

Speaking Up For Solzhenitsyn

As he was arrested...

by Dan Fefferman

"The crusade of Solzhenitsyn has come to an end."

The words echoed in the ears of some 400 people assembled at American University's New Lecture Hall on February 12, the night of the famed author's arrest for "treason" against the Soviet State.

"It is time for our crusade to begin."

The speaker was Dr. Alexander Schmemmann, Dean of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in Crestwood, New York. The mood was one of outrage and despair. Master of Ceremonies Dr. Charles Moser called it "one of history's most desolate days." Yet something about that evening signalled a kind of new beginning.

Russian emigres, Washington anti-communist regulars, and a surprising number of liberal-looking college kids and professors joined in a unanimously determined outcry as the final vestige of hope for the liberalization of the Soviet regime seemed to vanish.

Organized by the Ad-hoc Academic Committee for Intellectual Freedom, the meeting brought together representatives of every major Washington D.C. university: George Washington, Georgetown, Howard, John Hopkins, American, University of Maryland and Catholic University. Featured speakers were Dr. Schmemmann and Rep. Jack Kemp (R-NY).

Congressman Kemp decried, using Solzhenitsyn's words, "The spirit of Munich" which he said

prevails in today's mood of international detente. "A true detente must be based on liberty," he warned, "and Solzhenitsyn's indictment is a universal one."

Kemp noted that the cause represented by Solzhenitsyn "transcends race, region, and every other artificial barrier which separates our society." He cited close cooperation between liberals and conservatives in congress on

Sen. Henry Jackson's bill calling for economic sanctions against the Soviet Union if Soviet leaders continue to refuse the right of free emigration to its citizens.

Schmemmann's Speech

Dr. Schmemmann entitled his talk "Solzhenitsyn--Crusader for Universal Truth and Freedom." Schmemmann is a noted lecturer and author of several well-respected books in his field, as well as numerous articles on the life and works of Solzhenitsyn. He

claims Solzhenitsyn has written what he called "a new chapter in Russian literature...indeed a new chapter in the great literature of the world."

Schmemmann cited a "unique spirituality" in Solzhenitsyn which "motivates his lonely struggle and makes him (the hero and universal symbol) that he is." He noted three experiences which particularly qualify Solzhenitsyn as a commentator on Russian society:

"His 'normal' youth as a

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And later

The air was filled with the spirit of Solzhenitsyn's cry against human oppression as 30 people from various political and ethnic backgrounds gathered in front of the Soviet Embassy on February 18 to protest his expulsion and demonstrate their commitment to basic human rights. The gathering was termed a "symbolic rally" by organizers, and represented a number of different groups who were united in their concern for human rights in the Soviet Union. Not wishing to arouse disruptive forces, the event was purposely kept small, but symbolically represented a massive concern over Soviet oppression.

The idea for a symbolic rally arose spontaneously from a recent symposium on Solzhenitsyn, held at American University. The news of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's arrest, which came a few days before, catalysed feelings of

discontent at the great injustice and oppression in the Soviet state. Disappointed in the marked silence of the White House over the issue and determined to voice concern more publicly, the Ad Hoc Committee on Human Rights in the Soviet Union was formed to plan further action. With the cooperation and guidance of the Captive Nations Committee, Czech Freedom Fighters, Freedom Leadership Foundation, Hungarian Freedom Fighters, Jewish Community Council, and several other groups, the plan for the February 18th rally materialized.

The group gathered across the street, in front of the Soviet Embassy for a silent vigil. After about 15 minutes, the vigil was asked to move, being informed that their presence was violating local laws. Walking from the embassy, to a spot 2 blocks away (the legal distance), the vigilers were joined

by Robert Alpern of SANE as well as several professors from John Hopkins university in Baltimore. Now holding placards and distributing handbills, the members began a small march within the 2 block area. Their statement read: "The case of Solzhenitsyn is only one of countless incidents of repression and persecution practiced by the Soviet government today. Now is the time to call on the conscience of the American people not to tolerate the Soviet practice of incarcerating citizens in concentration camps and mental institutions merely for expressing freedom of speech. This persecution is not unique to the past, but exists even today as the experiences of Solzhenitsyn and countless others tell."

