



December 10, 1973

25th Anniversary

UN Declaration of

Human Rights

The right to life, liberty and security of person. The right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law. The right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law. The right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. The right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country. The right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. The right to a nationality. The right to own property alone as well as in association with others. The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. The right to freedom of opinion and expression. The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. The right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. The right to social security. The right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. The right to equal pay for equal work. The right to just and favourable remuneration for ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity. The right to rest and leisure. The right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family. The right to education. The right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community. The right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

25¢



# The Rising Tide

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

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## "...To Heal and Unite This Nation"

### National Prayer and Fast for the Watergate Crisis Successfully Launched

Immediately following the appearance of Reverend Sun Myung Moon's *Forgive, Love, and Unite* statement in twenty-one newspapers across the country, plans for a forty-day program - National Prayer and Fast for the Watergate Crisis - were quickly launched.

Starting the campaign was a rally of about 100 people in front of the White House on Friday, December 7. There Reverend Moon's Watergate statement - *Forgive, Love, and Unite* - was read. "Let us unite in the spirit of forgiveness," said Reverend Moon. "Unite in the spirit of love. Now is the time for national repentance. 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... We hereby launch the National Prayer and Fast for the Watergate Crisis as the only way to heal and unite this nation."

Then FLF President Neil Salonen explained why Reverend Moon, FLF's founder, chose to begin this program:

"On January 1, 1972, Reverend Moon was called by God to bring a message of hope and unification to America. America, the strongest free nation on earth, was created by God in a relatively short period of time through the deep faith and heart of the pioneers of many different nations. Many of them came here in search of religious freedom. America has grown and prospered from the beginning because it sought to be truly one nation under God.

"Reverend Moon believes that America's immense blessings, both physical and spiritual, come with great responsibility as well. He feels that God wants to use America to exemplify unity and harmony and to champion the cause of freedom around the world.

"We are now in a crisis unprecedented in history. All of our basic social institutions are in a dangerous state of collapse. We are unable to cope with modern problems. Family unity, the basic guiding block of society, is also on

the verge of breakdown. Over fifty percent of all new marriages end in divorce. This breakdown of the family stems from the same basic failure to love that causes selfish response to the energy crisis, an increase of pornography and drug abuse, and other widespread social problems.

"Reverend Moon believes that the difficulty of American society to solve the problems themselves stems from a deeper crisis of the soul. Only by leading people to a personal relationship with the living God can man find purpose and direction in his life. This is the time of great fear for the American people.

"Nevertheless, Reverend Moon believes that it is also the time of great hope. The suffering and disillusionment of these times has also begun to strip away the selfishness and cynicism which have disturbed the clarity of our national vision for too long. Even though now we are confronted with greater crises and problems than ever before, we now have the possibility of solving these problems at their fundamental source. For this reason the twenty-one city Day of Hope tour was initiated beginning at Carnegie Hall on October 1 and continuing now to twelve cities.

"Throughout this nation with this tour, we have felt the troubled heart of America even more deeply. Truly if America is to fulfill God's expectations as well as our own dreams for true national greatness, someone must lead the way out of the present turmoil and confusion. Someone must come forward who so deeply loves God and man that, he can clearly see a vision for a new bond of heart between them. As Reverend Moon points out in his Watergate statement he was praying for some great American spiritual leader to rise up, come forward and heal our nation in the spirit of forgiveness, love, and unity. But no such leader has come forward. Thus Reverend Moon himself feels compelled to come forward and to speak out.

"We must stand for God and for

righteousness at this crucial time in American history. This issue should not be construed as a partisan political document nor is it an attempt to cover up or whitewash any errors or political shortcomings. Rather the Reverend Moon's heartfelt concern is for America. He feels that the conflict generated by the Watergate is tearing this nation apart. A fashionable cynicism is becoming part of our national consciousness. People not only distrust their government at all levels, but they have forgotten how to forgive and love one another. The impeachment process is an important safeguard in our democracy but it is not a step to be lightly undertaken among a people who truly love one another. We must seriously consider how long our nation can endure in an environment of anger and malice. We as individuals must examine our



Neil Salonen



# Anatomy of a Coup

by Neil Salonen, President, Freedom Leadership Foundation

Recent events in Greece have certainly hindered the reforms instituted by former president Papadopoulos and the hope that Greece might once again return to democracy. Voices in the West have reacted to the latest military coup in Greece as another effort by "right-wing fascists" to eliminate any freedom or progressive reforms. No doubt it is certainly unfortunate that the burgeoning democratic changes in Greece were once again crushed under a military boot.

### Why

However, we must objectively search for the reason why this turnabout in Greek politics happened so quickly. Was the sole reason for the military takeover just an attempt by power-hungry Generals to gain control of the country and restore their prestige? Were they merely upset with rebellious students or was there a clear danger that this new freedom was being too quickly exploited by Communist elements wanting to ultimately institute their own dictatorship?

So far, many have been led to believe that the rampaging students who took over Athens Polytechnic Institute were simply interested in restoring self-rule of their college government. Hardly anyone would say that such a demand is either radical or in contradiction to the democratic changes that were already in progress.

The protest began when Panayolis Sifnaios rejected students' demands for greater academic freedom and

free elections of student union leaderships. In the beginning the protests and slogans were like any other student outcry, including, "Down with Papadopoulos," "Down with the Junta," "Let's crush Fascist Legality." Gradually the slogans began to become more radical: "Yankee go home," "Out with America," "Long live the Greek Communist Party." By the time the

workers to join in the struggle.

### A New Direction

It is obvious that the entire protest was undoubtedly started or eventually became completely taken over by radical Communist elements. Capitalizing on the students' desires for greater academic freedom, which is hardly a

tainly didn't take a soothsayer to predict that a military coup would occur once radical protests flaunting Communist slogans took place.

### Who is Responsible?

If anyone was responsible for the right-wing military takeover in Greece, it was the Communists themselves. Before the student riots, the democratic reforms by Papadopoulos were making peaceful progress. Yet, even with that crack of freedom, the Communists couldn't wait to begin inciting anti-government revolt among the people. The longer they waited, of course, the less may have been their chance to stimulate hatred against the government.

Whatever the reasoning of the Communists might have been, it is obvious that they were the ones ultimately responsible for forcing the Greek generals, already "unsure" about democratic reforms, to finally put an end to them. If the Communists had not incited a student revolt, it is very possible that the democratic reforms would have continued and Papadopoulos would still be in power.

The Greek generals did over-react by completely shelving all the reforms and progress that had occurred; it's doubtful that many can applaud their actions. Nevertheless, as it was before, it is still possible that democratic reforms may occur once again in Greece. Next time let us hope the Communists will help give the Greek people and democracy a fair chance.

*"Capitalizing on the students' desires for greater academic freedom, which is hardly a revolutionary demand, the demonstrations gradually began to call for armed struggle against the government and for the people to support the Greek Government Party."*

army intervened to put down the student protest, the slogans spoke heavily of creating popular liberation armies: "Reign of the People," "Farmers, Workers, Students, All United in the Struggle for Freedom."

Finally the student radio station was calling for open revolt against the government, encouraging

revolutionary demand, the demonstrators gradually began to call for armed struggle against the government and for the people to support the Greek Communist Party.

By this time the Greek Generals probably assumed that the Papadopoulos experiment in democracy was disintegrating before it had even gotten started. It cer-

## Cambodia and the UN: How the Victory was Won

by Gaffar Peang-Meth

On October 29, 1973, the *New York Times* editorialized that the efforts made by a group of 32 predominantly African states to unseat the legal government of the Khmer Republic in the General Assembly of the United Nations in favor of the exiled government of Prince Sihanouk in Peking represented a "flagrant intervention in the internal affairs" of a member state of the U.N. and "a clear violation of the U.N. Charter." The *New York Times* warned the General Assembly that "this mischievous Chinese gambit" would set a precedent which could embroil the world body in domestic political quarrels all over the globe and it asked: "Do they really want to establish a procedure that would allow international politics, rather than domestic preference, to determine the question of legitimacy when an established national government is challenged by a rival faction, based in the capital of a foreign big power?"

On December 1, 1973, the *Washington Post* wrote in its editorial that the U.N. has never before dared to intervene in this manner in the internal affairs of a member state: "It is a mischievous precedent - a precedent for, say, a future Soviet campaign to recognize an exile government of the restive province of Serbia when Yugoslavia (one of the 32 backing Sihanouk) starts shuddering after President Tito is gone." The *Post* argued that the U.S. has "a moral obligation" to help the Khmer Republic and it supported the administration's request for extra funds for military aid to the "duly constituted government in Phnom Penh."

### Draft Resolution

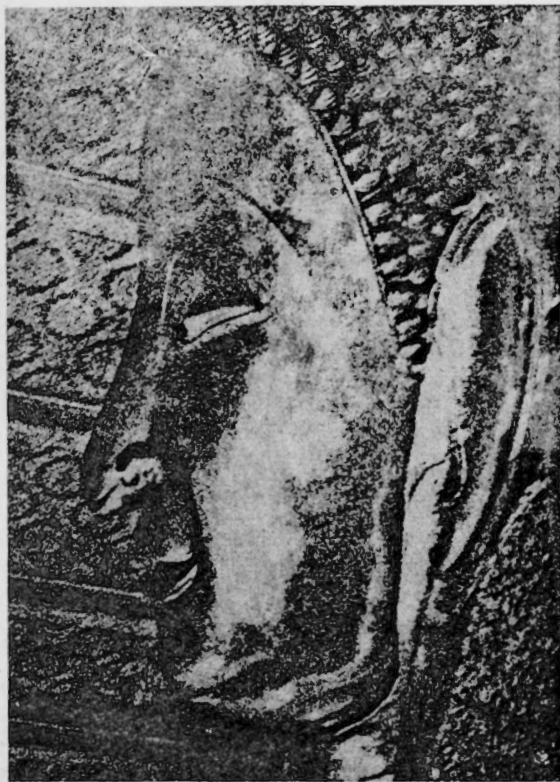
It was on October 8, 1973 that Albania, Algeria, Burundi, Central African Republic, China, the Congo, Cuba, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Iraq, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Romania, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia addressed a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim asking for the inscription on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly a draft resolution calling for the "restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia" (RGNUC) in the U.N. The General Assembly then voted 69 to 24, with 29 abstentions to inscribe the item on the agenda for the debate.

Meanwhile a group of Southeast Asian and Pacific countries, close neighbors of the Khmer Republic acted in unity requesting Mr. Waldheim to allow the Khmers themselves the right to decide who should govern their country without foreign interference. Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, New Zealand and Japan told the U.N. Secretary-General that the Khmer problem is of "vital importance to the countries in the region" and emphasized that: 1) the Khmers must be permitted to settle their problems without outside interference. 2) such a political settlement must be realized by all local parties concerned and 3) the U.N. must not take any initiative which

could prejudice the decision of the Khmers themselves.

### Khmer Speech

On December 4, 1973, agenda item 106 of the draft resolution (document A/L/714) was brought to the General Assembly floor for debate.



In his speech that day, Foreign Minister Long Boret told the Assembly at the outset that "we shall not waste our time in answering the insulting and defamatory statements of those who seek to quarrel with us;" "faithful to the wisdom, culture, and civilization of the Khmer people, which is well-known, we shall be careful not to answer gratuitous insults in similar language, which is hardly worthy of representatives of a civilized country or people."

