in religious orientation has advanced beyond social practice to the level of new theological formulation.

8. *The moral values shared by Christians and Marxists in the USSR are a meeting point and basis for their present and future cooperation.*

We have already spoken of the pre-eminent issue of peace and the universal imperative to secure it; for without peace all life forms on our planet will be forever extinguished. All will be *pulvis et umbra,* dust and shadows—not even shadows, for the sun will no longer shine on a barren waste of earth shrouded in the dark clouds of a nuclear winter. On this, everybody from the Baltic to the Bering Sea agrees.

Standing on this foundation are the other values, material and spiritual, essential to a realized human life—values affirmed by Christians and Marxists, in theory and practice, in past times and present. The classical Christian statement of virtue is this:

> The commandments . . . are summed up in this sentence, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.' . . . Love is patient and kind; love is not

> jealous or boastful; it is not arrogant or rude. Love does not insist on its own way; it is not irritable or resentful; it does not rejoice at wrong, but rejoices in the right. Love bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things.[14]

And here is a recent Communist formulation of morality:

> —*a collectivist morality,* the fundamental principle of which is 'One for all and all for one.' This morality is incompatible with egoism, self-love, and self-interest; it harmoniously blends the common, collective and personal interests of the people;
>
> —*a humanistic morality* which ennobles the working man, holds deep respect for him and is tolerant of infringements upon his dignity. It asserts truly humane relations between people—relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, good will, honesty, simplicity, and modesty in private and public life;
>
> —*an active, vigorous morality* which stimulates one to ever new labour achievements and creative accomplishments, encourages one to take a personal interest and part in the affairs on one's work collective and of the entire country, to be implacable in rejecting everything that contradicts the socialist way of life and persistent in the struggle for the communist ideals.[15]

The differences between these two declarations of moral values and virtues are evident: the Christians emphasize personal feeling and disposition, interpersonal compassion and active concern; the Communists highlight the solidarity of the group, productive labor, loyalty to nation and its socialist society, and struggle for these values. Christians have traditionally grounded their morality in a transcendent source and end, while Communists are dialectical and historical materialists. The Christian statement reflects the life of a small communal minority living within the limits of an imperial slave economy; the Communist formulation comes out of a highly developed industrial society.

But what is notable is the broad humanistic basis of agreement between these two confessions. Both call for surrender of self in support of the life and welfare of each and all, of humanity as a whole. Both are for humanity, mutual helpfulness, and harmony among people. Both are against death, indifference and hostility, and discord. This set of mutual convictions becomes a natural and normal bond between people—Christians, other religious people, Marxists. Such a common faith makes it easy for these people of divergent cosmologies to live and work together in concord in the place and culture they share on this earth.

In my conversations with them, several Marxists scholars expressed in an almost matter-of-fact way their concurrence with certain moral values of Christians. Of course this is not an acknowledgement of an identity of positions. But this kind of statement came as a surprise to me, since when in 1970 I had conducted interviews with Soviet scientists on the same subject no such point was made.

In the path of Lenin, Soviet moral thinkers have viewed their own work and the enterprise of socialism as a continuation of the great humanistic heritage of the past. A recent statement voices this idea anew:

> Our morality has assimilated both the universal moral values and the norms of conduct of people and relations between them, which have been set by the popular masses in the course of their centuries-old struggle against exploitation, and for freedom and social equality, for happiness and peace.[16]

Since various religions for many centuries have upheld these same moral values—though not always successfully, and not usually in social struggle—Marxism-Leninism makes common cause with religious persons and groups whenever and wherever they adopt such values in their thought and practical activity.

Soviet scientists also follow Lenin's position on the correct attitude toward past culture. "Only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us to create a proletarian culture . . . . You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind."[17] The religious forms of history contain such treasures and therefore call out for the knowledge that brings enrichment and for their transformation. Perhaps the artists—the novelists and poets and filmmakers and painters—are in the vanguard of this transformational work.

* * *

In Jurmala in the Latvian Republic I visited the studio of Olita Abolina and her daughter Inesa, both ceramists. As we entered their two-story house sheltered by high shade trees, three white cats scurried to the cover of leafy flower beds—unconcerned about Christianity and Marxism!

Olita Abolina is short and sturdy, with strong hands, a wide and

open face, brown eyes, and direct gaze. Her speech is spare and simple; as in her work with materials, she wastes no gestures. She smiles and laughs frequently, adding her tart commentary to the comic in life; she sees the variety, the contradictory, the tragic. The artisan and artist have often been closer to life than the religious person, the philosopher, or the politician.

Olita Abolina's work has been exhibited in many parts of the world. The winner of numerous international prizes, she was the first to receive the international prize in ceramics in the Soviet Union and the first ceramist there about whom a book was published. Her subjects are often those of common life, past and present: folksongs, the varied life of peasants, women with kerchiefs, her grandmother's wedding party, her father, a wig-maker, the temporary sheds of housing workers, the absurd bulk of hockey players (in caricature), the innocence of children. Much of this is in robust and exuberant exaggeration. Her work has a forceful moral message, bringing together opposites in Odysseus' men being turned into pigs by their own lust, in "Love and Money," and in her attachment of the white flower of weddings to a cactus plant. Peace is a great concern of hers. "Peace to the World," a part of a larger work called "Variations on a Gothic Theme," has three long-robed figures, their anxious faces and uplifted arms imploring the world for peace. Another part of the same work, "Burnt Muses," is the voiceless cry of mournful maidens. "They say," Abolina explains, "that when the guns are talking the Muses will be silent. And if war comes, no voice will be heard from the Muses; they will be burned." I asked her about this theme. "All the artists speak for peace," she replies.

She works with Biblical figures and motifs. Here are Yahweh and Adam, primitive and cramped in body and facial expression but recognizably human, while Eve stands between them, taller than they, in the flower of youth. She is soft, plump, and playful, smiling at the foolishness on both sides. With one hand she grooms her long hair, her head resting on her shoulder in a sign of conciliation. In her other hand rests an apple. On the one side Yahweh, bearded, bent, and old, lifts a stern finger to forbid the sin of delight; while on the other side, Adam, a large leaf at his loins, rages like a forest chimpanzee. Eve remains energetic, round, and guileless; in this scene she seems to be the only fully human being, happy and carefree, the creative center between tabu and appetite.

Abolina has retained her own favorites in this studio. "I will never sell them—not even when I need money." Her most beloved

creation is a figure of Christ, a slender youth yearning upward and afar toward a better world, his body gently bent, rendered with tender care. Lot's wife is there, looking back, as salt commences to rise out of the ground; doubting Thomas; and the spring of water to drink from which will save one from compromise with evil. Olita Abolina has reshaped these archetypes into the believable people of today. She has created her own world out of clay, water, fire, and thought.

She is an artist of ideas. "Soviet art," she says, "is based on the idea and its connection with material. I am not sure I am doing this, but I hope my daughter will do it." As a student at the Academy, Inesa was already winning prizes. She is now able to exhibit her work through the Union, to work full-time, and to earn a good living. I asked her who decides what is exhibited. "I decide what to give, but it decides what to take." Her work does not handle traditional themes as much as her mother's and is more abstract. "Flying Birds" is her interpretation of unidentified flying objects. She has an assured future as an artist—not only because of her fine training and skill but also because of an appreciative people in Latvia who every April turn out in big crowds in Riga to support "Days of Art," a ten-day fair where artists with 360 exhibitions in the streets demonstrate how they work and sell their products to an excited public.

* * *

And how do the Christians respond to the new occasions of socialism in the USSR? Two illustrations have come to me from the Kamenshikov family in Moscow. Sasha and Sara are both journalists, Marxist in outlook, who expressed great respect for the "deeply religious" persons they have known in the USSR (and the USA)—persons who *believed* in people and who worked in serious commitment for good causes. Sasha recalled his lasting impressions of two religious personages he had interviewed—a Jesuit priest from Italy and Archbishop Markarios of Cyprus. Sara described a member of Sasha's family:

"Mariya Petrovna, Sasha's great-aunt, was born in 1904 and lived in a village in the area of Ryazan. She died a couple of years ago. She was very beautiful—alive, dynamic—one of these small country women who are involved in everything. She got very involved in collectivization when they started collectivizing. She was also very religious. And she became sort of automatically the person in the village who read the psalter because the church was in the next

village over. And so when they wanted somebody close by they'd call on Mariya Petrovna. And she'd read the prayer long into the night, and the next day. Some of the readings were specifically for funerals—*pominki* [commemoration for the dead]; there are a lot of days on which you remember the dead. So it was for these services—at weddings, births, services of that sort, religious holidays—that she'd be called upon. She was very highly respected in the village for this. She loved it."

A friend remarked, "But she was active also in promoting the transition to socialism."

