

FLF Founder Wins Acclaim

After having received standing ovations at Carnegie Hall, Reverend Sun Myung Moon, founder of the Freedom Leadership Foundation, will speak at Lisner Auditorium in Washington, D.C. on October 20, 21st, and 23rd. A large crowd is expected. Rev. Moon is speaking in 21 cities throughout the country on: God's Hope for Man, God's Hope for America, and the Future of Christianity.

Reverend Moon, founder of many international organizations in addition to FLF, is working to spiritually revitalize America, which has, he says, a

vital role in determining the future of the world. His talks, which have thus far been well received in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, stress rebuilding the moral foundation of America in the family, the church, and public life. States the sponsoring New Hope Committee: "The most dangerous time for any civilization comes when its moral and ethical foundation is in crisis...America has grown and prospered so greatly because those who settled it came seeking God. The only way it will fall is if those who live here stop seeking Him. This

foundation of our country is in a period of obvious crisis. Is it still true that 'In God We Trust'?" Reverend Moon directly confronts this problem in his second talk, God's Hope for America.

Travelling with Reverend Moon are several hundred European and Japanese members of the international One World Crusade, founded by him last year.

FLF is founded on Reverend Moon's vision of a harmoniously united world family based on moral, ethical, and spiritual principles.



Sun Myung Moon at Carnegie Hall

"...America's fastest growing freedom newspaper"

The Rising Tide

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Missed Opportunities in the Mideast Melodrama

by Neil Salonen

The new Middle East war was not inevitable but nevertheless occurred because the doors to reconciliation, although opened at times--were never entered. It was obvious that unless the Arabs regained most of their lost territory peacefully they would go to war with Israel. From their standpoint, humiliation as a result of their defeat in the 1967 war could no longer continue. Someway, somehow, their territory and pride as men had to be regained.

This does not discount the fact that the Arabs probably deserved to lose their territory as a price for their attempts to destroy Israel. This obstinance in recognizing Israel as a legitimate state has been one of the biggest obstacles to reaching a peaceful settlement. In addition, the Israelis insisted on direct negotiations while the Arabs were attempting to get a favorable settlement through the U.N. Without a negotiated settlement, the result was obvious. First a stalemate, then war.

Our Role

Was a negotiated settlement possible? It would be too much to make an absolute prediction. However, the one nation best positioned for bringing about such a development was the United States. Yet, in our usual fashion, we let the opportunities slip by. Being too interested in not making enemies, we were not taking the positive initiative in winning friends. Famous for our inconsistency in foreign affairs, we were already losing the faith and friendship of our allies without even trying. Had the U.S. acted more wisely, the Arabs could have possibly been won to our side; their territory recovered and Israel would be secure from any Arab takeover.

The Israelis have not wanted to deal through a third party to negotiate a settlement. However, if necessary they would accept the U.S. as a go-between them and the Arabs. The Arabs needed the U.S. and they knew it. Who else could talk the Israelis into giving up their occupied territory?

The opportunity came for the U.S. to achieve a peace settlement when the Egyptians told the Soviets to pack their bags. Soviet refusal to supply the Arabs with sufficient weapons to wage a successful campaign to regain their territory is what caused the Soviet Exodus. The abortive Communist coup in Sudan also helped to chill relations between the Soviets and Arab world. Being strong Muslims, the Arabs have never had any great love for Communism. Even had the Soviets given enough weapons to the Arabs, it is probably the Arabs would gradually have broken off the engagement with the foes of Allah once they had served their purpose.

Missed Opportunity

With the Soviets gone, a near perfect opportunity existed for the U.S. to step in and bring about a negotiated settlement. More than peaceful solution to the Mid-East crisis was at stake - the entire Arab world could possibly have been won completely away from the Soviets. This would have been a far greater achievement than all the nonsense talk of "detente" with the Soviets could have ever accomplished. In fact, the Middle East war is a perfect example of how meaningless "detente" has become.

Commitment a Prerequisite

The steps taken to achieve such a peaceful settlement would

have been, first, to establish a strong alliance with Israel by signing formal treaties, supplying her with the latest modern weapons in ample quantity, and strongly assuring the Arabs that the U.S. would take any measures necessary to protect the sovereignty and independence of Israel. Secondly, the U.S. should have simultaneously pressured the Israelis to give up the major portion of the Arabs territory occupied by them since the six-day war. With Israel confident of her security, the possibility of her giving up the territory would be greatly increased. The Arabs would undoubtedly be overjoyed to get their territory back. Knowing Israel to be too strong to destroy, particularly with strong U.S. backing, the Arabs would probably not attempt to drive her "into the sea."

Arab territory in Israeli hands can only increase the possibility of war, never lessen it. In the

long run, particularly in terms of man and material, Israel has much more to lose in this sense, providing that the U.S. establishes a strong, uncompromising position on Israel's existence as a legitimate nation. Eventually the Arabs will grudgingly have to accept the fact of Israeli existence supported by the U.S., as Jordan already has.

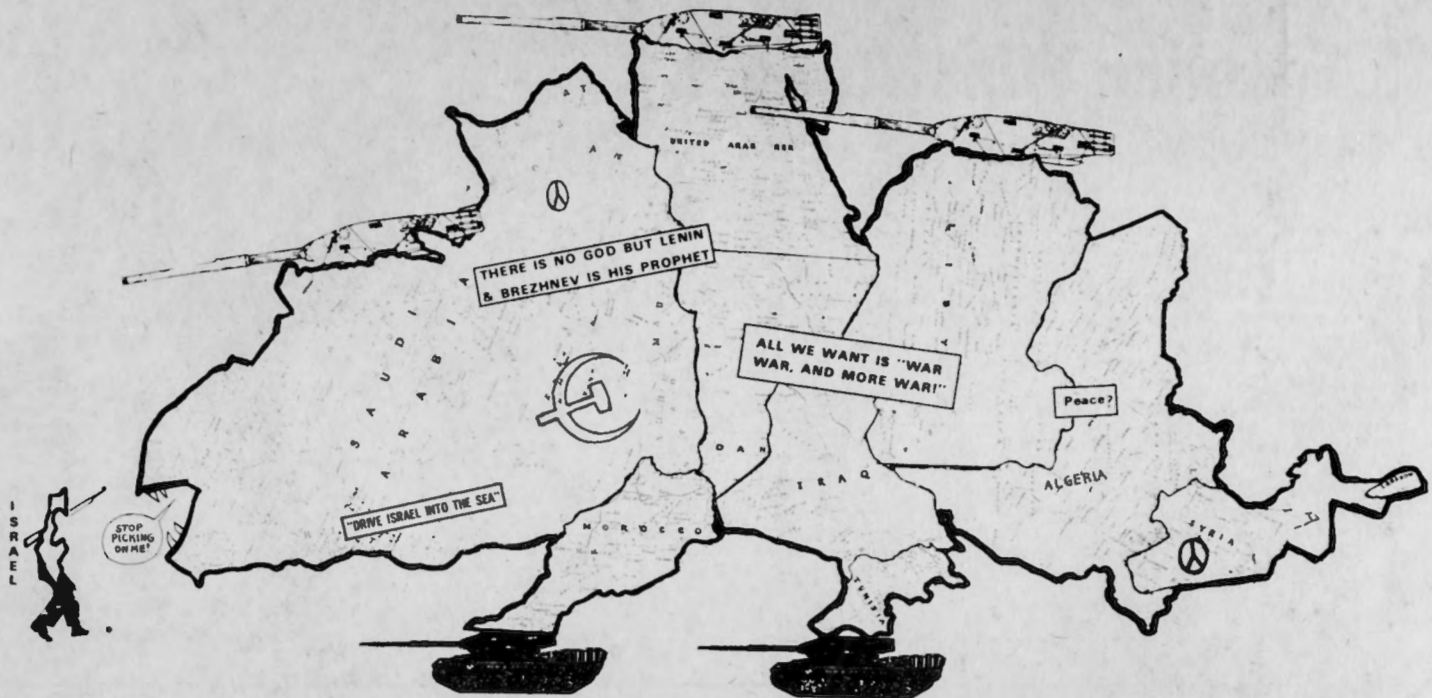
Limiting Soviet Influence

It is also in the interest of the U.S., Israel and Arab nations to limit Soviet influence in the Middle East. This can only be accomplished when the U.S. takes the initiative to win the Arabs through a reasonable territorial settlement. This might encourage the Palestinian commandoes to realize that more can be accomplished peacefully than through their futile violent attacks against Israel.

It is hard to know what possibilities for such a settlement may exist since the recent outbreak. What is certain is that the U.S., as usual, lost an excellent opportunity to bring about a peaceful and just settlement in the Middle East. Detente as a goal in itself is useless without just and meaningful accomplishments. It has certainly been unsuccessful in urging big power cooperation to end the Arab-Israeli war. The U.S. must realize that to ultimately secure peace and freedom in the world, its principle adversary will always be Communism. In the long run, greater peace and security will be assured in the Middle East as Communist or Soviet influence is neutralized. To win the Arabs to our side should be a major objective. If we do not, then in seven to ten years from now another Soviet-backed Arab attack on Israel is almost certain. And as usual everyone will be the loser.



"Arab unity" ("Roz-el-yusef", June 5, 1967)
Without assured U.S. support, Israel will always be plagued by insecurity and its consequences.



Confrontation Exposes Contradiction

By Ray Mas

The renewed fighting in the Middle East last week has thrown additional light upon the Soviet meaning of "detente." In a clear show of support for the Arabs, the Soviet Union launched what high-ranking U.S. officials were calling a "major airlift" of material to both Egypt and Syria. In addition, the Soviets were reported to have reinforced the Mediterranean fleet. There can be little doubt that the Russians think little of "detente" and less of their agreements.

Quick Change

Initially the Soviets reacted coolly to the Arab moves towards war. Soviet Advisors were quickly pulled out from both Egypt and Syria and there were full communications between Brezhnev and Nixon. Yet, like chameleons, when

they saw the opportunity, they were quick to change color.

It is a hard and bitter reminder of the value of Soviet agreement. Faced with a choice between honoring its pledge to the United States (under the Basic Principles of Relations signed in Moscow in 1972 and reaffirmed in Washington last time) "To do everything in their power so that conflicts or situations will not arise which would serve to increase international tension," Moscow chose war.

It is all too clear that the Soviets are backing this nation against a wall. With confident belligerency, the Soviets are freely swinging their weight around, all too aware of America's devotion to that precious and nebulous word "detente."

Lesson Of The Past

Yet, this is nothing new, either. When the 6-day war was seen approaching in 1968, the Soviets actively sought to make the situation worse. Through one Soviet diplomat was spread the rumor of an imminent Israeli attack upon Syria, an apparent effort to egg on the Egyptians. In the midst of the War, the Soviets began to rattle their missiles, threatening to intervene against Israel. It was not until President Johnson brought in the sixth fleet did the Russians bow out.

