

A Call For Forgiveness, Love, And Unity

STATEMENT BY THE REVEREND SUN MYUNG MOON AMERICA IN CRISIS ANSWER TO WATERGATE FORGIVE, LOVE, UNITE



His name is Sun Myung Moon. He is a Korean Christian leader who has spent the last 15 years in the United States. He is a man of peace and love. He is a man who has seen the world and knows the pain of suffering. He is a man who has seen the world and knows the pain of suffering. He is a man who has seen the world and knows the pain of suffering.

Let us turn to the great question of forgiveness. Forgiveness is the key to peace and love. Forgiveness is the key to peace and love.

Today our nation is in great crisis. The office of the President of the United States is under attack. The faith of Americans in their government is becoming more cynical and everywhere people are doing nothing but heaping accusation upon accusation, vilifying their leaders, while taking no positive initiative towards healing the wounds caused by the Watergate crisis...

If the problem facing America was merely a question over the innocence or guilt of President Nixon, and its effects limited only to his person, then the total consequences of this situation would not be so significant. Nevertheless, the crisis of Watergate is something that is beginning to destroy America and her President in a way which even those who have been the most critical, had no idea would become so ugly and destructive.

Those who have gone beyond the bounds of fairness and justice by making premature judgments have only helped to psychologically cast our nation back into the medieval attitude of calling

one guilty until proven innocent. By constantly attacking and weakening the President people have only helped to serve their self-fulfilling prophecy that "because he is weak he can no longer govern and therefore, must resign or be impeached." On it goes, one vicious cycle after another of cries and accusation, ineffectiveness, impeachment, resignation, etc.

The real question is: "Have we honestly learned our lesson from the Watergate crisis?" At first it seemed we had not and that hatred and cynicism would only increase. However, it finally appears we may be heading toward a more enlightened realization that bitterness has no winners - only losers.

Whether President Nixon is guilty or not still remains to be proven; regardless of the verdict of our country's judicial process we can be certain Richard M. Nixon will continue to be our President for at least two to three more years. Is there any positive political advantage to be gained worth the possible irreparable destruction of

one man and the spirit of a whole nation? Are we all so just that we can cast stones without looking at ourselves and having a heart of forgiveness? Finally, can we truly help anyone that we hate and vilify? It is absolutely impossible to help anyone or anything that one hates.

To end the crisis in America caused by Watergate it is time all Americans develop a broader view of the consequences caused by hatred, accusation and the self-righteous "don't blame me..." syndrome. We should face it that we are all to blame - that the problem of Watergate from start to finish is actually a crisis in America's soul. Therefore, it is time we took the positive approach of trying to uplift and unify our people with a deeper resolve to fight for what is good and right in America and put an end to this suicidal campaign of hateful accusation which stands clearly as a mockery to reason and justice.

If we truly love America and the office of the President, then our only recourse is to try to restore all that has gone wrong in the

past with a heart of love and forgiveness. This does not mean we should ignore the wrong, on the contrary, it means we must try to right the wrongs of the past with the healing spirit of love, not the destructive power of hate. It should be obvious by now where the latter has taken us. It is time we wake up and do an about face.

To help awaken America to go in this direction, the Reverend Sun Myung Moon of Korea, founder of the Unification Church International and the Freedom Leadership Foundation, has begun a 40-day campaign beginning December 1, 1973, calling upon all Americans to pray and fast for one day in a spirit of Christian love and forgiveness to restore the crisis created by Watergate (see page 3). The entire board and staff of the Freedom Leadership Foundation urges all of our dedicated members, supporters and readers to participate fully in this positive and worthwhile cause that our President and nation might be used for the sake of God and humanity.

Appearing in 12 Newspapers

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The Rising Tide

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

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On the Brink of a Dangerous Precedent Cambodia Pleads Her Case as Crucial UN Vote Nears

For three years the Khmer Republic (Cambodia) has been a member in good standing of the U.N. In the beginning of December, a resolution before the General Assembly will be voted on to grant recognition to the government-in-exile of deposed Prince Norodom Sihanouk, thereby evicting the popularly elected government of Marshall Lon Nol. This speech by Foreign Minister Long Boret, given before the U.N. General Assembly on October 17, defends his government's legitimacy, and warns the UN of the consequences of accepting the proposed resolution. Analysts say that the vote on this issue will be very close.

Mr. President:
 Thank you for giving me the floor at this time when the General Assembly is discussing a question that directly concerns my country. In asking for the floor, it was not my original intention to speak of the substance of the resolution, but simply to bring up a point of procedure. Nevertheless, faced with fallacious arguments and free accusations by the co-sponsors of the draft resolution, I find myself obliged to restate facts in order that the General Assembly be objectively informed of the situation in the Khmer Republic and base its attitude accordingly.

This resolution is of fundamental importance, since we are dealing here with the sovereign and sacred right of a Member State which is being questioned.

This is not the first time that I have heard the same chorus. Faced with these enormous distortions, I am no longer surprised that the regimes they represent have decided to recognize the Government in exile of Sihanouk. I would even say that I am relieved to hear their speeches which have enabled me to understand them and not to blame them. In fact, they are only the actors of a comedy staged--we must admit--by an excellent comedian. Mr. President:

These speakers are desperately attempting to prove that we are concerned here with a request for the re-establishment of the right of a so-called "GRUNK", acronym for the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

Sihanouk has no right to form a legal government since he himself was deposed according to the Constitution of the former Kingdom of Cambodia, by the two Houses of

Parliament which designated him Chief of State ten years earlier.

This deposal had taken place on March 18, 1970. At that time, the Government headed by Mr. Lon Nol, properly invested by the National Assembly, continued to maintain the normal conduct of governmental affairs. The former President of our National Assembly, Mr. Cheng Heng, in accordance with the Constitution of the former Kingdom, rightfully succeeded Sihanouk. Seven months later, the Khmer people, by a unanimous vote of its representative in Parliament, proclaimed the Republic. The Republican Constitution was adopted two years later, on April 30, 1972.

Two months later, on June 4, 1972, Marshal Lon Nol was elected President of the Republic by universal and direct suffrage. In this, our first presidential election, three candidates participated: Marshal Lon Nol, Mr. In Tam, former President of the National Assembly, and Mr. Keo An, former dean of the Law Faculty of the University of Phnom Penh.

Sihanouk, very unhappy at the popular decision which deposed him, formed a government in exile in Peking in May 1970. Since its formation this so-called government has remained permanently based in Peking. Even if he had not been deposed, Sihanouk would not have been able to name one minister (article 97, paragraph 2 of the Constitution). The Ministers and the members of his so-called government in exile, have never set foot on Khmer soil since it was formed. The only native opposition to the legal government of our country are a few Khmers Rouges fighting in the ranks of the North-Vietnamese and Vietcong troops. I must point out that the Khmers Rouges that existed in Cambodia twenty years ago, before the fall of Sihanouk, fought constantly against the personal power of Sihanouk until his fall. And these same Khmers Rouges are firmly opposed to the return of Norodom Sihanouk at any price.

These historical facts prove that:

- 1) the rights of the so-called GRUNK never existed,
- 2) there was never a coup d'etat since Sihanouk had been deposed as Chief of State by legal constitutional procedure,
- 3) it is absurd to speak of the dethronement of former King Sihanouk since he himself abdicated in 1955.

The explanatory memorandum of the co-sponsors states that the government in exile of Sihanouk is legal because it was formed by the so-called "GRUNK" and backed by a large segment of the population.

I would like to point out that this Front was formed in exile, and can under no circumstances replace the legislative power held by the Parliament based in the country.

It is a gross lie to state that this exiled government of Sihanouk controls 90% of the territory and 80% of the population. In fact, among the 23 provinces of the Khmer Republic, only four are permanently occupied by North Vietnamese troops and their allies the Khmers Rouges. Six sevenths of the population remains under the Khmer Republic Government's control, and our forces continue to fight bravely to liberate the country from this foreign invasion.

Additionally the participation of more than 80% of the electorate in the last referendum and election clearly prove the fact of territorial and population control by our Government.

This leads us to ask the obvious questions:

If Sihanouk controls the country and enjoys the support of the Khmer people as he and his foreign supporters state, why then does he continue to live in exile in Peking? Is he afraid of living among his own people?

We cannot speak of the policies of peace and of neutrality of Sihanouk either.

For when he was still in power he had violated this neutrality allowing North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops to occupy Khmer territory. After his fall, he called upon these foreign troops to assist him in regaining his power.

While we have been proposing since July 6, 1973 a ceasefire and a political settlement of the Khmer problem without foreign interference, Sihanouk has continued to incite North Vietnamese forces and their allies, the Khmers Rouges, in prolonging the war against our innocent population. It is he and his supporters that are the cause of this war and of the multiple sufferances of the Khmer people.

It is an abuse to the United Nations to state that the large majority of Member States of the U.N.

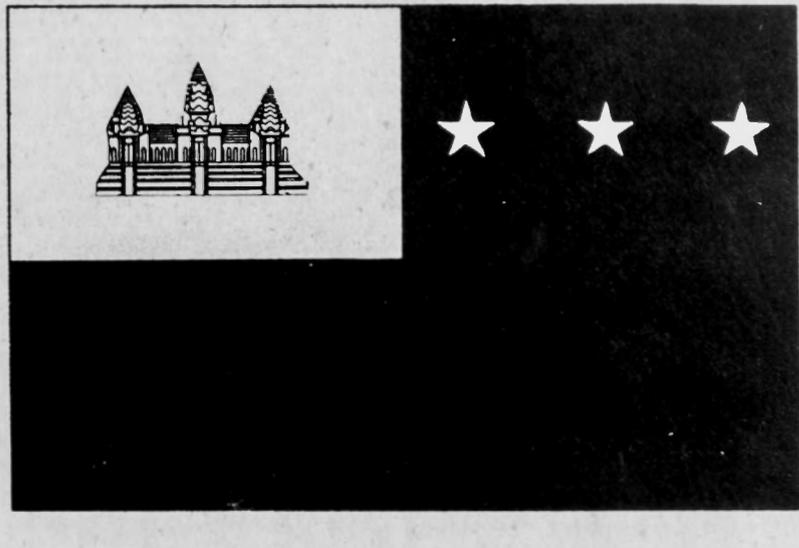
which participated in the Algiers Summit Conference have recognized the exiled government of Sihanouk. In fact, only 38 of them which are members of the United Nations, have done so.

On the other hand, the Government of the Khmer Republic has diplomatic relations with approximately sixty states of which 27 also participated in the Algiers Summit Conference. Moreover, we are proud of our many friends among the Member States of the United Nations which include all of the non-aligned nations of Southeast Asia with whom we have excellent diplomatic and friendly relations. As our neighbors, they know us better than those who have taken upon themselves the right to interfere in our affairs.

Some speakers have stated that our government is a military government. The truth is that among the 23 members of the current government of the Republic, only 3 are members of the military.

Corruption has also been mentioned. Our government is attempting to fight this, however, at the

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Sacrifice: Moral and Inconquerable

by Neil Salonen, President,
Freedom Leadership Foundation

Today, one rarely hears comments by leaders of free nations articulating the true nature of the struggle engaging the forces of freedom and totalitarianism. However, in a November 12 address, President Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China delivered an outstanding view of the current ideological struggle engulfing our world. "The basic reality of the world situation," President Chiang stated, "continues to be of an Armageddon between bi-polar ideologies - between freedom and slavery, truth and falsehood, and between human nature and bestiality."

Correctly identifying the heart of this ideological struggle, Chiang declared that "the perverse nature of Communism stems from the subjugation of human nature. Without exception," he continued, "Communist totalitarianism is erected on the colossally cruel program of 'reforming human nature' through brain-washing and the surrender of the heart; there is not a single Communist totalitarianism which has not engaged in ceaseless struggle against human nature."

Indeed the fundamental evil of Communism, which so many Western politicians have either been ignorant of or have chosen to overlook, is the manner in which Communism contradicts and suppresses human nature.

President Chiang added that Chinese culture "is rooted in human nature and founded on ethics. It has instilled unchangeable values and faith deep in the hearts of the Chinese people." Because of

the materialist outlook adopted by the Communists they have made every effort, according to Chiang, to bring about the destruction of the traditional value system of the Chinese people.