Sara replied: "Yes, that too. She didn't see any contradiction. In fact, she described to me the time when she was working in a laundry. And I asked her if there was any conflict betweeen holding a job in socialism and religious holidays when she wanted to go to church. She said she remembered one time when she was in the laundry doing her work and the head of the laundry came in and said, 'Masha, what are you doing here? You know it's St. Peter's day. Get out there to the church. Why aren't you doing your duty?' And literally he shooed her away from the job and into the church. So she said there was no problem."

Andrei, the Kamenshikov's oldest son, eighteen years old, just finishing his first year in philosophy at Moscow State University—and now on the very eve of his departure for army service, a sad sign of our times—recounted this: "A few days ago I was in Pskov, an old Russian city close to Estonia. They have an old Kremlin, perhaps six hundred years old. And in the middle of the Kremlin they have a beautiful church. And I was there Sunday during the service. It was very interesting to listen to the priest. He started by saying people should not acquire material things. Today many people are looking for good clothing and things like that, and these are not important. People are not very religious today, he said. They think more in terms of material well-being and they think man is all-powerful and they forget that that's not true. We can fall ill and be less powerful. The problem is that people don't believe, they don't believe in God today. And that's why people start to look for much more than they need, for wealth. People ought to fulfill the religious principles—to work conscientiously, to think about the things of the spirit rather than the body. It is God's will, he said, that one must work well. The religious idea that one should work well is the basis for the socialist idea that each one must work in order to receive something—from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work. That is what the priest said. He said that this

socialist principle is the same as the one in the Bible.[18] And he spoke about war and peace, developing the idea of the need for religious people to contribute to the struggle for peace."

Yes—if we do not work, who shall eat? And if we do not create peace, who shall live? These are tasks before the people of the USSR—to work well, to wage and win the struggle for peace. All of the Soviet people, of whatever philosophical belief, are united on their belief in human life, on the imperative to save and cherish our most precious gift.

If modern secularism can tempt people into selfish worldliness, traditional spiritualism can mislead them into selfish other-worldliness. But both Marxism and Christianity at their best oppose the selfishness of body and soul; they call for selfless service to the good of each and all now and in the time to come. Followers of both can and do struggle for peace and life, for a world community of free and equal persons.

This is the task in which all people of good will must join—the commitment to humanity. Whatever our individual, national, religious beliefs, whatever our ideologies—let us unite and cooperate in this one thing needed. Let us be about our business in this, our noblest calling on earth.

Appendix: The Rights and Obligations of Religious Societies

A religious society is formed in order to satisfy jointly religious needs and is an association of believing citizens (founding members of the society), who are of age, no less than 20 in number and reside in one district. A religious society may commence its work after it has been registered at the appropriate state bodies. This is necessary for the legality of the religious society to be recognized from the moment of registration. Moreover the registration signifies that a religious society takes upon itself the obligation of observing the USSR Constitution and the Soviet laws.

For administering the internal affairs of a religious society and for economic management the meeting of the founding members must elect an executive body and an auditing commission. The executive body handles finances, signs contracts and may act as plaintiff or defendant in civil, labour and other lawsuits in which a religious society may be involved.

A religious society may invite officiants of its cult and openly hold religious services and prayer meetings in a house of worship, which may be attended by the believing citizens of any age, and perform religious rites. If the religious rites and processions have to be held outside the premises of the house of worship the permission of the Executive Committee must be obtained. Permission is not necessary if the religious rite or ceremony is a part of the religious service and takes place round the house of worship and does not violate public order or traffic rules. With the permission of the Executive Committee religious rites may be performed in the homes of citizens. Religious rites may be performed without the sanction of the Executive Committee in case of grave illness—in hospitals, in the homes for the aged and invalids, and in prisons; in case of death—at home, the cemetery or crematory. The believing citizens, including children of ten and over, may be voluntary participants in religious rites. In the case of children religious rites are performed with the consent of their parents. Religious rites have no legal force.

A religious society enjoys the rights of juridical persons and as such may, if need arises, build or purchase, with its own money and according with the law, necessary premises; acquire means of transport, church requisites, and objects of religious cult with right of ownership. The purchase by a religious society of a building for its need is legalized by a notarized deal. The building thus acquired becomes the property of the religious society.

A religious society has a right to take a lease on property or premises. An agreement may be made with the Executive Committee for the use by a religious society of a special house of worship free of charge. For prayer meetings, a religious society may make use of other premises leased from individuals or the executive committees of a district or city Soviet of People's Deputies. A religious society may own only one house of worship.

If the house of worship, living quarters and other premises happen to be state property leased to a religious society, government insurance must be paid by the society. Furthermore, the religious society must guarantee the safety of the given property; in case of loss or damage the society will be liable. The real estate or property owned by a religious society may be insured if it so desires.

A religious society has its own monetary funds accumulated from donations and collections made in the house of worship, the sale of objects of cult and the performance of religious rites. These are free of tax. The money is spent on the upkeep of the houses of worship and other property of the cult, on the wages of the servants of the cult and religious centres, as well as of workers and employees.

Possessing monetary funds, religious societies have the right to employ, on a permanent or temporary basis, workers and employees on contracts drawn up with or without trade union participation. Wages are determined by agreement with the religious societies but they must not be lower than the government rates of corresponding workers in state institutions or enterprises. Persons working for religious societies on contract drawn with the participation of a trade union are protected by labour laws. Moreover, terms of contracts drawn up by religious societies without the participation of a trade union must not in any way contradict the existing labour legislation. If they do, the contract is considered invalid.*

* *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 1, 1986, p. 80.

Reference Notes

Chapter 1

[1] George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, 6th rev. ed. New Haven: Yale University, 1969, pp. 16–19.

[2] William M. Mandel, *Soviet But Not Russian*. Palo Alto: University of Alberta and Ramparts, 1985, pp. 183, 356.

[3] B. H. Sumner, *A Short History of Russia*, rev. ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1949, pp. 166–67.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 170–171.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[6] Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–108.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[8] Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

[9] "Leo Tolstoy as a Mirror of the Russian Revolution," in *Religion*. New York: International, 1933, pp. 37–38.

[10] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 26. Moscow: Progress, 1972, p. 258.

[11] Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

[13] Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[14] Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[15] Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

[16] *Russia*. New York: Penguin, 1943, p. 172.

[17] Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 403–404.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 405.

[19] Donald A Lowrie and WIlliam G. Fletcher, "Khrushchev's Religious Policy 1959–1964," in Richard H. Marshall, Jr., Thomas E. Bird, and Andrew Q. Blane, eds., *Aspects of Religion in the Soviet Union, 1917–1967*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1971, pp. 135–144.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[21] When it joined the World Council of Churches in 1961, the Russian Orthodox Church put its membership at thirty million—about 14 percent of the population then. Assuming this percentage still obtains, the membership in 1985 in a population of almost 278 million would be almost 39,000,000. Christel Lane, however, holds (presumably for the year 1974)

that "a substantial proportion of the Soviet population—between 20 and 25 percent—still regard themselves as Orthodox believers." Moreover, she says, "around 30 to 35 percent of the total Soviet population are religious." (*Christian Religion in the Soviet Union.* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978, pp. 46, 224.) William C. Fletcher incautiously estimates believers to be 45 percent of the population. *(Soviet Believers: The Religious Sector of the Population.* Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1981, p. 211). Although Lane's figures represent a sharp decline from Lunacharsky's estimate in the late 1920s that 80 percent of the people were religious, they seem too high and draw uncertain support from reliance of *samizdat* (privately published) materials. Yet a recent statement of the CPSU (Plenum Report, June 14–15, 1983) suggests that the numbers are large enough to provoke its serious attention.

[22] When an investigator sets out to count the number of religious people in a given locality, what characteristics count as "religious"? One's saying one is a believer? One's saying one adheres to particular beliefs—in God, in life after death, etc.? Being an enrolled member of a congregation? Attending services so many times per year? Attending so many religious holy day services per year? Variations in the estimates of the number of believers in the USSR are in part a result of the variations in these definitions. For a discussion of this matter, see the works cited above of William C. Fletcher and Christel Lane.

[23] Peter Grose, "God and Communism," in Harrison Salisbury, ed., *The Soviet Union: The Fifty Years.* New York: New American Library, 1968, p. 467.

Chapter 2

[1] In a 1957 publication the Church listed eight seminaries—Moscow, Leningrad, Odessa, Kiev, Minsk, Saratov, Stavropol, and Volynia, plus the two academies. *The Russian Orthodox Church: Organization, Situation, Activity.* Moscow: The Moscow Patriarchate [1957], pp. 103–104. The same source refers to sixty-nine monasteries and convents (p. 78), whereas a recent work gives the figure as eighteen. (*The Russian Orthodox Church*, trans. Doris Bradbury. Moscow: Progress, 1982, p. 78.)

[2] For a variety of estimates, religious and secular, see Donald A. Lowrie and William C. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–153.