It seems that the only thing the Soviets truly regret are powerful threats. Is this the same "trustworthy" and "peace-loving" government that President Nixon signed an agreement with?

Result: A Dilemma

The United States and the Soviet Union are now faced with the question. If Israel cannot master the strength to repulse the Arabs on the Sinai, how much more military help can the United States extend without putting itself directly in the war? If Egypt cannot protect its troops from annihilation in the desert, how far will the Soviet Union go to supply and support the Egyptians? These are the agonizing questions—questions which must and will be answered very soon. The already growing Soviet support of the Arab cause gives cause to great concern and makes one wonder if perhaps there was a misunderstanding between Kremlin and White House lexicographers on the meaning of "detente."

Cambodian Anniversary Message Calls for Solidarity

By Lon Nol
October 9, 1973

My homage to the Samdech Supreme Patriarchs of the two Buddhist orders, my homage to all Buddhist monks, beloved compatriots:

To begin the celebrations of the Third Anniversary of our Republic, I first ask all compatriots to stand and pay homage with me for one minute to the memory of our compatriots and combatants who have sacrificed their lives to salvage the nation and Buddhism.

The Third Anniversary of the proclamation of the Khmer Republic falls on 9 October 1973. The promulgation of the country's major institutions has been completed. In the coming fourth year, the march of our Republic will proceed toward national development in a democratic way with the mobilization of all our own forces and means. In developing our country, we must implement the five principles defined in Article 1 of the Constitution. They are: liberty, equality, fraternity, progress and happiness.

In accordance with our firm desire to build the fatherland, we will make utmost efforts to restore peace and national concord in our life. To achieve these ends, we have taken the following necessary measure: Two days after the signing of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement, that is 29 January 1973, our Government unilaterally suspended all offensive operations by our National Armed Forces with the intention of restoring peace to the Indochina Peninsula and to facilitating the implementation of this Agreement. Particularly, Article 20, which calls for all parties to correctly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Cambodia and to withdraw all foreign troops and war material from Cambodian territory, was adhered to. However, our goodwill has been ignored, for not only have the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong refused to withdraw their forces from our territory, but they have introduced additional fresh troops to continue and expand their acts of aggression against and the indiscriminate massacre of our innocent people—including women, children, and Buddhist

monks—and to sow crimes and wreak havoc on our country.

In the face of this situation, to strengthen the legislative power in accordance with the great ideal of national reunification and the defense of the country's supreme interests the Parliament decided to suspend its sessions temporarily and hand over full power to the President of the Republic. The High Political Council was founded, and a special government rallying representatives of different political tendencies was also appointed. With the noble intention of achieving peace for the nation, the High Political Council and Government issued a statement on 6 July 1973 proposing a six-point policy which was enthusiastically welcomed by all peace and freedom-loving countries. In every case, our High Political Council and Government have persistently demanded that the foreign aggressors withdraw their troops and war material from Cambodian territory.

As for our Cambodian brothers on the other side, whom we will always believe to always be Cambodian, they may show up and at any time tell us the place and date of the negotiations which we all desire in order to put an end to the fighting between us and to reunify the nation, since too much Cambodian blood has already been shed. We must also put an end to all suffering so that we can reach an agreement with one another and reconstruct our nation on the basis of democracy and neutrality with respect for all international agreements and without foreign interference. The hour has come for us Cambodians to stop killing each other, which can only weaken us and benefit the enemy, thus threatening to erase the name of our country from the surface of the earth. We must never forget that the enemy wishes only to see us divided so that he can pursue his war. We must also be well aware that whenever we cease our hostilities, many peace and justice-loving countries in the world, which are watching us, will furnish us with considerable aid and assistance to help us repair the damages and reconstruct our war-torn economic, social and cultural infrastructure.

Beloved compatriots: I take this opportunity to solemnly appeal to our compatriots who still live under the enemy's oppression in the enemy-controlled regions to unite, with us and together rise up to compel the aggressors to respect the independence, sovereignty and civilization of our nation which, until now, has been trampled underfoot. The brothers are also asked to compel the aggressors to withdraw all their troops and war material from our land in conformity with the 27 January 1973 Paris Agreement which they themselves signed.

In the coming years, the brothers must wage a people's war against the enemy aggressors. Our Armed Forces will always stand by your side to achieve the sacred duty of preventing the enemy from acting against you as he pleases and of driving him from our territory. If you fail to fulfill this important duty, you will put yourself in considerable danger. The enemy will continue to massacre you and cause you to suffer separation, bereavement and destruction, such as you suffered recently in Kompong Cham town.

The motivation that the enemy has so cowardly machinated, saying that there is U.S. aggression against our country, is merely a pretext for continuing his aggression. This pretext is meaningless, since there have never been any American troops in our Armed Forces on any front in the past or at present. Moreover, air intervention itself has been definitely halted since 15 August 1973.

Our solidarity on the path of reunification is necessary for our nation. It is an important weapon in resisting the foreign barbarians' desire to make us their satellite and put our country under their yoke.

In conclusion, I pray to all the sacred objects that protect the entire Khmer Republic to protect our compatriots of all walks of life and allow them to enjoy the five best wishes of lord Buddha. I wish all my compatriots victory so that they can live in solidarity and freedom without suffering.

Long live the Khmer Republic!

Agnew Virtue Shrugged

By Louis Fournier

In a course of events too swift to recollect, American politics and idealism underwent a major transformation on October 10, 1973. That afternoon America suffered a sudden heart attack, stunning the nation and marking a change of flow in the political bloodstream of the country that foretold an epoch of living so removed from our current daily sphere as to be contemplated by only the boldest imaginations. Is this a wild exaggeration?

What is the American political ideal? Asked to several people, several answers would ensue; fundamental to every reply would be the notion of the purity and dignity aimed and hoped for by the godly men who founded our society. Central to their foresighted vision was an image of a governmental noble and great, in the richest sense of goodness, inspired and inspiring, drawing like spiritual gravity the best of virtue from the commonest citizen. Who can deny it? Born of a day rampant (as is our own) with the severest affliction of man's seemingly ever-present evils—a grueling war, disunity, cruelty, deceit and the like—these resilient men found the stimulation, the determination to implant into the governmental system of America a spirit of hope and purpose that might have seemed almost impractical.

Certainly since that day events have seemed to conspire to render it lifeless, but still that spirit persists, blindly unyielding to the most repressive measures. There is an undying grandeur to the purpose of America, holding men faithful to it despite their uncanny drive to failure and disillusionment. It will not be defeated, in defiance of its every defeat. The ideal lingers on, always part of the undercurrent of the human routine, always represented in the state of spirituality that keeps men going to their nine-to-five niche of progression—indeed, it is that which makes the otherwise mundane task of day-to-day living a real progression at all. Even the devout materialist, scoffing fearfully at the superworld of the invisible

soul, dwells in a cautious world more man-made than those he rejects—and his realm requires at least as much faith in his claimed "facts" as the believer in God does in his experience with a real and purposeful Creator, still, the materialist goes on, unwittingly finding his hope in life from the same source as do all men. All men are men and are headed to the same stop, although along varied (but converging) routes. So there is that deniable ideal! Will it never give up? What does it take to shake it from the life of reasonable practicality we must face if we are to survive this dangerous world, like giving up the notion of Santa Claus to realistically assume a role in the mature reign of rude awakenings?

The ideal stands alone, untouched by the hate and destruction and negativity of man's fallen nature, and that is what makes it the ideal and why it can never go away. It is God-given and will be fulfilled, because it *must* be. But have we answered what it is? We can and do guess and speculate, and no doubt we sometimes come quite close; we are sure to have it all soon (because it must be fulfilled). So on we go...

We see it even now. Man's deepest yearning of hope and love follows its most vivid expression of the ideal society, and that trek to the best possible world unfolds around us in the course of current events. One of its most pronounced arenas is political science; the sure threat of spiritual (perhaps physical) death on the one hand and the hope of the highest fulfillment of human value endowed by God on the other. We are concerned presently with the how of the ideal and America's part in its implementation. When Spiro T. Agnew entered the office of Vice President of the United States, he took upon himself, at least in word, the responsibility of doing his utmost to pursue and fulfill the purpose of idealism that his political system demanded; and we have seen that America does have a real, powerful cause which it must effect. The Vice President assumed in name a crucial role in moving his country on every

level of influence toward the vision of great goodness longed for by every man. No matter where that vision had gone blind in the past, no matter where the previous man had tragically lost his grip on it, no matter how miserable the path to its completion may have appeared, still it loomed majestically before him, calling out desperately for him to give the only kind of constancy that can promise to realize it in our society: total sacrifice of self for the purpose of the whole.

Too much to ask of the limited human nature? Apparently too much for Spiro T. Agnew, and he moved gracefully and not unappreciatedly aside, leaving a spiritual vacuum in the hierarchy and heart of the democratic system which was promptly filled positionally by a new figure of hope. It is that sense of hope and its continual stimulation that assures us of its inevitable completion, and we see the Agnew incident as a hugely significant point in the total strategy.

Because we must arrive at that junction of the wordly reality and the heavenly ideal, America will be constantly, increasingly nudged along the road to the best of all possible worlds. But that point can never be reached without the fervent response and reaction of our nation, just as it could never have been started for without the fiery determination of the first citizens of the United States. We can see the drive of the highest purpose behind the swift judgement and censure of our political structure represented in Agnew's resignation and replacement (It might be just as easy to see it otherwise, as it might be possible to see a sinister motive behind a person's quite ordinary death.) Likewise, we can look ahead to the necessary revitalization of America's place of leadership in the struggle for a moral world. America's mission must be recognized, maintained and sustained, and our world must see the moral issue at stake superceding every national interest for the sake of the whole.

Gleb Rahr

The Role of Religion in Soviet Dissent

Mr. Gleb Rahr, founding member of the Russian underground organization NTS, is on the editorial board of the Frankfurt publishing house Posev, a major Western publisher of samizdat material and information about internal affairs of the Soviet Union. Mr. Rahr has had a long acquaintance with dissident movements within the Soviet Union as well as a variety of experiences as an NTS member, an inmate of a World War II concentration camp, and a foreign correspondent. While on a recent visit to the United States, he spoke to the FLF staff, on arrangement by Constantin Boldyreff, on the dissident movement in the Soviet Union. He stressed its religious aspects and spoke on the situation of religion in the Soviet Union. The following are excerpts from his speech and subsequent discussion.

There are two reasons to reflect about religion in Russia: first of all, because of the role which religion has played in Russian history, and secondly, because of the role which religion might play in the future. There was no pagan culture before Christianity in

that it could be applied to everybody—it's just human rights and laws of the country that should be respected, and so on. That is the typical liberal approach, too. We have seen that just personal courage, sacrifice, and so on, can attract people to the movement, but probably not yet enough in the sense that thousands and tens of thousands could join them. But this liberal position will always work in the future; they will try again and again.

