ANTI-CULT MOVEMENT:
A POSSIBLE EXPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE *

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Abstract. The author points to the misunderstandings present in sciences of religion as well as on the Yugoslav public stage about the comprehension and designation of different types of religious organizing. Disputes are particularly prominent about cults and newly established sects, i.e. new religious movements, primarily in the media. Big domiciliary churches help towards this, pronouncing all sects and cults, with no exception whatsoever, to be satanic, totalitarian and destructive quasi-religious phenomena. All this together gave rise and helped the establishment of an uncivilized anti-cult movement. The mentioned movement ("the anti-cult movement in the Serbian variant", as called by the author), arising in the absence of the pre-cult as a necessary balance, is not only an expression of religious intolerance, but its generator itself. The author backs up his attitudes by empirical documentation and allows for an insight into the collage of extremely anti-cult newspaper headlines, as well as into the reactions and letters of institutions and individuals provoked by this indecent public campaign.

Key words: anti-cult movement, religious intolerance, new religious movements.

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"Religious sects, whether inducing pacifism and thus exerting negative influence on our potential military personnel or brutal militarism and large-scale or individual suicides, contribute to the entropy of both family and society, thus weakening the state defensive powers. Hence, one may rightfully doubt that, besides other elements, they function in support of psychological and propaganda effects targeted against the integrity and constitutional structure of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

B. D. Stojković

INTRODUCTION: TOWARDS RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

In the sociology of religion, as well as in theological and other disciplines dealing with the sacral, there are lots of disputes about different forms of religious communities. Their treatment on the public stage is even more disputable, particularly in the mass-message-exchange media. The major disputes, however, occur about the new sects and cults, the so-called new religious movements, which sometimes end up as social, political and even intergovernmental conflicts. Domiciliary churches which regularly stigmatize cults, the old and the new sects, pronouncing them to be satanic, totalitarian and destructive quasi-religious phenomena, help towards this. But then, the times come, such as ours, which - in an organized and purposeful, accidental and elemental manner - give rise in to a strong anti-cult and anti-sect movement, push the issue into the focus of the public and trigger the struggle which spares nothing and no one. Without "telling the sheep from the goats", damages are spread all around, worming up, well-intentionally, the effusions of religious intolerance.

All this is followed by a quite inappropriate conceptual and terminological confusion. The public discourse operates at one time with terms such as big religious communities (Islamic Community, Serbian Orthodox and Roman-Catholic Church) and small ones (Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Adventist and Christian Baptist Church...) and at another with assertions implying the existence of vernacular, historical (IC, SOC and RCC) and non-vernacular, unhistorical churches (JW, CAC, CBC...) - which is already a value judgment implying a number of consequences thereto appertaining; sometimes a difference is made between the old (old sects) and the new religious movements (cults and new sects) - which is, partially, a step closer to the truth. Similarly to the previous example, the conceptual chaos - particularly in cases when one publicly addresses the old sects, although a real target are half-secret cults - emphatically stirs religious intolerance.

In a word, being that I have discussed the classic sociological typology of religious organizing (cult, sect, denomination and church) in greater details in a more appropriate place (Đorđević, 1998), my intention here is to sketch, mostly relying on specific documentary material, the danger lingering above religious tolerance in our country which originates from the growing extreme and uncivilized anti-cult movement. I shall do it, as always, with no supporter's passion - either anti- or pro-cult - in a balanced,
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and, as much as possible, objective and critical manner.

ANTI- AND PRO-CULT MOVEMENTS

The new religious movements (new sects and cults), compared with some several centuries old sects, are "new" indeed, being that they emerged in the early 1950's, and, more pronouncedly, in late 60's in the United States. They are partially a result of democratic processes taking place in the western hemisphere which generally favor the renewal, development and flourishing of religion and religious communities in any country. It is particularly true if democratization is carried out on secular grounds, although it may seem as a minor paradox. A civilian and democratic, secular and market society has its own rules of behavior and everyone must obey them. Success depends solely on one's ability, adaptability, effort and resourcefulness. The same applies to religions and religious institutions, so that the assertion referring to the general position of sciences of religion, which might be opposed to our emotional attitude, that all religious communities, being thrown into the market, become a subject of choice - may be chosen, but not necessarily so - does not have a surprising effect. The trend is from "the religion of destiny" to "the religion of choice". (There is evidence that an American converts to another religion or changes religious group thrice during his life).