Most participants in the rally were of Russian heritage but from a variety of backgrounds and age

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Soviet embassy — symbol of repression and nearby demonstrator protesting the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn.



The Rising Tide

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

Vol. 4, No. 4

25¢

February 25, 1974

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David Martin

Honoring an Unknown Soldier

The headline of the article in the *Washington Post* read "Testimonial Dinner for a Nobody." Columnist Roscoe Drummond, first speaker at dinner, remarked, "David Martin is the Unknown Soldier of political freedom...Working inconspicuously, without thought of personal fame or gain, David worked to make things happen for others." The testimonial dinner was held at the Washington Hilton on February 6, to honor Mr. Martin for "30 years of service to the Iron Curtain Refugees and the Captive Nations, and to the continuing struggle for freedom."

One of the most remarkable features of the dinner, remarked Leo Cherne, dinner chairman, was the "broad political spectrum" represented. Conservatives and liberals alike, who had been touched in some way by Mr. Martin's wide-ranging activities, were there to pay their respects.

To mention only a few notables on the sponsoring committee: Ferenc Nagy, last democratically-elected Prime Minister of Hungary; Marx Lewis, President of the Council Against Communist Aggression; Leo Cherne, President of the International Rescue Commission; writers Arthur Koestler, Holmes Alexander, Kenneth Crawford, Norman Cousins, Eugene Lyons; Senator Henry M. Jackson; the Hon. Daniel P. Moynihan; the Hon. Clare Booth Luce; Dr. Edward Teller, father of

the Hydrogen bomb; and many more. FLF President Neil Salonen served as executive secretary of the Dinner Committee and FLF administrative assistant and treasurer Judy Barnes played a key role in organizing it.

"One Bright Streak"

Author Eugene Lyons described in his speech Mr. Martin's first crusade, the defense of Yugoslav partisan Draja Mihailovich. Mr. Lyons called this effort "one bright streak of honor and conscience" in the gloomy record of appeasement and betrayal following World War II.

It all began when Mr. Martin, a free-lance journalist, was serving in the Canadian Air Force in England. He read some newspaper articles about Mihailovich which, he said, made him "damned suspicious." Mihailovich was an anti-Nazi partisan leader who had rallied 100,000 people against the Nazis, the first anti-Nazi guerrilla army in Yugoslavia. The Allied leaders at first supported Mihailovich, but later withdrew their support in favor of Tito's Communist partisans. The reasons for the switch remains obscure, but Churchill had agreed, to appease Stalin, that Yugoslavia would be under Soviet hegemony. The Communist international propaganda machine began a campaign to slander Mihailovich and his partisans, accusing them of Nazi

collaboration, and sought to capture him and bring him to trial. The Yugoslav authorities reportedly said, "We will give him a fair trial, then shoot him." Mr. Martin, after investigating the situation, wrote a book called *Ally Betrayed: The Uncensored story of Tito and Mihailovich*. The book was highly thought of by political experts. Martin was also able to break the "news blackout" imposed by the British press to publish two lengthy articles about Mihailovich in a prominent English journal.

After Mihailovich was captured, Mr. Martin formed the "Committee for a Fair Trial of Draja Mihailovich." The Committee rounded up thirty U.S. airmen who had been rescued by Mihailovich after having been shot down in Yugoslavia, and flew them to Washington where they staged a counter-trial. Several prominent judges and barristers served for a week without compensation. They took the testimony of the airmen, of American officers who had served with Mihailovich, and other well-documented material which proved that Mihailovich was innocent of any collaboration with the Nazis. The results of the trial and investigation were sent to the court in Belgrade, but it was rejected "insultingly" by the Communist authorities. Mihailovich was found guilty and sentenced to death. Although Mihailovich could not be