There is a sort of left wing in the opposition—those that would say that there is a simple way to find support of the masses—that is, to use a classical Marxist formula, that the proletariat is the base, so we should appeal to the workers. We should try to make the workers rise and fight for their economic interest first, and then for general rights next. As an example, there are the Polish workers who, through strikes and demonstrations in December 1970, achieved something at least. Well, they would like to do the same thing, and there are groups working in the same direction. We have mentioned the central opposition a couple times, although we can't

form in any nation normally a kind of right wing. Well, in Russia, this situation is peculiar because Russian national tradition and Russian culture are absolutely interwoven with religious tradition—they can't really be separated. This is well known to the Soviet regime. Being founded on a Satanic ideology, the regime knows the strengths of the national sentiment, especially of the national solidarity under hardship. They know very well that it was not Marxism/Leninism that saved the Soviets during the war but the rise of patriotism and the desire to save one's country. So Stalin was saved by the simple fact that he allowed national aspirations, just for awhile, to again appear on the surface, it will perish just because he did not appeal to the Russians as friends. This is very well known to the Soviet regime. They would again like to have the nationalists and patriots on their side in case of war with China, which they have to think of as a possible reality. Therefore, they play with Russian nationalism. But they can't separate it from religion, and that is their problem.

On the other side, we have the Social Christian group. There was a group in Leningrad, a so-called Social Christian Union for the Liberation of the Nation, most of whom are in concentration camps and prison, but some of them seem to be outside. These people are former Marxists who are from Communist families. Some of them were young scientists. One was the best specialist in Ethiopian culture, worked in Ethiopia, then came back and then was arrested. Some others also were great specialists in their fields. Well, these people have then also formed a Social Christian Group which worked for years. They were discovered and sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment. All this seemed to bring more response. The major group seemed to have more response among broader circles of the Russian nation because they are using their eternal values of the Christian Russian culture. It can lead to some developments in the future. This is the second reason why religion in the Soviet Union is interesting from the point of view of the general understanding of the political situation.

What could we say about the general situation of religion? As you know, since 1918, the Soviet regime has tried to suppress the church in other smaller nations by all means. At different times they selected different targets. At the beginning, of course, the traditional Russian orthodox church was the main target. To really destroy this church for a certain period of time they even seemed to sponsor smaller groups just to create unanimity among them—those are difficult Communist tactics. Practically they have favored nobody; they have tried to suppress all of them, and that they are trying to do even now. Soviet propaganda claims that there is freedom of religion in the Soviet Union. It would be very easy to prove that this is not so. What really exists is only the general right to go to visit the still open churches and to worship in churches, nothing more. And even the young people, students, for instance, get into serious trouble if they try to attend church regularly. Even if somebody would once see them going into a church they would be immediately called to their council or Communist youth organization be questioned about it. If they had no explanation they would be warned, and the next time they would be excluded from their Communist youth organization, which would automatically deprive them of any possibility of continuing studies. The same would happen to anyone who already has started his working career, he would immediately lose his job. Practically, only the people belonging to the lowest level could lose nothing. Probably these alone would be tolerated to a certain extent as churchgoers. That is the explanation why in these photographs of people going to churches we normally see only old women. They belong to a category which the Communists have allowed—thinking—"we can't do anything to them."

But, even this picture is not all. School in the Soviet Union is not neutral. It is not a school where pupils are just taught to read and to count. The ideological work begins from the kindergarten. And not only special subjects are taught to educate children such as Communist Belief—but also, most of the teachers of other subjects have to include into their schedule topics against religion. They would lose their jobs immediately if they are not active enough in this field. The church is not allowed to conduct classes with children, officially, persons under 18. The church is not allowed to appeal to them; after 18 they can decide then whether they want to be religious or not. So they hope that before that age they have enough time to make any young man or young girl a believer in Communism, if nothing else. If people try to counteract, they will be punished severely. During the last few years we have seen in the Soviet press notes about ladies being punished for 3 years in prison camp just for an effort to form a group of 5 or 6 children to give them some information about the Christian religion. In extreme cases, even parents lose their parental rights if they influence their children so much that the children will say, "I am a Christian." We cannot say how many cases there are. Of course, the Soviets know that such things are taken up by the Western press if they become known, so there are extremely few cases that are reported in the Soviet press.

There is an official church—an official Orthodox church—an official Baptist Church—an official Catholic church. Some smaller groups exist of the Adventists; Pentecostals, and so on. So all of these are registered; according to law, they have to register—otherwise they are not allowed to operate. But registration is not when somebody comes to the office and says, "Well, please register my group. We have established a group." Registration actually means that authorities will allow it to operate; they will allow it only if they can put it under their con-

trol—if they have somebody in that group that would report everything. From the point of view of the government, it is better to have this open group than to have uncontrolled groups somewhere underground which they could not check.

So we see through this registering of churches that churches are a very, very small group of the general Christian movement in Russia. We can say that basically, about half of the population still should be regarded as Christian. Of course, not all of them have ever been in a church in all of their life. But I mean that they know that in their hearts, they believe. There is more than half the population that belongs to this special category of Christian people. The Soviet Union has 250 million people—that would mean that more than 120 million people are Christians in their hearts. There are officially 750 Christian churches in the Soviet Union. Most of them in the provincial cities and villages are only small chapels with a capacity of 200—so even if we accept standard church of having a capacity of 1000 and if

from the authorities—these groups can be classified into three stories underground. The first—just under the earth—works with young people so that the authorities wouldn't get word of it. We know for instance, in the last Chronicle that reached us, that there was mention that two Moscow priests, officially registered priests, has been suspended because they had been popular with the young people. This is the first stage of going into catacombs.

But, they are visible they are known as registered priests.

Then there are all these suspended priests of whom we have tens of thousands in Russia alone in the time of Khrushchev in the early '60's, there have been closed down about 18,000 at least of the then open churches. All the clergy men of these churches now have jobs, most of them physical jobs in the factories. They certainly will try, in a way, to continue their ministry and certainly most of them do it.

Of course, they try to be priests again and underground and that would be the second floor underground of the catacombs,



"Unless the oppositional movement will find a way to establish a bridge to the masses, it will be in a very difficult position..."

Russia at all—there were semi- or full-barbaric tribes of Slavs, of Normans, of others. Only 1,000 years ago Christianity formed the Russian nation and the Russian culture. Until the last 200 years, when western European civilization penetrated Russia, everything was based on Christian religion. Therefore, I would say, the whole nature of Russians is basically formed by religious tradition. Now that is of importance in the past and in the future.

Many analysts of the present situation in the Soviet Union feel that the weak point of the present day oppositional movement is that it has no broad base. There are about 2,000 or 3,000 intellectuals who are very dedicated and who are practically willing to sacrifice their lives. But they have not, until now, really appealed to broader circles and have not gotten response from much broader circles than just the intellectual elite and the young intellectuals usually not yet in a high position. During the last two years there were many authors who were discussing this particular problem; they think that, unless the oppositional movement will find a way to establish a bridge to the broader masses, it will be in a very difficult position and probably could even be suppressed. Therefore, broadening the base is one of the most important strategic problems for the present day movement in Russia. Basically, there are three possible ways to achieve this.

The way Sakharov works could be classified politically as a sort of liberal movement. He wants to keep his ideology very simple so

claim that the results for the time being are really impressive, or at least that the results known to us, that they are impressive.

What do we normally call the right-wing people? People who are for national traditions or for religious values. They together



"The greatest and most permanent opposition to Communism is religion."

we accept the Soviet officials figure (which might be exaggerated) of 750 churches in the whole of the Soviet Union—we would have a complete capacity in the Soviet Union of 750,000 people. About 120,000,000 are Christians, so even that shows that even these registered churches cannot really serve the Christian population.

That, of course, means that there must be illegal religious groups. In the spiritual catacombs—hidden

where some activities—Christian activities—exist. The authorities may have some knowledge of some of these former priests. Of course, they know who the priests are. Therefore, they still have some possibilities of control.

And, finally, there is a third level where there are really, absolutely, conspirative methods at work, where there are priests who nobody knows about, of this kind of group we learn only when they are discovered and when the people are arrested.

The Baptists are very vigorous. They are a little bit like newcomers to the Russian scene. They are a young group in Russia before the Communist Revolution, there were very few and most of them were from the German colonist regions. So, then, they have still the vigor of a young group trying to expand. It is very difficult to say how many there are, but they also split into those who are in the Baptist-registered church and the one that works semi-underground but also tries to demonstrate openly and to appeal openly to the government for fair treatment. And that is a group about which we know quite a lot, because their tactics, their method, is completely different from the Orthodox underground. The Orthodox underground doesn't rely on Western help. They just feel that they should keep quiet and work in the underground. But, the Baptists, knowing that they could have so many sympathizers in the West—

Question "What does the NTS feel will be the most effective to work in the Soviet Union to bring together the broadest amount of people?"

We're trying to actually consolidate this thing and serve as a bridge of understanding and coordinate the efforts of those people. But what could Americans do? Of course, I think the most obvious thing is to defend those

(continued on page seven)



October 23, 1956

by Salvador de Madariaga

At the XXth Congress of the Soviet Union Communist Party in February, 1956, Mikoyan first and Khrushchev afterwards, denounced Stalin in terms which justified everything the Western critics of that criminal tyrant had been saying for years to the hot denials of Communists and fellow travelers. Though kept secret, Khrushchev's speech was published by the State Department, and while, in fact, it added nothing to what had been actually known for years, it made this knowledge authentic and undeniable.

Stalin was not the only fallen idol. His very accusers stood in a hardly more favourable light. Mikoyan had acquiesced in every atrocity Stalin had committed, as proven by the mere fact that he was still alive, and Khrushchev was known to have served in his native Ukraine as the willing tool of the Red Tsar. The party of hope at the dawn of 1917 was sinking down in a sea of blood and shame in 1956.

Such was the situation when Budapest flared up. Ruled by Rakosi, a ruthless Stalinist, Hungary had proved one of the hardest nuts for Moscow to crack. Following the winds that blew in Moscow, power had been either fully or partly in the hands of Rakosi, Gero or Nagy.

"...the re-assertion of freedom... as the very essence of human existence may well have been the chief consequence of the Budapest uprising"

Gero was as bad as Rakosi. Nagy was a revisionist. He had been evolving in the direction of some form of national, autonomous Communism on the lines of Gomulka's or even of Tito's.

The new dictator (Gero) tried to appease a nation whose anger was rising rapidly. He was not trusted. The new ferment abroad was working fast at all levels. Nagy, expelled from the Party by Rakosi, was now re-admitted. Gero and Kadar left for Belgrade (October 14). When they returned (October 23), the country was aflame. The Gomulka statement of October 20th was celebrated by a demonstration of hundreds of thousands chanting Petofi's line: "We shall no longer be slaves." Events were taking a definite revolutionary turn.