[3] *The Russian Orthodox Church*, p. 90.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 167–187.

[6] K. Komorov, "The Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchate Marks Its 40th Anniversary," *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 1985, No. 3, pp. 15–16.

[7] The number of people "of Moslem heritage" has been estimated at 35,000,000. William M. Mandel, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

[8] The appeal read in part: "Not in the period of feudal principalities,

not during the time of the Tartar yoke, not in the times of troubles in the beginning of the 17th century did the Church betray her country. . . . on the contrary, She supported, united and strengthened it by all possible means. And the Church cannot change her attitude toward her Country after the October Revolution." *The Russian Orthodox Church: Organization, Situation, Activity*, p. 13.

[9] *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response. A Pastoral Letter on War and Peace*. Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1983.

[10] "Speech at the Meeting of the Heads and Representatives of Churches and Religious Associations in the USSR Devoted to the 40th Anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945," *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 6, 1985, p. 36. The Appeal from this meeting was signed by representatives of the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Seventh Day Adventists, the Religious Board of Buddhists of the USSR, the All-Union Council of the Evangelical Christian-Baptists, the Georgian Orthodox Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Churches in the Latvian SSR, the Lithuanian SSR, and the Estonian SSR, the Judaic Communities, the Methodist Church of Estonia, the Muslim Religious Boards for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the European Part of the USSR and Siberia, Transcaucasia, and Northern Caucasus, the Reformed Church of Transcarpathia, the Roman Catholic Churches in the Latvian SSR and Lithuanian SSR, the Russian Orthodox Church, and five groups of Old Believers.

[11] But because this monastery is a national treasure, the State is sharing the cost. The new hegumen (superior) of the Danilov monastery, Eulogius, has said: "The state has provided us with many expensive materials, among them copper, gold and marble, with no charge. When the restoration of the monastery is completed, it will be protected by the state according to the law on the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments." Elya Vasilyeva, "The Monastery Reborn," *Soviet Life*, July 1986, No. 7 (358), p. 40.

Chapter 3

[1] Rem Ananikyan, *Yerevan, A Guide*. Moscow: Progress, 1982, p. 76.

[2] The estimate of Bishop Arsen Berberian, cited in Bart McDowell and Dean Conger, *Journey Across Russia: The Soviet Union Today*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1977, p. 228.

[3] *Armenian Miniatures of the 13th and 14th Centuries from the Matenadaran Collection*. Leningrad: Aurora Art, 1984, pp. 7–8.

[4] A. A. Aslanyan, A. B. Bagdasaryan, L. A. Valesyan, and S. M. Dulyan, *Soviet Armenia*. Moscow: Progress, 1971, p. 79.

[5] "Armenian Church," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11. Chicago: William Benton, 1959, p. 382. The opposite view is stated in Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, revised by Cyril C. Richardson, Wilhelm Pauck, and Robert T. Handy. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959, p. 145.

[6]"Armenia," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, II, pp. 377–380.

[7]*Yerevan, A Guide*, p. 19.

[8]Gavril Petrosyan, *Armenia*. Moscow: Novosti, 1981, pp. 12–13.

[9]Mesrob K. Krikorian, "The Armenian Church in the Soviet Union," Richard H. Marshall, Jr., et. al., *op. cit.*, pp. 239–256.

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 250.

[11]Krikorian, *op. cit.*

Chapter 4

[1]For material on Roman Catholicism in Lithuania, see J. Rimaitis, *Religion in Lithuania* (Vilnius: Gintaras, 1971), Jonas Ancias, *The Establishment of Socialism in Lithuania and the Catholic Church* (Vilnius: Mintis, 1975), and Ancias, *The Hatemongers: Anti-Soviet Activity of the Lithuanian Clerical Emigres* (Vilnius: Mintis, 1979). A useful review is Toby Terrar, "Liberation Theology and Lithuanian Catholicism," *New World Review*, 53, 2 (March–April, 1985), pp. 29–30.

[2]"Lithuania," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XIV. Chicago: William Benton, 1959, p. 216. Uniates are Christians of the Eastern Orthodox rite who accept the doctrines of faith of the Roman Catholic Church, who regard the leadership of the Bishop of Rome (the Pope) as primary, and who are in communion with him—at the same time retaining their own liturgy, canonical discipline, and theology.

[3]William M. Mandel, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[4]*Ibid.*, pp. 23, 187.

[5]The information in this paragraph is taken from an interview with Reverend Victoras Butkus in Vytautas Mikulicus, "The Kaunas Catholic Seminary," *Soviet Life*, October 1982, No. 10 (313), p. 61.

[6]Paul Mailleux, "Catholics in the Soviet Union," *Aspects of Religion in the Soviet Union, 1917–1967*, pp. 364–367.

[7]Alexander Veinbergs, "Lutheranism and Other Denominations in the Baltic Republics," *Aspects of Religion in the Soviet Union*, p. 418.

[8]"Estonia," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, VIII, Chicago: William Benton, 1959, p. 739.

Chapter 5

[1]Some of the history that follows is taken from *Evangelski Khristiane-Baptist v SSSR* (in Russian and English) published by the All-Union Council of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists in Moscow in 1979.

[2]This is the estimate of the AUCECB in its Information Bulletin, July 1984. Figures below are taken from this source and from the AUCECB Presidium Report to the 43rd Congress of Evangelical Christians-Baptists in the USSR, March 23, 1985. A State source says, "Soviet Baptists have 5,000 churches." *Novosti Press Agency '83 Yearbook USSR*. Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1983, p. 77.

[3] William M. Mandel, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.

[4] George Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 259–260.

[5] For a brief account of this history, see Howard L. Parsons, *Christianity in the Soviet Union*. New York: American Institute for Marxist Studies, 1972, pp. 10–16.

[6] In the USSR the "church" Mennonites, who accept only adult baptism, have an estimated membership of 20,000. Frank H. Epp, "Mennonites in the Soviet Union," in Richard H. Marshall, Jr. et al., *op. cit.*, p. 296.

[7] *Russia*, p. 171.

[8] *Evangelski Khristiane-Baptisti v SSSR*, p. 15.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

[10] Information Bulletin, July 1984.

[11] Presidium Report.

[12] *Evangelski Khristiane-Baptisti v SSSR*, p. 29. Some of the Baptists, especially the Initsiativniki, the extremist group that has split off from the Evangelical Christians-Baptists, strongly shape values through family education. They inhibit contacts of women, youth, and children with the world, teach that women should "obey" and "bear children," define the family as "the church in the home," uphold the authority of the husband and father, and promote a negative attitude toward literature and Soviet culture. In order "to separate children from the collective of their own age group. . . . the 'Initsiativniki' resort to outright violation of Soviet laws on religion by organizing prayer meetings for children and young people and the teaching of religion to children." L. A. Serdobol'skaia, "Baptizm i sem'ia, in D. G. Danilov and V. N. Sherdakov, eds., *Problemy ateistickeskogo vospitaniia (Problems of Atheistic Upbringing).* Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1974, pp. 236–250. In English as "The Baptist Movement and the Family," *The Soviet Review,* 17, 2 (Summer 1976), pp. 103–116.

The chief criticism of certain Christian doctrines and practices generally is that they are at variance with the values of Soviet society in their submissiveness, passivity, escapism, egoism, religious exclusiveness and hostility to other faiths, national chauvinism, and male chauvinism. Excessive fasting, immersion, and drinking stagnant holy water endanger the health of believers. Members of some sects will not work on Saturday or Sunday, refuse military service and participation in elections or trade union work, and may prevent their children from joining the Pioneers or other peer activities. Such cases are not common, but where they occur they may constitute violation of law. For these examples, see David E. Powell, *Anti-Religious Propaganda in the Soviet Union: A Study of Mass Persuasion*. Cambridge: MIT, 1975, pp. 8–9

Chapter 6

[1] Igor Troyanovsky, "World Conference of Religious Workers in Moscow," *Soviet Life,* July 1982, No. 7 (310), p. 34.