Then the Khmer Foreign Minister challenged the claims made by opponents of the Khmer Republic: To the claim that Sihanouk has transferred all his Ministers to Cambodia itself, Mr. Long Boret asked for the names and the number of the Ministers and the new headquarters of the so-called Government of Sihanouk. The Foreign Minister added: "And if you are so afraid for your security that you do not even dare to disclose where you are domiciled, it is because you don't possess any control even over the place where you have established your political authority. Hence, how can you claim to control 90 per cent of the Khmer territory? A raggle-taggle power, a fleeting power that has no fixed point of residence other than in some foreign capital, can it claim, or does it deserve to be con-

sidered a State Power?"

"How many political changes or changes of regime have occurred in Member countries since the founding of the United Nations?" the Khmer Foreign Minister asked. "One need merely look back to see how many coups d'etat and changes of regime have taken place in the world. Is there even one example

another year.

So, on December 5, 1973 a roll-call vote on the adjournment of the debate on agenda item 106 took place; 53 countries voted in favor, 50 against and 21 abstained. The vote was as follows:

**In favor:** Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Khmer Republic, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay and Venezuela.

**Against:** Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian SSR, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iraq, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Niger, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Uganda, Ukrainian SSR, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, and Zambia.

**Abstaining:** Argentina, Australia, Burma, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Iceland, India, Iran, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Nigeria, Qatar, Sudi Arabia, Serra Leone,

Swaziland, Sweden and Trinidad and Tobago.

The decision of the U.N. General Assembly not to vote on the draft resolution is significant in that the United Nations has once again, wisely, refused to meddle in the internal affairs of a member state. Had the Communist and the predominantly radical "non-aligned" African States been allowed to succeed in their draft resolution to unseat a legally constituted Khmer Government in favor of a government in exile, this could have served as a precedent for the expulsion of many other governments. As the *Washington Post* put it, the real losers would be the many members of the United Nations themselves.

This then, is not simply a victory for the Khmer Republic and the Khmer people alone, but a victory for the world organization itself.



Laszlo Pasztor

## Ethnics Rally at the White House

Despite freezing weather, about 100 people demonstrated in front of the White House on Saturday, December 8, to express their support of President Nixon; ethnic Americans made a large percentage of the gathering. Rally organizer Harry Simms called the response fantastic.

Peter Nelsen, a Scandinavian American and an engineer, said, "After one year, there have been no substantial charges; nothing has been proven yet."

One Estonian-American expressed his feeling that many Estonian Americans, as well as many other ethnic Americans, were in support of the President. Carrying placards, the group marched in a circle in front of the White House chanting "Three More Years."

Laszlo Pasztor, chairman of the National Heritage Council of the Republican National Committee, was present at the rally to express solidarity with the various ethnic organizations represented. Present were Bulgarian, Chinese, Croatian,

Cuban, Estonian, German, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Scandinavian, and Ukrainian representatives, bringing ethnic

participation in the rally to about fifty. Present were Tide contributor Dumitru Dantelopol and Dr. John Genys, a professor at Maryland University.

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# human rights

Each year since 1951 the United Nations has commemorated December 10 - date of the unanimous approval of the Human Rights Declaration in 1948 - as Human Rights Day. *The Rising Tide* is celebrating this day with the articles on the next several pages dealing with human rights. Further issues will discuss in greater detail the Declaration itself, observances of the 25th anniversary and, of course, a variety of human rights issues.

Said Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim of the Declaration: "This document was an expression by the international community, in simple, clear, and moving language, of the inalienable rights of all human beings."

"In 1948 the United Nations had a relatively small membership, but now - when its membership is virtually universal - we can see that the principles laid down in the

Declaration remain valid...

"The Declaration represented an ideal, and it would be wrong to claim that this ideal has been realized everywhere. But it was an ideal based upon harsh experience..."

"Much remains to be done. Our goal can only be achieved when the principles of the Universal Declaration are fully adhered to. But our experience of the past 25 years is that the ideal is worthy, and is capable of achievement."

## Recognizing Human Rights Day In Russia Captive Nations Committee

from National Bulletin of Solidarists

It is a tradition now in the Soviet Union that the fighters for freedom organize various demonstrations, in and out of the labor camps on this day. In 1971, apart from the wave of hunger strikes by political prisoners throughout the camps, some prisoners (or "cons" as Anatoli Marchenko call them in his famous book "My Testimony") managed to hoist a self-made UN flag on the roof of their block. In a totalitarian State nobody will grant you freedom - you have got to take it yourself. And for this short-lived practice of freedom you have to pay a dear price, the "cons" know that Anatoli Marchenko tells us about it: "A prisoner in a strict regime corrective labor camp (all political prisoners are in this category) receives 2,400 calories a day - sufficient for a seven- to eleven-year old child... These are the normal rations. For 'obstinate' prisoners there is the so-called 'strict' food quota - punishment rations. These consist of a mug of hot water for breakfast, fourteen and a quarter ounces (400 grams) of cabbage soup and two spoonfuls of watery gruel for lunch, and the same little piece of boiled cod, but with gruel, for supper. Moreover this 'punishment soup' is prepared separately - it contains no fat at all. And sugar is also forbidden. Sixteen ounces (450 grams) of black bread for the whole day. All in all - 1300 calories (enough for an infant of one to three years)."

Nadezhda Emelkina demonstrated for 5 minutes, she got a 5 year sentence - a year for every minute of practiced freedom. The "cons" who hoisted the flag got 8 days of 'Intensified Regime Block', and the right to be visited by relatives and the right to receive parcels cancelled for one year. There are people who would like us to forget them. But "they, who are there," keep reminding us. Between the 5th (the Day of the Soviet Constitution) and the 10th of December more than 60 of them went on hunger strike again in 1972.

In the west some people and groups have taken up this tradition and in 1972, for the second time, there were demonstrations throughout the world to mark these days. Up to now these demonstrations have been limited. People ask themselves: why should we join?

It's just that nobody else will do it for you...

Appeal of the women of the Captive Nations Committee to John Scali, United States Ambassador to the UN:

We, the representatives of the Captive Nations Women's Organizations in U.S.A., which are active in every state of the United States, petition you, Mr. Ambassador, in behalf of our members and in behalf of American, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Bulgarian, Bielorussian, German, Croatian, Slovakian, Hungarian, Cossacks, Albanian, Cuban, Latvian, and Chinese communities which total over eight million United States citizens. The subject of this petition is of great importance to us, the undersigned, to our communities, to the United States, and to the organization of the United Nations.

We wish to state our shock and indignation, and protest against the wave of arrests, secret trials, and persecutions in the U.S.S.R., particularly in Soviet-enslaved Ukraine, the Baltic States, Bielorussia and Georgia performed by the Russian secret police force (KGB) and by the Soviet courts.

In these restless times, many individuals, groups, and statesmen, including President Richard M. Nixon, are exhibiting a new approach to the governments of the U.S.S.R., China and Middle East. They feel this new approach is needed in order to establish a long lasting peace and prosperity, and also to satisfy human needs and individual and national rights and identities.

At the same time, another founder-member of the United Nations, a co-signer of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and a so-called voluntary missionary of good will for the world -- the Soviet government -- continues to violate human rights. The Soviet government brutally invaded the sovereign republics of 15 nations and is holding them in the U.S.S.R. against the will of the people, let engineer the imposition of communist governments in Bulgaria, Rumania, Croatia, Cuba, East Germany, Albania, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Czechoslovakia, China North Korea, North Viet Nam and Serbia.

In conjunction with the existing reality of Soviet Russia's violations of human and U.S.S.R. Constitutional rights, over 100 million

of the people of Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Bielorussia, Armenia Georgia, Cossackia, and other republics are the victims of the Russian Imperial Colonial system.

It is a well known and documented fact that after the death of Stalin and a short period of relaxation, there has been a return to terror arrests, deportation, russification, restrictions on higher education, religious persecution, deprivation of property, and police control of family and public life. In our opinion, Brezhnev is restoring neo-Stalinism, and is again practicing genocide in the enslaved nations.

Using the Ukrainian nation for an example, according to documents, more than half a million Ukrainian men and women and even children have been arrested during the years 1960, 1965, 1967 and 1969 to the present time. They are being held in prisons in Kiev, Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Rivne, Lutsk, Ternopil, Kharkov, and Odessa. There are also over a million innocent Ukrainians in a chain of concentration and slave labor camps such as Kungur, Karaganda, Kulyma, Vorkuta, Norylsk, Dudinka, Potma, Pechora, and the horrifying Vladimir prison near Moscow which evidences new methods of torture.

Over two million Ukrainian young people as well as skilled workers are being deported to the "Soviet Virgin Land" -- the wasteland of Kazakhstan, and to Mordovia, to work in Russian atomic and industrial plants. Hundreds of thousands of these have died and are dying from lack of proper living conditions, food, medical care, and from the hard labor and climatic conditions.

In January of last year, UPI, Reuters Press Agency, and the New York Times began releasing reports which shook Americans of ethnic backgrounds, especially over two million American-Ukrainians, about the Soviet arrests of more than 200 leading Ukrainian intellectuals, both men and women, on charges of nationalistic agitation and defamation of the Soviet state. The charges were deliberately fabricated, and in secret trials many were sentenced to imprisonment in concentration camps. (See attached lists)

In our opinion, the Kremlin's persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals is

(Continued to page 7)



## -By Another Law-

by Ray Mas

Recently, in what can only be described as a counter measure towards criticism of the treatment of its dissidents, the Soviet government ratified two documents originally adopted in 1966 by the UN General Assembly. They are the International Covenant on Economic and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Soviets have steadfastly refused to put their names to either document since their creation; curiously they are now condemning nations which have not signed. No official reason for a change of heart - the Soviets rarely give one.

Image

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Soviets are visibly concerned about the world-wide publicity such men as Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn have been receiving. Judging from the latest issue of *Soviet Life* (the slick Soviet propaganda magazine designed for American consumption), it seems as if the Kremlin has hired a band of Madison Avenue admen for its latest offensive. Indeed, considering the wonders of "Detente" it would not seem to farfetched Very few western nations (including the United States) have ratified the covenants. U.S. officials at the U.N. have attributed this to fear of Congressional opposition to treaties that might impose international laws going beyond domestic civil rights laws. Yet, in the midst of possibly the greatest challenge towards Soviet repression in history, coupled with Soviet condemnation of "interference in the internal affair of socialist states," why have the Soviets signed such a treaty?

Two Types of Law

To understand the answer to this question is to understand the Soviet version of legality. According to the Soviets, there are two types of law; socialist and bourgeois.

A prime example of the difference between these laws can be seen in this legalistic defense of the Czech invasion which appeared in Pravda:

"Those who speak of the 'illegality' of the allied socialist countries' actions forget that in a class society there is and can be no such thing as nonclass law. Laws and the norms of law are subordinated to the laws of the class struggle and the laws of social development..."

Thus, according to the Soviets, (and indeed all Marxists), the class approach cannot be discarded in the name of legalistic considerations. Whoever does so forfeits the only correct, class-oriented criterion for evaluating legal norms and begins to measure events with the yardstick of bourgeois law.