President Chiang has referred to the most important aspect of the ideological struggle in which Communism and the Free World are now engaged. In other words, the fundamental nature of the ideological struggle is not *capitalism* versus *socialism* or even *political democracy* against *dictatorship*. The central conflict is essentially between one view of man's value opposing a differing view - the view of man as a free, creative spiritual and moral being of innate value against that view which sees

the "paramount task of a revolutionary party is to provide unity of spiritual faith, to inspire the people to be fervent in their voluntary contributions and to rouse their sense of responsibility."

"The basic test of a party" Chiang continued, "is whether it fulfills this psychological reconstruction (spiritual reinforcement), for without psychological reconstruction, all achievements obtained from other construction projects and accumulated strength will be like buildings erected on shifting sand."

Unfortunately, U.S. foreign policy has been precisely like a building erected on shifting sand. The underlying reason for this course stems from the fact that

Communism, Chiang warns that the "decisive factor in organizational efficiency is the spiritual condition of its members. If the party leadership cannot adequately grasp the spiritual condition of its members and inspire them with the spirit of self-sacrifice, but merely attempts to enforce the party's will through decrees, the result will be bankruptcy and the disintegration of organizational power."

Positive Values

The great truth in this statement is the advice to cultivate the "spirit of self-sacrifice" in the struggle against Communism. It is the spirit of self-sacrifice, the willingness to sacrifice oneself for the sake of others, that is the most moral and unconquerable force in the world. Our nation is suffering from weakness, immorality and corruption primarily because we have lost that willingness to sacrifice ourselves for the good of mankind. Even many anti-Communist organizations are weak and in decline because ideologically they often oppose the idea of sacrificing oneself for the sake of the whole. Such an outlook is doomed to failure.

We must share President Chiang Kai-shek's confidence that "history eventually will move in the direction of positive values for mankind." This is historically true and will continue to be true only if we, as Americans, can regain our sense of self-sacrifice and determination to uphold and extend those values to all people of the world.

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man's nature totally determined by his class nature based on production relations. Consequently, the heart of the struggle is between a spiritual view of man and a materialist one.

Decisive Factor

"In terms of revolutionary combat capability," Chiang noted, "spirit is more important than material." In the anti-Communist struggle of today, the "decisive factor is ideology." To be victorious in the struggle, he added

there has been no spiritual unity around any fundamental values to guide our foreign policy. No longer is such a value like *freedom* mentioned along with the goal of achieving peace anymore. Fortunately, at least the Republic of China, in an age of compromise, has remained steadfast in its commitment towards building a democratic and prosperous society, while striving to liberate oppressed countrymen under Communist domination.

To maintain their unity and resourcefulness in confronting



Ten Years Ago...

"...What matters crucially is the Kennedy legacy. That core is patriotism. From the first to the last of his thousand days in the presidency, Kennedy told his fellow citizens that America was a good country which could become better. He expressed that faith they felt in themselves, their values and their ideals. He called for individual and national sacrifice on behalf of those ideals... John Kennedy had character... The skepticism that intellectuals found so attractive in him was accomplished by an anchored faith in lasting things - family, church, friendship, duty, loyalty and courage..."

Richard J. Whalen,
The Washington Post,
November 18, 1973.

We are printing, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of John Kennedy's death, his Inaugural Address. Its international scope and spirit of self-sacrifice would carry a welcome message again today.

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, Reverend Clergy, Fellow Citizens:

We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom - symbolizing an end as well as a beginning - signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebearers prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe - the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans - born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a

hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage - and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty. This much we pledge - and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do - for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own

freedom - and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required - not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge - to convert our good words into good deeds - in a new alliance for progress - to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of

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The Politics of Trade

by Ray Mas

In a previous article (Vol. 3, No. 22), the view was put forth that the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) has in recent years gained new precedence as the single most powerful tool of the Soviets to maintain East European hegemony. In effect, this has been a dramatic turnabout for the Soviets and a return to the strongarm tactics of the Stalinist Era. Why such a reversal? To the greatest extent, it has been the now recognized failure of CEMA (Council of Economic and Mutual Assistance) to be a quieter, less belligerent method of keeping the East European Bloc in line. In desperation, the Soviets have taken the only road to power they really can wield, a military one.

Creating Dependent Brethren
Since its inception in 1949, CEMA's main purpose has been to coordinate trade within the bloc. Initially it was created as a response to the challenge of the Marshall Plan. Yet it did little to aid Eastern Europe and did more to create new "brethren" totally dependent upon them. For instance, in 1950, the Russian ruble was established as the standard currency for international transactions within the bloc, making the U.S.S.R. the ultimate arbiter of the exchange rates. It also acted to create an economic boycott of Yugoslavia, one which eventually backfired by forcing Tito to seek Western assistance. Yet, by and large, during Stalin's time CEMA remained a paper organization. For Stalin, military might and political power were the more preferred methods.

The death of Stalin in 1954 ended the life of an era that could only exist with such a man in power.

Dazed and directionless, the Soviet Giant let the first sands of power sift through its hands, never to regain the ultimate power it once held.

For the men succeeding Stalin it meant a drastic re-evaluation of Soviet power. For Eastern Europe, it meant a much welcomed breathing spell of freedom.

The 1956 Hungarian revolt was the necessary shock for the Soviets to realize that a new form of hegemony was a dire necessity. The year 1957 was marked by a series of moves on the part of Khrushchev to reactivate CEMA and give it new life and energy. It was then that permanent secretariats to the various specialized CEMA committees were set up and empowered to draw up development plans for some 10-15 years ahead. The following year, in January, 1958, a plenary meeting of CEMA was held in Moscow, with the heads of government leading the delegation.

Initial Success

The Moscow conference marked a determined bid by the Soviets to integrate by economic means an already politically and ideologically disintegrating empire. The conference itself produced a comprehensive plan of cooperation covering the years 1959-75, divided into two parts. The first part was worked out in detail while the second set broad outlines. Assigned production specialization and import-export quotas were the watchwords of CEMA's plan. All these added up to one formula: an effective economic program to tie Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union. Yet, careful not to draw too much to themselves the Soviet plan did open new vistas to Eastern Europe, so

long plagued by splinter national economies and so long used merely as a market for Western industrial exports and predatory investments. The transition from exports of raw material and nonindustrial goods to that of machinery represented a major advance for Eastern Europe, particularly for the more underdeveloped areas. It is no wonder that, from 1957 on, most of the Communist press was singing praises to the role played by CEMA.

Not all were, however, Poland, which had shown increasing interest in Western trade, particularly American, was economically strangled by CEMA to a point where it became almost totally dependent upon Soviet trade. The Poles, given their weak economic position and the strength of CEMA, were unable to wield a veto power and were thus helpless in the face of Soviet economic pressure.

For Khrushchev and the Soviets, CEMA began as an unparalleled success, but it would not be a lengthy one.

Growing Resentment

The first cracks in the CEMA system appeared in Rumania. A growing resentment toward Soviet exploitation of Rumania (refer to previous article on Rumania) surfaced in the 1962 sessions of CEMA. In main, the accusations were directed towards the Soviet plans of developing Czechoslovakia and East Germany into industrial showcases by exploiting Rumania's (as well as other countries') raw materials and agriculture, with little or no benefit to the Rumanians. In blatant language, the Rumanians stated:

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STATEMENT BY THE REVEREND SUN MYUNG MOON AMERICA IN CRISIS ANSWER TO WATERGATE FORGIVE, LOVE, UNITE

Ever since I was 16 years old, I have constantly encountered the presence of God. I have been able to share with the world numerous insights that He has shown me. On January 1, 1972 God spoke to me again in my prayers. He told me to go to America and speak to the American people about hope and unification.

In obedience to God's call, I came and began the Day of Hope tour. In 1972 I took this message to seven American cities. The current nationwide speaking tour began in Carnegie Hall, New York on October 1, 1973, and will go to 21 American cities, declaring a message of hope and unification.

After New York, I spoke in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, D.C., New Orleans, Dallas, Tampa, and Atlanta. The kind welcome I received in these great American cities deeply moved me. I am especially grateful to the mayors and other officials who responded by proclaiming "The Day of Hope and Unification" in their communities.

My travels in America have shown me a troubled land. The moral and spiritual decline is tragic and shocking. Many people are no longer proud to be Americans. The American nation seems mortally wounded in spirit and soul by the tragedy of Watergate. We are witnessing a crisis probably unprecedented in American history. The situation is very serious.

It is more than a political, social and economic crisis of the human soul. This is not only the problem of the man in the White House; it is a crisis for all of us.

On November 10, 1973 I took two weeks out from my tour and returned to Korea. I spent that time for prayer and meditation in a desperate search for an answer and new hope for America.

Today we hear so much about America's troubles—what is wrong and who is to blame, what should be done and what cannot be done. Vicious accusation is becoming a daily staple in the American diet. Hatred and bitterness are killing the human soul. Some people cry out "Impeach the President". Opinion is divided, and the people talk on. Should the President remain in office? Should the President resign or be tried?

We were all eye-witnesses to America's assassination of her President, John F. Kennedy, in 1963. But today, without many realizing it, America is in the process of slowly killing her President once again.

A bullet killed Kennedy, yet the nation united in a common feeling of sorrow and repentance.

This time the "bullet" of hatred and accusation is capable of destroying not only the President, but the nation with him. In a war of hatred, no one is the winner.

All thinking American people feel grave concern for the future of their country. Some even believe America has been struck a fatal blow. However, at this critical moment in American history it is disappointing and strange that no one is asking, "What is the will of God?" If America was conceived as "One Nation under God," then the answer must come from Him. Have we stopped asking?

I bend my head and place my ear upon the heartbeat of America. I hear no one seeking the solution from above. We keep on criticizing, and the nation sinks—we criticize some more and the nation falls even farther, deep into greater peril. Now is the time for America to renew the faith expressed in her motto "In God We Trust." This is the founding spirit that makes America great and unique. God blessed America because of this spirit. Furthermore, America is fulfilling a vital role in God's plan for the modern world. God is depending on America today. Therefore, the crisis for America is a crisis for God. An answer must come from above, from God, from the one who has the answer. I have prayed to God earnestly, asking Him to reveal His message.

The answer came. The first word God spoke was "Forgive."

America must forgive. Whatever wrongs have been done, whatever mistakes are being made, America has a noble deed to perform. America must forgive. The Watergate affair is an error: not only the error of a few men, but the error of humanity, the error of the American people. The Lord's prayer says, "Forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven



our debtors." If we want God to forgive us, we have to forgive each other first.

The Watergate is not merely a test of the President. The Watergate is a test of America's faith. How will this nation stand before God in the midst of moral crisis? Can this nation, which was founded 200 years ago based on the Christian tradition, uphold that same tradition today? Can this nation prove its generosity and mutual forgiveness? Can it love? This is the test for the American people. Long ago the American settlers on the New England shores made many grave mistakes. But with their trust in God they came through many crises. They could then lead America to prosperity.

The Bible speaks of the time the scribes and pharisees tested Jesus. They brought him a woman to be stoned. She had been caught in the act of adultery. Mosaic law demanded retributive justice, but Jesus' message was forgiveness. He stood up and said to them, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her...and they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even unto the last: and Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When Jesus had lifted up himself, and saw none but the woman, he said unto her, 'Woman where are those thine accusers? Hath no man condemned thee?' She said, 'No man, Lord.' And Jesus said unto her, 'Neither do I condemn thee: go and sin no more!' (John 8:3-12). Nobody dared to cast the first stone!

Who among you will be the one to cast the first stone? This is no time to cast stones upon your leader. This is no time to cast stones upon one another.

I have been praying specifically for President Richard Nixon. I asked God, "What shall we do with the person of Richard Nixon?" The answer did come again. The second word God spoke to me was "Love. It is your duty to love him." We must love Richard Nixon. Jesus Christ loved even his enemies. Must you not love your President?

What do you do when a member of your family is in trouble? Do you criticize him and tear him apart? Of course not. You guide him. You comfort him. You love him unconditionally. You belong to the American family, and Richard Nixon is your brother. Will you not then love your brother? You must love the President of the United States.

This nation is God's nation. The office of the President of the United States is, therefore, sacred. God inspired a man and then confirms him as President through the will of the people. He lays his hand on the word of God and is sworn into office. At this time in history God has chosen Richard Nixon to be President of the United States of America. Therefore God has the power and authority to dismiss him. Our duty, and this alone, is that we deeply seek God's guidance in this matter and support the office, itself. If God decides to dismiss this choice of His, let us have faith that He will speak.

I continued in prayer, and the third and last word God spoke to me was "Unite". "America must unite".

Let us unite in the spirit of forgiveness.