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AIM Victorious

The powerful National Broadcasting Company found itself brought down a notch or two recently by the Washington-based news-monitoring organization, Accuracy in Media (AIM), when the Federal Communications Commission upheld AIM's complaint that NBC had violated the FCC's "Fairness Doctrine" in its Sept. 12 documentary criticizing private pension plans. The documentary, AIM charged, presented a "grotesquely distorted picture" of the private pension system in the country. One year after AIM filed its complaint, the FCC informed the network that their pension program had violated the fairness doctrine. NBC was given 20 days to state how it intended to fulfill its obligation by presenting both sides of the issue. NBC is now trying to overturn the ruling through the courts.

The FCC's May 2nd ruling is considered extremely significant for it marks the first time in recent years that the FCC has ruled against a major network. It is expected that the ruling will cause many networks to think twice before airing any more biased documentaries without provision for dissenting views.

AIM had challenged the documentary by presenting evidence

that the growth of private pension plans "is one of the greatest positive developments in the American Free Enterprise system." Department of Labor statistics reveal that thousands of retirement plans pay consistent benefits to employees, and that private pension plans are continuing to grow in number. The NBC documentary, however, focused almost entirely on the few that had failed.

This is equivalent, AIM says, to showing a documentary called "Air Travel: the Death Trap," without saying that the vast majority of airplane trips are completed safely. Both *Time* and *Newsweek* ran articles about the case, but left out information that indicated the network was trying to influence legislation concerning pension plans which was being considered in congress.

Under the direction of Abraham Kalish, AIM's executive secretary, and Reed J. Irvine, AIM's board chairman, the organization is continuing its fight to get the networks to uphold the public's right to be fairly informed on all issues. By enlisting the full authority of the FCC, AIM has put the networks on notice that the FCC is willing to crack down on media bias of any angle.



Reed Irvine

Awaiting an Unjust Trial



In previous issues we have discussed Yuri Shikhanovich, including a commentary on his trial. In this issue we have a translation by George Edwards of an account of circumstances surrounding his arrest. This appeared in the February 1974 issue of *Posev*.

"It's too bad that you didn't get to see any hockey!" -- These were the last words Shikhanovich heard by three of his friends (among them was academician Andrey Sakharov), who had gathered at his house upon hearing about the search that had taken place there.

The search went on for a comparatively short time, about three hours. Not having found anything substantial, the KGB men read an arrest order to Shikhanovich, in which it turned out that he was guilty of actions intended to undermine the Soviet social and state structure -- the 70th article of the criminal code of the RSFSR. (Translators note: The RSFSR denotes the Russian Federated Republic, one of the 15 autonomous republics which make up the Soviet Union.)

While Shikhanovich was getting into the vehicle between two KGB officers he managed to say a few words to his friends about hockey. (At that time, it seems that a meeting was going on with Canadian professionals.) The door was slammed, the vehicle took off, and the man disappeared.

Again there are people being arrested for political reasons whose friends and acquaintances are beginning to act as though those arrested are leaving society for a very long time, even perhaps forever, not subject to fixed time periods of imprisonment. Conditions in prisons and concentration camps have become such that the fate of Galanskov is now a warning to any person who is brought to trial at the court in Lefortov. The cruelty of the jails has become as it was in the days of Stalin: this includes solitary confinement and interrogation for the slightest reason, harrassing of the prisoners, humiliations from the guards; for example, they threw mud at Kukuy Sverdlov during freezing weather, and for several hours did not allow him to change clothes. In addition, the rations in concentration camps, though already small, are being reduced. Wives and relatives of political prisoners, who travelled this spring to see them, speak of a decided change in their appearance and in the condition of their health. They described clear signs of the onset of dystrophy.