Dialectic is Final Arbiter

In effect, the Soviets, as Marxists, put themselves about "bourgeois" law. The final and ultimate arbitrator of law is the dialectic and the so called natural and social laws in accord with the dialectical process. The ultimate aim is a Communist world; and in gaining this aim, any means is sanctioned in Pravda's words: "To safeguard the interest of world socialism and the world revolutionary movement." The Marxist conception of law is no more clearly explicit than in the Soviet constitution. Boasting that "the Socialist countries have provided their citizens with a significantly higher level of rights and freedoms than the countries which allow the exploitation of man by man (the capitalist countries)," the Soviets call attention to their own constitution as the most advanced and enlightened of all others.

Reality Not Evident

This may be argued. Nevertheless, upon examination of the Soviet con-

stitution (which Stalin drafted in 1936) one sees a constitution granting rights much like our own. Yet, the reality of such rights and freedoms is far from evident. The recent threats to Mrs. Elena Sakharov - wife of Andrei Sakharov - are ample evidence she has been threatened with being arrested for refusal to give the KGB information and then accused of being mentally ill for refusing to talk - a familiar repressive pattern is now being repeated. For many who have undergone similar experiences, their fate has been a KGB - run mental hospital.

In the midst of this kind of totalitarian heavy handedness, it seems indeed ironic that the Soviets would choose to blast the world with praises for its constitution and condemn others for failing to sign a document, which by the Soviets' actions makes that document a worthless piece of paper.

A Strange Definition

Nevertheless, clouded by Marxist semi-logic, the Kremlin can deem to call itself a citadel of freedom. Yet it is precisely their definition of freedom which allows them to proclaim, in the midst of chains, that they are free. Marx called the realization of Communism "humanity's leap from necessity to the realm of freedom." That freedom, according to Marx, necessitates man's complete subjugation to the collective whole. Empowered with this concept, the Soviets have brought the greatest mass repression known to mankind, failing to realize that individual and collective purposes can be harmonized only by cooperative give-and-take, not by dialectical repression.

The recent ratifications can only be viewed from this ideological perspective; they are only the outward attempts of a totalitarian regime to appease world opinion and disguise a repressive society.



## America's Role in the United Nations

by Hal McKenzie

The United Nations is the most ambitious attempt at world order-building in history. It was formed during the Allied effort to defeat Nazi Germany, to "kill another Hitler in the shell ere he become too great." That is, the UN was formed to prevent another World War Two in the same way that its predecessor, the League of Nations, was formed to prevent another World War One. The key factor in preserving the new peace was to be the unanimity of the "Great Five" of the victorious allies; namely America, Russia, England, France, and China. However, no one foresaw what to do when the Great Powers began to fight among themselves; predictably, they soon began to do this, driven by vast ideological differences between the democratic and Communist blocs. Thus the UN, for this and other reasons, was crippled at birth by defects implanted by its sponsoring governments.

Part of the Establishment

Nonetheless, the UN is still alive while the League died at an earlier

age, having spent most of its life in a state of paralysis. The UN now has 135 members compared to a transitory membership of 60 for the League; it almost reaches the goal of universality and has achieved a sense of permanence on the world scene. A whole generation of people have grown up for whom the UN is not a "new" idea but part of the Establishment. Because of this staying power, the concept of a world without some sort of world organization has become inconceivable. That in itself is a major accomplishment. Also the many paths that the UN has blazed in pursuit of peace provide guidelines and experiences from which we may be able to build a more effective peace-keeping system in the future.

The UN is not a "world government" in the strict sense of the term since it has no mandate to interfere in the sovereign domestic affairs of nations. Therefore the UN has never been able to compel a great power or a client state to act contrary to what it conceives of as its national interests. However, the UN has been credited with preventing war or at least limiting the

fighting in at least four major areas - the Middle East, the Congo, Cyprus, and twice between Pakistan and India. It is also said to have provided a restraining role in scores of other conflicts by providing machinery and a forum for negotiation.

Liquidation of Colonialism

According to former Secretary U Thant, the UN has helped at least a billion people achieve independence through its Trusteeship system which figures prominently in bringing about the peaceful liquidation of colonialism. Also the UN has been a major dispenser of politically unattached aid in technical and economic areas. Under a ten-year program adopted by the General Assembly in 1970, for example, the industrialized nations agreed to set aside at least one percent of their gross national product annually to help underdeveloped countries. It has also made notable progress in law-making, having done pioneering work on a new body of law regarding exploration of the sea floor and outer space. Also the formation of the Secre-

tariat has developed an invaluable new human resource - an international civil service fostering habits of international statesmanship.

Shortcomings

However, when we compare what the UN has attained with what needs to be done today to bring about world peace, we find it to be ineffectual, indeed. The great powers continue to arm themselves with dreadful weapons and oppression, wars and poverty continue unchecked while the UN grinds out papers and endless rhetoric. The premise behind the concept of a "world forum" was that as long as people "keep talking" they will be less likely to go for their guns but, in the words of Shirley Hazzard, author of *Defeat of an Ideal*, "The UN has kept talking through wars, civil strife, military aggression, religious persecution, tidal waves, starvation, and millions of violent deaths." Most of the major traumas of the modern world, - Vietnam, Biafra, Czechoslovakia, Hungary were barely discussed by the UN, much less acted upon.

(Continued to page 7)

# Soviet Hypocrisy and the MBFR Conference

Dr. Andras H. Pogany

President, World Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters

December 7, 1973

The Soviet resistance to the inclusion of the question of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary has resulted, with American assistance, in the degradation of Hungary to the observer's status at the Mutual Balanced Reduction of Forces Conference on May 14th, 1973, in Vienna.

Legally speaking, the Soviet Union does not have the semblance of title to occupy Hungary in 1973, 26 years after signing the Paris Peace Conference.

## Origin

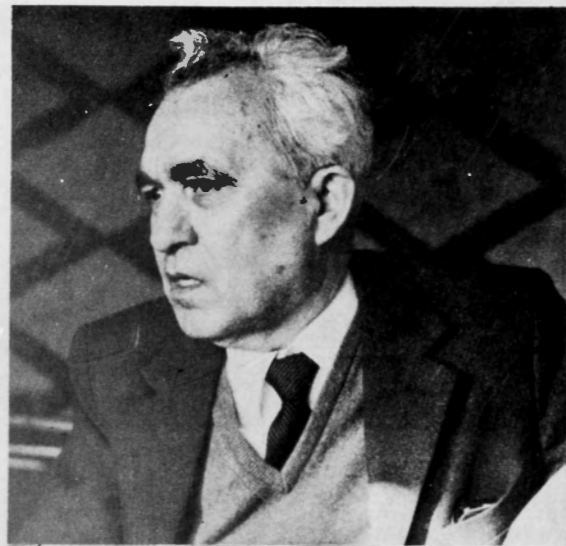
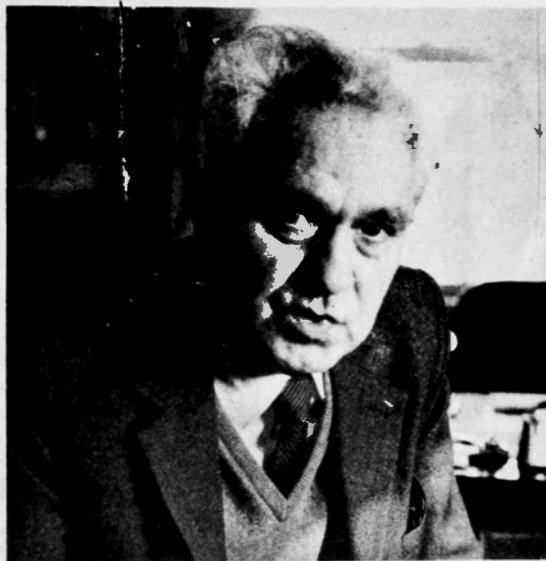
The Soviet military occupation of Hungary in 1944-45 had been a direct result of the Allied Powers' war strategy. After the 1947 Paris Peace Conference, however, when Hungary's sovereignty had been fully

reestablished, at least on paper, aspect. Still, the Russians themselves felt the immense awkwardness of their situation in Hungary from an international legal point of view. In order to improve it, they forced the puppet Budapest Government, Janos Kadar and Co., to sign a *bilateral agreement* with them concerning Soviet rights to keep military forces on Hungarian soil. Let us quote the preamble of this agreement dated on May 27, 1957, in Budapest.

"The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics fully resolve to exert all their efforts to preserve and strengthen peace and security in Europe and the world at large, taking into account that in the present international situation—at a time when there exists the aggressive North Atlantic Alliance, when West Germany is being remilitarized and the revanchist forces are being increasingly activated in the country, at a time when the United States and other participants in the North Atlantic alliance are maintaining their numerous forces and military bases in close proximity to socialist

States—a threat to the security of these States is developing; taking Germany? The German Government today is in contractual relationship with most of the Soviet bloc countries, the Soviet Union included. There is no territorial issue remaining unsolved between Germany and her Eastern neighbors; she also pledged and signed a non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union. There are no "revanchist forces" in Germany; there is the ruling Social Democratic Party and its Chancellor, Willy Brandt, who could not be called a "revanchist" even by Soviet standards.

American forces and rocket-bases in the vicinity of the Soviet bloc? Where? In Turkey, where all American military bases have been removed as early as in 1963. (And, as a side effect, by this giving a chance to the Soviet Union to penetrate the Mediterranean area to create the present tense situation in the Middle East.) And what about the "mutual defense" contracted by the Soviet Union and Hungary in 1957? Mutual defense against who in 1973? Austria and Switzerland are neutral; Germany is as good as it were neutral. Yugoslavia is a "socialist" country,



Dr. Alexander Nikolaevich Artemov, president of the National Alliance of Solidarists (Russian initials: NTS), at the home of Mr. Constantin Boldyreff, U.S. representative of NTS.

## The New Revolution—Freedom With Order

Dr. Alexander Nikolaevich Artemov, current president of the NTS, was born in the neighborhood of Ryazan in 1910. At the time of the Revolution, Dr. Artemov had finished high school with honors, and enrolled in the University, but being considered to be from a socially incompatible class (his parents were members of the "rural intelligentsia") he was not admitted to the University.

He worked in a factory for about four years, then joined the army, and was sent to the Far East to serve his tour of duty. Returning to Moscow with the rank of an officer, he finally was allowed to enter Moscow University, from which he graduated with honors. He became attached to the Academy of Science of the USSR as a microbiologist. He had been an active member of the Communist Youth League, Komsomol, but became disenchanted with Communism when he saw the horrors of collectivization under Stalin.

During World War Two, Artemov fought near Smolensk, near Moscow, and in Leningrad, where his unit was surrounded by the Germans and he was taken prisoner. It was in the German prison camp that he became acquainted with NTS and its ideas. He became associated with the ill-fated anti-Bolshevik army of Gen. Vlasov. He was one of the authors of the manifesto Vlasov promulgated presenting the political program of the Vlasov movement.