Unite in the spirit of love. Now is the time for national repentance. Love is the power to unite. America once knew how to come together to create a powerful nation for goodness upon the face of the earth. America is a beautiful land to behold, a nation of all nationalities, all races and all religions united together into one working whole. The source of power has been love and faith in God and in one another.

The crisis in America today can be overcome. We must rekindle our faith in God and reunite ourselves in love. America's destiny is inseparable from the destiny of the world. America's well-being affects the plan of God. God chose this nation as His champion in His modern day dispensation. With the bi-centennial celebration a few years away, God is testing America through the Watergate problem. America must demonstrate unity in love and forgiveness. Let us renew our faith in God, for this has been the wellspring of America's power. America must live the will of God. She has no alternative.

Who am I to say this to the American people? I am not even a citizen of the United States. I am a Korean, a guest.

However, I do this because I love America as much as my own country. This is a country God loves. And I love God and He is our Father in Heaven. Wherever God my Father dwells, there is my country. Indeed, the Father's country is also the son's. America belongs to those who love it most. I am as concerned for America's well-being as for my own. This is the foundation of my courage to speak out on this issue.

Furthermore, I waited; I waited long. I anticipated that some great American spiritual leader or evangelist would rally America around God above the Watergate at this stormy and depressing time.

However, there has been no American spiritual leader speaking out for unity. I heard no articulate voice in the wilderness crying this to Americans. By this time, God spoke to me again, "Fear not! Remember Jonah in Ninevah. Speak out!" and I obeyed.

And this is why I am doing this.

As Founder of the Unification Church International, I have declared the next 40 days, starting December 1, 1973, as a period of prayer and fasting by our members all over the world.

In this we are determined to awaken our nation to this national emergency. America must unite in her Christian tradition of love and forgiveness in the face of the grave crisis created by the Watergate. We hereby launch this National Prayer and Fast for the Watergate Crisis as the only way to heal and unite this nation.

This is indeed the day of dismay and moral crisis. Yet, this is also a great opportunity for America, an opportunity in which the American people can demonstrate America's true greatness in faith and courage. Historically great peoples have proved their greatness not during normal situations but in crises.

This is the time the American people must act as a great people who put trust in God. Then this day will be a day of new hope and unification.

"In God We Trust." In these four words lie America's key to survival and prosperity. America must live the will of God, and God's command at this crossroads in American history is Forgive, Love, and Unite!

Sun Myung Moon

Rev. Sun Myung Moon
Founder, Unification Church International

Rev. Moon:
 I agree with the spirit of your Watergate Declaration. You can count on my prayers and support to help unite this country in the spirit of forgiveness and love. Please send me more information.

Name _____

Address _____

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Mail to:
National Prayer & Fast for the Watergate Crisis
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(202) 296-7148

Psychiatrists Urge Open Trial

Concerned about fate of Soviet mathematician

Acting in their individual capacities, a group of distinguished U.S. psychiatrists and lawyers dispatched the following cablegram to the Moscow City Court in the USSR on Sunday, November 25, with a copy to Dr. A. V. Snezhnevsky, Director of the Institute of Psychiatry of the Academy of Medical Sciences in the USSR. The first five signatories were all members of the First U.S. Mission on Mental Health to the USSR in 1967. (See Rising Tide, November 19 for further details of recent U.S. psychiatric concern.)

Moscow City Court
Criminal Division
Kolanchovskaya St.
Moscow, USSR

Assertions have been made to us that distinguished mathematician Yuri Shikhanovich is to be tried this Monday. We are informed that Shikhanovich is charged with crimes against the state, that he will be tried in closed session without prepared legal representation, without the presence of his family, his friends or the public, and without being allowed to appear before the tribunal. We are deeply concerned that, based on prior psychiatric determination, he might be found mentally incompetent or insane while the evidence of witnesses suggests that he is fully mentally competent. We are profoundly concerned that this would constitute a violation of basic principles both of psychiatric practice and of criminal justice. We who have known and worked with Soviet authorities in the fields of psychiatry and the law urge you to put our concerns to rest by conducting an open trial of Shikhanovich allowing foreign observers to be present.

Signatories:

- Dr. Walter E. Barton, Judge David L. Bazelon,
- Dr. Alan Miller, Dr. Harold Visotsky, and
- Dr. Stanley Yolles--all members of the First U.S. Mission on Mental Health in the USSR.

WITH THE SUPPORT OF:

- Dr. Alfred M. Freedman, Chairman, Department of Psychiatry, New York Medical College, N.Y. City
- Dr. Howard P. Rome, Chairman, Department of Psychiatry, The Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota
- Dr. John Spiegel, Professor of Social Psychiatry, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.
- Dr. Alan Stone, Professor of Law and Psychiatry, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- Dr. John Visser, Program Director, San Mateo County Mental Health Program, San Mateo, California

(Information copy sent to Dr. A. V. Snezhnevsky, Director, Institute of Psychiatry, Academy of Mental Sciences, USSR)



Second Thoughts on Trade

by Marx Lewis

Of the various segments of our population, organized labor was the first and only force in the U.S. which called attention to the fallacies and dangers in the present detente, the eighth of the series of detentes which the Communists launched since their seizure of power in Russia. The trade union movement was not opposed to a real detente, but it consistently pointed out that these detentes, by whatever name they were called, were just part of a strategy clearly designed to put the American people to sleep. After each so-called detente the Communists were stronger and the free world weaker.

In recent months, beginning with the publicizing of the persecution of Russian dissidents, others have begun to see the fallacy of a detente with the Soviet Union. Soviet rejection at the European Security Conference of all proposals designed to lift the Iron Curtain in exchange for the concessions they demanded from the West strengthened the conviction that the so-called detente was just a ploy, like all previous ones. The Soviets wanted to feel free to impose their ideas on the free world while rejecting every suggestion that they accord to their captive peoples the right to disagree and to enjoy the human rights guaranteed under the UN Charter for Human Rights. In addition, the Soviets rejected any reduction of foreign forces which would not give them an advantage over the West.

The "liberals" began to express doubts about the value of the detente. The *New York Times*, whose editorial writers and columnists were the first and the hardest to fall for the Soviet stratagem, began to ask: "What kind of a detente is this? 'Detente,' it said in one of its recent editorials, "can even be a dangerous term." Politicians who joined in accolades about the detente have begun to pull away. Both may yet use mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to revive it, but after all that has happened, including Soviet efforts to

fuel the Middle East war they are now saying that the detente is an illusion.

Now the business community, which expected to derive a bonanza from the trade which would come out of the detente, is joining the skeptics. It is not, of course, concerned about the moral issues involved. The persecution of the dissidents, the war-fermenting activities of the Soviets, even the weakening of our military posture, do not seem to enter into their calculations. They are beginning to see little profit and many risks, in expanded trade under the conditions which the Nixon administration has proposed.

Human Events records the fears the business community, and those who speak for them, are now expressing. One comes from Henry Kearns, head of the Eximbank, an agency which is asked to extend credits of the U.S. government to the Soviets for a number of huge trade deals.

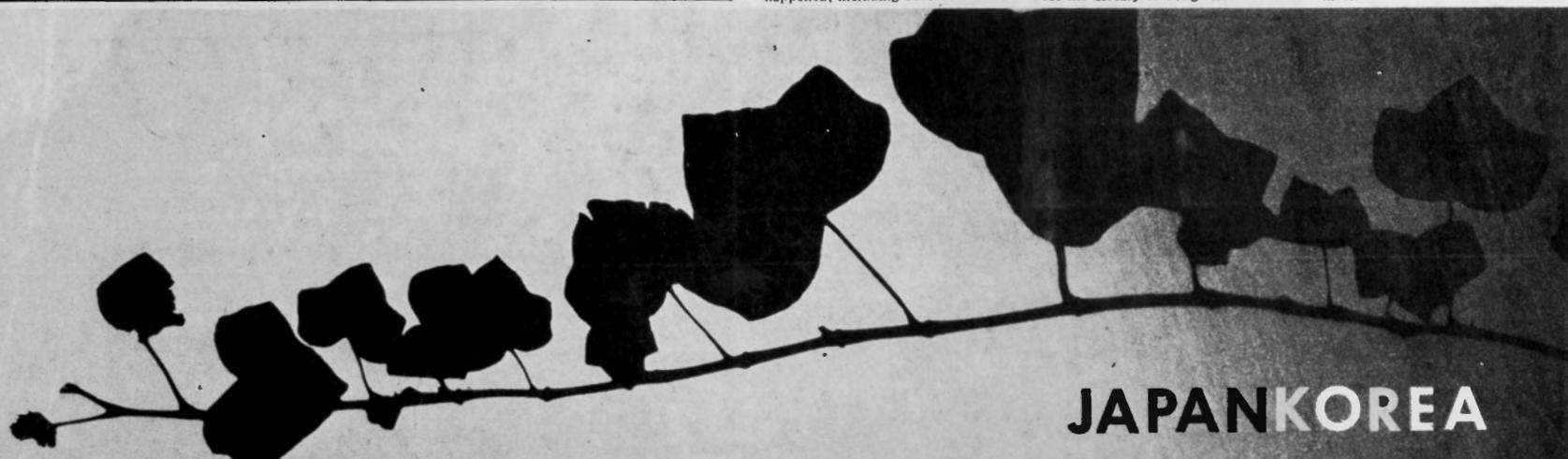
Kearns states that the Eximbank requires, under the law, reasonable assurance of repayment, which include both an intention to repay and an ability to repay. That applies in all cases and to all countries, wherever credit is extended. As to the intention to repay, Kearns stated in an interview that there are some who believe that the Soviet intentions are good. But as to the ability to repay, it must first be determined by financial information, which is furnished by the borrower. The Soviets have been told that they must supply this information. It would cover the amount of their external debts, their regular debt servicing, and their convertible reserves. "These are things needed to make a credit judgment," Kearns said.

Another indication that business is becoming fearful of Soviet trade is contained in a report just published by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. This report was prepared by two economic experts working for the Library of Congress.

It points out that pitfalls await American businessmen who try to do business with the Soviets. Western businessmen have found Soviet trade organizations "as erratic and unreliable trade partners." Agricultural imports are periodic, imports of cereal grains are particularly unstable, while other imports are sporadic, the report states. Moreover, the Soviet Union has a "shortage of foreign exchange reserves" and "limited export possibilities." Soviet regulations hamper businessmen. Westerners are prevented from conducting business directly with producers, consumers and distributors.

The report also points out that trade will give the Soviets invaluable American technology, which may be transferred to military purposes, while the U.S. may receive only "marginal" economic benefits. As to obtaining energy resources from the Soviets, the economists warn against counting on this. "Reliance on the Soviet Union as a source for vitally needed energy resources appears to be a particularly risky undertaking," they say.

Representative Benjamin Blackburn, of Georgia, a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, has pointed out that there is already evidence that the Soviets are unable to meet their debts. American companies that have been involved in commercial deals with the Soviets, Blackburn states, "are having difficulty in collecting payments on the technology and capital transferred to the Soviet Union." He cited cases of European countries which have run into trouble collecting their bills. In the case of one American company the Soviets have asked for a postponement of the payments due. "These are absolutely clear symptoms," the Georgia Congressman said "of a picture of one of the largest countries in the world with tremendous external obligations which it is unable to meet."



JAPANKOREA

Patching It Up

by Louis Fournier

Finally the taut bands of diplomatic accord eased, and relations between two of the most important far Eastern nations began to resume an air of cordiality again. Korea and Japan began moving to bury the tensions of the Kim Dae Jung affair, which strained dialogue between them for over three months.

Japan Outraged over Kim Affair

The facts are readily recalled: how Korean opposition leader Kim Dae Jung, 48, had been whisked abruptly away from a hotel room in Tokyo in a daring day-time kidnapping; how suddenly he reappeared in his house in Seoul under a heavy police cordon ordered by South Korean President Chung Hee Park, who explained that it was to serve as protective custody; how soon thereafter officials in Japan registered outraged protests of what they saw as a flagrant violation of Japanese sovereignty by the Korean government (blame fell chiefly on the Korean CIA, a charge which sources in Japan said was well

documented); how the fingerprints of second secretary Kim Dong Woon of the Korean embassy in Tokyo came to be identified as among those found at the scene of the crime; how a diplomatic high-pressure campaign became pushed on Korea by Japan, causing the postponement of the critical annual ministerial conference between the two nations to discuss increased Japanese aid, and bringing stern and uncompromising warnings to Seoul from Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka ("The case cannot be considered closed until Kim is allowed to return to Tokyo for a full investigation.")