You must realize that Shikhanovich knew about all this, just as he knew that his own arrest was imminent. He knew, but all the same he did not cease his "anti-Soviet activity." In July he travelled to Siberia; he helped Vaylya, who was then in exile, to move (by order of the authorities) to a new place; he continued to write; to sign and make known letters of protest; he continued to exasperate KGB investigators, who then would summon him to "chats" and interrogations.

Rumors spread of how Shikh (as his friends called him) was able to chat with them, possessing an astonishing amount of imperturbability, resourcefulness and the cold logic of mathematics, knowing

thoroughly all the fine points of the criminal-procedural code. He demanded from his investigators exact adherence to regularities, and frequently made them quite angry. On one occasion, when an investigator became furious and lost his self-control, he had to stop interrogating Shikhanovich because he couldn't stand it anymore.

It must be said that Shikhanovich sometimes even exasperated his own friends because he was a stickler for details.

"I've got to see you for 15 minutes," -- said one friend to him casually. Fifteen minutes of chatting passed by and Shikhanovich pointed to his watch:

"Excuse me, but you said you needed me for only 15 minutes."

"His punctuality borders on sadism!" -- some of his friends complained to me once.

But I should add that, in my opinion, Shikhanovich was not a "sadist" in any circumstance. Nor was he callously pedantic, lacking any sense of humor.

I remember one time when we had just met that Shikhanovich was late for a business meeting.

"I already decided that I had confused the meeting place," -- I said to him.

"I've heard so much about your accuracy and punctuality!"

"Well, so what. That just means that one more myth no longer exists," smiled Shikhanovich.

The spring of 1972 was a hard one for all "differently minded" Soviets.

There is one more characteristic feature. Shikhanovich had been fired from work. One of our mutual acquaintances found him a new and very good position at an institute where a friend of his was the assistant director. Shikhanovich had to talk with the director only as a matter of form.

"Why did you leave your former job?" asked his director.

"I didn't leave. They left me," Shikhanovich corrected him.

"For what reason?"

"For signing a letter of protest" -- he explained what letter he was talking about.

Of course, the director didn't hire him.

"Why did you do that?" his astonished friends exclaimed. "You sold us out. We recommended you!"

"Well you shouldn't have recommended me in that way. Anyway, I didn't ask you to do that. And I would have sold you out even more quickly if I had signed another new letter."

I met Shikhanovich at the goodbye party for Yessenin-Volpin. Having heard a great deal about him already, I was not a little surprised seeing in front of me the short undersized man in plain glasses with thick lenses, with the face of an intellect of a peasant from the village. This impression was intensified by his completely provincial, "coarse" pronunciation, with Okanye! (Translator's note: Okanye is a linguistics term for pronouncing "O" in a place where educated speakers pronounce it "A". In Moscow this would be considered a sign of an

uneducated person.) Then I even asked one of my friends who knew Shikhanovich very well who he was, anyway, based on this point.

"A Jew!" My friend answered in surprise.

Later, I was surprised more than one time. On one occasion I was introduced to two girls, students of the academician, Kolmogorov, who taught at Moscow State University in the philosophy department. It turned out that they knew Shikhanovich very well because, in the first place, they used his

"Where will the next shell burst?"

mathematics textbook; but principally because they went to his seminars once a week which he held at his home for his former students. (Earlier he taught at the University). Then, after his arrest, they wondered how it would be for them if the KGB asked them to come in. It seems that Shikhanovich was giving lessons free, and to the KGB this seemed suspicious to do so for no money made them think that there was something other than mathematics being discussed!