After the war, Dr. Artemov settled in Frankfurt, Germany, and has taken an active part in the activities of NTS. He edited several NTS publications, and is considered one of the main ideologists of NTS, contributing much to the ideology of Russian Solidarism. He was for many years a member of the council of NTS, and two years ago was elected president. He is a well-known figure in Europe, lecturing frequently in fluent German and writing many articles in Russian and German for various publications.

Dr. Artemov has a wife and two children, and two grandchildren. His son Kolya, 23, is leader of the youth branch of NTS.

Below are excerpts from Dr. Artemov's talk, with comments from Mr. Boldyreff.

"We seek a synthetic way between liberalism and socialism. We have seen the liberal way from Krensky, and we had a horrible experience with totalitarian communism, and then Hitler's totalitarianism which came to us. We have seen these different ways — we seek the middle way, which is synthetic.

"In short, (we seek) coordinated freedom — freedom with order. Freedom without order leads to anarchy, and order without freedom leads to slavery.

"In our hierarchy of values, the deepest is the spiritual or religious values. Then comes the value of the person. The personal is before the social — we are personalists first, then solidarists. Solidarism is only the social doctrine, the method of constructing a better life.

"We say that the individual is part of the society, and the society is part of the individual. This sounds paradoxical; but we say that the social-political life is only a part of the life of each person; this is against totalitarianism. Politics is only one part of life."

"The first time I heard of NTS was in Moscow, in the year 1934, when Sergey Kirov was murdered. There in the Soviet press there appeared an article about different emigre groups; among them appeared the name of NTS. What it was, I didn't know, I only knew that such an organization existed. I thought it was some terrorist group.

(Boldyreff: Kirov was the second in command after Stalin. He was being considered by many as a possible substitute for Stalin, and Stalin hated him and had him murdered. In the process they attacked the NTS by putting the blame on them, as if the NTS had organized it, calling NTS a terrorist group.)

"Then in Moscow I saw a leaflet of the NTS lying on the floor of the Metro. I read it, but I didn't pick it up."

"Later when I was in a German prison camp as a prisoner of war I met two Russian immigrants who had infiltrated the German propaganda apparatus.

I heard about Germany, Hitler's racial theory, the Fuehrer and so on, but it was not for me. I asked to go back to the prison camp. Then these two Russians talked to me about the organization and the program of the NTS.

"I wanted to go to Russia to work for my people and see what to do, not for communism, not for Germany, but trying to find a third way. The NTS also had this slogan — 'Third Force'. That was the start of my political career."

(Boldyreff: The Germans began to take prisoners in great masses in the first phase of the war because millions of Russian soldiers simply refused to fight for Stalin. They didn't know what Germany was and what the Germans were, and thought

that anything that communist propaganda painted black must definitely be white. But when the population saw what the Germans were actually bringing with them, they stood and fought from Stalingrad to Berlin. Now the NTS was exceedingly interested in getting into contact with these prisoners of war. We had already had the idea that these prisoners could eventually develop into a force that would serve to liberate Russia. Therefore our members were instructed, at the risk of being discovered and winding up in a concentration camp, to penetrate into the apparatus of the German propaganda people, who were trying to indoctrinate the Russian prisoners of war.)

"When I was young I read Communist papers and books. I thought there was truth in Marxist theory, in its critical part, its criticism of capitalism. Then I came into the Young Communist League (Komsomol) and remained there until the beginning of collectivization in 1929-30. This collectivization was a shock; it was war against my people.

"I left the Communist League. I thought Marxism had the truth, but Stalin — this was dictatorship, prisons and camps. But I had no philosophy, no positive conception.

"In the University I was forced to study the works of Marxism-Leninism — Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. Paradoxically, Engels turned me to God, to religion. I asked 'what is life?' Engels said life is a form of proteins — protein bodies. This I cannot accept — this was no answer to the problem, to my questions. So I developed my own conception. Marxism was for me not sufficient.

"I saw that Marxism had some truth, but not the whole truth. When Marx said that man is flesh and bones, this is truth; but it is not the whole truth. There is also the spirit. Thinking, ideas — what is this?"

"Also there were for me great contradictions (in Marxism). Marxism said that the main thing is matter — but Marxism is an idea, not matter. Marxism says that the ground of society is matter, but communism itself is an ideal.

"The Russian problem is the world's problem. Many nations have their own problems, but the problem of Russia, of China, of the United States is a world problem. If we wish to solve these problems, the whole world must take part. We need international contact, coordination, and cooperation — three C's."



the Red Army should have evacuated the country; unfortunately they did not. With regard to Russian troops in Austria, the Soviet Union had been authorized to keep Soviet forces in Hungary to defend the "connecting roads" to Austria on Hungarian territory. Of course, this had been only a poorly veiled excuse to insure the Communist takeover in a country like Hungary, which had already voted overwhelmingly in 1945 and 1947 against Communist dictatorship in two consecutive parliamentary elections.

In 1955 when the Austrian peace treaty was completed the Russian troops left Austria in need, and they should have left Hungary also. Now the excuse had been the related paragraphs of the Warsaw Pact, signed by both the Soviet Union and Hungary.

## Violation

The Hungarian Revolution in 1956 had brought a tremendous change even in the legal aspects of the Russian occupying forces. First of all, the Russians "voluntarily" had withdrawn Russian military units from Hungary; secondly the Soviet armed attack against Hungary was a clear-cut violation of the Warsaw Pact itself, which guarantees the sovereignty of the Contracting Powers, forbids the interference into each other's affairs, and compels all the Contracting Powers to assist any Contracting Power attacked by military forces from any contracting or outside power, and assist it even by military force. The fact is that according to the Warsaw Pact, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria, and East Germany should have immediately attacked the Soviet Union for interfering with Hungary's internal affairs by military force.

Being only satellites, they did not follow the Warsaw Pact in this

note of the fact that in these conditions the temporary stationing of Soviet forces on the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic is expedient for the purpose of safeguarding joint defense against the possibility of aggression and that it accords with international agreements, and desirous of settling questions connected with the temporary presence of Soviet forces on the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Government of the USSR have decided, in accordance with their declaration dated 28 March 1957, to conclude this agreement and have for this purpose appointed their plenipotentiaries:

"The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic: Imre Horvath, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, Geza Revesz, Minister of Defence of the Hungarian People's Republic; the Government of the USSR: A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, G. K. Zhukov, Minister of Defense of the USSR."

## Can This Be True?

Reading this text today, one can clearly see the hypocrisy of the Soviet Union in May, 1973, at the Vienna Conference. Sixteen years ago the Soviet Union itself gave its own reasons for keeping military forces in Hungary — reasons which today are absolutely meaningless from a political or international legal point of view.

Where is the "aggressive" character of the NATO Alliance? Slowly but surely it will not have a "defensive" character either, due to the tremendous military superiority of the Soviet bloc over the NATO in conventional military might. Where is a "remilitarized"

Roumania is a Communist one.... The whole statement is nonsense today indeed....

## Imperialistic Reasons

Why then the strong Russian resistance to withdrawing troops from Hungary? There are no political-legal reasons for it; anyone can see it who reads the preamble of the 1957 Soviet-Hungarian agreement. But there are military, and even more, imperialistic reasons behind this Soviet resistance. After the death of Tito, Yugoslavia may easily fall apart. Geographically speaking, Hungary is the key to the Yugoslav treasure-box. The Soviets learned it well from Hitler who, in 1941, invaded Yugoslavia through Hungary by forcing his troops through Hungarian territory, causing the Hungarian Premier, Count Teleki, to commit suicide on the night when the German Army marched over Hungary's border. The possession of Yugoslavia, especially the shore of the Adriatic Sea in Dalmatia, would mean a warm-water seaport and airport as well in Soviet hands — a place where they are not guests any more, as in Alexandria, but masters and rulers of a Mediterranean seaport. And this is an old Russian dream starting with Peter the Great and during Russian politicians of all regimes and of all convictions almost continuously since then. This is why Hungary should stay occupied by Russian troops as long as the Western world will tolerate it (from the Soviet view point. Ed.)

In a time, when the fate of Central Europe is under discussion in Vienna, perhaps the American public should realize better the issues at stake around the "problem" of Russian troops stationing in Hungary since 1945.

*I returned a  
promise  
that someday we shall  
meet in  
Israel.  
keep strong my friends  
because where there  
is such a  
place,  
justice  
can't be far off.*



## Expecting Heaven is what hell is all about

(Part II)

Jan Greenfield is one of the actors from Arena Stage who went to the Soviet Union on a cultural exchange program. Part I of his story, about a Yom Kippur celebration with a Jewish family in the Soviet Union, was in the last issue.

As I had promised the night before, I met with Anatole and Misha in the park in front of the Bolshoi Ballet to take out some letters for them. It was a Sunday, bright, sunny Sundays in parks have a universality all their own. If I closed my eyes, it could have easily been Washington Square park in New York City - children desperately trying to find a new beginning to a game, adults happy just to sit and either play chess or read the newspaper. Just as I was getting comfortable I caught a glimpse of Anatole coming through some sparse trees. He looked more ragged and tired than the night before. I attributed it to the sunlight exposing a new dimension of him. We greeted with a handshake and *Shalom*.

As the last sound of *Shalom* was ending, Misha and a girl appeared almost out of nowhere. Her name was Lena, a Jewess in face and faith. She was olive-skinned, fairly young, but exploding with the maturity you only find from someone who has genuinely suffered through the process. It felt secure to be with my new friends. I was beginning to feel the re-awakening of my Jewish side that I had left abandoned in the dark for so long. The dimensions of their faith had deep roots, planted in the pure soil of everyday life as Jews in a state that discriminated against Jewishness. The circle game had repeated itself again and again for me. Is it any different with the American Negro or Indian? Visions of America melted with visions of Russia for an almost undigestible meal. I had always felt close to it all, being with these Russian Jews helped me to realize how far I really had been. Misha looked nervous, almost fearful of

the beautiful day. "Misha, are you all right?" I asked. "There's someone following me. We have to move to a different place." Lena then suggested a friend's place, where we could be private at least for a time.

While going to this place I felt like a mouse in a maze. We went through large convex arches, alleyways and around rubble buildings until finally Anatole opened a door that faced the street we were walking on. We entered and walked up a decrepit stairway. The feel of the place was the feel of one of our condemned buildings here in the States. Already I began to feel uncomfortable - the psychophysical feeling of poverty has always ignited the same feeling in me. Before I had time for flashbacks, a serene, soft-skinned woman greeted us at the door. Her name was Anna. She seemed very pleased to see us. She led us to her place. Once inside I was shocked to realize that this woman did all her living in this tiny room. Her only window looked out on an alley which looked like the inside of a well-used garbage can. Greys greeted my eyes as I looked over the room. I always try to focus on what people have on their walls - usually who they are and how they feel is on the walls. Anna's had both sparseness and character. Most of the space had pictures of loved ones in prison and as much on Israel as she could get.

The feeling in that room dove deep into those barren spaces of Judaism within me. With every glance, I felt something surge within me. Only later did I realize what that surge was: it was the Jew in me coming alive, gasping for life, growing with each face I looked into and each hand I held. For me Israel was right in that room - if only they could have believed me when I told them that. Thinking has always been the best way of travelling for me, but of course that was as abstract to them as the thought that Russia would

ever change. As Misha told me later, "We are faced with removal to the 'far' rather than to the 'middle' east and maybe even worse. It is very difficult to predict Soviet actions because they pretty often contradict their economic and even political benefits. Here no tendency can be stable, so one should use any existing possibility quickly."