In such a pluralistic hatch, an increasing number of young people turns to new religious forms of gathering, in search for the answers to contemporary social-psychological questions. These young souls, sensitive to each and every kind of problems, are sucked in by some new religious movements which, using their techniques of manipulation, program them and turn into obedient "soldiers" of cults and new sects. Most of them, as asserted by sociologists, become disfunctional for their immediate or general community, and their "deprogramming" and reintegration is a hard task. This gives rise to a whole lot of incidental, tragic events. We are regularly reminded of a large-scale suicide in the French Guiana committed by the members of Jim Jones's cult the People's Temple which happened two and a half decades ago, or death of a follower of another cult in a small Texan place, or the events which took place in Switzerland or Canada, or the latest massacre of the "computer" sect in California and the well-known poisoning in the Tokyo subway. The destructiveness of such religious groups has led, largely upon the request of the general civic community and parents in particular, to the foundation of a strong anti-cult movement in the United States, which has spread to other western countries as well. It drew together numerous representatives of different professional orientation - psychiatrists and psychologists, sociologists and social workers, lawyers and attorneys, university teachers and scientists, politicians and clergymen - with an idea to act voluntarily and offer their expert services. They not only unmask the inhuman and criminal conducts of certain cults and new sects both theoretically and by a strong public campaign, but also undertake practical activities aimed at "deprogramming"

1 Consult my critical review of one of the most influential theories of religion, i. e. : Church, sect and cult - by R. Stark and W. S. Bainbridge, "JUNIR year-book V" (Teachings, organization and impact of religious communities and movements), JUNIR, Niš 1998.
of the people who somehow left them and showed readiness to reintegrate into the "normal" social and family life. Well, such new religious movements deserve to be openly characterized as dangerous not only for individuals but also for the community as a whole. But, as danger is ever present, an anti-cult movement, as a rule, gives rise to a simultaneous pro-cult movement which, judged by the criteria of remarkableness on the public stage, strength and influence, often surpasses its rival. Its emergence in democratic systems is completely legitimate, so that, in a manner which resembles the above example, it involves a whole lot of experts and VIPs of a different kind. (It is not an anecdote, as claimed: the very first thing uttered by Mrs. M. Albright, the U.S. Secretary of State, on the occasion of her first meeting with Mr. K. Kinkel, German Foreign Minister at the airport, was, something like: "What do you German people do with the Church of Scientology?").

Some of the new religious movements have struck deep roots in our country as well, although not to the extent depicted by the mass media. The media, newspapers in particular, have a weakness for incidental events and exclusive news, instead of supporting foundation of an anti-cult movement more thunderously (leaving space for the pro-cult, too). It is scarcely known that, for quite some time now, a small group of enthusiasts comprising psychiatrists, psychologists, politicologists, military and police experts, clergymen and Orthodox journalists... - with a seal of approval and help of the Serbian Orthodox Church, has been heartily, purposefully and in an organized manner focusing on the implantation of an anti-cult movement and institutions thereto appertaining. At least it has met some luck on the manifest plan of engagement, expecting, with high probability, the launching of a regular pro-cult missile.

CONCLUSION: DOMESTIC ANTI-CULT MOVEMENT
(REACTIONS, NEWSPAPER HEADLINES, LETTERS)

Being that the missionaries of the so-called destructive sects - for example, majority favors the opinion that Jehovah's Witnesses belong to this company - and satanic cults, such as Ordo templi orientis, society is called to act in three legitimate ways: 1) by passing a law on religious communities and a special subordinate legal document which would regulate the area of quasi-religious manifestations, i.e. the existence of occult, satanic, totalitarian, destructive and half-secret groups and associations, which lack any religious aroma in the civilized sense of the word "religion", thus finally "telling the sheep from the goats", i.e. telling the religious from the quasi- and proto-religious; 2) by providing a favorable ambiance-frame for the bloom of a cultivated anti-cult movement, which would not inhibit the pro-cult, and 3) by establishing humane institutions for the reintegration of the returnees who have run away from the above stigmatized (quasi)religious movements, with respect for individual freedom of conscience and

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Being that our religious-ecclesiastical complex is not legally regulated (I had an opportunity to see myself a draft of the law on religious communities), the climate is not in favor of the emergence or development of anti- and pro-cult movements; hence, any foundation of humane institutions for reintegration under state control is simply out of question, allowing the existence and free play of the primitive anti-cult movement (see the Motto) which I qualify by a syntagm "the anti-cult movement in the Serbian variant". Its nature, scope and intensity are best reflected in the newspaper articles and headlines, reactions and letters of the stamped ones, so that any sociological sophistry could only hush and blur the authenticity of the documentary material. Slowly, but steadily, the Serbian Orthodox Church renounces its promoters.