[2] *Ibid.*

Chapter 7

[1] See Georgi Vins, "Obey God, Don't Count the Cost," *Christianity Today,* XXVI, 16 (October 9, 1982), pp. 48–49. Reverend Vins, a Baptist pastor, was Secretary of the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians-Baptists [CCECB] from 1965 until 1979 when he was expelled from the Soviet Union, having served two prison terms for a total of eight years. He emphasizes that in 1960 the *AUCECB* [All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians–Baptists] forbade the entrance of children into church buildings, baptism under the age of thirty, all invitations at the end of the service, and all forms of charity. As a result, dissenters formed unregistered congregations. He asserts that "the registered church leaders. . . . say they have to obey the KGB" and that "right now there are about 300 Christians in prison in the Soviet Union, and of those, 160 are unregistered Baptists." In an adjacent article, Denton Lotz of the Baptist World Alliance, who worked in the USSR for the past fifteen years, paints a different picture, pointing out that the registered Baptists have chosen to "work prophetically" within the society rather than "suffer unnecessarily" outside of it. Tradition shapes expectations and judgments. Freedom of religion in the USA, he observes, means "freedom to have kindergartens, Sunday schools, printing presses, radio and television, colleges and seminaries; to hand out tracts; to hold public evangelistic meetings." While these freedoms have never been a part of the tradition of their people even for the established faith of Orthodoxy, believers *do* have "the freedom of worship within their church buildings on certain days of the week," carrying out in this medium "an amazing amount of evangelistic activity—choirs, public prayers, preaching, Bible study, testimonies and so on." Lotz praises the democracy in the local Baptist congregations, the fifty Church regions, and the All-Union 1979 Congress. The AUCECB, the dominant and registered (legal) group, officially claims 550,000 members, he says, though "the total community, including children and sympathizers. . . . has been estimated to be as high as three million." The unregistered splinter group represented by Vins "probably" has "only 15 to 20 thousand believers." In 1965 the Baptists who for some years had been challenging the State organized the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (CCECB), breaking with the AUCECB. Vins was its leader. Excommunicated from the church in Kiev, he led the resistance to church registration and other State laws.

Chapter 8

[1] The interview went as follows: "'You and your followers, Dr. Marx, have been credited with all sorts of incendiary speeches against religion. Of course you would like to see the whole system destroyed, root and branch.' 'We know,' he replied after a moment's hesitation, 'that violent measures against religion are nonsense; but this is an opinion: as Socialism grows,

religion will disappear. Its disappearance must be done by social development, in which education must play a great part.'" The interview appeared in the Chicago *Tribune* of January 5, 1879. It has been reprinted with comment by Philip S. Foner in "Two Neglected Interviews with Karl Marx," *Science and Society*, XXXVI, 1 (Spring, 1972), pp. 3–28.

[2] For documentation see Robert Scheer, *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War*. New York: Random House, 1982.

[3] In Tepliakov's study in 1964–1966, covering 37,519 adults, 7.9 percent of urban adults and 15.6 percent of rural adults were found to be "convinced believers"—as opposed to "wavering" (7.2 and 17.1 percent, respectively), "indifferent" (25.5 and 27.7 percent), and "atheists" (59.4 and 39.6 percent). See Tepliakov's article in *Voprosy nauchonogo ateizma*, 4, 1967, pp. 130ff. Two tables summarizing the results are given in English in Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "Religion and Atheism in Soviet Society," in Richard H. Marshall, Jr. et. al., eds., *op. cit., p. 60.*

[4] In "The Moral Code of the Builders of Communism" the full expression is: "humane relations and mutual respect between individuals—man is to man a friend, comrade and brother." *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. Moscow: Foreign Languages, 1961, pp. 108–109.

[5] "*Personal Property*, ownership of the articles of personal use, earned income and savings, also certain means of production for use on personal subsidiary plots of land. Personal Property differs essentially from private property, which serves as a means of exploitation of man by man, of appropriation of the results of other people's labour." *Dictionary of Philosophy*, ed. I. T. Frolov, 2nd revised edition. Moscow: Progress, 1984, p. 314.

Chapter 9

[1] Their world inter-religious cooperation started as early as 1952 at Zagorsk, with the Conference of All Churches and Religious Associations in the USSR. A record of these meetings is given by Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Byelorussia, "Inter-Religious Peacemaking Activity of the Russian Orthodox Church," *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, 3, 1985, pp. 43–48.

[2] *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. A New Edition. Approved by the 27th Congress of the CPSU on March 1, 1986. Published as a Supplement to *Moscow News*, No. 12 (3208), 1986, p. 11.

[3] P. N. Fedoseev, "Marxist Dialectics and Social Life,L" *Soviet Studies in Philosophy*, 23, 2 (Fall 1984), pp. 93–94. This is an excerpt and translation from *Dialektika i sotsial'naia zhizn*. Moscow: Nauka, 1983.

[4] V. N. Sherdakov, "O glavnom v ponimanim religii" ("On the Main Thing in the Understanding of Religion"), *Sovietskaia etnografiia*, 2, 1980, pp. 70–71.

[5] L. N. Mitrokhin, "Marx's concept of Religion," *Soviet Studies in Philosophy*, 22, 3 (Winter 1983-84), p. 45 and *passim*. Translated from "Poniatie religii u K. Marksa," *Voprosy filosofii*, 1983, no. 8, pp. 44–58.

[6] Konstantin Chernenko, "Topical Questions of the Party's Ideological and Mass Political Work." Report to the CPSU Central Committee Plenary Meeting, June 14–16, 1983. In *Information Bulletin*, 15–16 (487–488) Vol. 21. Toronto: Progress, 1983, p. 26. The Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR has commented on this passage: "The development of events in Poland and Iran are grounds for being very attentive to studies which we are carrying on in atheism, the history of religion, and the critique of theology. Much has been written in our country about neo-Thomism, Protestantism, and Islam; but the relationship between theoretical views and political tendencies is not adequately drawn." G. L. Smirnov, "For a Decisive Turn of Philosophical Work Toward Social Practice," *Soviet Studies in Philosophy*, 22, 4 (Spring 1984), p. 26. Translated from Russian.

[7] William C. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–12.

[8] For example, "It is the duty of a Party member: (a) to work for the creation of the material and technical basis of communism; to be a model of the communist attitude towards labour; to raise labor productivity; to display the initiative in all that is new and progressive; to support and propagate advanced methods; to master technology, to improve skills; to protect and increase socialist public property, the mainstay of the might and prosperity of the Soviet country. . . ." From "The Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," *Soviet Union*, March, 1981, p. 8.

[9] "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Religion*. Moscow: Foreign Languages, 1958, p. 42.

[10] Christel Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 56. For a full description of the characteristics of various religious groups, see pp. 18–21 and *passim*.

[11] A. A. Podmazov, *Sovremennaia religioznost: osobennosti, dinamika, krizisnye iavleniia* (na materiale Latviiskoi SSR) (*Contemporary Religiosity: Particular Features, Dynamics, Crisis Phenomena*. In the Latvian SSR). Riga: Zinatne, 1985, p. 100. William Mandel has pointed out that religious belief varies with nationality, place of residence (urban-rural), and the development of society. He estimates that less than five percent of the Jews in the USSR are religious, *op. cit.*, p. 23. A Soviet source puts the figure at "about 60,000"—which is about 3.3 percent of the 1,800,000 Jews in the USSR. This estimate is based on a poll in Bobriusk and on synagogue attendance at major religious festivals in Novosibirsk, Kuibyshev, Leningrad, and Tbilisi. Avtandil Rukhadze, *Jews in the USSR: Figures, Facts, Comment*. Moscow: Novosti, 1984, pp. 53–54. For documentation of a similar "*general corrosion of commitment*" (in belief, ritual, practice, experience, knowledge) in the USA and a shift to ethical commitment outside the church, see Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment*. Berkeley: University of California, 1968, ch. 11. As in the USSR, this change has accompanied the movement from "small town and rural living (or stable urban neighborhood)" to "urban life and the development of a mass culture." P. 207.

[12] F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy.* Moscow: Foreign Languages, 1950, p. 86.

[13] Filaret, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 47–48.

[14] *The Bible*, Revised Standard Version, Romans 13:8, I Corinthians 13:4–7.

[15] *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 10.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 31. Moscow: Progress, 1966, p. 287.

[18] Article 12 of the USSR constitution (1936) reads: "Work in the USSR is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat.'" The principle is quoted from Paul's Second Letter to the Thessalonians 3:10. It is omitted in the 1977 constitution

Annotated Bibliography

Georgi A. Arbatov and Willem Oltmans, *The Soviet Viewpoint*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1981. Should be read for an analysis of "the ordeal of detente" and of American "intellectual cowardice" and "scapegoating"—the sources of monumental distortion about "dissidents." Interviewed by Oltmans, Arbatov, Director of the USA and Canadian Studies in Moscow, asserts that in the last decade only a few hundred such people have appeared (political, nationalist, and religious); that they do not collide with the State merely because they think differently; that when they break the law the State takes action against them; and that they develop close ties with and draw support from foreign citizens, media, and organizations. The external form and cover for such illegal activities are political and religious claims to "freedom."

V. K. Arsenkin, *Krizis religioznosti i molodezh. Metodologicheskie aspekty issledovaniia (The Crisis of Religiosity and Youth. Methodological Aspects of Research).* Moskva: Izdatelstvo "Nauka," 1984. The critique of religion is located in "the context of education"; thus the basis for the scientific critique of religion is the basis of education—namely, the comprehensive integrity of the communist world view. The task of counteracting the teachings of religion, therefore, is the task of the atheistic education of youth, the organic unity of instruction and upbringing. This must be accomplished through the devotion of youth to social-political activity *(aktivnost)*—"the most important condition for the formation of its atheistic commitment [*ubezhdennost*]."