While the others were busily getting their letters in order, some writing new ones, Anna took out of a drawer a splendid and most generous platter of cheese, black bread and chocolates. I was speechless. Worse than that, I was as humbled as a man has a right to feel. Obviously Anna had very little but she gave as if she had plenty. That was a very awkward moment for me. Lena picked up on my vibrations and gingerly said, "Jan you are doing for us please let us do for you." Still the sinking feeling never left. The time we spent over the food was taken up by how imperative it was for them to leave. Now no matter what people on the outside felt, Russia would never let them be free to live as Jews. An older man, Dr. Alexander Lerner, turned to me. "Jan, I lost two children to the Nazis. I just had my first grandchild. If I have to lose her, I'll lose her as a Jew."

I envision Russia like a person who has an inferiority complex, totally insecure. It is indeed true that Russia has a lot of positive things going for it. Collectivism works, priorities on domestic level are directed towards the people. If only they could be secure enough as a nation to open up to all and say "look at all we have that's good," maybe some of the social sickness could be cleansed, treated and ultimately healed. I'm a dweller in illusion, which has always made it hard for me to understand people struggling with reality.

I then tried to clear the air a bit by singing a rock-and-roll tune in

my inimitable 50's style. Feet started stomping, hands started clapping, and for that moment all of life stood still. Lena and Anna started to sing an Israeli folk tune. I stopped letting the warm feeling from their voices fill me. Again that surge in me, that sleeping giant started to stir. I knew then my path had just begun. I had come over to Russia, completely neutral, like a tree in the wind, letting whatever breeze or wind affect me, staying flexing. I know now that this wind will be blowing through me from now on - for the first time in my twenty four years of life I internally felt what it was I was missing not realizing my religion. My frozen feelings of Judaism were melting as these people, not knowing it, instilled in me a reason to become a Jew all over again.

We danced, my feeling and me. I then externalized it with Lena and Anna and danced a dance of birth and consciousness. We danced till we couldn't dance any longer and we all left the room on the surge of that feeling. My pockets were filled with their hopes of communication; my heart was filled with a fairy-tale story of how one came to that burning bush - only instead of the bush six glowing people stood close to me sharing my discovery.

They insisted on accompanying me back to the theater since I had to get back to make an evening performance. Throughout the walk back, all I could think about was how I would never see these friends of mine again. Lena, as magically as before, sensed this feeling. Just as we were parting, she said, "Jan, remember - we'll see you in Israel." Their figures became incandescent against the darkening sky. It had that surrealist feeling of a Bergmann landscape. For me, life has always come in rushes. Yes, Lena, I will see you in Israel and no, Lena, I will never forget. As the plane leaving Russia soared up to the sky, I felt closer to heaven, further from hell.

To Anatole, Lena and Misha

*where now my  
friends,  
caught in-between  
time,  
lives all twisted, tangled  
from the hate of  
others?  
How long my  
friends,  
Is hope ever  
counted on a  
calender  
torn families  
echo  
the cries for  
help.  
the social sickness  
machine  
chalks up another  
victory.  
me, sure I  
know  
what's going  
down,  
I'm just one  
man.  
not anymore fella  
because when the  
machine  
starts rolling  
it doesn't  
care  
who it  
hits,  
maybe you.  
maybe me.  
innocent people are  
usually  
the first to  
go.  
maybe its  
better,  
just to let  
go.  
to say  
I've  
had enough  
roll on, roll on.  
how about it  
my friends,  
I can still  
see  
you laden  
down  
with all the respect  
hope  
and fervent belief that  
god  
is on your side.  
we  
exchanged moments of  
hopes and fears,  
you entrusted  
me  
with feelings.  
I returned a  
promise  
that someday we shall  
meet in  
Israel.  
keep strong my friends  
because where there  
is such a  
place,  
justice  
can't be far off.*

by Jan Greenfield

## Women Call for Free Emigration

On Dec. 10, Human Rights Day, 1973, 500 Washington area women called upon the government of the Soviet Union to honor its commitments to the fundamental principles of human rights by allowing free emigration to Jews who wish to repatriate to Israel; by granting amnesty to the 40 Jewish prisoners of conscience; and by permitting those Jews who wish to remain in Russia to live in accordance with their Jewish cultural and religious heritage. (Prisoners of Conscience are those who have been imprisoned solely on grounds of their desire to emigrate.)

Mrs. Jerome Dick, Women's Plea Chairman, said "We want to call attention to the fact that in spite of being a signatory to the Human Rights Declaration, the Soviets practice anti-Semitism, suppressing any attempts of Jews in Russia to obtain their identity."

The program at Adas Israel Congregation in Washington included presentations by Congressman Peter Peyser (D-N.Y.), a leading congressional spokesman for the plight of Soviet Jews, and Howard Witt, Arena Stage actor who recently returned from a stage tour of the USSR. Those attending also signed a petition to be presented to the Soviet government.

The petition circulated at the meeting was delivered to Soviet Embassy officials as part of a Women's Plea for Soviet Jews, one of 50 such programs taking place across the country in observance of Human Rights Day and the 25th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The nationwide observance is sponsored by a coalition of Jewish and non-Jewish women's groups.

After a scripture reading, prayer, and introductory remarks were speeches by Congressman Peyser and Howard Witt Cong. Peyser, a Democrat from the 23rd district of New York, is known for his sponsorship of a demonstration on the Cap-



Howard Witt

itol steps in 1972 on the 20th anniversary of a Communist massacre of Jewish intellectuals in the Soviet Union. Congressman Peyser felt a sense of outrage that this type of violation of human rights is still going on. The vote on the trade bill coming before Congress the next day, he said, would show that the majority of Congressmen were "not about to give the Soviet Union carte blanche" as long as it continues to persecute the Jews. Although he and Congressman Hamilton Fish had been trying to get packages through to prisoners, he said that the Soviets were clearly not paying attention to humanitarian pleas, so much stronger measures are needed. After sending a letter to all members of Congress urging them to write letters to Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin and Secretary

General Brezhnev asking them to correct this injustice, he received a great number of positive responses from Congressmen.

The Congressman did express hope that some progress was being made in allowing Jews to emigrate, but he noted that "it's a continuing battle and a battle that we have to fight until all restrictions on immigration have been lifted."

For the first time the Soviet Union has been paying a tention to the American Congress, he observed. Members of the Soviet embassy, he said, have been lobbying on the Hill, emphasizing how most-favored-nation status would help foster detente. He replied to the lobbyists that they could help detente most by lifting immigration restrictions.

Then Mrs. Phinæus Indritz de-

scribed the situation of one Jewish Family, the Korenfelds, enduring persecution because of their desire to emigrate to Israel.

"Ilya Korenfeld is 50 years old, a mechanical engineer," she said. "He applied for emigration to Israel on March 1971. He promptly lost his job, and was unemployed for two years. He spent time in jail for no reason except he applied for emigration. He now works at a menial job in a factory. He suffers from high blood pressure and his job is difficult and exhausting."

"Ilya's wife, Lydia, is 43 years old. For 13 years she served as senior interpreter for Intourist, the official Soviet travel service. She lost her job after her visa was applied for. She is still unemployed. She suffers from severe chronic asthma aggravated by the Moscow winters, and even more by tension and uncertainty. Because of her excellence in English, she serves as an eloquent spokesman."

"Ludmilla was born on Human Rights Day. She is 22 years old today. Her 20th birthday was spent in jail. Expelled from the institute when her family decided to emigrate, she is not allowed to study anything. She works as a typist, losing her job when the KGB finds out where she works. This vibrant young woman, often the sole support of her family, is very lonely since most of her friends have emigrated."

"Natasha is a pretty, sensitive child of eight, and is the youngest Korenfeld. Natasha went to camp for two weeks this summer and returned with a nervous breakdown which required hospitalization. She refuses to say what happened at the camp."

"During her stay in the hospital, Natasha expressed her innermost thoughts, her hopes, her faith in God in a poem she wrote."

(Continued to page 8)



# Ideology

## What Causes Progress?

by Dr. Sang Hung Lee

Marx proposed several laws concerning the productive forces and the production relations: (1) that the productive forces constantly progress; (2) that man, in his social life, is inevitably involved in the production relations; (3) that the production relations progress following and corresponding to the progress of the productive forces; (4) that the progress of the productive forces occurs independent of man's will; (5) that when the productive forces reach a certain stage of development, the production relations change into a fetter of the progress of the productive forces, and revolution occurs.

Let's examine these one by one.

### Cause of the Development of the Productive Forces

Let us examine the cause and reason behind the progress of the productive forces. Marx said that productive forces means the production tools and labor power, and that the progress of the productive forces is governed by materialistic laws. However, according to dialectical materialism, things progress because of the conflict and struggle between the two contradictory elements within them. It is Marx's assertion that when there is no struggle between contradictory elements, progress cannot occur. The progress of productive forces should not be an exception. If the progress of the productive forces truly occurs according to materialistic laws, then there should be two contradictory elements within the productive forces themselves, and conflict and struggle should occur.

Marx adopted Hegel's theory of the self-progress of ideas into the self-progress of the productive forces. However for his thought to be consistent, by self-progress he must have meant dialectic progress through the conflict and struggle of contradictions. Then, in this case

what is the concrete meaning of the two contradictory elements? Productive forces means production tools and labor power. Then are these the contradictory elements? If so, how do they conflict, and in that conflict, which is the affirmation and which the negation? Strangely enough, Marx left no concrete answer to this question. Even Marx's successors did not rationally explain this matter. Izhchenko said that:

The cause of the progress of the productive forces must be sought in the inner characteristics of the labor process. Once the productive forces are generated, they progress through an internal dialectic. The cause of the progress of productive forces was the dialectical mutual operation of productive forces and production relations as content and form, respectively. The productive forces always operate in a certain social form (having a certain content of class relationship) and in certain form of production relations (Dictionary of Philosophy).

This appears to be a dialectical answer to the questions presented above. It is not a true explanation of the cause of the progress of the productive forces. Izhchenko's explanation is, in short, that by creating a mutual dialectic opposition between the productive forces (content) and the production relations (form), through the unity and struggle of these contradictory elements (productive forces and production relations), the productive forces progress. This, in effect, explains the cause by the result. It is nothing but circular reasoning. According to the materialistic view of history, the productive forces constantly progress, whereas the production relations tend to remain static. Therefore, when the productive forces reach a certain stage, the

production relations become a fetter to their progress. Hence, revolution arises, and new production relations are established. If this is true, then the progress of the production relations is more encouraged through the contradiction of the two elements than that of the productive forces. They say that at some point the production relations hinder the progress of the productive forces. Then how can that hindrance at the same time be the cause of the progress of the productive forces? This is a futile argument, akin to saying that the brake of a car is the same as its accelerator. Of course, the progress of the productive forces is inseparable from the production relations, but one can call progress dialectical only when the essential cause of the progress is within the thing itself. Therefore, for the cause of the productive forces to be dialectical, it must be within productive forces themselves. Thus, the actual cause of the progress of the productive forces itself cannot be explained by the materialistic view of history.