Then Gero's masters committed their first infamy. They posed orders signed by Nagy as Prime Minister, without Nagy's authority or even knowledge, in order to be able to claim that the new Prime Minister had requested the help of Russian troops on October 24th. Nagy's government was not formed until October 27th when the Anti-

Soviet revolution had won all over the country. It was a student and working class revolution and to call it Fascist, as Moscow and even Tito did, is downright nonsense. By October 30th, Hungary had freed herself from Soviet thralldom and was preparing to organize a free society under a coalition government composed of the Social Democratic, Small-Holders and National Peasant Parties.

Then the Soviet Union tanks poured in and soaked Hungary in blood.

One of the chief demands of the Budapest revolution was the withdrawal of Soviet troops. On October 30th, the Soviet Union bound herself to satisfy it "as soon as this should be considered necessary by the Hungarian Government" which the same Soviet troops were then busy changing by violence. On November 4th, Kadar announced the formation of a new Government which "requested the command of the Soviet Army to help our nation to smash the sinister forces of reaction." Hungary had been murdered.

Her leaders also. On November 3rd at 10 p.m. Pal Maleter, the defense minister and Kovacs, the chief of General Staff, entered the building of the Soviet Army G.H.Q. to discuss the withdrawal of Soviet troops. They were never free again and later were executed. Nagy himself took refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy, which he eventually left under a Hungarian safeconduct and special assurances given by the Soviet commanders to the Yugoslav government. He was never seen again and was executed. Both Maleter and Nagy were executed by the Russians. Such was the level of decency and honour of Khrushchev.

What had happened to the West? President Eisenhower could have quoted Sancho Panza "I know nothing. I was in my vineyards." He was electioneering to have himself re-elected. To what purpose? We might ask. For it is high time we all realized that the President of the United States is, in fact, the President of the World Commonwealth; and as things have rolled on in this chaotic way of our species, no one seems to have stumbled to it yet, least of all the Prince-Electors who are the citizens of the United States. President Eisenhower, faced with the crisis which might have liberated half a continent, thought of little else than securing more votes so as to be able to return to the White House and do nothing there.

As for Mr. Eden and Monsieur Guy Mollet, they thought of nothing better than sending an ultimatum to Nasser, which they did on October 30th.

On November 1st Nagy had informed Hammarskjold, the Secretary General of the United Nations, of his protest to the Soviet Ambassador against further entry of Soviet troops into Hungary, and that he had denounced the Warsaw Pact. He asked that the United Nations put the question of Hungary's neutrality on its agenda and that the great powers protect it. But Hammarskjold did not go to Budapest. He went to Cairo.

Eisenhower could have sent a strong secret warning to Khrushchev on the consequences of intervening with troops in the Hungarian crisis. He could have sent air-borne troops into Germany, without saying a word about it. The Russians would soon know. And Hammarskjold could, in-

deed should, have arrived in Budapest on the 28th at the very latest and called the Security Council or even the General Assembly to sit in Budapest on the 30th at the latest. And the history of the world would have been different.

The consequences of these events were bound to be deep for all concerned. There are four sectors to be considered: the Hungarian people, the other Communist held peoples, the Communist Party, and the West.

Those of us who were then receiving cables of anguish from the Budapest students asking for immediate help realized that there was a nation shouting for help in the few days of freedom she had torn with nails and teeth from the rock of Destiny. It was now or never. And we saw the youngsters of 15 or 16 thrusting their bodies at the tanks for lack of other missiles. (Later we would read how those who had not died had been kept in prison till they were 18 to be of age to be executed.) What would the people of Hungary, the boys, the intellectuals, the workers, think of the Russians and of the West?

Of the Russians they could hardly think worse, so that side of things did not change very much. In fact, for reasons that will appear anon, as it could not become worse, it had a chance of becoming better and in fact did so. But the West? Finished. There was a period, fortunately brief, when the West was accused of having incited the Eastern Europeans to rebel only to leave them in the lurch when they actually did. This reproach is unfounded and unfair. Neither Radio Free Europe nor even the Voice of America worked that way, nor did the West in general. The responsibility of the West arises not from its activity before but from its passivity during and after the rebellion.

Opinion in Hungary could not and did not expect the West to start a war in order to liberate Hungary, but it could and did expect that, in such an event as then burst upon Europe in Budapest, the West would at least try to keep the Soviet Union out. This was the disappointment that killed the Hungarians' faith in the West.

Fortunately not their faith in freedom. Indeed, the re-assertion of freedom, not merely as a condition for a better sort of collective life, but as the very essence of human existence, may well have been the chief consequence of the Budapest uprising. The majority of the fighters against the Communist oppression were youths, human beings with no experience of freedom. And yet they fought and died for it. Whence came this uncompromising demand they so fiercely felt? When, between machine gun bursts and the rolling of tanks in the streets, they shouted "Bread and Freedom," they were uttering a profound truth: for freedom is the bread of the spirit of man; and these youngsters had discovered it within; not in the words of their elders, nor in their very heartbeats.

And when they found -- those who survived -- when they found that the West, which had ostensibly fought a long and cruel war for freedom, would not raise a finger to help them, the people of Hungary had to re-think the condition of their life. In the course of time when the stupid and cruel executions and repressions ordered by Moscow had been lived down, the Hungarians

were gradually led to adopt an attitude not unlike that which from the first, the wiser Poles had reluctantly chosen. Thus began an evolution which would turn Kadar, at first a brutal executor of Khrushchev's death sentences, into a kind of Hungarian Gomulka.

This brought Hungary into line with the other satellites. For all of them, the Budapest episode had meant a similar experience composed of two primary revelations: years of Communist oppression of a thought tight feeling-tight action-tight monopoly of opinion and institutions, had neither conquered the oppressed peoples nor advanced one iota the fortunes of Communism. Eastern Europeans remained as anti-communist as ever. This was the first revelation.

The second revelation was that an open rebellion against the tyranny of

"Opinion in Hungary did not expect the West to start a war to liberate Hungary, but..."

Moscow was bound to fail before the combined effect of Western passivity and Soviet ruthlessness. Therefore, the attitude towards the Soviet tyrant had to change. An uncompromising enmity resulting practically in non-cooperation had to give way to cooperation cum friction, leading to day to day results in terms of tasks achieved while at the same time inflicting an inevitable wear-and-tear on the regime. It would be too much to describe the change as one from an extra-muros suburban population of disarmed enemies to an intra-muros fifth column, but it did amount to something along those lines. Whether workers, students or intellectuals are considered, a number of changes, episodes and incidents, reported in the press or gathered by travelers would appear to confirm this trend.

On the upper layer East, the dominant Communist Party of the Soviet Union sitting heavily on the Eastern-European peoples, the chief result of the Budapest rising was the consciousness of failure and shame. Failure because, after so many years, Communism was rejected, and an association with Russia was repudiated; shame, because the Socialist Fatherland which was supposed to lead the workers of the world to a Paradise of peace had to re-establish its hold on Hungary by mowing down youths, intellectuals and workers in a bloodier fashion than ever the stoniest capitalists had done at the worst period of the XIXth century.

Lies upon lies were laid on thick by Khrushchev and his penman to hide the fact; but the fact could not be hidden; and no matter what the Communist bosses might say, everybody but the stupidest and most dogmatic comrades was bound to know that the Soviet Union had murdered a country.

The dry-rot set within the ruling and bullying class in Russia and Eastern Europe by the crime of Budapest and the lies under which the criminals tried to bury their deed was the chief cause for one of the biggest changes in the system of forces that had prevailed since the end of its war, the Communist Party lost its faith.

We have seen what this faith had been, a Marxism more or less reinforced yet contradicted by Leninism, in its turn overgrown with Stalinist weeds and platitudes which of late had fallen off like dead leaves on the dead body of their contriver. Under the shock of the Budapest events, this Marxism-Leninism had to reappraise itself. It was a fact that the capitalist world had not collapsed. It was a fact that it had, on the contrary, developed a prosperity higher than any known to history. It was a fact that Communist countries lagged far behind the least fortunate of the capitalist countries in well-being, wealth, peace and contentedness. Therefore, what was the good of Marxism-Leninism?

This state of mind fostered an anti-ideological movement in the Eastern Communist Party, a movement not coming forward from behind but upward from below, and therefore, a movement in which conviction preceded argument. That is why it emerged both in home and in foreign affairs. In home affairs it gave rise to an evolution towards capitalism which began by allowing free rein to the ideas of Professor Liebermann on profit-economy and other similar novelties which ten years earlier would have been punished by a shot in the back of the neck. In foreign affairs it led to seeking a compromise with the United States.

The intertwining of ideological orthodox and ideological heretic, personal, historical, territorial and nationalistic tensions grew into an inextricable knot. It gave rise to such picturesque spectacles as that of tiny Albania hectoring the huge Soviet Union to the subtle minutets between Tito and Khrushchev, danced by both parties with the corner of their eye on Washington and its dollars to the Chinese adventures of Gheorghiu-Dej aimed at covering his infidelities towards the Soviet Union in the name of Stalinism and Rumanian patriotism; to Ulbricht's endeavours to camouflage the Berlin Wall with meadows and flowers and so many birds in the bushes singing, of course, peace, peace, that one would not be able to hear the shots fired at the East Berliners fleeing to the Western Hell from the Eastern Paradise; and to Kadar's evolution from his role as the accomplice of Khrushchev in his country's murder to that of debonnaire liberaliser who camouflaged the machine gun nests on his Iron Curtain and let his subjects freely go to Vienna at their relatives' expense there thus gaining kudos as a liberal and saving food at the cost of his exiles.

What had been a world of odious, cement-like unity became a picturesque chaos. There was some gain in human terms. The dreadful extermination camps were partially liquidated; many prisoners came back to life from the half-death they had lived there; the controllers of literature and the arts, the press, radio and television, let loose the reins now and then only to pull them up the tighter if writers and artists took their freedom-chicken-feed as

if it were real bread. The situation was not unlike that in the Spanish story about the stern colonel who had commanded his two orderlies to wake him up at 5 a.m.; they tiptoed into his bedroom and one of them, almost inaudibly, whispered "Sir, Sir" whereupon the other one asked "Why don't you say it louder?" "Well," whispered the first, "he might wake up!"

The West was red in the face. For months and even years, the West tried to work off its shame by shouting ugly words at the Soviet Union from the benches of the UNO Assembly, Council or Commissions. A futile kind of verbal war. A reversion of true policy. For what should have been done, in time, was to speak publicly with the utmost respect and secretly with the utmost firmness; while, having said and done nothing in private when it might, and almost certainly would have availed, the West heaped abuse on the now indifferent and unrepentant "housebreakers."

This phase could not last. It made no sense for the rational, executive Westerner. And the basis for the change was the conviction that happen what may and whatever the reasons, the Soviet Union was for the time being in possession of the East. The fact is there. Let us take it. Thus the new era began with this paradox that the West took for granted that Eastern Europe belonged to the Soviet Union at the time when this

"This disintegration is in essence the consequence of the inherent absurdity of communism..."

was just beginning no longer to be true.