SUPPLEMENT

TRACES OF THE COMMUNAL SPIRIT IN NIŠ

My business trip to Niš is due on Sunday. I can attend the evening mass, so I check with my colleagues from Novi Sad if there is a church there and where it is. "There is a church on Juga Bogdana Street no. 1, but I think they do not have a mass", comes as the first useful information. I arrive in Niš and make a phone call to a lady, also my colleague, asking where that Juga Bogdana Street might be, and hear her husband giving instructions "it is where the Catholic Church is". So, the object gives identity to the street.

Saturday evening, it snows heavily, a power failure. I cross the street looking for an isolated edifice, as it would befit an ecclesiastical object recognized by the people of Niš as a catholic church. I see nothing of the kind. As a matter of fact, the church is laid out straight in the street, simply masked, looking like any other building in a row (a passersby who would cast a glance upwards in daylight might get a message only on the basis of the cross on the top). Whatever constitutes the physical object of this Catholic House of God is built into its immediate environment, which is exactly the reflection of the spiritual harmony resembling a citation that has been perfectly fitted into a text. What I am talking about is a degree of fitting which we become aware of when somebody else's words are poured into the author's text in a way which almost deprives it of its own self-containment.

In a small space packed with the faithful, under the candle light, mass is celebrated by a guest clergyman from Zemun, because the parish priest's mother died (he could not attend her funeral in Croatia because his passport was revoked, not to mention that he was confined to bed, being ill himself). I meet him for a short time and learn that masses are regularly held and that there are some 2,000 believers of various nationalities. I ask him about ecumenism in the town area, being that, except for not many Catholics, it draws together the Moslems along with the Orthodox, as well as some Protestant religious communities. "There is no such thing here", is the lapidary answer I get.

The next day brought about a snowfall ample enough to cover everything with whiteness, as if

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to make a stronger point of the things clashing with that whiteness. I pass by the Mosque close to my hotel. In a quite different manner in comparison with the Catholic Church, masked to invisibility, the Mosque stands out as an isolated object. Its huge spinning walls with their bright-colored coat highlighted the graffiti of unidentified authors written in variously colored Cyrillic and Latin letters. A message in huge green Cyrillic letters runs:

ŽIVELA (=LONG LIVE)
JUGOSLA (=YUGOSLA)

with VIJA (=VIA) missing, which in the local language might mean YOU (VI) and I (JA). I try to reconstruct the author. I eliminate a Moslem, because it is a Moslem House of God and one does not write on it.

I recall a graffito on a desk in Novi Sad written - and unsuccessfully painted out - in black Cyrillic letters:

THE POPE IS FUCKING
WITH NEGROES

Serbian kids

Who might be "YOU", and "I" in that space marked as common - Yugosla (although chipped). Writing graffiti, the unidentified author left a trail of himself/herself: through the color - green (Moslem), Cyrillic letters (non-Moslem), the content of the message calling for the communal spirit and, most of all, through its unwritten, yet contextual part. This is the cry for anyone who reads the graffito in his own way: believer or non-believer.

I proceed around the Mosque, reading other graffiti and writing them down in my notebook. Personal names and nicknames belonging to the Serbian onomastics written in red Latin letters:

SALE
KEKA
KURE (=PRICKY)
SONJA
BOBAN

and down bellow them, a message:

WHY
DO
I
CARE
FOR
THIS
FUCKING
LIFE

The message is completely theological. A self-addressed question asked by any non-believer or believer of any religious affiliation: why do we like to live when this life brings us misery?

This single graffito written on a House of God articulates the ecumenical reality better than any head of any of the three religions in this town could ever portrait. Someone who wants to be friendly, who has such a glowing (red) wish, left his/her trail aware that we are all in the same boat.