### The Motive for the Development of Productive Forces

Let us examine why productive forces did not remain at their earliest stage. What gave the first impetus to their progress? Regarding this, Marx also gave no answer. His adherents say that the unique feature of man's seeking his sustenance in nature lies in his use of production tools. Engels said that "man is distinguished from animals not by having consciousness and religion but by making the resources (production tools) needed for production. By this activity, he is distinguished from animals." According to the Marxists, other animals respond to nature passively, but man responds actively. The form of this active response is the production progress using production tools. Accordingly, Marxists seem to think that the

reason for the progress of the productive forces is man's use of production tools in making materials. But we can't accept that view because the progress of the productive forces is, after all, prompted by man. It is man who constantly developed the productive forces. Therefore, to understand the reason for the progress of production power correctly we must clarify why man could not be satisfied with the state of the productive forces at any given point, and rather always tried to improve them. Marx and Stalin suggested indirectly that man's desire for life was the basic motivation for the progress of productive forces.

They implied that man constantly developed the productive forces because of his desire to improve his commodities and living conditions, and also because of his desire to shorten his labor time and simplify his labor. It is certainly true that man's desire motivated the development of the productive forces. If no such desire existed, productive forces could not have developed. Then why did Marx not clarify this directly? If he had clearly stated this fact as a law, it would have meant he recognized that productive forces progressed due to a definite cause and for a definite purpose (the purpose of satisfying man's desire). This would have been admitting that matter (productive forces) is developed by spirit (desire). Accordingly, Marx would have had to deny his own philosophy (dialectical materialism). His dialectic method denies purpose in progress, because the admission of purpose leads to the admission of God, and his materialism asserts that matter controls spirit. The fatal weak point of the materialistic view of history is the extremely ambiguous and non-dialectical cause of and reason for the progress of the productive forces, which is the core of the materialistic view of history.

## Sir Alec Douglas-Home on Freedom

The Evening Star and Daily News  
225 Virginia Avenue, S.E.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs

After a few experiences of being an "expert" abroad (by somebody's definition "a man who is carrying a briefcase and is more than fifty miles from home") I was made to feel that home is the place where nobody listens to what you say. This changed when I wrote you three letters, all of which you published (on December 29, January 10, and February 24). It is a pleasure now to send you something better than I could write -- a speech I heard, by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, in New York on November 29, 1968, was very inadequately reported there. British pressmen did almost as badly as their spiritual ancestors had done in reporting Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. The memory of the speech haunted me through the years while organized Communism continued here the greatest snow job ever witnessed, inducing a mounting guilt reaction to our war effort.

Sir Alec's bitterness concerning the then recent overrunning of the Czechoslovakian freedom movement was echoed in an editorial I saw while working, in early 1970, in Argentina. The Buenos Aires Herald declared itself weary of Pravda's characterization of the U.S. as "imperialist," when its own government had, two years earlier, given the world the most horrifying example of imperialism since Hitler's power was at its maximum.

My choice, for the moment, of Sir Alec's remarks are these: "In this 20th century we have seen tyrannies which have had nothing but contempt for human personality which have sought to destroy the basic liberties and which refused to recognize that man is nothing if not free."

"The post-war manifestation of this evil has been Communist materialism and we have lately had a sharp reminder in Europe that its ruthlessness is still as uncompromising as it has ever been."

"If we who are still free wish to preserve our way of life none can afford to opt out of collective responsibility for its defense. None must abandon a strategic post."

Relevant to the present circumstances? I certainly think so! One more thought for the compulsive breast-beaters outdoing each other in expressions of guilt for our "imperialism." Historical instances of attempts to dominate the earth began before the entire earth was known and have continued to the present Communist effort. In all time there has been only one instance of a nation's being clearly able to do it -- the period of a few years when the U.S. was the sole possessor of atomic power -- yet there was no move here toward world domination. No other nation ever met that test. It would be foolish to claim for many nations that they could have met it. The breast-beaters for inappropriate cause might well, on realizing they failed even to notice the unique moral achievement of their own nation, now start beating their breasts for a more appropriate reason.

from Samizdat in the U.S.

Saville Books  
Washington, D.C.

Yours,  
/S/ Stanton Calvert

## Detente: Western and Soviet Interpretations

Walter Laqueur is the director of the Institute of Contemporary History and Wiener Library in London, professor of history at the University of Tel Aviv, and associate of the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Georgetown University. The following is part of his testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations.

Detente originally meant the release of the strained string of the crossbow and the discharge of the bolt. French dictionaries to this day define detente, *inter alia*, as part of the mechanism of a firearm. The Russian term for detente, *razriadka*, has similar military connotations.

In political language detente means something more positive than a mere normalization of relations, but it is not quite the equivalent for rapprochement. It conveys the easing of strain or relaxation -- detensive drugs in medicine reduce high blood pressure.

The term "detente" is frequently used in the West and has become something of a magic formula. In the East on the other hand, the term (*razriadka*) is used much less frequently than "peaceful co-existence" (*mirnoe soshchestvovanie*). As far as the Soviet political dictionary is concerned detente -- to quote a Soviet spokesman -- stands for "coexistence without illusions."

### Different Versions of Detente and Peaceful Coexistence

This is not, however, an essay in semantics; its purpose is to discuss the different interpretations of detente -- and of peaceful coexistence -- in West and East. There are many such discrepancies and they are important because they reflect profound differences in underlying approach and philosophy. Most Western statesmen and political analysts, preoccupied with their own views on the subject, have shown little interest in the Soviet

conception of detente and peaceful coexistence. Within the Soviet bloc there is a consensus about the advantages and limits of detente, though on certain specific issues, as will be shown, there is a great deal of vagueness -- not perhaps all deliberate.

There is no such consensus in the West. Many well-meaning people in the West sincerely believe that relations between West and East will be substantially improved by various "bridge building" activities -- and that these activities are also desired by the Soviet Union. In a speech at the Virginia Military Institute in May 1964, the late President Johnson said: "We will continue to build bridges across the gulf which has divided us from Eastern Europe. They will be bridges of increased trade, of ideas, of visitors, and of humanitarian aid." And he went on to enumerate four reasons why such bridges should be built.

The concept is altogether admirable but the Soviet Union has always reacted violently against it. Bridge building, according to one Soviet author, "is the old poisonous brew now being poured into freshly labeled bottles." It is an "imperialist trick," designed "to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist Party's leading role under the slogan of democratization." However, despite the fact that innumerable Soviet spokesmen and writers have stated countless times in the course of many years that they regard "bridge building" as a deliberate provocation, well-meaning Westerners continue to this day to propagate this concept.

### Growing Western Political and Military Weakness

Soviet leaders may welcome the sentiments underlying the arguments of this Western school, but they are nevertheless bound to reject them. Soviet policy -- so the Soviet argument runs -- his always

been in favor of peaceful coexistence; there has been no sudden change in recent years. It has been in favor of it ever since Lenin wrote about it in the early twenties, and since Stalin first used this term.

Lenin also wrote that peaceful coexistence was merely postponing the decisive struggle, "a fight for life or death" between the two systems, and that they could not possibly live in peace forever. Stalin and his ideologists regarded peaceful coexistence and the cold war as different sides of the same coin. Peaceful coexistence in their view, was desirable to the extent that it strengthened the Soviet camp; if it failed to do so it ceased to be peaceful and became "imperialist aggression."

Present Soviet attitudes toward detente and peaceful coexistence can be briefly summarized as follows: "Throughout its whole history the U.S.S.R. has consistently and steadfastly followed the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems"; in the West, on the other hand -- according to another Soviet author -- a more "sober," "realistic" attitude has prevailed only in recent years, as the result of a radical shift in the global balance of power. A recent Soviet writer refers to the "inexorably changing relationship of world forces" in favor of the Soviet Union, the "growing economic and military might of the Soviet Union," the collapse of the superior strength concept, the "precipitation of the crisis in imperialism's foreign policy."

Soviet interpretations of Western motives and intentions are essentially negative: detente has come about not as the result of Western good will (let alone greater Soviet willingness to come to terms with the West which, Soviet spokesmen claim, always existed); it is the consequence of growing Western political and military weakness.

When Soviet authors refer to detente or peaceful coexistence they mean military, political, economic problems to be discussed by both sides in their mutual interest. They do not imply -- as many Western observers assume -- that from now on the conflict between West and East will be limited to economic competition and that beyond this there will be a global arrangement "to live and let live." Acceptance of the international *status quo* is not part of Soviet doctrine. As F.D. Kulakov, a member of the Soviet party Politburo declared in April 1972: "Peaceful coexistence is the best base for practical solidarity with the revolutionaries of the whole world."

Practical solidarity, of course, means more than mere speeches and the publication of newspaper articles. According to official Soviet doctrine peaceful coexistence does not mean that Communists in the West must invariably use peaceful means in their struggle; peaceful coexistence "promotes the intensification of all currents of the revolutionary process" and the development of "both peaceful and nonpeaceful forms of the struggle of power." The Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence is not identical with Western bourgeois-liberal ideas on the subject.

### Political Significance of the "Ideological Struggle"

"Ideological struggle," as Soviet authors envisage it, is not only justified but morally imperative; for as the Soviet Union stands for progress and mankind's highest ideals, attacking the reactionary West does not harm detente; on the contrary, it enhances its prospects. It also follows that any Western critique of the Soviet system is a *priori* reactionary, a danger to world peace, a threat to friendship between peoples; it poisons the at-

mosphere and jeopardizes detente; it is by definition slander, vilification, and subversion.

The West is expected not to doubt the motives and intentions of the Soviet peace strategy. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, does not necessarily accept at face value the professions of peace and goodwill made by other countries.

### Free Exchange

Soviet spokesmen firmly maintain that "Communists have no reason to be afraid of the ideological conflict." Such confidence is based on the assumption that "bourgeois ideologists totally ignore the socio-economic reasons for the spread of certain ideas and believe they can achieve great success merely by insuring the penetration of bourgeois ideas into the socialist countries."

Nevertheless, Soviet spokesmen react violently whenever the unhindered movement of ideas, information and people across state frontiers is mentioned. They emphasize that "Communists have never agreed, and never shall agree to this kind of free contacts." "The bourgeoisie and their hirelings may be worried about the paucity of opportunities for propagating their ideas in the socialist countries, but they need not expect the Communists to facilitate this for them by agreeing to 'ideological coexistence' thereby clearing the ground for the dissemination of bourgeois ideas where Communist ideology now holds sway."

How does one explain the Soviets' total rejection of free contacts while claiming at the same time that they say they have nothing to fear from an ideological conflict?

If the Soviet system is superior to the West this superiority by itself guarantees victory in the ideological contest. However, Soviet spokesmen prefer not to put to a test the superiority of their system. The

"ideological struggle," as they envisage it, is therefore rather one-sided -- the diffusion of Communist ideas in the West, which is done anyway through the activities of the Communist parties, the distribution of Soviet literature, and so forth. At the same time the diffusion of Western ideas in the Soviet bloc is not to be permitted. The Soviet Union, in other words, does not want a contest on equal terms.