Thus a tendency to come to some kind of an agreement with the Soviet Union came to meet that predisposition we just saw in the Communist Party to seek an agreement with the U.S. It took all kinds of forms, one of which consisted in a campaign against ideology, a reflection of the similar attitude that was emerging on the other side both above and below the iron floor of Communist tyranny. Newsmen and publicists began to minimize differences in political set-up, as if to live under the rule of law and due respect for the human being or at the mercy of any official brute was a mere matter of taste.

Those of us who insisted on the necessity to retain due regard for such things while evolving into the new situation were treated as fanatical sectarians, dogmatists or just bores.

The world goes on, with growing hopes that the disintegration of the Communist world will soon enable Eastern Europe to recover its freedom. This disintegration is in essence the consequence of the inherent absurdity of Communism; but the one and the other were once and unforgettably flooded with human light by the spirit of a heroic people.



On Meeting Cardinal Mindszenty

by Dan Fefferman

Appearing before the New York area press corps on October 2, Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty issued a stern warning to "the world's people not to be deceived by the illusion of lasting detente with the Communist superpowers. The Communists have not changed their goals, the 82-year-old prelate said, but only their tactics. Their ultimate goal is still world domination and the complete destruction of religion."

First Appearance

It was the first time the Cardinal has appeared on major U.S. mass media since his release from 15 years of exile in the U.S. Embassy in Budapest last year. The evening before his press conference, three FLF members and I had the privilege of meeting with His Eminence at his hotel outside New York City in North Brunswick, New Jersey.

Security surrounding the Cardinal was tight. Mindszenty was released from captivity after relations between the Vatican and Budapest began ostensibly to warm, but this has not kept the Communists from waging a substantial campaign against the Cardinal. Pro-Communist literature printed in Hungarian was circulated near his hotel and at a church which the Cardinal was dedicating in New Brunswick. Several terrorist threats and the throngs of anxious people seeking an audience made for an atmosphere of real tension, remarkably well handled by the security staff and the Cardinal's aides.

Inside the Cardinal's quarters, the atmosphere changed. We all could sense immediately that here was a man who had undergone immense suffering and frustration, but around whom prevailed an aura of confidence and inner peace. His Eminence was pleased to see *The Rising Tide*, with its emphasis on human rights and the ideological struggle. "You must continue to publish information about these men such as Solyhent-syn and Sakharov," he told us. "The distribution of this material is critical to our cause."

The Cardinal was happy to see a photograph of a 500-person Wall Street Rally FLF had helped to organize September 30 urging America to reawaken to its moral responsibility of serving the world and protecting smaller nations against totalitarian aggression. He urged us to work hard to expand distribution of the *Tide* and other FLF programs aimed at educating American young people.

Finally, His Eminence was presented with a copy of FLF's newest publication, *Communism: A Critique and Counterproposal*, by Dr. Sang Hun Lee. Presenting the book was Mr. Takeshi Furuta, U.S. field representative for the International Federation for Victory over Communism, Japanese Chapter. Mr. Furuta has been working with FLF as a lecturer of Unification Ideology and Victory over Communism thought.

Encouragement

In parting, Cardinal Mindszenty offered the four of us his blessing.

We left feeling a heightened sense of our mission, not only for America, but for the world and ultimately for God.

In a recently published volume, *Mindszenty the Man*, authoress Phyllis Schlafly writes that Cardinal Mindszenty is something more than a Catholic prelate who suffered for his faith and his nation. "Cardinal Mindszenty," she writes, "happens to be a Hungarian. He happens to be a Catholic. But he fought for the freedom of all men, regardless of faith or nation. The principles he stands for—with his mind, body and spirit—are universal and eternal. He is truly a man for all seasons."

"The crying need of our times," Mrs. Schlafly continues, "is for noble leaders who persevere in their principles when they reach high positions, who remain loyal to the people who look up to them, who cannot be seduced by money or scared by power, who listen to the voice of conscience instead of the roar of the crowd, and who are willing to pay the price that leadership demands in terms of self-discipline and difficult decisions."

Cardinal Mindszenty is certainly such a man. His life stands as an example and a challenge to each one of us. Whether this generation of Americans can produce the leadership necessary to guide our nation and world through the coming years of moral and political crisis will no doubt prove to be one of the most telling questions of our time.

One Sentence On Tyranny

By Gyula Illyes

Where there's tyranny
there's tyranny;
not only in the gun-barrel,
not only in the prison cell,

not only in the torture rooms,
not only in the nights,
in the voice of the shouting guard;
there's tyranny,

not only in the speech of the
prosecutor, pouring like dark smoke,
in the confessions,
in the wall-tappings of prisoners,

not only in the judge's passionless
sentence: "Guilty!"

not only in the secretly
half-opened door,
in fearfully
whispered news,

in the finger, dropping
in front of the lips, cautioning "Hush";
there is tyranny,
not only in the facial expression

firmly set like iron bars,
and in the stillborn
tormented cry of pain within these
bars,

where there's tyranny
there's tyranny
not only in the tirelessly
clapping palms,

in orchestras in opera
in the braggart statues of tyrants
just as mendaciously loud,
in colours, in picture galleries,

in each embracing frame,
even in the painters' brush,
not only in the sound of the car
gliding solfly in the night

and in the way
it stops at the doorway;

where there's tyranny, it's there
in actual presence
in everything,
in the way not even your God was in old
times;
there's tyranny
in the nursery school,
in paternal advice
in the mother's smile,

in the way a child
replies to a stranger;

it is there
in the goodbye kiss,
in the way the wife says
"when will you be home, dear?"

in the "how are you's?"
repeated so automatically in the street,
in the loosening of the grip
to give a nonchalant handshake,

in plate and in glass
it is there in your nose, your mouth
in coldness and dimness
out of doors and in your room...
in tranquillity,
in the boredom of the shackles,
in the whisper of the rain,
in the bars that reach to the sky.

and because it's there in every ambition,
it is in your tomorrow,
in your thought
in every one of your gestures;

like a river in its bed
you follow it and you create it
you spy out of this circle?
it looks at you from the mirror,

it watches you, you would run in vain
you're prisoner and warder at the same time.
into the tang of your tobacco
into the fabric of your clothes

it seeps in, etches like acid
down to your marrow,
you would like to think, yet no idea
but it comes into your mind,

you would like to look but you see only
what it creates like magic in front of you,
and already there is a circle of fire,
a forest-fire made out of match-sticks,

because when you dropped one,
you didn't crush it;
and thus it guards you now,
in the factory, in the field, in the house;

where there's tyranny
everyone is a link in the chain.

like moles in the sunshine,
we walk in the darn,
we fidget in our chamber
as if it were the Sahara,

because where there's tyranny
all is in vain,
even the song, however faithful,
whatever the work you achieve,

for it stands
in advance at your grave
and it tells you who you have been,
even your dust serves tyranny.

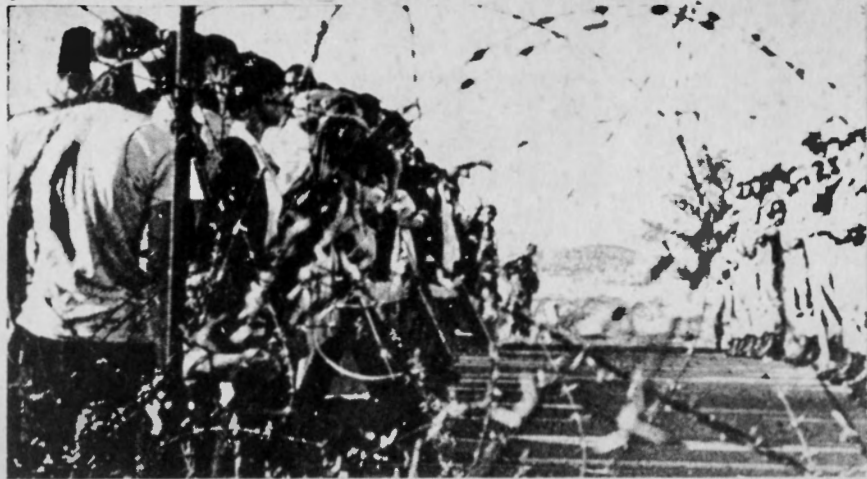
The White House
September 29, 1973
11:27 AM

His Eminence Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty
The Archbishop's Residence
452 Madison Avenue, New York, New York

It is a privilege to send this warm message of welcome as you arrive in America. I know that millions of Americans share with me the deep respect and gratitude which you have earned throughout the world by your inspiring example of spiritual dedication and courage. I hope your brief visit will be a thoroughly pleasant one. Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

Note: The hole in the Hungarian flag is the symbol of the 1956 revolution - the Communist symbol was quickly torn out of the flag.



The Semantics of Right and Left

by Reed Irvine

In a recent column, C.L. Sulzberger surveys political tendencies around the world and concludes that the tide is running to the right. He says "A few years ago Socialist, Communist, radical or liberal groups in various countries improved their position at the expense of conservative factions. Now there seems to be a reaction in the other direction."

In grouping socialist, communist and liberal groups together under the heading of "the Left," Mr. Sulzberger provokes an interesting question. What is it that liberals who believe in human freedom and genuine democracy have in common with totalitarian communists that leads to their being assigned a common label?

It takes very little analysis to demonstrate that genuine liberalism is the antithesis of Communism. Wherever Communism has achieved power it has swept away individual liberties, freedom of speech, press and worship, and it has imposed a tyrannical and oppressive government. Efforts to moderate the oppression and introduce some civil liberties are known as liberalization, and the brave men such as Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov and General Grigorenko in the USSR are known to us as "liberals."

However, reformers such as these are invariably labeled "rightists" by their governments. For example, on December 4, 1969, The Times carried a dispatch from Czechoslovakia which reported an official as saying that the film and television union was "still in the hands of extremist representatives of the right wing." The official was referring to Dubcek-type liberals. In

the aftermath of the failure of the Dubcek reforms, it became necessary for the Times' correspondent in Prague to explain that when the Communist Party talked about "right-wing views" it meant "liberalism."

On the other hand, the liberals in the Communist countries freely label the orthodox Communists as "conservatives" or "reactionaries" or "right-wingers." For example, Alvin Shuster, writing from Prague, said this in The Times of February 17, 1970.

"And Dr. Husak, who runs an authoritarian regime as it is, faces constant pressure from the ultra-conservatives to get tougher still."

The ultra-conservatives in this case were the orthodox communists whom Mr. Sulzberger now places under the "left" umbrella together with the liberals. However, while the hard-line Communists in Prague and other Eastern European countries have been described as "ultra-conservatives" and "right-wingers" by The Times and other liberal publications, their counterparts, the hard-line communists, in Western countries have continued to be labeled as left-wingers and radicals.

One is left with the impression that the meaning of "left" and "right" today is about as stable as quicksilver. This was indicated a few years ago by Charles Osgood of CBS News. When asked to clarify his use of the terms, Mr. Osgood said: "Terms such as left and right mean entirely different things to different people, depending on the ideological focus of the person using them. Since at the moment I have no accurate 'fix' on myself, I can't really tell what the hell I mean."