The spring of 1972 was a hard one for all Soviet "differently-minded" individuals. Yakir was doing time, and in Moscow rumors spread that he was being kept at Lefortov, Krasin and Popov were arrested; Glezer, Markman, Berman Lazar, Lyubarskiy, were tried; and it became known that Kronid Lyubarskiy was being "bothered" for a matter for which Shikhanovich had been summoned to the KGB. (Then, at the trial it became clear that the rumor concerning the depositions of Lyubarskiy apparently had been let out by the KGB). We knew that the lives of Galanskov, Sylvia Zalmanson, and Grigorenko, who had recently been placed in a prisonlike psychiatric hospital for an undetermined period of time were in danger. The judges became ferocious and issued uncommonly harsh sentences: 7, 12 and 15 years -- not for actions, not for demonstrations in a square, but essentially only for thinking differently. In Kiev the 60-year old Daniil Shumuk, who had already spent more than 20 years (8 in former Poland, the rest during the years of Stalin), was sentenced to ten years in prison camps for publishing his memoirs, and to more than five years in exile! By their own "free will," scientific institutes began -- just as in the times of Stalin -- to purge "revisionists" and "Zionists." People set out after one another trying to unmask their colleagues and friends. A friend of mine, a physicist in charge of a laboratory, was dismissed only because he demonstratively refused to subscribe to the magazine "Pravda!"

At the same time, an outrageously high fee was imposed for the former education of persons desiring to leave the country, and for protesting -- persons were beaten, arrested, and kept in such conditions that in 15 days they became invalid.

And, finally, at this same time, the democratic countries were concluding "mutually advantageous agreements" with the Soviet government.

This spring, many of us were on the brink of despair.

On September 18, the eve of the

demonstration against the tax for one's former education, in which I was to participate, Shikhanovich and his wife Aey, came to my house in the evening.

"Do you know that a KGB car is parked in front of your house? A MOTS, number such and such? In the car there are four, and there are two more at the entrance. Why is this?" -- he asked me, turning his head to the side and inquiring by gesture.

"Probably in connection with yesterday's march on the Supreme Soviet."

"Well, well," -- he pronounced, with his customary imperturbability.

Another one of our mutual acquaintances was at our place that night, a person who the day before had been summoned to the KGB for the Yakir affair, and Shikhanovich was giving him a formal interrogation: What they had asked; what he had answered. For example: "Did Yakir show you the Samizdat work?"

"Well, and what did you answer?"

"Well, that he did not show it to me."

"I, for example, would have asked the investigator what he meant by Samizdat. And we would have gotten stuck at that point!"

At ten in the evening my telephone ceased working, and I then knew decisively that tomorrow they would "take" me. All the signs were present.

"Yes, judging from everything, that's so," -- Shikhanovich confirmed. Then quickly and silently, almost to himself, said: -- "Where will the next shell burst?"

But upon leaving, casually and as though there was nobody downstairs at the doors, he recalled:

"Did you want to give me your extra papers? Sure -- give them to me. I can take them if you want." Then he pulled from a jacket pocket an envelope, and from the envelope a small board for writing on with a stirring device -- he always had that with him -- and on it he wrote something that could not be picked up by possible "ears" in the wall. Only on one occasion did he question me without any pressure: "You're leaving and running away from the war?"

"The next shell" burst quite quickly. Leaving prison four days late -- they took me only during the session of the Supreme Soviet -- I soon again met Shikhanovich.

"Let them subpoena you!"

"I think I noticed a tail behind me today," he said to me intensively. And for a while he and I walked along the street, often and quite innocently looking up at passers-by. At the time I gave this very little significance. "Tails" were becoming a common phenomenon at this time. Shikhanovich then asked me to help the family of a friend of ours, and I asked his advice as to how I should act if the KGB pulled me in. At that time they had become greatly interested in me at a quite high level. They phoned me, invited me to talk, and they tempted me with permission to leave (!) Some people advised me to go, but Shikhanovich categorically exclaimed: "Let them subpoena you!"

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by G.F. Willis

The best evidence available shows the Soviet Union pulling ahead of the United States in strategic and conventional military strength. Defense experts in the Pentagon, the Defense Department, and in private research institutions like RAND Corporation warn: the safety and national interests of the United States will be seriously threatened by superior Soviet military power in the very near future. For the past five years, while the United States has been devoted to negotiating limits on strategic arms, the Soviet Union has pursued, as President Nixon said in last month's message to Congress, an "aggressive program" to develop new military weapons. The Soviet Union will soon be the strongest military power on earth unless the United States responds to the challenge quickly and effectively.