Then suddenly the case burst quietly into resolution. One night some three weeks ago the police squad around Kim's house packed up and went away. President Park announced that the need for protective custody has passed; Kim Dae Jung was free, to the joy of his followers, mainly in Japan and America. But almost immediately charges that the price for Kim's physical liberty was political restraint were leveled against the Park administration. Kim's devotees pointed to his uncharacteristically

penitential public statements after his release as proof--statements of regret at having troubled the nation because of his activities and indicating that his political efforts would be ceasing. Some supporters even claimed that Kim later said privately that he was not being allowed to express his true feelings. Speculators bargained on his accepting a fellowship offered him at Harvard; and while at first he said he would not be going, he later reversed that decision.

A Happy Compromise

Maintaining an official attitude of non-involvement with charges of arm-twisting, the Seoul government took steps recently to seal its patchwork with Tokyo. Korean Prime Minister Kim Jong Pii winged his diplomatic way to Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka and delivered a formal apology for the kidnapping there. In doing so, a happy compromise was struck between the two, meeting the conditions each felt were indispensable. In return for an official apology and the admittance of the crime as the handiwork of embassy secretary Kim Dong Woon,

Korea was cleared of governmental complicity in the affair, placing the crime as a private, individual act, thereby removing the issue of violation of sovereignty.

Additionally, the Park administration freed Kim from the danger of government action taken against him for his activities in the past (his vehement anti-Park stand) if he agreed not to return to such activities. The compromise came as a welcome relief; both nations quickly resumed their regular relationship, Korea anxious not to jeopardize its many Japanese aid commitments and Japan desirous of protecting its vast Korean investments.

Still the battle rages over the political and ideological significance of the Kim affair. The leftist flanks see it as a grossly reactionary infringement on personal freedom by President Park, who is generally regarded from those ranks as a power-seeking dictator bent on bringing Korea under his total rule through his paranoia of the progressive Communist state looming ominously above him. Leftist social permeation has had to do little to generate public sympathy for its position (in Korea, as elsewhere, it is quite fashionable,

particularly among the young, to be "liberally minded").

North Korean Threat

From this point of view, one point stands intact in the test of truth: there is indeed an ominous Communist state looming above South Korea, and its intentions are plainly undisguised. Like North Vietnam, North Korea is determined to unite its own divided nation under the dominion of Communism. In his desire to insure his people the freedom from that goal, President Park saw fit to declare martial law and a national state of emergency; his observation of the imminence of a Communist drive was entirely unexaggerated, and it is largely due to his no-nonsense tactics that North Korea has kept its bound.

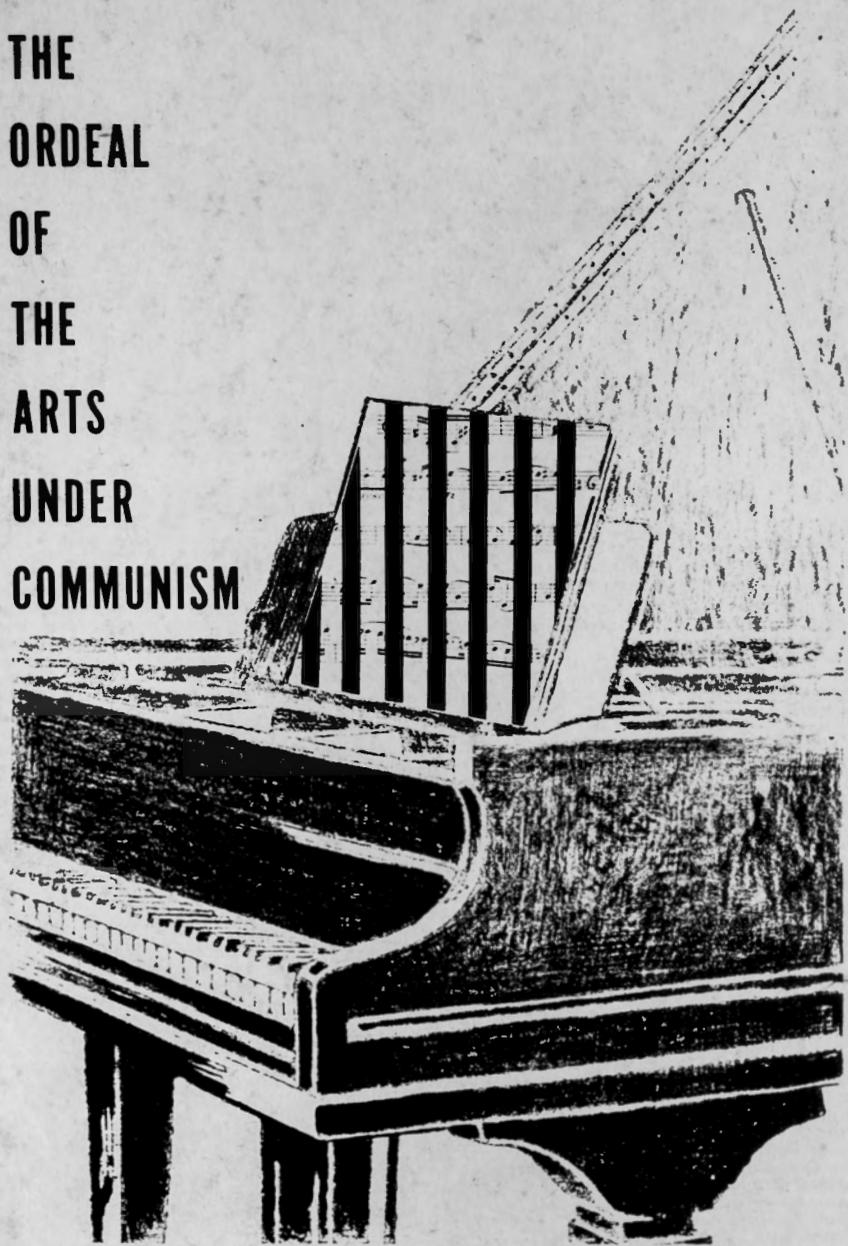
The Seoul government aimed to remain tightly organized, solidly united, stable and undefeatably strong. It jealously guarded its rule--sometimes, no doubt, over-jealously--and the result has been a powerful front against the northern Communists. Such a front, one of the strongest among nations in similar situations, could only be maintained under Korean conditions as they are by a strong, purposeful leader.

President Park sought to be that leader, to the vast disquieting of his opposition, who largely claim that the Communist threat in no way justifies his bold steps to consolidate and permanentize his power. The Kim affair, they say, was audacious sweeping of a political vacuum cleaner trying to clean up dangers to the regime. That may indeed have been its intent.

Key Issue

The key issue, which most moral relativists have a way of leaving unnoticed, lies not in the external events themselves, but in understanding their true motivation and judging that internal perspective in light of the purpose of the whole--in this case (as in most), the world. President Park cannot stand accused for desiring to have a united nation under strong leadership for a strong stand against over Communist aggression. If sacrifices are to be made to that aim by Koreans, then they are in a position to inspire and set an example for the Free World--which will surely help to keep Korea free, both of Communism itself and ultimately of the need to arm so forcefully against Communism.

THE
ORDEAL
OF
THE
ARTS
UNDER
COMMUNISM



by Louis Fournier

With this series of articles, *The Rising Tide* examines the face of culture in the Soviet Union, focusing on the utilization of aesthetics in that nation as a device of Communist public relations. "Comm-culture" will be presented in three parts, dealing with the philosophical and ideological connotations of culture (at its manipulation) and particular aspects of the arts in Soviet life:

- Part One: The Face of Society/Music
- Part Two: The Common Cause/Drama/Dance
- Part Three: The Pursuit of Good/Literature, Painting and the Fine Arts

The Face of Society

The echo of man's efforts is heard in as many areas of endeavor as his creativity will allow him to pursue. His culture is that echo, on a multitude of levels. We can talk of a "cultured" man, by which we might most generally refer to the refinement with which he reflects the prescribed socialities of his locality; but we might also be speaking, on a deeper unseen realm, of a personal trait, a display of individual character. A family has a certain "culture" that reveals the collective spirit, drawn together from the separate members, of that nuclear social foundation. A subdivided, or ethnic, or geopolitical section of a social state can likewise speak of a "culture," characteristics that mark it apart from another section of the state (as we might note cultural differences between the North and South, the East and West in the United States). So, too, nations and ethnic blocks in the world each can make known their cultures - the faces of their societies, the public presentation of their ends and means, the unavoidable and undeniable imprint of their highest ideals and lowest realities.

What is too often overlooked in the shadow of the more obvious sphere of national cultures is the face of the whole - the collected single culture of the earth as an undivided entity. How many view the world as an entire entity in terms of culture? Granted, politically, militarily, in the blunt reality of daily life and death, we cannot claim a sight of pleasantness and peace; but we likewise cannot deny the hope that still pierces persistently through the bleakest details. The world is most closely drawn together through its total culture (if we may be generous in the use of the word to include the arts, ideology, religion, the several disciplines of man's study), for culture is more than only an objective outward manifestation of man's inner character: like man himself, it has purpose and direction. It is applied as well as reflected. It is both give and take; it is an effect of life and affects life. Like man, it has invisible spirit and visible expression. Again in common with man, it has invisible spirit and visible expression. Again in common

with man, it seeks goodness no matter how bad it may be. This is clearly attested in the fact that every nation works hard to produce and present good culture; the Nobel Prize is not aimed to be presented to the most mediocre efforts. All the world lauds and is inspired and uplifted by universal acts of genuine greatness.

Culture is like ambitious water: it flows to its highest possible sphere of achievement. It is a highly volatile view of society. In its greatest heights it touches the deepest moods of man, pulling him silently toward the subtle, consistent suggestion of higher possibilities of life. With his culture, man steps back and perceives where he has been, where he is; through the continuous outpouring of his innate creativity, he strives to outline and achieve his ever-evolving destination. Culture is vitally tied to spirituality; the spirit of God and man lie at its source, and it pursues the stream of heartfelt consciousness expressed in physical proximity.

Applied Culture

Throughout history there have always been elements of culture that were deliberately applied by specialized social groups to present to the world's eye a specifically molded image. Modern advertising is an example in this country of highly developed applied culture, seeking to establish a favorable impression of particular products. Organized religions, clubs, political parties, educational foundations all try to promote an atmosphere of acceptability through applied culture. It matters greatly to people what other people think of them because society depends on common agreement. Nations are especially susceptible to world opinion and strive, in one way or another, to maintain a positive image. Of course applied culture, since culture itself is an expression of philosophy and a manifestation of thought on how to live, is inevitably the projected interpretation of the promoter. Here we arrive at the notion of culture applied for political persuasion purposes, or, in the instance we are examining, the conscious manipulation and control of culture for the purpose of creating an arbitrary, imposed impression. At this, Communist societies in particular have excelled to the degree that they have very nearly constructed a whole new culture centered around the preservation of falsehood. It is the nature of culture to be exactly as its progenitor: ideally, free and good, truthful and beautiful. A full understanding of why the Communist system is forced to rely on truthlessness is not the aim of this article; that must be acquired through a thorough awareness of the dialectical materialist ideology. Standing on such a foundation, we are prepared to examine the use or, more correctly, the misuse of natural culture in the Soviet Union

The Golden Age

There lies over the rugged and swift variances of the north Asian terrain a kind of half-wind, half melody, lilted with the wistful breezes that drift from hill to hill, bearing unseen visions of natural majesty. The quiet Slavic soil seems to issue far-reaching geographic idioms abounding with unwordable details, mystic connotations, a spiritual translucence that finds its only proper expression in a magnificent tonality. With a sudden resonance, the vast openness evokes a solemn grandeur forged in the boundless imagery of God Himself. These might have been some of the thoughts that flowed in the mind of Alexander Borodin when he composed his now-treasured *In the Steppes of Central Asia*, a fiercely nationalistic Russian piece. But Borodin was not the first....

It was Mikhail Glinka who was first named the father of modern Russian music. Born in 1804, he pioneered the great successes that Russian composers were to enjoy throughout their Golden Age, the mid 19th to early 20th centuries, during which Russia and Germany were to vie closely for musical supremacy. Glinka largely copied the West in his style and tone but added an unmistakable touch of Slavic fire and zest that instantly caught the ear. He was the predominant forerunner of the Romantic musical period in Russia. His major work was *Ruslan and Ludmilla*, an opera largely comprised of native Russian folk elements.