Nevertheless, writers who could no more straighten out the confused

meaning of these terms than could Mr. Osgood continue to use them freely to characterize all manner of individuals and groups. Seldom do they bother to pause and ask themselves what precise political principles are supported to be measured on this scale that runs from left to right.

Is it attitudes toward freedom of the individual? Or is it the approach toward self-government and democracy? Or does the measurement apply to economic philosophy, with laissez-faire at one end and complete state control of the economy at the other?

Oddly enough, the right-left scale as it is frequently used in the press has totalitarianism with its suppression of individual liberty, denial of democracy and total regimentation of the economy on both the extreme right and the extreme left. Given this usage, a drift to the right and a drift to the left would both mean a drift in the direction of totalitarianism.

The words "right" and "left" are clearly a very poor way of communicating meaningful descriptions of political philosophies. They confuse rather than enlighten, and their emotional charge is so heavy as to prevent clear, dispassionate thought. Norman Podhoretz pointed up this problem a few years ago when The Times asked him about changes in his political views. He said: "We talk about being deradicalized, but I don't like talking about going to the right. I prefer the label 'left' since there's a kind of automatic association with the idea of social virtue or concern." It is strange but true that "left" still retains this connotation even though it has also

(Continued on page 7)

Ideology

Aspects of Mao's Thought

By T.H. Tsuan, Ph.D.

The recent tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (hereafter designated CPC) has unanimously reelected Comrade Mao Tse-tung to be the Chairman of the Central Committee. The official communique indicates that "Marxism-Leninism as well as Mao Tse-tung's thought are guiding principles of the CPC." Many people are pondering whether this is the beginning of the end of Communist China? Is the old image of Mao Tse-tung crumbling? The following is a brief comment; for detailed explanation see the forthcoming book on Yeh Ch'ing's Analysis of Mao Tse-tung's Thought which the writer in co-operation with Drs. Ralph Mortensen and Stephen Pan has translated from Chinese into English and which will be published shortly.

When Mao Tse-tung first formulated his own Communist ideas in March 1926, he declared that the Communist revolution in China could not succeed unless it was patterned after the traditional Chinese peasant revolts that occurred in China's long history. Due to this unorthodox attitude, he was accused of being a deviationist. However, in 1945 when a Communist victory in China appeared imminent, at Liu Shao-chi's insistence the Seventh Congress of the CPC adopted Mao Tse-tung's thought as its guidelines for all of its activities, even incorporating this in the new CPC Constitution. Following the establishment of the so-called People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, the study of Mao's thought has not only been forced upon the Chinese people, especially during the

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-69), but interest in it has been generated outside Communist China, in Africa, Asia, Europe, and America.

I have often been asked after giving my lectures on "Nationalism and Communism in Asia", and "Asian Nationalism and Communism and their Impact on United States Foreign Relations" at several high schools and universities, "Does Mao Tse-tung's thought still dominate mainland China's political, economic, and social life after October 1, 1949?" "Can the CPC under Mao's leadership snatch from the Soviet Union the leadership of the world Communist movement?" The students, by and large, are confused and have only a vague conception of what is going on in Communist China today. The third question often asked is "How could the Chinese Communists uproot Confucianism in China almost overnight, since over a period of more than two thousand years it had become adapted to China's needs?" The obvious answer is, of course, that the sudden change was due to the accumulation of Western influence, especially since the middle of the nineteenth century, plus the determined intent of the Chinese Communists to abolish all religious activities and traditions in China. History reveals the fact that orientation of thought is not always a matter of free choice. This is particularly true in the post-war era, especially in economically underdeveloped countries of the world. These countries have been affected by international demonstrations of techniques and methods. As a result, tradition is gradually losing its importance and experimental gimmicks are explored that will

promote a more rapid economic development.

Mao Tse-tung's thought has seemingly maintained its paramount position from 1949 to date, especially since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, a close observer will realize that this is a passing phenomenon in China's history because the major aspects of Mao's thought are merely plans and policies rather than theories and doctrines, simply repeating the philosophies of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Basically they do not possess any lasting value.

In general it may be said that people are bound by their own cultural environment and cannot help reacting to social tradition and environment changes. Mao's own outlook is no doubt the product of his life in China during a turbulent period, as stimulated by Marxism-Leninism and dominated by his own revolutionary experience. He applies his mind mainly to tangible things, seeking to solve practical problems, rather than promoting ideas. Perhaps his lack of formal philosophical training has caused his intellectual processes to be rather superficial, his thought inconsistent and lacking in logic and originality. Traditionally Mao considers the United States as the leading capitalist and imperialist country of the world and the number one enemy of Communist China. President Richard M. Nixon's efforts for rapprochement with Communist China were based upon the weakness and flexibility of Mao's thought. Actually Mao Tse-tung is no longer in command, but being used as a front man in Communist China.

Changing Partners

By Allan C. Brownfeld

The ironies of our recent political history are many and varied. Felix Frankfurter, condemned as a dangerous radical when he was first appointed to the Supreme Court by Franklin Roosevelt, became the Court's leading conservative. The left-wing of the Democratic Party, internationalist and interventionist during the entire twentieth century, reverted to isolationism in the nineteen sixties as it opposed American participation in the Vietnam War and turned its back upon the foreign policy consensus of the post-World War II period. Similarly, Republican conservatives, once isolationist, became advocates of collective security and American participation in world affairs.

Now we face yet another irony. It seems, with the advent of the Nixon Administration and the recent appointment of Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State, that the Republicans are abandoning their traditional anti-Communism and the Democrats who, in many instances, had adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the Soviet Union and Communist China, are picking it up.

When he appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Henry Kissinger was asked whether in light of recent Soviet persecution of intellectuals, scientists, dissidents and members of religious minorities we should grant Most Favored Nation status to the Soviet Union. He said that, while he didn't personally approve of persecution, the "internal affairs" of the Soviet Union were, essentially none of our business.

Soon after this, the National Academy of Sciences attacked Soviet persecution and warned the Soviet Academy of Sciences that American scientists might refuse to take part in joint research and scientific exchanges if Soviet harassment of scientists continued. The Academy was rebuked by the Nixon Administration's spokesman in the field, Secretary of Health,

Education and Welfare Caspar Weinberger. He declared that Soviet-American scientific cooperation was of enormous value to mankind in general and should transcend what he described as an "internal" Soviet affair.

While the world expressed growing shock at the re-Stalinization occurring within the Soviet Union, not one leading Republican—usually the loudest anti-Communist spokesmen—said a word. Evidently, the party line had changed, and they were quick to follow it.

The London Times declared that "The Soviet leaders cannot...separate their internal and external policies. They cannot successfully pursue detente abroad while exercising increasing suppression at home." German writer Gunter Grass, a close friend of Chancellor Willy Brandt and a supporter of his Ostpolitik policies, wrote in the magazine Stern that the failure to protest the persecution of Soviet intellectuals made a travesty of the detente movement. "Even if we can hardly help the embattled writers and scientists directly, we cannot just remain silent and watch." In protest, Grass cancelled a scheduled trip to the Soviet Union. Even Communists in Italy, France, and elsewhere in Western Europe expressed concern and disapproval.

In our own country, the vocal attacks upon Soviet persecution came from Democrats and liberals. Rep. Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, declared: "One cannot work to liberalize the movement of goods in the world market place if the doors are to be slammed shut upon what Justice Holmes called the market place of ideas. I cannot see the U.S. expanding commercial markets with the Soviet Union if the price is to be paid in the martyrdom of men of genius like Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov."

The Washington Post, often attacked for "softness" on Communism by Republicans, declared

that "The appropriate approach is to caution the Soviet leadership that it is simply not possible to mold the necessary public support for a detente policy in the U.S. while the Kremlin continues to act as it does with respect to human rights." The New York Times criticized President Nixon for not condemning Soviet brutality and stated that "his present policy of expanding Soviet trade, making advanced American technology available to Moscow and encouraging American businessmen to plan multibillion dollar investments there are all designed to increase Soviet strength...Why is the White House acting as though detente requires it to approve of every Moscow horror?"

The irony of the seeming Republican reversal on Communism was highlighted by the statement issued by novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn accusing Western liberals of dual standards of morality in what he described as their quick readiness to denounce oppression in rightist countries but reluctance to criticize the Soviet Union. "The liberals are certainly at fault. They denounce racism in South Africa, and are silent about even worse persecutions in the Soviet Union and Communist China. Yet, we have come to expect this of them. But—what are we to say of the conservatives?"

In his memoirs Nikita Khrushchev wrote of a visit to England and recalled that he had gotten along very well with Conservative Prime Minister Anthony Eden but did not do nearly as well with the leaders of the British Labor Party. He writes that "We had found that the Labourites were more consistently hostile toward us than the Conservatives." He said that it was far easier to deal with capitalists and conservatives—for all they wanted to do was business. He paraphrased Lenin who said that, "The capitalists will sell us the rope with which to hang them."

Will Americans accept this Republican reversal? One hopes that our self-respect as a nation will prevent this from happening.

What Depreciates?

by Sang Hung Lee

Marx tried to solidly establish his theory by inventing new concepts such as necessary labor, surplus labor, necessary working hours and surplus working hours, and then making the general public believe that these kinds of labor and working hours actually existed.

Proof of Constant Capital

Although all of these concepts can serve to prove that labor force is variable capital, they can never prove that machinery is constant capital. Marx himself knew this, so he had to make up even more terminology such as "relative surplus value," and he applied the method of depreciation. He tried to prove by skillfully using theories that machinery is constant capital. Now let us see whether this is possible by developing these theories.

Meaning of Depreciation

In the first place let us criticize the theory of depreciation. In the depreciation method there are several kinds of depreciation such as the depreciation of a fixed amount, the depreciation of a lump sum, fixed rate depreciation, and the depreciation of the annual rate of interest. What Marx focused on was the depreciation of a fixed amount, which is a gradual saving up of the amount of money corresponding to the total value of the worn-out machine. In general, after daily wear the machine will eventually superannuate, and due to the constant improvement of techniques, will have to be replaced. Because new machines are very expensive, the money is difficult to produce at one time. So to solve this difficult problem businessmen adopt the method of depreciation.

This fixed amount concept of depreciation leads businessmen to save up, by monthly or weekly installments, the amount of money equivalent to the value of the machine's wear and tear during that time. Then when the machine becomes worn out or unserviceable, a new machine can be bought with the collected money. Marx took ad-

vantage of this concept to prove his own theory.

He said that the daily depreciation of the machine does not disappear but the value is transferred to the commodity and reappears as commodity value. Therefore if \$1 of the machine's worth wears out daily, this value of \$1 appears as part of the value of the commodities manufactured during that day. This transferred value is manifested as money when the capitalists sell the commodity in the market. They take the \$1 out of the profit and save it in the depreciation fund. Thus the value of the machine turns into commodity value while the machine itself becomes unserviceable. This theory means, of course, that the total value transferred into the commodities is exactly equal to the total value of the whole machine which is now worn out.