In numbers and technology Soviet armaments surpass the United States in almost every category of modern warfare, strategic and tactical. The U.S.S.R. has both more submarine and land based nuclear missiles than the U.S. The Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement (SALT I) reached between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. in the spring of 1972 limits the United States to 1,054 land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's), 44 missile-launching submarines, and 710 submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBM's). Under the agreement the Russians are permitted 1,618 ICBM's, 62 missile-launching submarines, and 950 SLBM's -- an overall strategic advantage of 3 to 2. In addition, the giant Soviet SS-9 intercontinental ballistic missile packs 120% more "throw weight" or deliverable megatonnage than U.S. missiles. The Soviet SS-9 force alone is capable of delivering a

megatonnage of nuclear warheads several times greater than that of the entire U.S. force of ICBM's and SLBM's. Thus the United States is second to the Soviet Union in numbers, size and thermo-nuclear yield. Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, concluded that the U.S.S.R. "now has surpassed us in the total number of strategic offensive delivery vehicles and far surpasses us in total strategic offensive megatons."

For a long time the Soviet advantage in numbers and megatonnage was offset by superior American technology. Only the U.S. had the technology to place more than one warhead on a single ballistic missile. A cluster of separately targeted warheads on top of the same missile is called a MIRV (multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle). A missile equipped with MIRV can deliver more warheads to strike at more targets than a missile without the MIRV. When the SALT I

agreement, which gave the Soviets a quantitative advantage in missile launchers, was signed on May 26, 1972 only the United States possessed MIRV. And according to top military and civilian strategists, as long as Americans had the MIRV and the Soviets did not nuclear parity would exist between the two countries. But there was nothing in the SALT agreements that guaranteed America technological superiority, as the agreements guarantee the Soviets numerical superiority. Last month the Soviet Union successfully tested a MIRV-tipped intercontinental ballistic missile -- 5 years before the United States predicted. All talk of parity stopped. Russia is winning the arms race.

The widening gap between U.S. and U.S.S.R. nuclear forces is symptomatic of the overall decline of U.S. military strength. The Soviet Union outclasses U.S. in conventional land, sea and air forces. The Soviet navy, no more than a coastal fleet in the 50's, today sails all seven seas, a mighty

armada, and according to most experts, the strongest navy in the world. Russia leads America in nuclear and attack submarines, surface cruisers and destroyers, anti-ship missiles and other sophisticated weapon technology. Over the past five years the U.S. fleet has declined to 176 major combat ships. In the same period the Soviets outbuilt the U.S. by 8 to 1.

In the air the Russians lead the U.S. in tactical aircraft 4,500 to 3,900. And although the performance of U.S. F-11 aircraft betters the Russian MIG, the Soviets have made steady improvements in technology and design. The Soviet air defenses, which includes the deadly SA-6 so effective against Israeli aircraft in the recent Middle East War -- boasts over 10,000 launchers, significantly more than the U.S.

Manpower totals projected for July 1975 indicated that 202 million American men and women will be in uniform next year, down from 3 million years ago. The 1975

troop level will be the lowest since before the Korean war -- and over 1 million less than the Soviet Union maintains. The troop reduction is part and parcel of a more fundamental shift in military strategy. In 1970 the U.S. was prepared, if necessary to fight a 2-front war -- in Europe and in Asia -- and a limited action against local rebels at the same time. Since withdrawing from Vietnam the U.S. has adopted what military men call a 1 1/2 front strategy. In the 1 1/2 war scenario the United States could fight a major war in Europe but not in Asia, and a brushfire war somewhere else in the world. That means America has abandoned its commitment to defend Asia against a Communist attack in all but name. In Europe, many question, especially our Western European allies, the ability of the combined troops of NATO and the U.S. to withstand a Communist assault for long. On the European front free world forces lag behind the Communist nations by 100,000 men, 2,410 tactical aircraft and 12,500 tanks. The U.S. advantage in tactical nuclear weapons is balanced by 630 Russian intermediate range ballistic missiles pointed at the heart of Western Europe. After all the multiplication and addition we are faced with the sad fact -- America is in danger.