### Summary

I have tried to clarify some of the ramifications of "detente," "peaceful coexistence," and "ideological struggle" as the Soviet Union interprets it. Ideological issues are frequently belittled or altogether ignored in the West, because the West, unlike the Soviet Union, does not have a unified, all embracing doctrinal system. The idea that the foreign policy of other countries could be ideologically motivated seems outlandish if not altogether incomprehensible to Western pragmatists. They tend to forget that ideology provides legitimacy to the Soviet regime and while it is frequently sidestepped or twisted in such a way as to justify "national interest," power politics or other purposes, it is still one of the basic factors shaping Soviet politics.

The United States, is not a friendly power or a potential ally in Soviet eyes. The Soviet Union is -- to quote Malcolm Mackintosh -- "basically hostile to the United States; she would like to see a weakening of America's power and influence all over the world, primarily in her military support for the West, and the use of her economic power in support of U.S. foreign policy. Moscow would like to see America's alliances disintegrate, and her resolution and determination to aid her friends fade and disappear."

# Recognizing Human Rights Day

## United Nations

(Continued from page 3)

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aimed at eradicating the very essence of Ukrainian national consciousness, culture, and spirit of independence.

Such is the picture of violation of human rights in the largest and richest republic of the U.S.S.R., Ukraine. A similar situation exists in all the other nations enslaved by the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Ambassador, we feel an obligation toward the families of the persecuted individuals in the U.S.S.R. to bring their plight to your attention. Action needs to be taken against the punishment of an arrested person's entire family. The parents, spouses, brothers, and sisters of arrested persons are subject to loss of jobs and apartments, the children are expelled from school. They are deprived of their passports. Often the secret police forces members of the family to denounce their arrested family member. They become outlaws.

In 1971, the Soviet government organized a so-called psychiatric institution as part of the prison system for those prisoners who refused to falsely accuse innocent people. Drug and electric shock treatments are applied which in time cause healthy persons to be declared insane. No trial is permitted. The person is kept in the institution an indefinite length of time without contact with his family, lawyer or doctor. In Ukraine such psychiatric institutions exist in Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev, Bieleorus, the city of Homel, in Russia in the vicinity of Moscow, and in many other places.

Victims of such institutions are internationally known - General Grigorenko, Leonid Plushch, poet Krasivsky, and many others. The prisoners suffered intolerable living conditions, starvation diet, poisoned food, hard work, moral disgrace, illness, and practically no medical care.

December 10, 1973 will mark the 25th anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the United Nations. This document was signed by the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian and Bieleorusian republics as equal members. It reads, in part: "WHEREAS disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which



human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.

"WHEREAS it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of the law."

The illegal practices of the Soviet Union, namely, arrests of innocent people, secret trials, sentencing people to concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals, are gross violations of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration of Human Rights, and even the constitution of the U.S.S.R.

In the name of millions of suffering innocent prisoners and in the name of concerned American citizens who have strong ties with the enslaved nations, we appeal to you, sir, to take our petition into your kind consideration and place the question of human rights on the agenda of the United Nations Com-

mission on Human Rights for review and action.

We feel that the Soviet government is becoming sensitive to world opinion concerning the oppression of nations and individuals.

We pray that you intervene in our behalf before the members of the Commission on Human Rights which is now in session, to demand that Soviet authorities release political prisoners, intellectuals, the disabled, ailing, and helpless children from the prisons, concentration camps, and psychiatric institutions.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights, it would be most fitting that these thousands of human beings be granted the restoration of their human and national rights and once again be united with their loved ones in their respective homelands.

We have faith that you will be guided by the principles of the American Declaration of Independence and that you will thereby shape the course of history toward the extension of human freedom.

## Hungarian Americans

Letter from the Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America to Krishna Ramphul Radha, Chairman of the Human Rights Commission of the UN:

On December 10, 1973 the United Nations will celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights.

During the last quarter century many new nations have been born and are now independent states and members of the United Nations. Therefore, it is understandable that the Declaration of Human Rights is universally considered as the Freedom Charter of Mankind.

Unfortunately, the rights expressed in the Declaration are not enjoyed by the Hungarian Nation. For the last 25 years the Hungarians have lived under Soviet colonialism and have not enjoyed the rights which are incorporated in the said Declaration. A few examples follow:

Paragraph 19 of the Declaration says: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression..." If the Hungarians criticize either the Soviet occupation or the Communist party, their personal freedom is in danger.

Paragraph 20 of the Declaration says: "Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association." For 25 years the Hungarians have not been allowed to establish any association or federation

in the interest of the nation and the people; they can only have associations, which serve the interest of the Soviet government or the Communist party. Neither can they assemble peacefully to discuss their national interest and the Soviet occupation.

Paragraph 21 of the Declaration says: "Everyone as a member of society has the right to take part in the Government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives." The Hungarians have not had free elections since 1947; they do not exercise the right of self-determination, without which no national life or independent state can exist.

Every kind of colonialism contains the seed of international turmoil and constitutes a permanent danger to world peace.

Although the General Assembly of the United Nations, in connection with the Hungarian Revolution, has demanded many times that the Hungarian people should exercise their fundamental Human Rights (1004-ES-H; 1005-ES-I; 1006-ES; 1133-XI; 1857-XVII), their resolutions never went into effect, even when many young Hungarians died for the freedom and independence of Hungary during the 1956 Revolution.

We, the undersigned, who represent the Hungarians in the free world on four continents, respectfully request the Commission on Human Rights:

1. to put on its agenda the question of the denial to the Hungarian people of the exercise and the enjoyment of their fundamental rights;

2. to call upon the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the authorities of Hungary to respect the above resolutions of the General Assembly, especially since the Hungarian people do not exercise the right of self-determination and the Soviet troops are still unlawfully stationed in Hungary and occupying the country;

3. to report and make the recommendations the Commission may deem advisable to the General Assembly.

Very truly yours,

Dr. Jozsef Kozi Horvath  
President  
European Congress of Free Hungarians

Dr. Imre Gacser  
Association of Free Hungarians in Latin America

Dr. Laszlo Varga  
President  
Coordinating Committee of Hungarians Organizations in North America

Dr. Antal Endrey  
Australian Hungarian Federation

## National Prayer

(Continued from page 1)

our beloved America and has the courage to show it in word and deed. We are at the crossroads in our history at this very moment," said one respondent. Herber C. Leney, major of Corte, Madera, California said, "You have kindled a fire which I hope will explode and will spread across our Nation with great speed. Your statement should be on the lips of every speaker in this country whether he be preacher or politician." And one student wrote: "I don't know who is telling the truth in Watergate or even what the truth is, but I see people all around me taking sides and even worse, getting angry. They take the whole affair as a personal affront, an insult. They ignore what it is doing to us in a search that is almost vengeful. It makes me very sad because I know it is anger that makes wars, and it is sadness that makes peace. Unfortunately, I was sinking into despair when I read your ad. But you made me feel that I was not alone, that I was not wrong. Thank you, Vaya con Dios."

hearts. It is essential that we heal ourselves before taking up the mission of healing the world.

"We are asking Americans to join with the Unification Church in our period of forty days of prayer and fasting. We ask you to join with us at this time so together we can bring the greatness of America and the presence of God into the conduct of our national life and together we can build a world in which all people can stand together as one family under God."

Endorsing the project are seven Congressmen to date: Harold Collier, Don Clausen, Frank Annunzio, Guy Vander Jagt, Charles Teague, Manuel Lujan, and Senator Carl Curtis.

Over 7,000 people thus far have expressed their support of the proclamation and will be participating in the program "It was with great joy that I read your inspired plea to the American people in the full-page spread in the Los Angeles Times November 30 issue. My wife and I am happy to know there is someone who cares about

lacked the moral courage to stand against an even greater and more militaristic tyranny - the reign of Stalin. Then, by allowing Russia the veto power, the whole concept of collective security was made into a travesty. As one scholar puts it, "...the UN provided for a world-wide police commission and then made the top international gangster a member of that commission."

### The Third World

Having failed to exercise moral leadership, the US eventually relinquished any real leadership of the UN. From the 51 original states, the UN membership almost tripled to 135 members, most of them from the newly emerging African and Asian states. This gives them a clear majority in the UN General Assembly, making them able to dominate the debates whenever they choose. Colonialism, apartheid, technical aid, and economic development are their main concerns; seeing themselves shortchanged by history and entitled to compensations, their tone is more and more demanding. The Organization of African Unity, composed of black and Mediterranean African countries, has 41 members - nearly a third of the total UN membership. The Arab states generally vote with the Africans, so do almost all of the so-called "underdeveloped" countries. The consequences of this new balance of power was shown recently when America was forced to cast its fifth veto in the Security Council this August to block a resolution to censure Israel for not giving up occupied Arab territory. Without the veto, the resolution would have been approved overwhelmingly. Thus the US is now in the position in which Russia used to be - in the minority, and a favorite target for political badgering by the smaller nations.

Meanwhile Red China is using its Security Council rostrum to make a bid for leadership, arguing that she, as a developing nation, has a better understanding of the "Third World." Red China is backing up its bid with 318 million dollars' worth of new aid on easy payments to ten developing nations and a pledge to increase China's share of the UN budget to 7 percent from the 4 percent formerly donated by the Nationalists. In many issues brought before the General Assembly, such as the issue of Panamanian control of the Canal (which forced the US's third veto) the Third World countries have more and more been inclined to follow China's lead. Professor John Stoessinger wrote in a recent study, "Is it not becoming increasingly evident that instead of China's coming around to the United Nation's position, the United Nations appears to be coming closer to the Chinese?" As a result of this situation, the US is inclined to bypass the UN, doing more and more of its international dealings independently of the world body.

### Let's Not Give Up Now

However, now is not the time for the US to abandon the UN, for the UN is the only world forum where the smaller powers can meet and bargain with the Great Powers. For the US to become alienated from the "Third World" at this time would be disastrous, considering the growing economic leverage that the Third World is able to exert against the US. The US is heavily dependent on the Third World for its energy supplies and other natural resources; the extent of American dependence was shown dramatically this year by the effect of the Arab's oil cut-off. If they so desire, other Third World nations could follow the Arabs' example by withholding

other resources, hiking up prices, or discriminating against American customers in favor of European or Japanese markets. Thus the Third World will pose an increasingly critical threat to the industrialized states in the years ahead; the US must, for its survival, try to win the confidence of and exercise political and moral leadership over the smaller nations.

Ironically, the "anti" tactics of the Third World nations are actually helping to wreck the only organization that can be of much help to them and are hastening the deterioration of world civilization as a whole. A world organization such as the UN demands the leadership of a nation which is world-wide in its thinking and habits; in other words, only a nation which can sacrifice its limited national interests and turn its loyalty to the world as a whole can make the UN work. Naturally all of the "developing" nations are fiercely nationalistic in their outlook, and usually can't see beyond their own domestic needs and problems.

The only other Great Powers with a global outlook besides the United States are the Soviet Union and Red China. The Soviet Union seems at least as discredited in the eyes of the Third World as the US, and is as reluctant to work through the UN. That leaves China - but what sort of prospect faces us if Red China achieves the leadership of the Third World?