Trevor Beeson, *Discretion and Valour: Religious Conditions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, rev. ed. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982. Written with the help of the British Council of Churches Working Party, this study is animated by a "commitment to the cause of religious freedom" and hatred of "totalitarian" persecution. The almost complete absence of citations of sources in the text gives license for large generalizations and personal testimonies. The three chapters on the USSR, read critically, provide a general map; but the details are not definitely filled in.

Bohdan R. Bociurkiw and John W. Strong, ed., *Religion and Atheism in the*

U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1975. Broad coverage, informative, predictably tendentious.

O. Fielding Clarke, *Christianity and Marxism.* Moscow: Progress, 1977. An Anglican minister's favorable description of the role of the Church in the USSR and of the morality of communism when compared with that of Christianity.

Dennis J. Dunn, *Detente and Papal-Communist Relations, 1962–1978.* Boulder: Westview, 1979. The chapter on the USSR describes some gains for the Latin rite Catholics but is critical of the Vatican's unreciprocated concessions to Soviet "anti-Catholic propaganda" and "repression" of Uniates. The cold-war author is unhappy over the cooperation of the Catholics and the World Council of Churches "in the anti-militarist and Russophile movements" which give aid to "the Soviet aim of the neutralization of the continent and the loosening of the American-European defensive coalition."

William C. Fletcher, *The Russian Orthodox Church Underground, 1917–1970.* London: Oxford, 1971. "State pressure has been the overwhelming if not the sole factor which has accounted for the existence of the underground Orthodox movement." Though many facts are presented, the extent and strength of this movement are not demonstrated, nor is the thesis that it plays "an important role in the determination of Soviet religious policy."

———, *Soviet Believers: The Religious Sector of the Population.* Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1981. Examines "one of the most promising recent developments in the study of religion in the USSR"—the post-Khrushchev period of 1965–1980 when scholarship shifted from theory to "more practical, immediately usable approaches." "Impressionistic" conclusions: believers tend to be elderly (50–60 or older), female, lower than average in education, outside the work force (30–40 percent are retired, dependents, housekeepers, etc.), unskilled or semiskilled if working, rural (though urban believers are stronger in their faith), living alone (widows, divorcees, unmarried), less engaged in reading and cultural activities than average, and more alienated from civic affairs than average, though they "relate favorably to social practice." Most believers have acquired their faith in childhood, educate their children in religion at home, see no contradiction between religion and science, and interpret the meaning of life "in material, ethical, or family terms," not religious categories. This book is a valuable summary of extensive Soviet research. Compare the work of Christel Lane, below.

A. I. Klibanov, *History of Religious Sectarianism in Russia (1860–1917),* ed. Stephen P. Dunn. Elmsford: Pergamon, 1982. Soviet scholar, the unrivalled authority on this subject.

V. O. Kluchevsky, *A History of Russia,* trans. C. J. Hogarth, I–V. New York: Russell and Russell, 1960. Classical work by "the greatest of Russian historians" (Bernard Pares). This translation is not considered to be adequate.

Vladimir Kuroyedov, *Church and Religion in the USSR.* Moscow: Novosti, 1979. By the former Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, this briefly surveys the history of religion under the tsar and the Soviet State and presents the main facts and figures of the present-day situation. A later edition, in Russian, is longer: *Religiia i tserkov v Sovietskom gosudarstve.* Moskva: Politizdat, 1981.

Christel Lane, *Christian Religion in the Soviet Union. A Sociological Study.* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978. Thorough scholarship and detailed survey concentrating on the 1959–1974 period and drawing on the wealth of hundreds of Soviet studies. Useful for its account of Russian and western sects. Maintains that most believers are in strata peripheral to the central industrial and technical processes of Soviet society—i.e., the rural, the unskilled, the women, and the elderly.

David Marshall Lang, *The Armenians: A People in Exile.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1981. This work's aim is to "show what human courage and endeavour can do in the face of apparently insuperable odds." An extensive bibliography supplements that of the author's earlier study, *Armenia: Cradle of Civilization.*

V. I. Lenin, *Religion.* New York: International Publishers, 1933. Contains the major writings by Lenin on this question that have laid down the general guidelines for Soviet policy.

William M. Mandel, *Soviet But Not Russian. The 'Other' Peoples of the Soviet Union.* Palo Alto: University of Alberta and Ramparts, 1985. Unique treasure of concrete information and insights garnered from ten visits and more than fifty years of study. Deals with all the major non-Russian ethnic groups and Republics. Many graphic interviews. Valuable historical and contemporary material on Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and the Jews.

Richard H. Marshall, Jr., Thomas E. Bird, and Andrew Q. Blane, eds., *Aspects of Religion in the Soviet Union 1917–1967.* Chicago: University of Chicago, 1971. Covers all the major faiths. One of the better collective volumes in the USA on the subject, though not up to date.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *On Religion.* Moscow: Foreign Languages, 1957; New York: Schocken, 1964. Various writings spanning more than half a century.

M. P. Novikov, ed., *Istoriia i teoriia ateizma: Ucheb posobie/Redkol (History and Theory of Atheism: Educational Manual/Collective Edition).* Moskva: Mysl, 1982.

Howard L. Parsons, *Christianity in the Soviet Union.* New York: American Institute for Marxist Studies, 1972. Monograph based on interviews with Christians and Communists in the USSR.

A. A. Podmazov, *Sovremennaia religioznost: osobennosti, dynamika, krizisnie iavlennia (na materiale Latviiskoi SSR) (Contemporary Religiosity: Particular Features, Dynamics, Crisis Phenomena.* In the Latvian SSR). Riga: Zinatne, 1985. The latest long-term empirical study on religious attitudes and behavior in the USSR, though limited to the Latvian Republic. Nineteen tables.

David E. Powell, *Antireligious Propaganda in the Soviet Union: A Study of Mass Persuasion.* Cambridge: MIT, 1975. Holds that the CPSU has had basic success in destroying the Church's political and economic strength and limiting its access to children; fair success in inducing people not to attend church, celebrate holy days, and perform religious rituals; and unsuccess in convincing believers they are wrong and in making them into militant atheists and new persons. Discusses history, weapons, effectiveness, media, problems. Concentrates on techniques rather than ends.

Walter Sawatsky, *Soviet Evangelicals Since World War II.* Kitchener, Ont. and Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1981. The author, a Mennonite, treats in detail the history of the Baptists, Mennonites, and Pentecostals. Chapters are devoted to persecution, growth, the "tangled unity" of the three groups, the role of preaching and participation in the peace movement ("minimal" and "without pacifism"), the "very costly" Khrushchev campaign and the "major impact" of dissent, "the movement toward autonomy," the struggle of the presbyter and atheist for the souls of children and youth, theology, foreign relations, and east European mission societies. Some six dozen photos highlight harassment and imprisonment. Sawatsky is hopeful that evangelicals, having "demonstrated political loyalty to the satisfaction of Soviet authorities," might take up "a prophetic role"—avoiding the fostering of stable national culture and "the isolationism of narrow sectarianism." With Alexei Bychkov he holds that socialism need not be married to atheism.

B. H. Sumner, *A Short History of Russia*, rev. ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1949. Excels for its balance of general trends and particular facts. See especially the chapter on the Church.

George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, 6th rev. ed. New Haven: Yale University, 1969. A very solid and clearly written history, carried up to 1968.

Index

Abolina, Inesa, 172, 174
Abolina, Olita, 172–174
Abolinh, Reverend, 72
Abramov, Fyodor, 138
Afghanistan, 136
Africa, 76
Albert von Buxhoevden, Bishop, 59
alcoholism, 106, 132
Aleksei, Metropolitan, 37
Aleksei, Patriarch, 51
Alexander I, tsar, 73
Alexis, Mikhailovich, tsar, 7
All-African Council of Churches, 23
Allende Gossens, Salvador, 33, 135
Allied intervention, 9, 154
Ancient Oriental Churches, 22
Andriamanjato, Richard, 27
Antony, Metropolitan of Leningrad, 31
Armenia, Armenia Soviet Socialist Republic ch. 3, 122–128; history, 47–51; genocide of 1915, 48–49, 53; Church-State relations, history of, 50–51
Armenian Apostolic Church, ch. 3; 14, 22, 122–123, 153; international activities, 53–56; members outside Armenia, 52–53; and peace, 53–56; relations to State, 50–51
Armenian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, ix
Athanasius, 20
Atheism, 83, 84, 89–90, 104, 111–112, 114, 116–117, 126, 137; and education, 116, 158–159; in socialist countries, 116
Augustine, St., 20
Autard, François, 108
Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, 49–50, 52