In one sense, of course, the number of nuclear missiles, the size of nuclear warheads, ships at sea or the number of men abroad makes no difference -- in simple, gross megatonnage both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. possess sufficient power to destroy world civilization many times over. But unless a nation is willing to go all out and risk total nuclear destruction, the relative strategic and conventional military power of that nation will influence the outcome of all other forms of confrontations up to and including a limited nuclear war.

As the Soviet Union grows stronger, America's ability to influence events abroad will diminish; other nations will drift more and more into the Russian orbit, leaving the United States isolated and impotent. A "Blue Ribbon Defense Panel" convened by President Nixon reported even as early as 1971, "Since World War II a degree of world order has been maintained by the dominance of U.S. military strength. This American preserved world order is now disintegrating as doubt arises as to our will and strength to preserve it. There is reason to believe that the Soviet Union envisions of a new era which it will dominate, employing superior military power and the threat of its use to achieve long-cherished, political, economic and even military objectives." For the past quarter of a century the Soviet Union, though in a relatively inferior strategic position, has run amuck to the world. No evidence indicates that a superior Soviet state will be any less aggressive or more willing to accept the existence of a free world.

The Blue Ribbon Defense Panel goes on to conclude: "The road to peace has never been through appeasement, unilateral disarmament, or negotiation from weakness. Weakness of the U.S. of its military capability and its will could be the gravest threat to the peace of the world."

At this time in history Americans are faced with grave choices. But America has met crisis before and triumphed. Advice comes down to us through the ages from an American in America that also faced hard decisions. On the eve of America's entry into the war of 1812, Daniel Webster said, "those who want freedom must be ready to defend it." His words are as true today as then. Next Week: More on Defense

THE BALANCE OF POWER

Hungary: Detente's Decoy

by Ray Mas

Just how far any Western nation is willing to pursue its quest for detente is unfortunately becoming increasingly clear. A case in point is the development in Hungary of an East European version of East-West detente. That Hungary should serve as an example of detente is actually not surprising. Since the installment of Janos Kadar after the 1956 revolt, Hungary's reputation has been derived from its closeness to the Soviets as well as its extreme orthodoxy. So orthodox, in fact, has been Hungary's stand, that it was not until 1964 that American and Hungarian charges d'affaires were replaced by ambassadors, some eight years after the revolt.

In light of this, it seems fairly obvious that Hungary's moves toward the West are ones that may not be sanctioned by the Soviets, but may indeed be orchestrated by the Kremlin in an effort to hold out additional "carrots" to the West, particularly the United States.

The recent events surrounding the forced retirement of Cardinal Mindszenty have been the most outwardly dramatic. Nevertheless, by far they are not the only ones, nor are they isolated incidents, either. Rather, the Cardinal's forced resignation represents part of a concerted move toward detente, Soviet style.

Hungarian - U.S. Relations

One of the most significant yet little known events in Hungarian - U.S. relations, was the recent private visit of a Hungarian technical delegation, headed by Karoly Rogoz, Deputy Minister for Transportation and Postal Affairs, to the Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, an association of about 100 private American companies. Ostensibly, the delegation's task was to obtain the necessary knowledge to rejuvenate the Hungarian airline industry by introducing increased technological sophistication, especially in Budapest's Ferihegy airport.

The delegation showed a marked interest in obtaining American-made airliners. The general East-European distrust for Soviet manufactured goods, coupled with an unusually high amount of tragic air disasters

involving Soviet built airliners, has been the principal external motivating factors behind Hungary's overtures. Yet, underlying this, it is becoming ever more clear that Hungary is being groomed as an East-European model of Soviet detente, a role which it is not unhappily accepting, considering the prospects of greater trade with the West.