Application of This Depreciation Concept Was a Deception

Is this true? Marx's depreciation concept may seem plausible but actually it can only be applied in relation to raw materials and even then it is not completely valid. Most of this theory is quite erroneous. Now let me expose the errors. Machines, as a matter of course, wear out daily and the value decreases in proportion to the daily wear. What should be clarified, however, is that the wear and tear of a machine has the effect of change of the physical structure so that only the exchange value is affected, not its use value. The decrease in function, or use value, of a machine is never proportional to the wear. For example, a newly-bought watch will begin to wear out from the first day, but the function will remain for several years. Likewise there are many kinds of machines that keep up good operation for a length of time. The function (efficacy) of the machine, to multiply value and give this value to the commodity, is the use value, not exchange value. The greater the efficiency of the machine, the greater will be the productivity and thus a better quality commodity will be produced.

In other words, the function of a machine is to contribute to the value of a commodity and not to "devalue." Accordingly, whether a machine produces surplus value or not depends upon the function of the machine which is the use value rather than the exchange value. Exchange value is not involved. In order to prove that a machine cannot produce profit, Marx should have first made clear why the function of a machine cannot produce new value. Yet he didn't discuss machine function, but only depreciation. The function and structure are related to each other, but they are nevertheless different; just like the body and spirit of man are related, but each is unique in itself. There are many people who have good minds although their bodies are deformed. For example, even though he was deaf, Beethoven was a master composer. And the cripple Roosevelt was a great statesman. And so too with the machine. To say that the exchange value of a machine is automatically transferred to the commodities is merely conjecture.

Who can possibly say that even if the exchange value, the form and structure, of a machine depreciates \$10 each day the function cannot produce more than \$10? The newer the machine, the more efficient and strong it will be, the less it will depreciate, and more value it will produce. That's why capitalists want to be the first to introduce new machines. The amount of commodity value created is not dependent on the depreciation but on the function of the machine. But Marx persisted in maintaining that the value of the raw materials and the machines transferred to the commodity is not dependent on the function of the machine but upon the labor of the laborer. The machine only helps the productivity of labor power. So in order to prove this fact (the mere helplessness of the machine), he should have proved why the function of a machine could only help the labor force and not increase the value itself. Actually his proof, based upon the depreciation theory,

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Religion and Dissent

(Continued from page 3)

who are openly opposing today because, actually, they are opposing the regime without breaking any laws. Any persecution of those people is really trampling of the Soviet laws themselves — by the authorities themselves. It's easy to defend them.

By defending them you actually create a greater possibility for other voices to come out; you create a climate of greater liberty, greater freedoms. So I think that if we concentrate our efforts on Sakharov and various representatives of all those open groups, we are, in a way, indirectly helping the others because the stronger is their position, the greater is the possibility for others to speak.

For a couple of weeks, the American press is writing about Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn so much — fortunately, I hope they will not stop. I think serious strategies should immediately go one step further. Now it is necessary to show that it will not be enough if the Soviet government just doesn't touch Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov because the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* are writing about them — that it would be now necessary to remind the public opinion of the whole Western world that there are also Grigorenko and Bukovsky and before they are set free, it is no use of just sympathizing with Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn.

There is always one step further. If they really do something — But I think just because everybody now knows about Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, the strategy should shift a little bit and again remind the world.

Question: "Would you say that in the short run, the greatest danger is the liberal intellectual, but in the long run, the greatest danger is religious opposition? What is it that they fear the most?"

MR. RAHR: "That's an interesting question. I think we can — we could illustrate it; we cannot give a definite answer, I think. We cannot say that the liberals are less dangerous — they're shaking the foundation you see. And, while they're doing this without even being disloyal to the regime, they create the possibility for the others to come up and begin to pull the system down, you see? It's an amazing thing, when the enormous Soviet Union, with all the KGB and so on, stand impotent, not knowing how to choke those two brave men.

The measure of punishment is also, a measure of fear. We can compare two movements which both are non-Russian Nationalists: Lithuanians and Ukrainians. The Lithuanians, last year, had street demonstrations. Participants of these revolts are getting one and a half and two years only.

Ukrainians, who are just like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn — asking just for human rights — get 12, 14, 15 years. What's the difference? Lithuania is a small, isolated place in the Soviet Union. The Ukraine is the biggest body, after Russia itself, with great sympathies in the West. The Western part of the Catholic; therefore, the whole Catholic world will be interested in their fate.

Lithuania is a peripheral little state. It was actually living for almost 25 years as an independent country outside of the Soviet Union. And they feel that even if something happens with Lithuania, that my not serve necessarily as a powderkeg, whereas the Ukraine is so interwoven with Russia proper, there are so many Russians living in the Ukraine; there are Ukrainians all over the — South Siberia, and so on. There are so many intermarriages and so on — these are two very closely-knit communities, besides hugh, with enormous explosive force.

That is why these manifestations occur with such ferocity and savageness. And, of course, the authorities evaluate how deeply these elements can influence others.

And it is absolutely necessary that we should — here in the West — do all we can to defend and preserve the existence of the open opposition.

Mr. Rahr was asked about the Social Christian Movement.

After three years, they caught them, and it was only because they were becoming very uncautious. They were actually being too open; they were accepting too many people very quickly. It's an amazing thing that, of so many who joined, actually there was only one who betrayed them. But one was enough. Of course the greatest and permanent opposition to Communism is religion. Religion of all denominations — the Jewish, Orthodox, or Baptist, whatever it is. However, the Christians, when they are in a position as they are in the Soviet Union, are very often apt to imitate the first Christians who went to the lions in their passive resistance. They won't defend themselves. It is very difficult to find a militant mood in these masses.

So in order to mobilize the masses of the Christians and to make them militant, you've really got to have a detonator.

The tactic is to appeal to their sense of duty towards their country, their nation; towards their culture and make them in the first step good conscious Russian nationalists. Then, automatically, Russian culture is so interwoven with Christianity that they will have to deal with Christian values. And that is the way, practically, also, to make them more practical in the political field.



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Semantics

(Continued from page 6)

signified totalitarianism and oppression at its worst since 1917. The emotional content of the term has undoubtedly contributed to the difficulty that many people had in seeing the USSR in its true light.

Perhaps the time has come to eliminate evaluation or measurement of political systems on a horizontal scale, since we cannot hope to escape the irrational and emotional content of "left" and "right." Why not start thinking vertically, with "up" representing freedom and democracy and "down" representing totalitarianism?

The extreme of freedom would be anarchy, and the opposite extreme would be totalitarianism, whether of the communist or the fascist variety. Using this scale, if Mr. Sulzberger perceives a drift from democracy and freedom to authoritarianism, he would say that there is a downward tendency. But if he sees a move away from totalitarianism toward greater freedom, he would speak of an upward movement. This would have the great advantage of sharpening political analysis in the press, since the writers would have to abandon their meaningless stereotypes and begin to communicate meaningful information about how freedom and democracy were faring in the world.

But if this is an impossible dream, can we not at least banish "left" and "right" from sophisticated discourse, recognizing that these words have long since lost any relevance to the political situation in the modern world. As Tibor Szamuely has pointed out, the essential premise underlying the left-right dichotomy was a common fabric of political thought, based on rationality and shared political assumptions: tolerance, gradual change, reasoned debate, democratic institutions and the rule of law. We are now living in a very different world politically. We need a new vocabulary to describe it.

**Deadline for
 next issue:
 Monday,
 October 29**

Outlook for Poland

by Ray Mas

The history of Poland as a "Peoples Democracy" only substantiates the fact that in a Marxist system, "human" reform is impossible. The events in 1970 which led to the downfall of Oscar Gomulka and the rise of Edward Gierek points very much to this conclusion. Yet perhaps even more significant are the striking similarities between the events of 1970 and those of 1956.

It was in 1956 when Oscar Gomulka inaugurated a dialogue with the Polish people, denouncing the clique that had preceded him and welcoming the workers' councils. It was again in 1970 that Gierek embarked on a similar "dialogue" of his own, condemning his predecessor's autocratic methods and instituting reforms which had seemed forgotten in the later years of Gomulka's rule.

A Contradiction
 History seems to repeat itself: with each new crisis in Poland, as in all of Eastern Europe, the contradictions arise in a more threatening form. We are faced with an ideology that at once exhorts man's utopian visions while at the same time denigrates man himself. The events in Poland demonstrate that no matter what external reforms take place, Marxist ideology denegrates them into a form of demagoguery which, in the long run, has proved powerless to withstand an outpouring of public dissent.

Poland, unlike her slavish neighbors, is a Catholic country. Indeed, it is the only Communist nation in which the church holds a substantial sway. As strenuous as the party has been in covert anti-religion campaigns, the Polish population remains strongly Catholic—in fact, so much so that no Polish Communist leader to date is willing to challenge the church outwardly, fearing a wave of public dissent. This strong Catholic presence in Poland has served to keep ties with the West relatively strong whereas East European countries with eastern orthodox ties have been generally closer to the Russians. Undoubtedly, Poland has been the "freest" of the East European nations, but it is by far not a free nation, nor a healthy one.

Under Gomulka's leadership Poland stood staunchly by the Soviets in condemning Red China's and Rumania's independent course. The severance of diplomatic ties with Israel, as well as participation in the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, gave Gomulka's Poland a strongly pro-Soviet ap-

pearance. These good relations with the Soviets strengthened Gomulka's position, but did not solve his nation's domestic problems.

Vicious Cycle
 Accelerated post-war urbanization was accompanied by a crucial housing shortage and a crisis in available education facilities. A rapid expansion of the labor force, coupled with Marxist ideological insistence on full employment, resulted in the underutilization and misallocation of consumer goods, services and food shortages were

aggravated by an ideological commitment to heavy and chemical industry over consumer industries.

Unfulfilled promises were now falling on deaf ears, when, in 1970, the Polish workers went on strike. Chained by an ideological system which completely drains a nation's economy of incentive and vibrancy, the Polish Communist leadership faces serious problems. They are problems which not even a "Polish Dubcheck" could solve. They can only be solved by an end to Communist rule and its ideology.



"Did Plato have a battery?
 Did Mozart have 220 volts?
 In candlelight, Uncle, your heart opens up."

CANDLE IN THE WIND by ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

Translated by Keith Armes in association with Arthur G. Hudgins

The image of a candle as a symbol of the human soul typifies Solzhenitsyn's questioning of technological society. In this play, now presented in the first English-language edition (authorized by Solzhenitsyn), he deals with the fundamental moral question—should science use its techniques to manipulate or change human personality? He gives dramatic expression to his faith in the human spirit and concern for the future of mankind. \$6.95.