After Glinka came a quick succession of leading composers who soon set the pace for all Russian music to come. Borodin had a long and favored career and was the earliest post-Glinka Russian composer of world influence. Borodin was a nationalist, devoted to musically portraying his beloved country through works that have long since been standard on orchestra repertoires: the historical opera *Prince Igor* was recently made into a highly acclaimed motion picture, and much of his music was used in the successful Broadway show *Kismet*. Borodin found his nationalist musical ideology keeping continuously closer company with other prominent nationalists; together they formed a famed composing group that produced most of the Russian nationalist music to be found today. Mily Balakirev contributed *Islamey, An Oriental Fantasy*, and *Tamara, a Symphonic Poem* during his long lifetime; Modeste Mussorgsky produced the sound poems *Pictures at an Exhibition, Night on Bald Mountain*, the historical opera *Boris Godunov* and other works in the last three decades of the 19th century; other nationalist contemporaries were Rimsky-Korsakov (*Prometheus: Poem of Fire* Symphony, numerous piano pieces), Anton Arensky was less known than the fellow Russian he took the theme from for his oft-heard variations

(Continued on page 7)

by Jan Greenfield

Jan Greenfield is a member of a company of actors from Arena Stage in Washington, D.C. who recently returned from a month and a half engagement of *Our Town* and *Inherit the Wind* in Moscow and Leningrad as part of a U.S.-U.S.S.R. cultural exchange. (See page 8...) During that time they were able to meet many people, including a number of Jews hoping to emigrate and also fighting to maintain their religious tradition. Following is Part I of Jan's vignette revealing the spiritual nature of the struggle against Soviet oppression.

This story is entitled *expecting heaven is what hell is all about*--because that is exactly what Russian Jews face every moment of every day in their lives. Let me explain. While with an American acting troupe playing in Moscow, I was approached one cloudless afternoon by a sullen man; he introduced himself as a Jew wanting to emigrate to Israel and asked if I could help. Images of non-involvement flooded my body, but the actual contact of eyes persuaded me to become involved. Needless to say now, in retrospect, the experience was for me a total rebirth of a religion lost in the forced feedings of childhood.

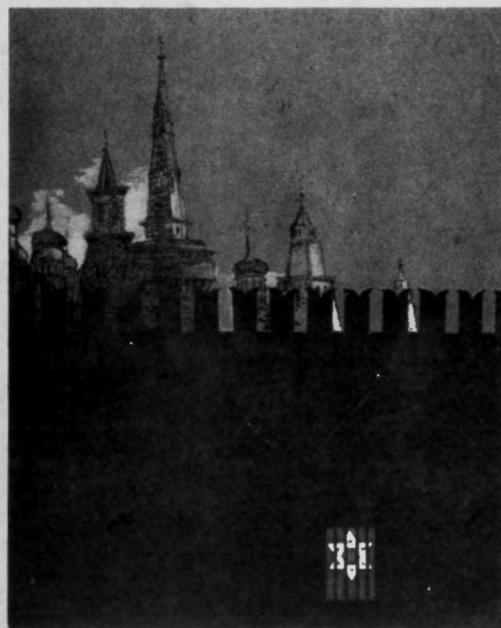
His name was Alexander Luntz. We agreed to meet the next night after the show and so we did, amid crowds of Russian theater-goers trying to catch a glimpse, hold a hand, or trade a pin with an Americanski artist. With three other interested actors we proceeded along dark Moscow streets to the Metro. I felt a little like I was on a Spin and Marty adventure. After the Metro, a bus took us to Alexander's home where

he lived in an American-type cooperative (of course not to be compared in luxury, just in idea).

The actual experience of meeting them face-to-face was demythologizing. Being an American reading about their plight, I never realized the problem--we Americans live so damn vicariously of any problems. And the few of who actually get the chance to witness the truth can never turn back; we can only turn on to others to relate tales about people struggling against incredible odds and humiliation. These people have lost everything--they are living with the bare basics because once a Russian Jew files for emigration, he (and his family) loses everything that once made him human. With every step he takes he feels the steps of others behind him--nowhere is safe--he is the pariah of the community.

The night we were at Alexander's home some of his friends had arrived late; they looked beaten down but with that inner glow that people who put in on the line always have. They had just come back from a demonstration of Soviet Jews--one of the first ones ever held. I imagined 5,000 to 10,000 marching up and down, flags waving, hearts pounding. My American dream was shattered when the young tall bearded one, Mischa, with a slight smile amused his lips related to me in a slow but soft tone of English that only 12 had demonstrated and that number is the most so far. His face saddened when he recounted that four of his friends, along with four American newsmen, were beaten up and jailed that afternoon. Mischa had gotten off lightly--just a fine of nine rubles. I asked if I could attend one of their next demonstrations; once again my American dream was dissipated. Smiles were shared on their faces because everything was kept secret

Expecting Heaven
is what
hell is all about



until the exact time of the demonstration--if the KGB ever heard of it they all would have been rounded up and sent to prison. I had envisioned months of planning, placards and advertisements, living in America has a way of distorting things.

From then on all they could talk about was how America felt about the Jackson-Vanik resolution. Their body posture picked up as they told us how, more than anything else in the last ten years, this amendment--plus world opinion--has altered crime and punishment: the thought of reduction of trade has brought fear into the Russian's treatment of Soviet Jews. Whereas before demonstrations had ended up in severe punishments, the more recent ones had brought milder sentences and not so brutal beatings (as if any beatings could be classified as not brutal). Jumping on that thought, I inquired how long they hoped that would last--as if we had rehearsed the move before. All lowered their heads slightly, mine seemed lowered just by the question. The Jackson-Mills-Vanik amendment had given them a reason to hope, like a clean, crisp wind after days of sick air. And they were certainly taking deep breaths.

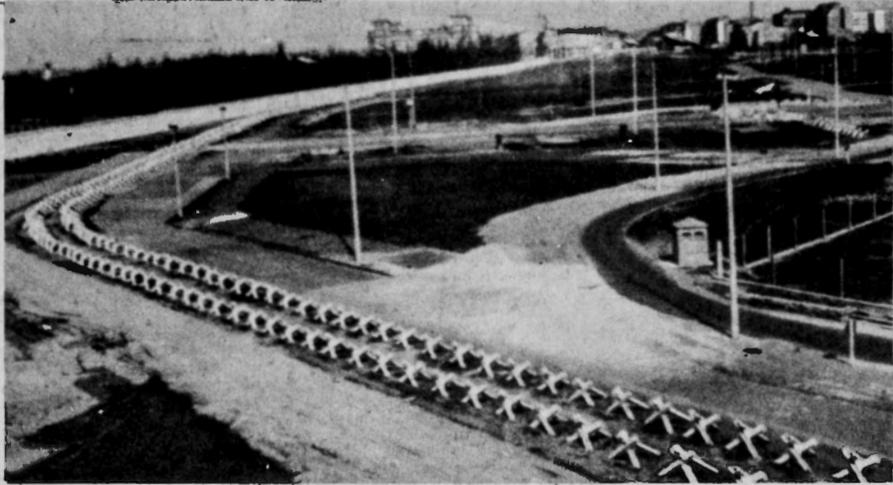
A slightly balded young man with a bright red bruise on his nose, named Anatole, turned to me and asked how Americans felt about the Soviet Jews' situation. Trying to speak for a whole has always been hard for me--out of it always brings hearsay and generalizations. But I tried to speak from my own experiences, frustrations and inability to comprehend their situation and problems. I told him that until we Americans can feel their problems in our guts, nothing can ever be solved. Reading is just not feeling; we talk about change and chances

taken without even laying anything on the line--"how can anyone who is warm understand anyone who is cold?" I emphasized that I didn't feel that change would happen until Americans feel these problems in their gut--until we throw up the sickness of apathy.

Then the moment came that really shook me--and a moment that will stay with me as long as people are imprisoned by bars or social doctrines. We had brought with us some books on Jewish heritage, a couple of novels, and some trinkets, emblems of Jewish heritage. Tears and chills filled my body as I watched these simple direct people fill up with the joy and happiness that the gifts gave them. It was there in their faces. Their bodies radiated an ecstatic feeling that those imprisoned can only feel. As they leafed through the books and put on the emblems, I thought my heart would burst. (Russian Jews get no Jewish articles unless they are smuggled in.) The room was filled with the spirit of Hannukah--or any joyous holiday. They talked about how their children and grandchildren would react--stuffed pockets and filled hearts were very much in evidence. I knew our friends would be spending many sleepless nights reading the books. It was like giving food to starving people--food for thought is a driving need for them.

The small elevator that brought us down echoed the sounds of "Shalom," as we walked from the apartment and the sky was crowded with stars of hope. Silence was broken suddenly with a spontaneous song of Hava Nagila. Imagine, walking in Moscow at 2 a.m. singing Hava Nagila with our Jewish friends and the eyes of the KGB not more than 25 yards behind.

It was a time to re-think who I was, where I was, and what I will do now.



Ideology

No One-Way Detente

by Gary Jarmin

The Soviets, primarily because of internal debates over detente, have been increasingly forced to precisely spell out their view of detente and what they expect to gain from it. A fundamental lack of awareness of the Communist interpretation of the meaning of detente has been the biggest stumbling block for political leaders in the West and perhaps the major reason why detente has been a dismal failure in bringing about any kind of "true peace" in the Middle-East or Southeast Asia.

The Struggle of Ideas

In the October, 1973 issue of *International Affairs*, a Soviet journal, A. Sovetov, a party theoretician, states clearly the Soviet view of the ideological struggle in an article titled "Contemporary International Relations and the Struggle of Ideas."

Sovetov indicates precisely how one would expect a Marxist to view any kind of relations with capitalist countries. Fundamentally he views the source of ideological struggle as coming not "from the alleged drive by the U.S.S.R. for expansion through the 'export of revolution'" but from inherent contradictions within capitalism. Sovetov rejects the notion that the Soviets should or could give up the ideological struggle since they are not the source of it. "Whatever the complaints voiced by some people in respect to the ideological struggle," he adds, "the latter cannot be 'abolished' since it is not the cause but the result of the far-reaching social and political contradictions of present-day society."

"The intensification of the ideological struggle," he continues, "is determined by social factors and the development of class contradictions."

The position taken by the Soviets obviously indicates that the ideological struggle has little to do with their own contradictions - it

concerns only those in the West. From their viewpoint, the ideological struggle is different from the "cold war" concept of it. Rather, the nature of the ideological struggle has not had or should not have anything to do with competitive conflict of ideas within the Soviet system but instead only with that in capitalist nations.

Apparently Sovetov views the cold war as merely a propaganda battle "enveloped in ideological trappings and supplemented by 'psychological warfare.'" On the contrary he asserts that the true "ideological struggle, that is, the struggle between the Communist and the bourgeois world outlooks, radically differs from the cold war of 'psychological warfare.'" This is a struggle for establishing ideas and views which meet the vital interests of the broad masses of people... It is the ideas which correctly reflect the laws of historical development and correspond to the requirements of social progress that triumph in this struggle."

"In the final analysis," Sovetov adds, "no dodges or maneuvers of 'psychological warfare' will help, since all depends on the content of ideas, on whether they are right or wrong."

Essentially Sovetov is saying that the spread of "bourgeois ideas" in Communist countries is "psychological warfare," having nothing to do with the real ideological struggle. The only true ideological struggle is that within capitalist countries, where contradictions inducing ideological conflicts between the "reactionary and progressive" forces exist. According to the Communists, no such contradictions can exist in a socialist society; therefore to them a true ideological struggle is actually impossible in its real meaning. Anything resembling it, according to them, is merely insidious "psychological warfare," poisoning and hindering the inevitable "triumph of Communist ideology."

A One-Way Street

Thus, the Soviets even interpret ideological struggle and detente in a totally different way than we in the West. To them, ideological struggle is essentially a one-way street - that is to say, the struggle of progressive Marxist ideas battling against "reactionary forces" within capitalist nations but not in Communist countries. This they say would be impossible, since the "infallible truth" of Marxism-Leninism has already triumphed. Therefore, any attack against these ideas are futile, useless, and unproductive hindrances to the inevitable realization of Communism.

The entire assertion by Sovetov that there are no inherent contradictions within Communist society is at the very least preposterous. The materialist outlook of Marxism contradicts the fundamental nature of every man to strive for spiritual enlightenment and to freely realize his creative power - this Communism does not allow. It serves as the obvious reason why the Communists have ruthlessly tried to suppress dissident intellectuals and especially religion. In fact, with every increasing step made towards detente, the more repressive have the Soviets become toward dissident ideological forces.