Tomorrow morning, at six o'clock, I return to my town. It is cold at the bus station, a few passengers - only those who have to travel. We, lots of Gypsies and snow. White and black joined in the morning semidarkness.

N. Sad, November 25, 1995

Svenka Savić
ANNOUNCEMENT

In accordance with the decision of the Fraternity and Administration of the St. Alexander Nevski Church in Belgrade, Cara Dušana Street no. 63, based on their consideration of the present spiritual needs and problems of our religious life, we hereby inform the public that the following editions are available in our church: The Church Bulletin, "Neva" book collection, journal 'Beogradski dijalog' (=Belgrade Dialog); in addition, we maintain editorial cooperation with the Edition "Obraz svetački" (=Saintly Honor). Our school also publishes brochures, all bearing our sign. Four issues of our journal "Beogradski dijalog" have been published so far, but its publication will be temporarily stopped.

All questions concerning the activities of the Church and the Orthodox Missionary School should be exclusively addressed to the clergy of our Church. Any declarations and activities of other, unauthorized persons concerning the mentioned questions are not to be taken as attitudes of our Church and Orthodox Missionary School.

Representatives of Protestant Churches in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
Jugbogdanova 16
PO Box 3
11001 Belgrade

The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
Commission for Relations with Religious Communities
Belgrade

Belgrade, January 21, 1998

SUBJECT: A protest against frequent attacks on members and property of Protestant churches.

After numerous violent attacks on the members and religious objects of the Pentecostal, Adventist, Baptist and Christian Brothers' Churches in several towns of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the representatives of the Protestant Churches held a meeting in Belgrade on January 21, 1998 which culminated in a protest based on their concern for the safety of the members and property of their churches, addressed to the competent authorities with a demand to undertake due legal measures which would put an end to the mentioned criminal offenses and thwart incitements to such crimes.

Having considered the conditions in which the mentioned criminal offenses are committed, we want to point out that the said attacks are not scattered excesses performed by under age persons, that the issue has nothing to do with rowdy "excursions" of some groups of hooligans. We want to point to the obvious connection between those tangibly destructive attacks, on the one hand, and the campaign carried out by some newspapers and TV shows against any non-Orthodox form of Christian religion, on the other.

Namely, in their articles and shows such newspapers and TV stations circulate rumors that the listed Protestant Churches are foreign sects which gradually impoverished the spirituality of the Serbian people, hypnotize it, seduce and poison by Protestantism and Satanism, as mediators used by foreign powers - who donate them sacks of money - to undermine defensive powers of the country.

Hence, we take a stand is that our impression is not a wrong one, and that the mentioned, completely unobstructed attacks are committed out of conviction, as proper, patriotic acts, directed against sects as cover-up organizations of foreign members of the power elite. After such "fact-finding" role of the media, the Crystal Night against minorities can be expected as the next, logic step to be taken. The mentioned criminal offenses are nothing but a way to put in practice a vision...
about a single nation and a single religion which is propagandized by its ideological leaders through mass media, a vision of self-promoted experts for religious and national matters.

Namely, we are not disturbed by a thought that various arguments shall be set forth in support of a thesis that a certain religion is the only proper, that not a single one of the above mentioned Protestant churches preaches authentic Christianity, or that they all have taken a wrong course. We do see a problem when the self-promoted experts for religious matters and spiritual health of the Serbian people, uncertain of the power of their own arguments, give in their declarations on Protestant churches the green light for "self-organizing" and rowdy actions.

First of all, the texts and discussions delivered by such "experts" carry a message that the Serbs and Montenegrins on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot be allowed to affiliate with any Christian church other than Orthodox. Secondly, if any other church after all happens to obtain a permission, a Yugoslav Hungarian or Slovak could, perhaps, be allowed to become a Baptist or Adventist, but the Serbs and Montenegrins must previously obtain a psychic health certificate to be issued by the same self-promoted experts for religious matters themselves. If a Serb or Montenegin happens to choose the Protestant church, it is immediately marked as a destructive sect. Thirdly, the mentioned ideological leaders accomplish the climax of the national rage by the following method: any talk about the Baptists, Pentecostalists, Adventists, etc. is immediately continued by discussions on Satanists and other groups practicing occult rituals. By doing so, the ideological leaders of this campaign want to create an impression that all these are actually the same, that they are all want to create faith in Satan, rather than God in a state of altered consciousness, calling for a witch-hunt and burning of the Satan's servants at the stake.