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Depreciation

(Continued from page 6)

is quite irrelevant. Nowadays automation preserves and increases the value, turning out a great deal of profit without any labor force necessary. The preservation of value rises more out of the function of the machine than the labor force.

Then, if the value does indeed arise from the function (use value) of the machine, it goes without saying that the machine can also add new value. To make machines play the same role as laborers, scientists invented machines which today far exceed man's own capabilities. Marx also agreed with this fact.

"The starting-point of Modern Industry is, as we have shown, the revolution in the instruments of labour, and this revolution attains its most highly developed form in the organized system of

machinery in a factory."

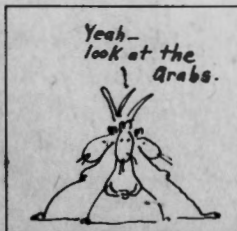
"So soon as the handling of this tool becomes the work of a machine, then, with the use-value, the workman becomes un-saleable, like paper money thrown out of currency by legal enactment."

"In short, it (machinery—Ed.) is a means for producing surplus-value."

As the function of laborers is that of increasing value, so too the production of profit is the matter of the function of use value of the machine and not the exchange value. Machine depreciation and value formation are entirely different. Consequently, Marx's idea that the relationship between them is that of cause and effect is completely false.

THE RAtionalists

by Alexis Jerome Burgess



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The Rising Tide

The Rising Tide is published by the Freedom Leadership Foundation, Inc., a non-profit educational organization dedicated to developing the standards of leadership necessary to advance the cause of freedom in the struggle against Communism. Editor Louise Berry. Staff Writers: James Cowin, Gary Jarmin, Ray Mas, Louis Fournier. Design Consultant: Alexis Jerome Burgess.

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Persecution of Religious Minorities

by Reverend Royal Davis

The Conservative Jewish congregation B'nai Israel on 16th street in Washington, D.C. has erected on its lawn an inspiring billboard reading "Freedom for Soviet Jewry." Rabbi Simon regularly uses his pulpit to warn American Jews of the threat posed to the religious freedom of their co-religionists by Soviet dictatorship.

Rev. Petro Budnyl of Silver Spring, Maryland does not really need a sign to remind his parishioners at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Washington, D.C. of the brutal anti-religious campaign waged by Russian Communism since 1971. Rev. Budnyl, a priest for more than three decades, can see in the lives of almost every worshipper the evil results of Marxism. St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox church consists largely of refugees from Soviet terror. The genial priest himself fled to Germany from the Ukraine during World War II and came to America about 1950.

What is it like for a religious man to live under Communism? American Jews have been quite adept at dramatizing their plight. For some strange reason Christians have remained ignorant or silent about the fate of the churches behind the iron curtain. Yet Christians no less than Jews have been strongly persecuted by the Marxist authorities around the world.

An interview with Father Budnyl drew back the curtain of secrecy about the sufferings of Ukrainian Christians. This sizeable group of heroic believers deserve greater publicity. If the blood of the martyrs be truly the seed of the Church, Ukraine has a host of

noble witnesses for the Christian faith sacrifice.

According to the 80 year old newspaper *Svoboda* ("Liberty") published by Ukrainians in New Jersey, Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Orthodox Church recently ordered his clergy not to visit the Soviet Union and warned the laity to avoid travel in the Ukraine because of a new wave of govern-

ment terrorism in that area. On September 15, 1973, *Svoboda* celebrated eight decades of service to the Ukrainian community in the U.S. The paper was begun by a Christian priest Gregory Houshka who declared, "With God's help, we shall search for truth, for only truth can lead us to freedom." Now it is the oldest Ukrainian newspaper in existence.



Reverend Davis and Father Budnyl

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This summer Ukrainians, numbering up to 8,000, paraded up Fifth Avenue in New York City, commemorating the deaths of at least 7,000,000 caused by foolish

Communist economic policies of 1933 Senator James L. Buckley of New York addressed the crowds. Prayers at the protest march against persecution in the Ukraine today were given by Bishop Mark of the Ukrainian Orthodox Community and Rev. Dr. V. Gavlich of the Ukrainian Catholic minority.

The Ukraine represents one of many nations today which should

be self-governing yet lies prostrate under the heel of the atheistic Soviet Union. For a brief period after World War I the Ukraine regained its rightful authority. During World War II tens of thousands of Ukrainians welcomed the German foes of the despotic Stalin when they invaded the Soviet Union. Only later did they realize that the Nazis were little better than the Marxist dictator.

Nevertheless, Ukrainians refuse to give up their valuable heritage as a pious and proud people. On November 1-4, the second

Congress of Free Unitarians will convene at Toronto, Canada. In 1967, more than one thousand delegates assembled in New York City to establish a permanent body dedicated to Ukrainian culture and the ultimate liberation of the motherland. The rally this summer accused the Soviet Union of being "guilty of crass violations of human rights" and "persecuting all religions in the USSR, namely, Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism and Islamism."

Ukrainian Orthodoxy goes back to the earliest Christians in what is now the Soviet Union. At Kiev they created a Christian civilization famed for its brilliance. Free Ukrainians can be found in nearly 20 nations in Europe, North America, Australia and South America. Metropolitan Mstyslav and the bishops govern the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States with national headquarters at Bound Brook, New Jersey. American Ukrainian Orthodox Christians outnumber the better-known Quakers or Unitarian-Universalists. Priests are trained at a seminary associated with the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada.

At the conclusion of the interview with Father Budnyl, I expressed my deep respect for the heroic stand taken by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in defense of the Christian faith, their noble heritage and their valiant struggle for the liberation of the Ukraine. Most important, I think, is the admirable refusal of the Ukrainian Orthodox to join the World Council of Churches because of the latter's refusal to condemn Soviet violations of basic human rights for believers. Two visits to Saint Andrew's Ukrainian Church have also given me great respect for the liturgical richness of Orthodox worship.

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Christians in the Ukraine

by Barry Wallach

The Ananda Marga Yoga Society first came to my attention during a large demonstration occurring just outside the office door in Dupont Circle. There, an orange-robed monk was explaining that their leader, Shrii Shrii Anandamurti (known to members as Baba) was imprisoned under false accusation in India. Ananda Marga, I learned, had a large international membership and was based on principles of spiritual growth and social service. My interest in reporting on them was sparked when I learned that their persecution was not unrelated to politics in India, particularly to Communist activity. Barry Wallach, editor of the society's newspaper *Sadvipra*, explained the situation in depth to me. The following is based upon his conversation with me. (Ed.)

Shrii Shrii Anandamurti (Baba) went throughout India and opened up children's homes and orphanages, schools, medical clinics and medical camps: all of the idea that to establish an example for humanity to follow, people who want to unite humanity will have to come to the fore.

And so that's what they did in India. And the organization grew very rapidly in India.

And so in the sixties it became really big, throughout all of society from the common person up to the people in the government.

Ever since the beginning it's encountered opposition. People are afraid to hear about moral principles. People think that they're going to have to give up something. They couldn't understand: How could this organization build up so many schools? Where are they getting their money? So some people said it was a CIA front or a Communist front.

This is a complex situation. The Communists especially were enemies because the spiritual basis of Ananda Marga was viewed as threatening, as well as the popularity of the movement, and its socio-economic theory, which would point to weaknesses of Communism and go beyond it.

In any case, the Communists saw Ananda Marga as an enemy and they tried to thwart its mission. They incited violence against Ananda Marga in '67.

There were accomplices in the local government, because the local government was Communist influenced. And actually - West Bengal had an actual Communist administration. We knew that there was going to be trouble and wanted to get the police to stop it, but nothing happened.

The Indian government itself also saw that Ananda Marga was getting influential and said that no

member of Ananda Marga could be in the Indian government.

In 1971 the persecution took a more serious turn when the central government began to pursue the case.

One of the people who was charged in the case all of a sudden, volunteered information about a whole bunch of other crimes that he had supposedly participated in, and he said that he and Baba had conspired to murder six people!

So Baba was charged with murder by the CBI. He was arrested in December 1971. But with no

with new charges or by trying to get the pardon legalized so this man's testimony can be heard.

We've been going to the international community of the United Nations and Amnesty International.

We're taking the case now to the International Committee of Jurists. There's also been a massive letter writing campaign to Indian government, Indira Gandhi, and also to the world community.

The same with heads of all the religious organizations, and spiritual groups, and any person that we feel

more or less what the people believed.

But since March 1st Baba has been fasting in protest. He wants judicial enquiry into his attempted poisoning.

As his fast has been going on, the situation has been changing in India. A lot of opposition leaders in the government have now backed his demands to have the judicial enquiry. They're written, they're telegraphed, they've sent memorandums to Mrs. Gandhi.

Any kind of opposition has been dealt with very ruthlessly. Anything that has looked like it might be a threat to the ruling congress party has been treated autocratically, you know, with pretty much history on this.

Then another question is that Ananda Marga has been a very much outspoken moralistic institution, not for nationalism at all but for a universal society. Nationalism has been a very sacred thing for the Congress Party.

Also Ananda Marga has gone against castism. Very powerful religious leaders haven't liked that. Recently there was even a meeting of the major orthodox religious leaders with blessings of the government to see how they could block Ananda Marga.

And another thing about Indian politics: in the past years there's been very much a swing to the left. Mrs. Gandhi's power lies in her ability to keep the support of the Moscow Communists.

It's thought pretty much that the Bengal Communists have put pressure on Mrs. Gandhi to deal with us. In other words in order to shore up her support from this element she's pursued this with even more vigor.

Ananda Marga's ideology reaches beyond present concepts of democracy. Ananda Marga says that unless the minimum requirements of each individual is met, democracy becomes a sham; you know, a government of the fools, by the fools, and for the fools.

There's also the idea of progressive utilization - this whole universe is a joint property of mankind. And that it should be, utilized to bring about the benefit of everybody. Ananda Marga is pretty much outspoken against misuses of money and power.

So the authorities have done everything possible to stop Ananda Marga but it's going on quite well. It's schools are operating very well in India. Donations from the public would pay for these schools, but now it's, you know, much harder with the slandering campaign. It's much harder to get donations, but miraculously the work goes on.

In India, at this time it is not easy for Ananda Marga. A lot of people work for the government.



Shrii Shrii Anandamurti

charges filed. The Indian courts have been going really slow. Last summer there were a lot of trials, and then went on to another case.

Meanwhile we tried to get bail, and all the bail was always refused. And the trial has gone on. The most recent thing in the trial has been that - that the person who offered up all this evidence had his testimony thrown out as no good because he was given a pardon by a magistrate without any reason.

But the government is still holding Baba; they're going to reorganize the case somehow, either

has moral or social concerns, have been contacted. The last few months the campaign has been very massive. In fact, we've seen more people now than we ever have. Maybe we should have seen them at the beginning of our movement. And it's been very good too, because it's shown us that there are a whole body of moral people in the world.

And in India too, there's been a noticeable change in people's attitudes. The Indian government pretty much controls the press; in the papers are very much slanted against Ananda Marga and that's

Ananda Marga In India