The only reason the West has been less successful than the Soviets in this ideological struggle is not because we have not been as repressive as they but because we lack unity around any fundamental ideology or goal. Even this Sovetov clearly saw in the Free World's "inability to offer its own positive alternative to Marxism-Leninism" and in "anti-Communism which resorted to hysteria instead of answering the questions raised by life itself..."

The sad fact is that the West has been paralyzed in its struggle against Communism not only by its poor understanding of Communist ideology but primarily by its

(Continued on page 7)

From Quantity to Quality?

by Dr. Sang Hung Lee

According to the dialectic, development is a result of contradiction. Wherever contradiction exists, there is opposition and struggle; wherever there is opposition and struggle, there is development. However, this development is not a smooth, continuous progress but is followed by a sudden qualitative change when there is an abrupt interruption followed by a leap to a higher state. At the same time, by the negation of the negation, progress takes the direction of advancement and restoration. We will first discuss qualitative change and then the progress and development of restoration.

Qualitative Change

According to the dialectic, gradual and continuous development is interrupted by a sudden change when a new stage suddenly appears. Hegel was the first man to point out this fact. He took the example of a fetus when it grows within the womb. After its growth there is an abrupt interruption of its gradual quantitative progress and a new child is born into a new stage. Such a phenomenon he called transition from quantitative change to qualitative change. In fact, as Hegel said, we see many examples in various phenomena in which the continuation of quantitative change suddenly stops and qualitative change takes place on the foundation of quantitative change.

The direct cause of the qualitative change is a shift in the relationship between ruling and ruled. According to the dialectic, with two opposing things there is always a relationship of superior and inferior, ruling and ruled. When A and B find conflict, A rules B and B subordinates itself to A. However, when the quantitative change reaches a certain stage, the relationship of ruler and ruled is reversed; that is B rises to the ruling position and A is ruled. At this time, qualitative change occurs because of the shift in equilibrium between the two conflicting parties. Together with the change in the relationship, the opposing things themselves also change. The A and B are themselves

transformed in the process.

Thus, new contradictions, new unity and new struggle will develop. For example, in the relationship between an egg and a chicken, the growth progress of the embryo is quantitative change. No matter how big the embryo grows within the egg, it is not yet a chicken. However, when it breaks the shell and comes out, it immediately becomes a chicken. When it started growing within the egg, the embryo was still in the position of being ruled. Gradually, through quantitative change, it grows until it suddenly comes to the ruling position when it breaks the shell, which up to then had been its ruler. At the last minute the subject and subordinate relationship was reversed. This is the qualitative change.

This, then, is the law of transition from quantitative change to qualitative change in the dialectic. Is this really true? We will examine it and see. This law surely appears to be valid in principle because in most cases qualitative change does follow quantitative change; various phenomena in the natural world demonstrate this. It is shown in the growth process of animals and plants and also in the formation of chemical elements. For instance, hydrogen is composed of one proton and one electron. If another proton and another electron are added (quantitative change) a new chemical element, helium, is produced (qualitative change). It is not true, however, that qualitative change necessarily comes all at once or that gradual quantitative change is always interrupted by qualitative change.

Marx tried to prove the abrupt interruption of gradual progress by the following examples. When water reaches 100 degrees, it boils; when it reaches the 0°C mark, it freezes; if more and more weight is gradually added to a rope, it suddenly snaps; when steam is over-compressed inside a boiler, at a certain point the boiler bursts. These illustrations do exemplify the abrupt stoppage of gradual progress. But there are other examples in which qualitative change is produced without abrupt stoppage. For instance, when water

is heated gradually, it becomes steam without boiling; when grain is stored, the pile simply becomes gradually larger and larger; man's progress from babyhood through childhood, youth, middle age, and old age is also gradual; the seasonal changes are gradual. A sprout becomes a young tree and grows to produce fruits gradually. These are examples of gradual change. Thus, there are numerous examples in which qualitative change occurs without sudden change. Why, then, did Marx say that anything with qualitative change must necessarily undergo a catastrophic leap and abrupt halt in its gradual progress? It was because his philosophy was to rationalize catastrophic, violent revolution.

Principle Counterproposal to Qualitative Change

How then can this change be explained? Now, let's clarify and explain this in the light of the Principle. All progress and change comes about through give and take between subject and object. It may be valid to say that qualitative change occurs based on quantitative change only when those two changes appear simultaneously. However, Marx explains that quantitative change comes before qualitative change and can't explain why the qualitative change itself occurs. Since qualitative change comes about by changes of structure and form rather than by physical changes of size, weight, and strength, Marx's concept of quantity is too ambiguous. The meaning of the concepts that Marx tried to manifest in quantity and quality may correspond to Hyong Sang (form) and Sung Sang (character) in Unification Principle. The Hyong Sang of things refers to the material properties such as shape, structure and size; the Sung Sang means the quality and function.

Yet during development Hyong Sang does not change prior to the change of Sung Sang, rather both the changes are quite simultaneous. For example, in the hatching process of an egg, the growth of an embryo (change of form and structure) and the qualitative change of an embryo (changing to chicken) occur

(Continued on page 7)

What Communism Means to Labor Unions

While the AFL-CIO has been staunchly opposed to Communism on practical and ideological grounds, the labor unions of other countries have been less consistent in their commitment. W.W. Henderson, in the *Industrial Research and Information Services News*, discusses recent policy of the British Trade Union Congress (TUC) towards Soviet labor unions in such a way as to point out the antithesis of a Communist society and a free trade union movement. Specifically he criticizes recent overtures made by TUC General Secretary Vic Feather to the Russian "equivalent" of trade unions. This article is excerpted from "British Trade Unions and Soviet 'Exchanges'" in the October AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News.

By H. W. Henderson

On previous occasions we have quoted the words in which Aneurin Bevan warned British Socialists of the folly of entering into friendly relationships with the Communists. The aim of the Communists, he said, was merely to use political innocents for their own purposes and then discard them when their help was no longer needed.

In view of this correct assessment of Communist tactics, it is somewhat surprising that a British trade union delegation recently visited Moscow, presumably to cement a friendly relationship between the British trade union movement and the Russian.

On arriving in Russia, Vic Feather and his three TUC General Council Colleagues (Jack Jones of the TGWU, Tom Jackson of the UPW and Percy Coldrick of TSSA) were given VIP treatment.

Amazing Spectacle

Yet not only have we the amazing spectacle of free trade unionists from British mixing cordially with the Soviet "boss class," who hold the Russian workers in an iron grip, but we are informed in the press that at a late date the Russian will be coming to Britain-headed once again by the former Soviet police chief-and will presumably be given as friendly as welcome here as the British delegation received in Russia.

The fact that a British trade union delegation had gone to Moscow to fraternize with the leaders of the Russian trade union movement was naturally pleasing to the Morning Star (London Communist daily). In its issue of July 21 we read the following commendation:

"The TUC delegation to the Soviet Union, the first for thirty years, is an event of major importance in the fight for international working class unity.... Workers all over the world have common interests. Their strength is in their unity."

"For many years the cold war warriors.... have tried to stamp out the friendship between our two peoples. They have failed. In the new international situation developing today, trade unionists have an important role to play in pressing the British Government to expand trade and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries."

All this is typical Morning Star humbug, and it seems unnecessary to stress the fact that it is not the "cold war warriors" of the West who prevent friendship growing between the Russian people and the people of the democratic world. It is the Soviet government itself which puts

restrictions on free travel for its citizens, blacks out Western broadcasts, and refuses to permit the circulation of books and newspapers from the free world that would assist the cause of international peace and understanding.

What is important, however, is the answer to this question:

Is it possible that the TUC, in sending a delegation of free trade unionists to Russia, were unaware that Soviet trade unions are mere departments of the government and completely unable to protect their members against ruthless economic exploitation?

It seems hardly likely, but if they really are as ignorant as they might learn a great deal about the true position by consulting an interesting booklet entitled "Trade Unions-True or False?", written by Vic Feather when he held the position of Assistant General Secretary of the TUC.

That the author of this excellent pamphlet, one of the "background books" published by Blatchworth Press of London, fully understood the oppressive conditions under which the phony Russian trade unions worked may be seen by quoting a few interesting passages from the publication.

On page 34 we read: "Wages, hours, safety regulations, holidays with pay, overtime, and so on, are all determined by State decree. If a worker loses more than twenty minutes working time by arriving late, leaving early or taking a long dinner break, he can be declared guilty of absenteeism."

Six Months Labor

"Absenteeism can be punished by a period of up to six months corrective labor at his place of work. This

means the worker will continue his normal employment but will be absent from home, residing instead in a hostel attached to the factory and under armed surveillance. Annual sickness benefits are forfeited during this period, and his pay is cut by 25 percent.

"A sentence of his character is entered in the labor book which each workman carries. The book contains personal details about the worker, his working history, the various establishments at which he has worked, and a record of breaches of factory discipline."

Happy days for the jolly Soviet workers, emancipated from the horrors of capitalist exploitation. But there is more to come. The author tells us that "wages policy is determined by the State economic plan. The body which determined that plan is not the union; it is the Soviet Government" (page 35).

No Legal Strikes

The Russian workers, you may think, might not like this and decide to fight against it as they would in democratic countries. But can they do so? "There can be no legal strike by any union in Soviet Russia. Nor can there be any advocacy of a withdrawal of labor. Such a step would be treason, and for that there is imprisonment or the death penalty" (page 35).

Fighting for the workers in a Communist country can clearly be a dangerous task. Maybe that's why our native Communist heroes prefer to fight the bosses in this mild and civilized country rather than display their manly opposition to oppression in that home of tyranny known as the USSR.

In addition to the facts already

given, our author tells us: "In the Soviet Union... wages, hours and conditions are laid down by Government decree. There can be no political check on the Soviet Government, since no political opposition is permitted" (page 37). Tough, isn't it? But that's how the Communists work when they come to power. Not just in Russia but everywhere else.

And what would free British trade unionists think of a system with the following restrictions: "The fact is that no person who expresses opposition to Soviet Government control can be elected to office in a union. No one dare advocate a strike, and an individual who absents himself from work as a mild, private protest against a personal injustice can be imprisoned by the state."

And listen to this: "When the State is the employer and also controls the unions, the worker has no protection left. The right to work becomes an obligation to suffer exploitation... And when exploitation and injustice must be suffered without protest, man has not even the status of a machine; he has only the status of a slave without hope" (page 38).

Such were the views of Vic Feather, as expressed in the pamphlet "Trade Unions: True or False." (The author goes on to describe Feather's criticism of the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions and subsequent, contradictory endorsement of the Soviet-backed European Trade Union confederation.)

Is this the same Vic Feather who told us in two anti-Communist booklets of the futility of trying to cooperate with trade unions under Soviet control; who proved conclusively that the free trade unions

of the democratic world had nothing in common with those controlled by Communist tyrants? If so, his change of attitude calls for an explanation. For the fundamental position of the Russian trade unions as mere instruments of the Government has not changed.

The Communist aim is, and always has been, to destroy the democratic labor and trade union movement and secure all power in the industrial field for themselves. They have done so in every country where they have come to power, and political innocents who have helped them have been the first victims of Communist tyranny.

The Communists know only too well that they can do the most effective Communist work inside the democratic trade unions and for this reason a number of trade unions have tried to prevent them from holding office. It may be that some remember the words used by Dimitrov, general secretary of the Communist International, at the Seventh World Congress in 1935, when speaking of the tactics by which a stubborn enemy may be overcome:

"Comrades, you remember the legend of Troy. The Trojans had defended themselves from the attacking army by building impregnable walls round the city; and the attacking army, after suffering heavy losses, were able to gain the victory, when, with the aid of the famous wooden horse, it had penetrated into the city, into the very heart of the enemy."

Trade unionists who value the liberty a free society gives to them will be wise to make sure that the Communist wooden horse is kept well outside the trade union movement of this country.

Culture

(Continued from page 5)
Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky was probably the most enduring of the great Golden Age giants. A bitterly troubled man with deep emotional distresses and a belittled, humiliated, gently self-destructive bent, he produced some of the world's best-loved sounds. His three ballets, his six (and a lately reconstructed seventh) symphonies, his tone poems, the first piano concerto are all irreversibly imbedded in every catalog of the most treasured music. His orchestration techniques, when at their best, set some of the highest and most beautiful standards in musical color to be found today. Tchaikovsky's death in 1893 marked the beginning of the end of free musical greatness in Russia.