Having in mind the correlation between the campaign in the media, which by itself inflames religious intolerance and hatred, we do not merely ask for adequate protection from attacks against our believers, religious objects and their visitors. We also demand legal actions against inflammation of religious intolerance and hatred through media.

Only resolute and adequate measures may create conditions for understanding, peace and prosperity of all nations and churches living and acting in these regions.

Please do everything within your competency to protect our constitutional rights.

Sincerely yours,

The representatives of Protestant churches in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia:

Christian Baptist Church: Christian Adventist Church:
Dane Vidović Šili Vencel
Yugoslav Union of Pentecostal Churches: Serbian Evangelic Union:
Slobodan Andelić Lazar Stojić
Christian Church: Evangelic Students' Union:
Goran Zarubica Janko Vareca

Delivered to:
- Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Serbia
- Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Montenegro

Dear Mr. Dordević,

April 10, 1998

Being unable to contact you in any other way, I decided to do it through a letter. Yesterday evening Dr. Ilić, sociologist, gave a lecture here in ... and immediately after that I had a short conversation with him in which he advised me to get in touch with you and Obrad Savić from the Belgrade circle, recommending the two of you as "intellectually honest people", which in return
provoked my answer that it was exactly a kind I truly needed.

Namely, some time ago I wrote a brochure ..., so I now need two short reviews which would exempt the said brochure from the excise tax.

As you will see, I greatly relied on your book "Orthodoxy Between the Skies and the Earth", because I liked it best as I found in it practically everything matching my interests. Being that your book was published eight years ago, I asked myself whether you were still active or might be already retired, to learn in the end that you were five years younger than me since I was born in 1949.

In the long-passed 1975 I graduated from a Protestant School of Theology in France, but disillusioned by the course of events taking place in all churches, I never accepted to actively practice the profession for which I have fairly sufficient qualifications (I practice agriculture and own 5 acres of land). I absolutely do not belong to any religious organization. This is, at least, what I believe in. In any case, you will make a better estimation of this allegation as soon as you read my brochure and, if you have good will and courage, I would kindly ask you to make a short review. If you have read the newspaper "Demokratia" of February 16, '98, you could see that several non-Orthodox houses of God have been attacked by fanaticized members of the Orthodox Church. In any case, I am convinced that you are at least informed of the Valjevo case.

All those incidents add to the topicality of my brochure and, with the help I could get from you and Mr. Savić, it would have greater chances to push its way better. The violence which belongs to the past is repeated in the present times.

I leave it to your judgment to decide whether my brochure deserves attention or not, on which basis you shall do what you consider worth doing. In any case, even if you decide not to make a review, I would like to hear your critical and impartial opinion about my brochure.

Hoping that I will soon hear from you on the matter, I enclose with this letter my brochure and send you my cordial regards.

V. S.

'DIALOG" OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH AND OTHERS

Admitting that they cannot keep silent any longer, the Christians belonging to Protestant denominations in Yugoslavia asked last week the Commission for Relations with Religious Communities of the Federal Government to help them... They put forward, as one of the most violent examples, the incident of burning down the foundation of an Adventist object under construction immediately after an Orthodox meeting held in the vicinity. Being that the incident exploded in the general public, similar problems were presented by the practitioners of transcendental meditation who, in cooperation with a prominent member of the Yugoslav Left Wing and their follower, Jara Ribnikar, reached the top of the Federal State Security Police and the Yugoslav General Staff. Both of them see the roots of all evils in the book The Soul-Hunters, a private edition of Ljiljana Đurević-Stojković, a journalist working for "The Army". General Perišić dissociated himself from that book, but the Protestants point to the parts of the book published in the form of an article in the journal issued by the Army and conclude that this institution which needs a national enemy at any cost, found one in the "renegades" of the Serbian Orthodox Church, who are, as such, automatically considered non-Serbs.