Bailey, Martin, Reverend, 27
baptism, 13, 67, 106
Baptist World Alliance, 23, 68
Baptists (*see* Evangelical Christians-Baptists), 8, 22, 37, 59, 70, 73, 101, 106, 117, 119, 127, 154, 162, 165; history, 64–66
Berlin Conference of European Catholics, 60
Bessarabia, 65
Bible, 16, 19, 21, 23, 26, 27, 47, 63, 65, 66, 67, 73, 77, 90, 112, 113, 132, 135–136, 156, 173, 176; Armenian translation, 126–127; Evangelical Christians-Baptists, publication by, 66; German translation, 63, 66; Gothic translation, 73; New Testament: Armenian translation, 126; Latvian translation, 63, 73; Russian translation, 26. Polish translation, 63; Russian translation, 19, 21, 63; Russian Synodical, 65
Billington, James, 129
Bogdanov, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, 111
Bohemia, 1
Bolsheviks, 5, 8–10, 102
Bouevsky, Alexy S., 28–38
Bratskii Vestnik (Fraternal Herald), 66
The Brothers Karamazov, 94
Buddhism, Buddhists, 14, 29, 30, 104, 157
Bueva, L. P., 134
Bulgaria, 22, 86, 131
Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, 14, 30
Butkus, Victoras, 58, 60, 182
Bychkov, A. M., 27, 192
Byelorussia, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, 2, 19, 46, 57, 59, 61, 64, 131
Byzantine Empire, Byzantium, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 11

Callistratus, Patriarch, 51

Canada, 20, 26, 53, 72
capitalist system, 103, 148, 151
Catherine II, tsarina, 8, 49, 70
Catholicos, Georg V, 51
Catholicos, Georg VI, 51
Catholicos, Vazgen I, 51, 52–56, 123, 127
Chalcedon, Council of, 48
Charlemagne, Emperor, 6
Chernenko, Konstantin, 76, 185
Christian Churches in the USSR, 23
Christian Peace Conference, 54, 68, 76, 121
Christianity, Christians: Christian socialism, 146; and CPSU and State, 158–161; criticism of, 158–161, 183, 90–91, 147–149; ecumenical ties, 156–158; freedom, 153–156; future, 165, 168–170; history, 130–131; institutional forms, 164; and law, 14, 15, 153, 183; and Marxism, Communism, 128, 139–141, 145–148, 161–165, 170–172; meaning of life, 90–91, 163–168; moral values, 113–114, 136, 154–158, 161–171; original, 139; and peace, viii, 154–155, 156–158, 176; seminaries, 153; in socialism, 183; varieties, 146, 164
Church-State relations (*see* Religion and law): buildings, use and upkeep of 16, 63, 68, 125; closing of seminaries, monasteries, and churches, 14; conflicts, 82, 137–138; fight against materialism, 96–97; separation of Church and State, 10–11, 58, 62, 123–124, 126, 145, 161, 168; starting a church, 63, 125; wedding ritual, 122–123
Civil War, 9, 102–103, 154
classes, 140–141
Communism, Communists (*see* Socialism): anticommunism, 128–129; and believers and peace, 120, 170; and Christians, 128, 139–141, 145–146; cooperation with religion, 137, 143–144, 170–172; and education, 110–112, 114–116, 160–161; moral values, 113, 114–115, 162–163, 171, 185; policy toward religion, 122–123; and religion, 99–101, 160
Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), 82, 96, 103, 104, 123, 158, 180, 185, 186; and Christianity and religion, 158
Conference of European Churches, 23, 29, 68
Conference on Disarmament and the Rational Use of Space for Atomic Purposes, 27
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki), 60, 82
Consciousness, social (*see* Religion), 101, 123, 158–159
Constantine, Emperor, 6, 47
Constantinople, Patriarch of, 3
Council of Lyons, 6
Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, 16, 59, 62–63, 74, 82; in Armenia, 123, 125, 127; in Latvia, 59, 62
counterrevolutionary thinkers, 128
Cyril and Methodius, 19
Czechoslovakia, 22, 61, 67, 86

Dahlgren, S., 72
Daletski, Olegets, 61–63
Danilov monastery, 15, 25, 34–35, 39–43
Darwin, Charles, 83, 91
Dashnaktsutyun, 48, 50
Decembrists, 130
Decree on Land, 9
Decree on Peace, 9
Decree on religion, 126, 161
Dialogue: Christian-Marxist, 22, 33, 75, 111, 113–114, 143–145; Christian-Muslim, 30
Dostoevsky, Fyodor Mikhailovich, 131, 139
Dukhobors, 8, 11, 70
Dzenis, Leo, 60

Echmiadzin, 47, 48, 52–56, 124, 125, 126
ecology, 117, 148
economics, 133
Ecumenical Youth Council in Europe, 68
education (*see* Communism, Religion), 66, 115, 141, 146, 160
Engels, Friedrich, 97, 186
England, Great Britain, 53, 103
Erasmus, Desiderius, 114
Estonia, Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, 2, 59, 61, 65, 71, 73
ethics (*see* Communism, Religion, Values), 96–97, 113, 141
European Baptist Federation, 68
Evangelical Brotherhood, 65
Evangelical Christians-Baptists (*see* Baptists): baptism of infants excluded, 67; communion services, 67–68; education of aspirants to the ministry, 66–

67; of children, 66; international activities, 68–69; and peace and disarmament, 68–69; and State, 69
Evlogii (Eulogius), Father Superior, 35, 181
existentialism, 133–134

fascism, nazis, 25, 27, 58, 72, 77, 90, 92, 100
Federal Republic of Germany, 71, 75, 86, 113
Fedoseev, P. N., 185
Filaret, Metropolitan of Kiev, 32, 36
Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Byelorussia, 167, 185, 186
Filosofskie nauki, 97
Fletcher, William C., 180
force, 102, 137–138, 141
Free Church Brotherhood, 51

Gailitis, Karlis, 76–77
Gandhi, Indira, 135
Garadzha, V. I., 116–122
Gemyanov, 105
Georgia, Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, 8, 49, 51, 61, 65
Georgian Orthodox Church, 14, 53, 153
German Democratic Republic, 20, 53, 67, 77, 103
Germans, Germany, 1, 57, 103
Gertner, Adams, 65
Glazunov, Ilia, 134–135
Glock, Charles Y., 186
God, 106, 114, 141, 147, 148, 160, 161, 167, 168, 175
Gogol, Nikolai Vasilyevich, 42
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 134
Gospel, Gospels, 16, 53, 65, 66, 113, 136, 139, 167
Graham, Billy, 27, 68, 73, 88, 109, 157
Great Patriotic War (World War II), 13, 16, 22, 25, 27, 31, 38, 50, 69, 75, 92, 101, 103, 132, 138, 154, 162
Gregorios, Paulos Mar, Metropolitan, 27
Gregory the Illuminator, 47
Grek, Maksim, 20
Grigorian, Boris, 134
Guseinov, A. A., 112–116

Hakopian, Hakob, 122
Hakopian, Nora L., 122–123
Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 20, 92
Historical Museum of Religion and Atheism, 138
Hitler, Adolf, 103
Hunchak, 48
Hungary, 1, 61, 86
Huss, Jan, 166

Iaroslav, 8
ideology, philosophy, world outlook, 83, 86, 87, 90, 96, 107, 110, 112, 119–120, 145–146, 158–159, 160–161, 165; in religion and science, 107, 111–112, 120; struggle, 117, 129, 160
illiteracy, 9
India, 86, 117
individual, need for attention to, 133
Initsiativniki, 183
intelligentsia, intellectuals, 86, 131, 138, 162, 166
International Institute for Peace, 33
Iran, 2, 30, 44
Isidore, Metropolitan, 7
Islam (*see* Muslims) viii, 1, 2, 11, 29–30, 104, 106, 117, 136, 157
Israilitiane, 70
Italy, 86, 98
Ivan III, tsar, 5, 7
Ivan IV, the Terrible, tsar, 7, 40, 49, 135
Ivanov, Alexei, 20

Japan, 76
Jehovah's Witnesses, 8, 14
Jeremiah II, Metropolitan, 7
Jesus Christ, 43, 48, 53, 60, 65, 67, 69, 77, 90, 96, 114, 156, 167, 174
Jews, Judaism, viii, x, 11, 14, 16, 29, 57, 59, 73, 157, 186; and Christianity, 30
Josephites, 5
The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 37, 97
Judaizers, 5

Kaftaro, Sheikh Ahmed, Supreme Mufti, 30
Kaldy, Zoltan, 72
Kalvanas, Janis, Bishop, 73
Kazakhstan, Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, 61, 64, 65, 71
Khachaturyan, Aram, 45
Khlysty, 8, 14
Khomyakov, A. S., 42
Khoren I (Muradbekian), 51
Khrushchev, Nikita, 13–14, 162
Kiev, 1, 3, 4, 60
Kirghizia, Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic, 65, 71
Klibanov, A. I., 132
Kokorevich, Nikolai Andreyevich, 59, 62