Looking at the example of corporate violence and insanity demonstrated by China during the Great Cultural Revolution, China's leadership of the Third World would bode ill for the survival of what we know of as civilization. The resulting scenario calls to mind the metaphorical situation that confronted the boy-hero in *Lord of the Flies*. At the end of the story we find him fleeing for his life from an uncivilized mob, led by the "kill the pig" bully-boy who is out to head the hero of the last remaining center of civilized values.

### Moral Courage

A powerful investment in moral courage is the only thing which can prevent this sort of thing from happening on a global scale. America is the last major repository and inheritor of Christian civilization in the world today and among all the powers, she is the only one having the power and spiritual values to stand against what Solzhenitsyn called "the world-wide tide of violence that never ends" generated by the "permanent state violence" of the totalitarian regimes.

The experience of the UN has shown that no less than genuine world government having a clear authority to compel nations to act for the benefit of the whole can effectively bring about world peace. However, as Arnold Toynbee has shown in his *Study of History*, the authority of governments is founded primarily on moral authority - a government can survive only according to its ability to inspire the people to look beyond themselves and work for a common spiritual ideal. Therefore, the US, to reform the UN and restore its leadership among the powers of the Third World, must find in its Christian values and ideals the global ideology which can transcend the divisiveness of national interests. The first step is for America to establish this ideology within herself so that she can lead the way by setting the highest example of service and self-sacrifice for the peoples of the world.



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# Others Suffer, Too

## --Asia and the Energy Crisis--



The Energy Crisis is having effects in the Far East which are changing power alignments between Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and the United States.

### Japan

Japan is the hardest hit of all nations in the world due to her total dependence on imported oil. This is forcing Tokyo into taking a conciliatory tone toward the Arabs, and a more independent stand vis-a-vis the United States. It is also affecting trade, since a low oil import will almost certainly reduce Japan's exports and contribute to the country's present unfavorable balance of trade. This is likely to stiffen Japan's position in upcoming international trade negotiations as the Japanese become desperate to protect their economy. An article in the New York Times points out that Japanese officials have indicated that their attitude toward economic aid for Southeast Asia, which was shifting to a no-strings approach, was swiftly slipping back to the view that aid should be used to develop the natural resources, including oil, that Japan could buy.

### Vietnam

A likely source of oil could be newly-discovered reserves off the coast of Vietnam. The Vietnamese planning minister was quoted in an AP report as saying that oil drilling off the shores of Vietnam should begin within 12 months. He said that 8 of 24 prospecting areas already are contracted to one Canadian and three American firms. Vietnam herself is experiencing hardships from the oil shortage,

which are aggravated by the war and their need for keeping up fuel reserves for military use. A major depletion of these reserves was inflicted by a November Viet Cong rocket attack on fuel tanks which reportedly wiped out 35 to 50 percent of Vietnam's oil reserves. This has led to stringent measures such as gasoline cutback in street lighting and a total ban on advertising display lights. The report in the Washington Post quoted Lt. Col Le Trung Hien, spokesman for the South Vietnamese Military command, as saying that the loss would affect the armed forces, but he said that military reserves have not yet reached a critical stage.

### Korea

In regards to Korea, Korea Week reports that Japan's pro-Arab statement of November 22 pushed South Korea into an "impossible bind." The Tokyo statement was said to force Seoul to choose between Tokyo and Washington in the continuing oil crisis. The report said that problems confronting Korea are:

- (1) Japan has displaced the U.S. as the principal economic patron in investment and in export and import trades.
- (2) South Korea depends on the Arab oil more heavily than Japan does.
- (3) All oil refineries in South Korea (there are three) are jointly owned by the U.S. companies and the Korean corporations.
- (4) Dangers of a renewed war in the Korean peninsula have not decreased.
- (5) The Park government's survival squarely depends on daily demonstration and proof of economic growth.

The report states, "The reality is starkly clear. The South Korean nation cannot survive without American military commitment, the South Korean government cannot survive without Japanese economic assistance, the South Korean economy cannot survive without Arab oil."

On November 20, South Korean authorities enforced sweeping oil-saving measures to cope with a fuel shortage resulting from the decision by Gulf, Union Oil, and Caltex oil fields in the Middle East to reduce their crude oil supply to South Korea.

The transportation ministry ordered a cutback in all air, sea, and land traffic. The health-social affairs ministry ordered restaurants, tea-houses, public bathhouses and other public facilities to reduce daily operation hours.

Korea Airlines will cut back its 45 domestic flights to 32. Scheduled foreign aircraft and vessels will receive only sufficient fuel to reach the next port or airfield. Non-scheduled aircraft or ships will receive no fuel at all at Korean ports or airfields.

The oil crisis has put South Korea at a disadvantage in its competition with the North North Korea, with only 14 million inhabitants, has more per capita hydroelectric and fossil fuel reserves than France. Pyongyang may be tempted to open the door for a new form of propaganda and subversion: an offer of electric power to South Korea to gain political and propaganda leverage.

The reported presence of North Korean pilots in Egypt and missile technicians in Syria has further improved Pyongyang's amity with the oil-producing nations. On the other hand, South Korea -- which did not

say a single friendly word toward Israel -- had her oil supply sharply cut back. While oil represents only a marginal energy source for North Korea, South Korean economy depends heavily on Arab oil. The current five-year plan, which plans on increasing Korea's use of oil from 44 percent of its energy needs to 59.1 percent, will have to be re-charted.

On November 20, Korean press said oil shortages were serious. The Korea Times reported:

"Apartment buildings, public bath houses and hospitals which have oil heating systems yesterday were suffering from serious oil shortages."

"Also seriously hit are some medium industrial plants which had been irregularly supplied with oil. Dispatches from provincial areas reported that rice mills and mines are also affected."

### Taiwan

Taiwan gets its oil from the Arabs. In contrast to South Korea and Japan, Taiwan seems to have managed a special arrangement with the oil-producers.

In a UPI Report, King Amier Faisal of Saudi Arabia assured the Republic of China a continued oil supply. Assurances came in a personal letter of the Saudi king to Pres. Chiang Kai Shek, the government information office said. The office said Faisal told President Chiang that he considered Nationalist China a "friendly country" on which he will not place any supply restriction.

Official sources said Saudi Arabia agreed to sell oil to Taiwan directly. Saudi Arabia had been supplying the Republic of China with 70% of its oil needs, but nearly all was sold through U.S. oil companies.

### Free Emigration

(Continued from page 5)

#### The Poem of My Land

At Passover there is a matzo  
In every Jewish home,  
There are in my Israel,  
Fortresses and palaces.

There are schools, stadiums,  
Automobiles, homes. . .  
This is my beloved country.

Matzo is what our forefathers ate,  
They were baked in the sun, in the  
hot desert.  
They were going home, relieved  
from slavery.

And a miracle happened.  
Moses went up the mountain  
And brought down the Ten Com-  
mandments  
For the people of Israel.

He accomplished his mission,  
He brought his people home.  
But Moses did not live to see his  
native land.

Oh Israel! I promise you  
That I shall come to you  
But not now; we have to wait until  
God will hear our prayers.

—Natasha Korenfeld  
(age 10)

ADDRESS: USSR  
Moscow 105037  
Pervomayskaya Street 14 kv 65  
Korenfeld, Natasha

Following that, Mr. Howard Witt, of the Arena Stage, spoke about his experiences in the Soviet Union. He is a member of the Arena stage cast who played a leading role in the production of "Our Town" and "Inherit the Wind" at the Arena and on tour in the USSR. He spoke in a way which showed he was very deeply moved by his experiences.

"I left my Jewishness at a young age and didn't return for a long time. The reason I did return was because of a man I met in Leningrad.

"I asked myself, 'how can I go to the USSR, that persecutes its artists...' I wasn't specifically thinking of Soviet Jews, but of men like Solzhenitsyn, and Panov, not as a Jew but as a dancer. How could I perform and lend my name to a detente which I thought was wrong? I talked it over and concluded that maybe I can do something to help while I'm here.

"If I go and do these things, I'll no longer have this burden on my conscience and I'd be able to say 'I did something.' I took a prayer book — a mazzuzah.

"We arrived in Moscow — we tried to contact several people — and then came my experience on



Women petitioning Soviet Ambassador

### Yom Kippur eve

"After the show, we met a man outside the theater in a stocking cap — it wasn't a cold night but he was wearing a heavy coat. He was very sick — he had bronchitis. His name was Alexander Luntz. Alexander Luntz is a leading mathematician, not only in the Soviet Union but probably in the world. He works at menial labor, picking up a few dollars when he can. We proceeded on a subway to the outskirts of Moscow. We finally arrived at Mr. Luntz's apartment. Seated around the table were 13 people. Mr. Luntz was the twelfth. Their faces I'll never forget. Their stories were much the same — you heard it over and over again. They tried to get work but were deprived of their work, deprived of the right.

"It's very difficult for men of this calibre who all their lives have existed under certain pressures and flourished under those pressures; to be all of a sudden cut off from activity, from life, from the thing that feeds them, that energizes them. These men are helpless — but a strange thing has happened to them. Out of this helplessness has come a new masculinity. It's strange because it has to do with their children. You see, all these men and women were bar mitzvahed, confirmed — but after the '67 War when things really began to get difficult for the Jews — when teaching Hebrew became a crime, when publishing books in Hebrew became a crime, they could no longer teach their children to become Jews; and that's when this new masculinity began to be seen — this new pride. They want their children to be Jews; it's that simple. They want them to exist as Jews. Most of them were men my age, except for Professor Lerner, who was older. Professor Lerner by the way was the only man who was still working because he is of such renown and of such value to the Soviet Union that they can't not permit him to work. I asked him, 'Why? Why do you go through this struggle, why don't you just assimilate?' Prof. Lerner said, 'I lost two daughters to the Nazis. I just had my first grandchild. I'm a Jew. My grandchild will be a Jew.'

"Members of our company organized a petition to free Valerie and

Galena Panov. Sixty some odd members of our company signed it. We presented the petition at the Soviet Embassy — two of us were allowed to go in. The petition was read by the cultural attache. He said, 'I've talked with many actors in Leningrad and they say Panov is an extremist, a provocateur.' He said, 'You understand we have no machinery in our government to accept a petition.'

To close, Mr. Witt read the closing lines of a poem by Jan Greenfield (at right).

Mrs. Michael Shapiro, Chairman of the Call for Action Committee, then urged action in writing congressmen, the United Nations, and the Soviet authorities and the mass media to stir up public opinion against the persecution of Soviet Jewry. She urged sending personal letters and packages to the Soviet Jews themselves. She urged participation in the vigil in front of the Soviet embassy, saying, "As we sit in comfort in our 65 degree homes, let us remember that millions of people in the Soviet Union have no such problems of luxury — their problems relate to life — to freedom."

Mrs. Dick, in the concluding remarks, made the point that the Hebrew word "Shalom," meaning peace, has the same root as the word "Shalem," meaning whole or complete. "Until the whole of our people can live in freedom, until our people are one, or 'shalem,' we cannot have 'shalom' — there can be no peace."

Following the program, the women joined the daily silent vigil across from the Soviet Embassy, while representatives presented the petition to Embassy officials. The representatives were Mrs. Jerome Dick, Women's Plea Chairman; Mrs. Lynn W. Illegan, Washington Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women; Mrs. Michael Shapiro, Jewish Community Council; and Mrs. Dorothea Tolson, Washington Council of Negro Women.

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