Some circles in the Serbian Orthodox Church make a step further: Ljuba Petrović, the head of the Alexander Nevski Church which rallies about itself the circle of Orthodox missionaries and sect-fighting activists, explains that the members of the Protestant Church in Yugoslavia exist with a purpose to destroy the nation and implement "the new world order". He interprets the attacks on non-Orthodox Christians as "self-organizing of the people" who have had enough of "aggressive missionary activities" of the Protestant religious communities. Another book regarded as an invitation for the "witch-hunt", as Protestants see it, is a text-book used in secondary theological
schools entitled *Church and Sects* by the priest Lazar Milin. Written in an obsolescent and malicious manner, the book actually opens an essential problem: definition of sects. Milin advocates a standpoint that there is only one church (Orthodox), while all other Christian denominations, together with non-Christian and Satanic, are mere sects. Protestants see this definition as untenable, because, according to them, all who stick to the basic Biblical principles are equal Christians who might differ only in minor details. They quote the experience of the Catholic Church which defined all other Christians as “Christians in a different way” on the Second Vatican Council; they also make a warning that the official attitude of the Serbian Orthodox Church on this issue does not exist, so that every Orthodox Christian defines himself in relation to others through the lies in the media...

On one occasion, the president of the Evangelic Students' Union, Dane Vidović, speaks about a Finish Baptist clergymen whom he has met, whose wife is a Lutheran, while their son prepares to become an Orthodox priest. Vidović tells this story as an argument which proves that a true life together is possible, but makes a remark that such life must be based on a previous dialog which should be initiated by the Serbian Orthodox Church due to the fact that it is our majority church, but also due to the fear that such a proposal “if initiated by the Protestants, would not be well accepted".

As for the readiness of the Serbian Orthodox Church for the said dialog, it is reflected in the attitude of the above-mentioned author, Lazar Milin, who, faced with accusations for intolerance shown in his book, answers in his statement for *Demokratija*: "Baptists are sects, that's final!" Then, instead of giving any explanation, he calls all confused Orthodox and non-Orthodox believers to read his book.

Ivana Stevanović *(Republika, February 16-28, 1998)*

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10. Vernet, Ž. (1997), *Sekte*, Beograd i Zemun, Plato i XX vek
Време верског тржишта
То што смо се вратили вери, ипак није значило да смо се доказали "болег живота". На против, па где је, они, "прави пут"?
ДНЕВНИК, недеља, 21 јун 1998.
ИСТРАЖИВАЊА У ВОЈВОДИНИ

Деца и верске заједнице

Секта имају подршку значајних људи

Трибина крашевачког Културног центра о раду верских сект

Крвна заклетва београдског студента

Секташки оскрбивали православне обичаје на сакрани

Разједињавање српског националног бића

Цеде мозак и душу
Записи о људима и догађајима из његовог времена и сврхе. Његови записи покрај унутрашњег живота су такође изванредно важни за разумевање времена у којем је живео и радио. Његови записи о људима и догађајима из његовог времена показују да је био активан и снажан људи који је често био у центру закривки и запутавања. Он је био блисак и негативан, иако је високо одговарао својим државним и црквеним амбицијама.
ANTIKULTNI POKRET
-MOGUĆI IZRAZ RELIGIOZNE NETOLERANCIJE

Dragoljub B. Đorđević

Autor ukazuje na nesporazume u naukama o religiji i na javnoj jugoslovenskoj sceni povodom shvatanja i imenovanja različitih vrsta verskog organizovanja. Sporova naročito ima oko kultova i novih sekti, tj. novih religioznih pokreta, i to prvenstveno u medijima. Tome doprinose i velike domicilne crkve, koje, bez razlike, sve sekte i kultove proglašavaju satanističkim, totalitarnim i destruktivnim kvazireligioznim pojavama. Sve je to zajedno uzrokovalo rađanje i zaživljavanje necivilizovanog antikultnog pokreta. Taj pokret (od autora nazvan "antikultni pokret u srpskoj varijanti"), uz nepostojanje prokultnog kao neophodnog balansa, ne samo da je izraz religiozne netolerancije već jeste i njen generator. Autor svoje stavove potkrepljuje empirijskom dokumentacijom i pražna na uvid kolač ekstremno antikulnih novinskih naslova, kao i reakcije i pisma institucija i pojedinaca pogođenih nepričičnom javnom kampanjom.

Ključne reči: antikultni pokret, religiozna netolerancija, novi religiozni pokreti