Komorov, Konstantin Mikhailovich, 18–25
Komsomol, 133
Koran, 16, 136
Kovalev, Aleksandr Mitrofanovich, 98–104
Krivilov, 104
Kuvakin, Valerii Aleksandrovich, 145–150
Kuzmina-Karavayev, Elizaveta (Mother Marie), 27

Lane, Christel, 179, 186
Latin America, 117, 170
Latvia, Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, ch. 4, 6; 65, 119, 142–143, 165, 172–174
League of Atheists, League of Militant Atheists, 12, 13
League of Nations, 55
Lebanon, 117
Lenin, Vladimir, 8, 11, 49, 86, 89, 98, 102, 126, 139, 144, 147, 172
Leningrad, 24, 135; academy at, 22, 30; seminary at, 18
Lithuania, Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, 2, 11, 46, 49, 57, 58, 59, 71, 119
"Living Church," 12
Lotz, Denton, 184
Love, 139–140, 163, 167
Lubachlvsky, Myroslav Ivan, Cardinal, 61
Lunacharsky, Anatoly Vasilyevich, 111
Lusis, Arnold, Archbishop, 72
Luther, Martin, 65, 72–73, 74, 114, 166
Lutheran World Federation, 23, 72
Lutheranism, Lutherans, Evangelical Lutheran Church, ch 6; 2, 8, 14, 22, 59, 142, 153, 165; ecumenical cooperation, 73, 75; Emigration Church, 72; German-speaking Lutherans, 71; international activities, 71–73; and law, 74; and peace, 71, 75–77; seminary, 74

Mahomet, 81
Malevantsi, 70
Mandel, William M., 58, 64, 179, 180, 182, 186
Manykian, Sion, Archbishop, 52
Marx, Karl, 92, 93, 98, 108, 134, 137, 159, 163, 184, 186
Marxism-Leninism (dialectical-historical materialism), 107, 108, 112, 113, 145–147, 149–150, 164, 169–170, 171, 172; atheism, 117; courses in, 15, 21; and ethics, 113, 140–141; ideology and Christianity, 145–147; parties, 98, 123; and religion, 89–90, 94–95, 107, 108, 110, 128, 143–144, 162–165
Maryanov, Boris Maksimovich, 81–87
Masaryk, T. B., 153
Maslin, Mikhail, 128–136
Matenadaran Library, 47
materialism, idealism, 83, 86, 96–97, 111, 112, 129
Matulis, Janis Petrovich, Archbishop, 71, 72
Mau, Karl, 73
Mennonites: "Church" Mennonites, 183; Mennonite Brethren, 8, 14, 64, 65, 70
Mesters, Eric, 71–76
Methodists, 22, 59, 70
Michael Celularius, Patriarch, 6
Michael Paleologus, 6
Mindaugas, 85
Mitrokhin, L. N., 185
Moldavia, Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, 2, 20, 61, 64, 65
Molokans, 9, 64, 70, 127
monasteries, 4, 16, 17, 180
Monasticism, 4
Mongols: Mongol rule, 1–2, 7, 47; Mongol Golden Horde of the Tatars, 1
Moon, Sun Myung, 81
Moral Code of the Builders of Communism, 140, 185
Moral Majority, 109
Moravian Brethren, 59
Moscow, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 15, 29, 34, 37, 41, 44, 75
Moscow State University, 101
Moscow Theological Academy, 17, 18
Moscow Theological Seminary, 17–23
Münzer, Thomas, 166
Muscovy, 2, 4, 5
Muslims (*see* Islam), 11, 14, 16, 29, 30, 57, 64, 71, 106, 127, 146, 180; Shi'ites, 29; Sunnis, 29
Myslivchenko, A. G., 134

Narodnaya Volya, 130
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, 23, 25, 69, 92, 121
Nauka i Religiia (Science and Religion), 81–87, 89, 97
nazis (*see* fascism)
Nevsky, Aleksandr, 4, 34, 40
Nevsky, Danil Aleksandrovich, 40

Nicaragua, 109
Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, 139
Nikhon, Patriarch, 5, 7
Novgorod, 1, 4–5
Novikov, Mikhail Petrovich, 88–95
nuclear deterrence, 36
nuclear exchange, winter, 75, 96, 103
numbers of believers, 13, 14, 105, 165, 179–180, 184, 185, 186

October Revolution (Great October Socialist Revolution), 102, 126, 152, 153–154
Old Believers, 5, 8, 11, 14, 59, 64, 65, 70, 142
Old Catholics, 22

Pakistan, 2
Pares, Bernard, 11, 66
Patriarch, Patriarchate of Moscow, 5, 15, 25–28
Paul, St., 34, 171
PAX, 60
Pax Christi, 60
Peace, disarmament: 60, 128, 170, 173, 176; and Armenian Apostolic Church, 53–56, 123; and Baptists, 68, 69; and Christians, 156–158, 176; and churches, 88–89; cooperation of believers and Communists, 120–121, 122–123, 137, 156, 162, 170–172; "independent" movement, 121; and Lutherans, 71–72, 75–77; movement in the USA, 92; peaceful coexistence, 69; and religion, 97–98, 137, 159; and Roman Catholics, 60–61; and Russian Orthodox Church, 23–25, 27, 31–32, 37–39, 88–89, 119, 120–122, 176; and United States Council of Catholic Bishops, 36, 93, 109
Peace Fund, 32, 69, 89
Pentecostals, 8, 14, 59, 70, 73, 127, 165
Perov, V. G., 42
personality, problems of, 133–134
Peter the Great, 5, 7, 8, 37, 49
Philosophy (*see* Ideology)
Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, 27, 38, 43, 82, 88, 119
Pitirim, Archbishop, 20, 27, 32
pluralism, 102, 112
Pobedonostev, Konstantin Petrovich, 131
Podmazov, Arnold A., 142, 186
Poland, Poles, 1, 2, 8, 11, 22, 49, 57, 61, 86, 87, 118
Preus, David W., 27
propaganda: 15, 117, 123, 160; antireligious, atheistic, 11, 12, 14, 90, 100, 110, 136, 137–138, 141, 156, 162, 183
property, 140, 185; common ownership of, 136
Protestant, Protestantism, 1, 16, 71, 114, 117, 146
Provatorov, Vladimir Feodorovich, 81–87
Pushkin, Aleksandr Sergeyevich, 114
Putnam, George, 129

Radishchev, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, 130
Reagan, Ronald: 92, 109; on atheists, 102, 137; Christianity, 76–77, 101–102, 119; pluralism, 102; policy, 87, 103
Red Cross, 31
Reformed Church, 22, 71
religion: and art, culture, 97, 119–120, 122, 131–132, 134–135, 138, 172; consciousness, religious, 117, 122, 145, 146, 148–149; criticism of, 90–91, 93–95, 143–144, 146–150; decline, 97, 99–100, 142–143, 165; decreasing or permanent, 118; definition, 97; education, 91, 101, 112, 115; epistemological roots, 148; and ethnic traditions, 105–106, 117; freedom of, 28–29, 61–62, 74, 110, 125–126, 184; future, 93–94, 134–135, 141; history, 118, 119–120, 137–138, 161–162; and ideology, 107; and intelligentsia, 86, 131, 138; and law, 16, 110, 137, 155–156, 159–160, 161–162, 177, 183; and morality, 110–111, 138, 141; and needs, 106–107, 148–149; new religiosity, 131, 134–135; numbers (*see* numbers of believers); before the October Revolution, 126; and passivity, 105; and peace, 97–98, 108, 109, 137, 159; politization of, 102, 117, 118–119; psychology and sociology of, 104–105, 109–110, 142–143, 148–149, 158–159; publications, 16; reasons for interest in, 91, 96, 97, 101, 105–107, 148–149, 168; ritual, 122; and science, 98, 107, 120; science of, 104; in socialism, 92–93, 99–101, 102, 110
Religious Workers for Lasting Peace, Disarmament, and Just Relations Among Nations (Conference, 1977), 38