Russian music in the Romantic period had been lush, melodic, steeped in rich powerful harmony, exquisitely orchestrated in vibrant hues. It had been sonorous, grand, sweeping, full of promise and delight. It fed on the vast, free stretches of unimpeded land and the finest traditions of Russian history, digging its roots deep into the turbulent swift changes in national course and the fiery nature of a people long accustomed to openness in territory and temperament. When one heard Russian music, one heard a hugely significant contribution to the face of global unity. Its noblest contributions died with Arensky in 1906, Rimsky-Korsakov in 1908, Balakirev in 1910, Scriabin in 1915.

The Proletarian Culture

Then came the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. After a three year civil war, the government of Vladimir Lenin renamed itself Communist and proclaimed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Old Russia was absorbed into the new protectorate of the proletarian revolution. Changes were rapid, and Russian culture now reluctantly assumed the function of Soviet Communist culture. From 1917 to 1936, the period during which "socialism" was said by the Communists to be enacted, a new "proletarian" culture was proclaimed. This was a culture announced by the new government to be a natural product of the revolution which established the Soviet regime and the socialist mode of production. The new Russian leaders lost no time in applying the totalitarian system of rule on every realm of life. Most dangerous, then as it is now, to the Communist control was ideology, the free expression of "counter-revolutionary" ideas in whatever form they took. Naturally enough, "ideas" were critically inherent in cultural pursuits, and the Communists were quick to respond with tight restrictions. Culture, like the proverbial round peg in a square hole, became forcefully pounded into the Communist way of life.

In a single gradual stroke the flourishing of artistic accomplishment withered painfully away. In the early stages of the Communist rule, there were hopeful, promising signs. For a few years after the civil war when Lenin was still struggling to consolidate and permanentize his power, a cautious temporary compromise with the dissatisfied masses known as the New Economic Policy was established; it was extended to include artists, and there was a brief, modest revival in Russian culture. During this time the new Russian composers who would leave their mark in the 20th century rose to their earliest recognition. Some stayed in the Soviet Union, and some left their homeland to pursue brilliantly successful careers in the West. Sergei Rachmaninoff spent his early efforts studying and writing in Russia, winning a quick reputation. Years later he left his home under the new Communist regime to be widely acclaimed in his resettled home in the United States; until his death in 1943, his *Prelude in C Sharp Minor* and piano concerti were well-known America favorites. Igor Stravinsky began his long-lived campaign of startling musical innovations with his *Petrouchka* ballet in 1911 and, more dramatically, with *The Rites of Spring* in 1913. He, too, left for America and followed his trade until his death in 1971 amid a vastly more appreciative audience. But there were those who stayed behind.

Serge Prokofiev grew up in the dying of Russia's musical high tide. His first two piano concerti, first violin concerto, and several minor tone poems were all well-established pieces before the 1917 revolution. These pieces displayed a deep awareness of Russian folk music, a recognition of the proud tradition he was inheriting, and a glimpse of profound musical genius. He deeply loved Russia, and he chose to stay after the Communist takeover. Through the twenties and early thirties he was largely unhindered, and he spent much of his energies developing his fluid, dynamic style. In 1928, the New Economic Policy was abruptly ended. Stalin, after a struggle with other leading Bolsheviks, took power and soon proclaimed a gigantic social and economic reconstruction program (the First Five-Year Plan). The artists were suddenly relegated to the same dustheap as the defeated Bolsheviks Trotsky and Bukharin;

"shock workers" in "artistic brigades" formed Communist unions to clamp down on counter-revolutionary culture. Soon Russian musicians were herded like cattle into Communist-controlled groups that imposed strict and dangerously unbreakable rules for the "conduct" of proper Soviet culture. Music, for the new unions, was best when it reproduced the sounds of the proletarian factory.

For young Prokofiev, this development was no doubt stark and stifling. It is hard to say just how he reacted. Certainly there was a marked decrease in quality in the works he was "commissioned" to do (*Ivan the Terrible, Russian Overture*), and his greatest works were nonpartisan neo-classic pieces and those based on whimsical universal Russian children's legends with which he could feel most free to let his talents go unaltered by political paranoia. *Peter and the Wolf* remains his most beloved composition. When he died in 1953, many world observers felt the Soviet Union had crushed a vast creative resource, squandering his spirit on forced and arbitrary musical prostitution.

Dmitri Shostakovich, born in 1906 and still living, is the only other giant in contemporary Russian music. He is not known for his early pieces; when the Bolsheviks came to power, he apparently seemed to feel, as did many at first glance, that there was a welcome change in the works. He soon acquiesced to Communist dominion, perhaps out of hopeful compromise to avoid a complete renunciation of his efforts. Some musicologists said that he was a man wrapped up by his own huge talent, sensitive and anxious to please, willing to pay a price for wide acceptance. He still had run-ins with the composers' union, and in the mild cultural uplift of the twenties he had ventured into bold, innovative works. But in subsequent years, he pushed from his pen notoriously gawdy tunes in praise of the powers that were (his Symphony No. 2, "to the October Revolution," the *Sun Shines Over Our Motherland*, a few film scores, and others). Like Prokofiev, his best compositions are his straight classics, non-political and drawn from an uncorrupted love of the golden Russia. His later Symphonies notably the 5th and 13th, are towering hopeful expressions of a stifled soul taught to deny itself. Perhaps the saddest recent activity of this dean of modern Soviet music was his signature on a letter from the Soviet composers' union denouncing the demands for democratization of dissident Andrei Sakharov.

Aram Khachaturian's name was also on that letter. With the "Sabre Dance" from his *Gazne* ballet, performed by the Boston Pops orchestra, this Soviet composer scored the cultural coup of having a hit single in the United States. Along with Dmitri Kabelevsky (*The Comedians* ballet), he comprised the only other Soviet compositional productivity of international note. Khachaturian is a successful Communist composer because he sticks to flashy, rhythmic contrivances that do little more than catch the ear. Kabelevsky gets on fairly well because he closely imitates Tchaikovsky in style, melody and orchestration.

The Communist view on culture and ideology is that they are products and functions of man's physical brain; they are thus included in the wide-sweeping Communist definition of matter. As such, culture is determined and governed by material forces, which to the Communists also include the all-important economic production relationship. So as economic policy goes in the Soviet Union, so goes culture. In our next article we will examine more of Communist control of artistic endeavors, observing in more detail the Communist concept and use of the performing arts.

One Way

(Continued from page 6)
inability to articulate a positive counterproposal to Marxism.

A New Challenge

However, such a counterproposal does exist. For the first time it is fully presented through the development and formation of the Unification Principle, which has amassed a movement of over 2 million people throughout the world who through their devoted commitment to this ideology are posing the greatest challenge that Communism has ever faced. In the past, conservative philosophy, based on self-centered individualism, laissez-faire economics, limited government, volunteer armies, and Ronald Reagan tax-cut, has hardly inspired the masses of the world to revolt against Communism.

Communism has presented the West with a great challenge and we must accept it. To be victorious in this struggle, we absolutely must develop a strategy around a positive ideological offensive to overcome Communism. The more we can do this, the more our success will be assured.

Quantity and Quality

(Continued from page 6)

simultaneously and are parallel. At the final stage, the completion of the form of the chicken and the perfection of the character of the chicken are also simultaneous. Any one side does not appear prior to the other because all things are the manifested results of prototypes which had been in the world of cause.

The Hyong Sang and Sung Sang of all things exist as prototypes in the world of cause prior to existing in reality. In the world of cause, both factors (prototypes of Hyong Sang and Sung Sang) coexist simultaneously. Because of this, the prototype to appear in reality, the Hyong Sang and the Sung Sang come to appear simultaneously. When this happens, the Sung Sang is revealed to us through Hyong Sang. For example, before the real chicken appeared, the prototype already existed as an idea (cause) in the stage of an egg. Since such an ideal prototype existed, the real, material chicken that corresponded to the idea (cause) could appear in both Hyong Sang and Sung Sang simultaneously. Such a concept of progress and change is called in the Principle "The law of the change of Sung Sang and Hyong Sang."

It is not accurate to say that the changes of quality are directly caused by a shift in relation of ruling to ruled or of superior and inferior. This is merely an attempt to rationalize violent revolution. The quantitative change (Hyong Sang) and qualitative change (Sung Sang), which come about from harmonious give and take relationships between subject and object, both center on the same purpose. Among subject and object we find, of course, the relationship is necessary for development. In an egg, because the embryo has vitality whereas the shell and content have no vitality, the embryo is the subject and the shell and content are the object from the beginning to the end. In an atom, although it may change from one element to another, the

proton is always subject and electron is always object. It is also erroneous to say that qualitative changes in development come about through sudden reversal. All changes during development, as far as natural phenomena are concerned are harmonious, gradual and peaceful in quantity, form, and quality - not sudden or destructive.

The Forward Tendency of Progress

According to the dialectic, when there is contradiction in a process, it necessarily causes movement in a certain direction. Furthermore, the dialectic shows that the movement is forward. Thus, all things go forward from one stage to another. For instance in the case of a seed germ, it progresses to sprout to stem to branch to leaves to flower to fruit, etc. It moves forward through many stages. Of course, even the dialectic recognizes that there is movement without direction or repetitive movement. For instance, when water evaporates, it becomes vapor. When it cools, it becomes water once again. This movement is repetitive. Then what is the cause of the difference between forward and repetitive movement? Concerning this, Hegel said that the various processes of nature do not have direction within themselves originally, but because the spirit or consciousness operates, natural movement comes to have direction. However, since dialectical materialists regard spirit as the product of nature, they disagree with Hegel's view. For instance, biological evolution up to the time of the existence of man or spirit has also been a history of directional progress. The dialectic holds that there is a cause of the difference between forward and repetitive movement as follows:

In some processes of change, when the essential cause of quantitative change is within the process itself and this cause is consistent, the movement will have a forward direc-

tion. But contrary to this, quantitative change has only an external cause and thus the movement cannot have direction. For instance, in the change from egg to chicken, the embryo within the egg is the essential cause. The heat added from the outside is only one of the conditional causes and therefore the change from egg to chick is a progressive movement. But in the example of the evaporation of water, there is no essential cause within the water itself. The change (evaporation) is caused only by heat added from the outside. Therefore, the change by which water becomes steam is a movement without direction, a repetitive movement (from Morris Comforce, "Dialectic Materialism").

Counterproposal to the Forward Tendency of Progress

This seems a plausible idea, but this explanation does not clarify why forward and directional movement occur when the essential cause of quantitative change exists within the changing process itself. In the case of evaporation of water, it doesn't make sense to say that the essential cause is heat, for the true and direct cause of evaporation is the change in molecular motion within the water itself.

What is the cause of directional movement as seen by the Principle? Such a movement is caused by the life force. If a subject and object are in a give and take process and the subject has life force, the movement produced will have direction. Because of the life force the movement comes to have purpose. Progress, after all, means the process of movement directed toward a purpose. Therefore, in progressive movement there must be an element which directs the movement towards a certain purpose. This element is the life force.

Dialectical materialism sees life as a form of material movement and asserts that when inanimate material progresses to a certain stage, life

force appears as the result of its development. However, the Principle sees life itself as potential will. Therefore, life movement and material movement are qualitatively different. Life movement is not a form of material movement. There is an active purpose in life movement but there is no such purpose in mere material movement. Since the embryo within an egg has life force, it can hatch. But an unfertilized egg has no life force; no matter how much heat is added, it doesn't hatch. How can evaporation of water continue repetitive movement without direction? Mao Tse-tung said that the evaporation of water has only an external cause (heat). But this is not true. Within water there is a direct cause of evaporation: the power of the molecule.

We must say, then, that there is an essential cause within water like that within the egg. Nevertheless, why is there no direction in that change (evaporation)? It is because there is no life force in that inner cause. Molecular power is only physical power, not life power. However, even the movement of inorganic things, when drawn into more definite life movement, will have direction. For instance an inorganic thing like salt (NaCl), once absorbed into the human body, comes to move toward the maintenance of that body. Thus, the operation of chemicals within the body is different from that outside it, for it manifests a directed change. The universe is a gigantic organism supported by universal will. Therefore even though this universe is composed primarily of inorganic things, since these inorganic things have participated so long in the life movement, which carries the purpose of the universe, the history of the entire universe is a history of progress. Expressed in religious terms, the history of the universe is that of creation. Inorganic things have been involved in this creation and have developed directional movement.