Revolution of February (March) 1917, 9, 102
Revolution of 1905, 11, 98
Roman Catholicism: ch. 4; 1, 8, 11, 14, 16, 22, 46, 71, 73, 96, 117, 142–143, 146, 153, 165; College of Cardinals, 61; and nazis, 58; and peace, 60; Pope Innocent II, 60; Pope Innocent IV, 57; Pope John XXIII, 60; Pope John Paul II, 61; Pope Leo III, 6; Pope Leo IX, 6; Pope Nicholas I, 6; Pope Urban II, 6; publications, 63; seminary in Kaunas, 58, 61; in Riga, 61–62; Vatican, 36, 58, 60, 117, 148; Vatican Council II, 58
Roman empire, 6
Rubinstein, A. G., 42
Rublyov, Andrei, 4, 17
Russia, Russians: 49, 56, 96, 99, 100, 114, 118, 131; culture and anticommunism, 128–129; and East and West, 1–3, 71; history, ch. 1; 130–131; philosophers, 128–129; populists *(narodniki)*, 129
Russian Orthodox Church: 14, 16, 59, 65, 67, 70, 71, 73, 96, 101, 106, 117, 119, 120–121, 126, 127, 129, 130, 135, 136, 142, 146, 152, 153, 162, 164; academies, 16, 17–18, 101, 112, 180; antirevolutionary position, 9, 30–31; education, 21–22, 32; history, 130–131; history in USA, 28; international activities, 22–23, 27, 28–30; millennial anniversary, 19, 34, 36, 40, 96, 118, 131; mystical wing, 5; and peace, 23–25, 27, 31–32, 36, 38, 39, 88–89, 96, 119, 120–121, 176; publications, 20–21, 25–26; seminaries, 13, 16, 17–18, 112, 180; in socialist society, 29, 30–35; and State, 42–43, 181; and tsar, 8–10
Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, 1, 19, 46, 64

Salaspils Memorial, 77–79
Samarin, Y. F., 42
Saryan, Martiros, 45
Scandinavia, 1
Scheer, Robert, 185
science, scientific understanding: 83, 89–91, 98, 107, 109, 110, 116–117, 128, 162; and religion, 119–120, 146; scientific-technological revolution, 118; secularization, 142–143, 151–152, 157–158
Sergei (Ostrogorodsky), Metropolitan, 31
Sergius, Metropolitan and Patriarch, 12, 13
Sergius of Radonezh, 4, 17
Seventh Day Adventists, 8, 14, 59, 70, 117, 127, 128, 142
Sherdakov, Vladimir N., 136–141
Skoptsy, 8, 14, 70
Slavonic Church, 1, 19, 26
Slavophilism, 129
Smirnov, G. L., 186
Socialism (*see* Communism): 103; and art, 167; building of, 145; and Christianity, 32–37, 81–83, 165–169; justice, 141; and religion, 98
Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, 13
Soloukhin, Vladimir, 131
Soloviev, Vladimir Sergeyevich, 114
Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 129
Soudgian, Lazar, 123–128
South America, 52
Soviet Peace Committee, 16, 32, 108, 119, 120, 157
Spartacus, 90
spiritualistic phenomena, explanation of 83, 91
spirituality, 96, 138
Sri Lanka, 29
Stalin, Joseph, 12, 13, 14, 51
Star Wars, 24
Stark, Rodney, 186
Stundo-Baptist movement, 65
subbotniki, 70
Sulimov, E. F., 110–112
supernatural, supernaturalism, transcendental, 83, 119, 120, 141, 142, 145, 148, 150, 152, 158, 160, 167–168, 171
Sviatpolk, 8
Syria, 30

Tepliakov, M. K., 105
Ter-Petrosyan, Simon (Kamo), 49
terrorism, 130
Theodosius, Emperor, 6
theology of liberation, 36, 61, 170
"third Rome," 7
Third World, 76
Tikhon, Patriarch, 12, 14
Tiridates, King, 47
Tokarev, S. A., 104
Tolstoy, Lev Nikolayevich, 114, 139
tragedy, 133

Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, 50
Tretyakov brothers, 42
Troeltsch, Ernst, 166
Troitse-Sergeiev monastery, 4, 17, 35
Turkey, Turks, 7, 46, 48, 49, 52, 122
Turkmenia, Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, 64
Tuvan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, 14
Twain, Mark, 81

Ugrinovich, D. M., 104–110
Ukraine, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1, 8, 19, 20, 46, 61, 64, 70, 131
Uniates, 57, 182
Union of Florence, 6
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR): constitution, 13, 19, 20, 26, 41, 62, 74, 82, 91, 93, 126, 141, 155, 160, 187; and peace, 75, 102–104; problems in society, 106–107, 115–116, 132–134; protection of historical monuments, 41; rights in, 155–156; and USA, 43
Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, 32
United Nations Organization Second Special Session on Disarmament of the United Nations General Assembly, 27
United States Council of Catholic Bishops, vii, 36, 93, 109
United States of America (USA), 32, 43, 71–72, 74, 75, 77, 91, 92, 93, 102, 117, 137, 151
Uspenski, Dmitri Nikolaievich, 20

Vaivods, Julians, Cardinal, 61
Vaivods, Professor, 61
values, moral and human; ethics and Christianity: 113, 136, 156, 163–168, 170–171; and consumerism, 114; golden rule, 113; good, 114; language of, 114; and Marxism, communism, 113–115, 162–163, 169, 171; and religion, 113–114; religion and communism on, 110–111, 139–141, 147–148, 156, 166–172; in school and family, 115–116, 183; study of, 115
Vasiliy the Great, 20
Vejs, Janis, 141–145
Victory Day, 73
Viktor Igumen, 35, 39–43
Vins, Georgi, 82, 183
Vladimir, Metropolitan of Rostov, 22
Vladimir the Saint, 1, 8
Volgina, T. A., 25–28
Voprosy filosofii, 97
Voronin, N. I., 65
Vvedensky, Alexander, Archpriest, 12

war danger, 34, 53, 54–55, 75, 76–77, 79, 93, 96, 101
Weber, Max, 141
Wee, Paul W., 72
Wikstrom, John, 72
women in the churches, Baptists, 67; Lutherans, 74
working class, and peace, 101
World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 23
World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe, 23, 27, 38, 73, 75, 88
World Council of Churches, 16, 23, 27, 28, 51, 53, 54, 68, 72, 179
World Methodist Council, 23
world outlook (*see* ideology)
World Peace Council, 108, 119, 157
World Student Christian Federation, 23
World War I, 9, 48, 57, 65, 103

Yakovlev, Evgenii Georgievich, 95–98
Yaroslavsky, Emelian, 12, 13, 111
Yazikov, N. M., 42
youth, 12, 96, 100, 138, 161
Yugoslavia, 22, 61
Yuvenaliy, Metropolitan, 25

Zagorsk, 4, 17–18, 35, 40, 101, 108
Zuyev, Yuri Petrovich, 116, 119

CHRISTIANITY TODAY in the USSR

is based on extensive dialogue with all levels of Christian clergy in the Soviet Union, as well as with scientists, Marxist scholars and laity. Howard L. Parsons is currently professor and chair at the Department of Philosophy, University of Bridgeport (CT). He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, with major study in philosophy of religion. He has taught at the Universities of Southern California, Illinois, Tennessee, and elsewhere, and in 1980 lectured at Moscow State University. His publications include *Humanism and Marx's Thought; Man East and West: Essays in East-West Philosophy; Self, Global Issues, and Ethics;* and *Marxism, Christianity, and Human Values.* For many years he has been active in the Christian-Marxist dialogue and has participated in work for peace and justice in religious and civic organizations.

SELECTED TITLES from INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

	ISBN 0-7178-
AFRICA MUST UNITE, Kwame Nkrumah	0296-5
AGAINST FASCISM and WAR, George Dimitrov	0643-X
ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI, Selections	0609-X
APARTHEID, IMPERIALISM and AFRICAN FREEDOM, Wm. Pomeroy	0632-4
BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Dirk Struik	0320-1
The CHALLENGES of OUR TIME, Mikhail Gorbachev	0642-1
CHRISTIANITY TODAY in the USSR, Howard Parsons	0651-0
CLARA ZETKIN, Selected Writings	0611-1
CUBA . . . The Continuing Revolution, Gil Green	0628-6
DICTIONARY of PHILOSOPHY, ed. by I. Frolov	0604-9
GOLD: The Yellow Devil, A.V. Anikin	0599-9
HISTORICAL MATERIALISM, V. Afanasyev	0637-5
IMPERIALISM, V. I. Lenin	0098-9
MAY DAY, A Short History, 1886-1986, Philip Foner	0624-3
MY TALE of TWO WORLDS, Lement Harris	0641-3
ON THE BATTLE-LINES, 1919-1939, Art Shields	0644-8
PAUL ROBESON, The Great Forerunner, eds. *Freedomways*	0625-1
PRISON NOTEBOOKS, Antonio Gramsci	0397-X
The REBEL GIRL, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn	0368-5
TEN DAYS that SHOOK THE WORLD, John Reed	0200-0
The UNBROKEN RECORD: Soviet Treaty Compliance, D. Rosenberg	0636-7
WARWORDS: U.S. Militarism, the Catholic Right and the "Bulgarian Connection," Eisenhower/Murray	0650-2
WORLD and AFRICA, W. E. B. Du Bois	0221-3

Write for complete, free catalog

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS CO., Inc.
381 Park Avenue South, NY NY 10016

Cover by M. Rodriguez

ISBN 0-7178-0651-0 $6.95