United Nations

(Continued from page 1)

same time our principal energies are to drive the invaders out of Khmer territory. But I ask this question of the delegates who have accused us: can they assure us that in their respective countries corruption does not exist? I must also add that corruption existed in the former regime.

The exiled government of Sihanouk depends in all respects on Peking. It exists solely due to the financial, material, political and diplomatic assistance of Peking. The day that Peking throws it out of the Chinese territory, it will be nothing. Having no hold on the Khmer population, it relies on North Viet-

name and Vietcong forces inside our country. Norodom Sihanouk has himself stated that "if China and North Vietnam do not support him Lon Nol will be able to remain in Phnom Penh for many years." (Interview given to the *Guardian*, November 17, 1973, in Algiers).

During the last three sessions of the General Assembly (25th, 26th and 27th), representatives of the Khmer Republic have occupied their seat. Their powers have always been regularly verified.

It is absurd to say now that our United Nations seat has been illegally occupied. Only the Khmer people and not the United Nations have the right to decide on the choice of a political regime or government.

This choice has been made:
-- October 9, 1970, in proclaiming the Republic,
-- April 30, 1972, by choosing the republican constitution by a national referendum,
-- June 4, 1972, in electing their First President of the Republic,
-- September 3, 1972, in electing the National Assembly of the Republic,
-- September 15, 1972, in electing the Senate of the Republic.
The Khmer people have abolished the monarchy. The United Nations cannot force it to restore the monarchy.

Since its existence, has there been one example in which the United Nations has admitted as a member, a government which did not have a seat in the capital of that country? The admission to the United Nations of a government which exists in a foreign capital, would deprive the United Nations of the ability to uphold their resolutions in the concerned country.

Such an admission would establish a dangerous precedent for all countries which have already or could have in the future an exiled government. At the same time, it would constitute a flagrant violation of the principles of International Law and the stipulations of the United Nations Charter.

Before ending, I would like to refer to article 2, paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter which states that:

"No disposition in the present Charter authorizes the United Nations to intervene in the affairs that essentially derive from the national competence of a state or obliges the members to submit such affairs to a ruling procedure according to the present Charter."

This is the truth and the heart of the matter, Mr. President. But certain speakers who have asked for this inscription have chosen to deform it by alignment or by self interest. Others have done it because they have been misled. But, it is indisputable that the choice of a political regime or of a system of government depends exclusively on the wish of the people of the concerned state. Neither a third state nor the Organization of the United Nations can impose this choice on the Khmer people.

To accept inscription of the ques-

tion listed in the document A/9195 dated October 11, 1973 would be equivalent to adopting the principle under which Members of the United Nations are able to discuss the choice of a governmental system instead of the concerned people themselves.

Such an eventuality would constitute an inadmissible intervention in the internal affairs of a Member State and a flagrant violation of the

spirit and application of the Charter of the United Nations.

Finally, we must emphasize that the great majority of the Member Delegations of our Organization have set forth, during the general debate that has just ended, the necessity for the United Nations to respect the sacred right of the Khmer people to self determination without foreign intervention.

Thank You, Mr. President.

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Human Rights Struggle Intensifies

Mideast War Provides Convenient Distraction for Recent Soviet Repression

by Louise Berry

Detente is just as illusory for citizens within the Soviet Union as it has been in international politics. Despite a few breakthroughs such as Andrei Amalrik's release from prison to a three-year exile in Siberia, pressures against religious and ethnic groups and intellectuals continue.

New Jewish Trials

It is suspected that diversion of world attention to the Mid-East may be tempting Soviets to increase rights violations. Particularly vulnerable are the Soviet Jews as international Jewry has rallied to the cause of Israel's survival. According to the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, "...in widely scattered cities, Jewish activists have disappeared and their whereabouts are unknown. Solomon Rozin, of Leningrad, did not return home after a visit to the local visa office. On October 25, 32-year-old Leonid Zabelishensky of Sverdlovsk was reportedly taken to an undisclosed place after being arrested by local police. It was later learned that Zabelishensky was accused of "parasitism" although his wife works and earns a substantial income."

More trials for Jews are expected. Among them is that of Aleksandr Feldman.

"On November 8, the investigation of twenty-six year old Aleksandr Feldman of Kiev was concluded ... Feldman was to stand trial on November 19 on charges of 'malicious hooliganism.' In a dramatic 11th hour appeal, friends in Kiev and Moscow asked Soviet authorities to halt the trial and release the 'accused.' The signatories accuse the Soviet regime of, among other things, grave violation of the law in the investigation of Feldman; they consider the charges as 'an illegal repressive measure'."

"On October 18 and 19 Kiev authorities conducted a search of Feldman's apartment, took him into custody and charged him with allegedly assaulting an as yet unidentified woman. Feldman, who has been trying for nearly two years to emigrate, was on his way to synagogue. According to the

Ukrainian equivalent of the RSFSR Criminal Code, article No. 206, 'malicious hooliganism,' constitutes 'the same actions ... (as petty hooliganism) ... distinguished in their content by exceptional cynicism or special impudence, or connected with resisting a representative of authority or representative of the public fulfilling duties for protection of public order or other citizens who are restraining hooliganistic actions and, likewise, actions which are committed by a person previously convicted of hooliganism, and shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of one to five years.' This may be considered a second offense as Feldman had already served a fifteen-day detention for the same charge; the fact that Feldman may be considered a 'recidivist' adds severity to the case and has led friends to believe he could receive the maximum sentence of five years.

The recent accusation of Kiev newspaper ('Vecherni Kiyv') of erratic behavior means that Feldman is liable to be interned in a psychiatric institution; officials have already threatened to put him in the Pavlov psychiatric hospital near Kiev. Karapinkov, Feldman's interrogator, reportedly refused to receive any supporting materials from Aleksandr's brother, Leonid, or to hear witnesses attesting to Feldman's innocence. When relatives of other prisoners were allowed to bring warm clothes (October 25, 1973) Feldman's relatives were denied permission. Thus far, no attorney has agreed to defend Feldman; and his friends are desperately seeking one."

(National Conference on Soviet Jewry)

And Now Sakharov's Family

Andrei Sakharov's wife Elena has been interrogated by the KGB and threatened with arrest. Mrs. Sakharov was active in dissident circles before her marriage and has helped send documents to the West, including the diary of Eduard Kuznetsov, accused in the 1970 Leningrad hijacking trial and sentenced to fifteen years in a strict camp.

Mrs. Sakharov was indirectly threatened with arrest after she refused to give evidence to the



Howard Witt and Jan Greenfield of the Arena Stage demonstrating on behalf of Valerie Panov in front of the Soviet Embassy. Members of the company, participating in a cultural exchange to the U.S.S.R., returned with increased concern for the people of the Soviet Union, particularly Soviet Jewry. (Photo courtesy of Jewish Week)

KGB. She was also told "The dissidents prevent the democratization of this country. The authorities do not want repressions. Many of those who have left the country would like to return."

Mathematician Confined

Sakharov has also informed the West of the psychiatric imprisonment of mathematician Yuri Shikhanovich Shikhanovich, judged to show signs of "schizophrenia." had distributed anti-Soviet literature and studied a psychiatric report. U.S. psychiatrists have responded by sending a cable to Moscow court officials asking for an open trial. (See page 4)

U.S. Actors Quick to Respond

Actors from Arena Stage in Washington D.C. have worked actively on behalf of repressed people in the Soviet Union since their return from a cultural exchange performance in Moscow and Leningrad of "Our Town" and "Inherit the Wind." Especially concerned about Soviet Jews, several of them have demonstrated at the Soviet Embassy to protest dancer Valerie Panov's treatment. (Panov, denied emigration, has also been barred from dancing. He has just completed a hunger strike in protest.) They have also visited Sen. Henry Jackson and have held at least one public meeting.

At the Washington Hebrew Congregation on November 26

three actors and one director from the company spoke on their personal reflections.

"I was not only curious about Jews but about the Soviet Union," said Howard Witt. Mr. Witt described a Yom Kippur celebration with Moscow Jews. (See article by Jan Greenfield on Page 5.) "These were men of importance, no longer allowed work, who want to bring up their children as Jews." As they parted, "We, who don't understand what it is like not to be free, sang Hava Nagila through the streets of Moscow, followed by the KGB," said Mr. Witt.

Diane Wiest, in describing the

gathering, mentioned the prevailing spirit of thankfulness. "They are without anything except each other. Yet, they said, 'At least here we can gather together. Our prisoners cannot...' I am numb. I remember Ivan Denisovich's statement 'How can anyone who is warm understand anyone who is cold?' ... I hope to stay cold to fight the fight."

Director Alex Schneider, himself a Soviet Jew, gave good testimony to the importance of human contact. "What they most wanted was us - contact with other Jews ... I cannot forget their needs or their being there."

Jan Greenfield spoke of his experience in terms of a personal awakening (see his story on page 5) and interpersonal relations "As conscious artists we must first be human." Jan's initial response to the trip was to want to go to Israel; now he wants to stay in the U.S. to do what he can here.

The ensuing discussion brought out two significant points. First was the information gap surrounding the Soviet people - they knew little about harassment of the Jews or, for that matter, much else, including the Mideast War or even the wheat deal. "They know only what the government wants them to," one actor said. "They don't realize the problem. If they did, something could be done - But everything is in a vacuum."

The fate of those who want to stay in the Soviet Union was also brought into question - pressure for immigration liberalization may bring reprisals in Russia for those Jews who regard it as their homeland and who want to maintain their religious traditions.

This final note of the discussion pointed out the inner, human essence of freedom, a theme underlying the recollection of the players and indeed of the whole human rights movement. It is no historical accident that Jews, Christians, artists, and intellectuals are most persecuted in the Soviet Union - their acknowledgment of man as a spiritual being is in direct contradiction to Soviet ideology and practice - their existence and visibility is a threat to the regime. These people who are most persecuted are ironically much more free than their oppressors - Ed.

The Politics of Trade

(Continued from page 5)

"Building communism on a worldwide scale is incompatible with the notion of dividing countries into industrial states and agrarian states, into developed countries and underdeveloped countries." East European economists who supported the Soviets' plans were even accused of repeating the views of capitalist economists.

Emboldened by the recent Cuban missile crisis fiasco and the success of both the Chinese and Albanian defiance, the Rumanians had struck the first severe blow to CEMA. With prospects of alternative trade arrangements with the West, thus eliminating the threat of a Soviet

economic boycott, the Rumanians began what has become the single most successful economic rebellion in Eastern Europe.

Two years later (on April 22, 1964), perhaps encouraged by a curious Moscow silence to their earlier remarks, the Rumanians issued a vehement public declaration arrogantly criticizing both Chinese and Soviet behavior during the Sino-Soviet dispute. Included were strong anti-CEMA remarks and a re-declaration of the Rumanian right of independence in all policies.

For the Rumanians, as well as for all Eastern Europe, this declaration marked a watershed. The following year, Hungary announced its New

Economic Mechanism Plan and Czechoslovakia was well on its way to the ill-fated Prague Spring.

Underlying Cause

Yet, for all the belligerent rhetoric, what were the underlying reasons for this rebellion and the failure of CEMA? In main they can be summarized as follows: 1) a growing sense of national awareness (i.e., a tide of nationalism); 2) a realization that non-incentive economic theories and central planning were not only disadvantageous, but destructive to the economy; and 3) a desire for more profitable Western trade.

In a large sense, all these trends can be seen as a result of the de-

Stalinization after 1954. With the lessening hold the Soviets have had upon Eastern Europe, a new generation of leaders has grown; more important, and in many cases, more nationalistic in their thinking. Although the Prague invasion did invariably dampen the rising expectation, it has not stopped them. If anything, it has taught the Eastern bloc how fast they can move towards reclaiming their national sovereignty. Over 100 years ago, Bismarck called the Balkans "the most troublesome headache of all the world." Certainly, the trends in today's Eastern Europe, in the light of the failure of CEMA, would leave Mr. Brezhnev in sullen agreement with the German Chancellor.

Kennedy

(Continued from page 5)

sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support - to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective - to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak - and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course - both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew - remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms - and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah - to "undo the heavy burdens ... (and) let the oppressed go free."

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides

join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again - not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need - not as a call to battle, though embattled we are - but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation" - a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility - I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it - and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you - ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

January 20, 1961



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