Incident Hushed

In stark contrast to these activities stands an incident virtually unknown to the American public. The incident concerned the expulsion from Hungary on November 29th of last year of Dr. Istvan Deak of Columbia University in New York. Dr. Deak, a Hungarian emigre and eminent historian, was representing an exchange program of the International Research Exchange Board. There he was researching for a biography of the 19th century Hungarian orator and patriot, Lajos Kossuth. Upon handing Dr. Deak a subpoena, the Hungarian government accused him of subversive activities and labeled him a danger to the Hungarian state.

In a system such as Sovietized Communism, which seems to breed sprawling bureaucracies, it would not be entirely impossible that Dr. Deak's expulsion was the work of an overzealous bureaucrat. Such an explanation might seem credible were it not for the two month long silence that has been incurred. Such a lengthy silence can only mean tacit government approval of Dr. Deak's expulsion. Within the context of Dr. Deak's expulsion and Cardinal Mindszenty's forced retirement on Hungarian demands, it seems quite obvious that Hungary, like the Soviet Union, is far from prepared to bring a "spirit of detente" within its own borders.

Silent Threats

The now deadening silence which has prevailed in the White House over Mr. Solzhenitsyn's expulsion is only saddening proof of the myopic vision of our chief foreign policy makers. Claims that official condemnation might ruin the "spirit of detente" are shamefully hollow in the face of



During the 1956 Revolution the Hungarians tore the Soviet-imposed symbol from their flags. It then became a freedom symbol.

the Mindszents, the Solzhenitsyns, and the countless others, unknown to us, who struggle daily against overwhelming odds to affirm the human spirit. Claims that we must be wary of the dangers of nuclear warfare can only bring to mind the words of Lajos Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot who said, "I am a man of peace. God knows how I love peace. But I hope I shall never be such a coward as to mistake oppression for peace."

In our quest for true peace it is too easy to accept a peace of expediency. In the frantic months before the Second World War such a peace was naively branded as "peace in our time." That lesson, hard-learned, must not be forgotten. The warnings are clear: the handwriting on the wall is plain: whether Hungarian or Soviet in style, in essence the choice is the same "peace in our time," or peace for our children's children.

Aggression Continues In Cambodia

by Gaffar Peang-Meth

Prime Minister Long Boret told Jean Claude Pomonti of *Le Monde* (January 26, 1974) that the numbers of the North Vietnamese in the Khmer Republic are not as great as when the war of aggression started in 1970, but the North Vietnamese are still there. Unless the North Vietnamese allow a head count of their soldiers by an impartial observer no one can know for sure how many troops they have in Cambodia. The Khmers who have opposed the North Vietnamese and Vietcong aggressors since 1970 have estimated that there were some 60,000 NVN/VC troops on Khmer soil in 1970, and between 40 and 45,000 today. No less than five North Vietnamese regular divisions continue to occupy the northeastern part of the Khmer Republic.

That there are North Vietnamese and Vietcong regular troops in the Khmer Republic no one seems to deny. Miss Elizabeth Becker wrote that there are North Vietnamese at the Angkor temples (*The Washington Post*, January 20, 1974, p.F-5). On February 11, 1974, the *New York Times* published an article by *Agence France Presse* that in Battambang province (northwestern part of Cambodia) "some North Vietnamese troops have infiltrated around the Tonle Sap lake. Others act as advisers to the Cambodian rebel units." Meanwhile Mr. Philip A. McCombs cabled from Svay Rieng (northeastern Cambodia) that the "North Vietnamese army and Khmer Communist troops roam freely" out there in the forest (*The Washington Post*, February 11, 1974). Mr. Wendell S. Merick of the *U.S. News & World Report* (February 18, 1974) stressed that "between 3,000 and 7,000 North Vietnamese still served with the insurgents as advisers or technicians. Another 18,000 North Vietnamese in Northeast Cambodia operated supply lines" from North Vietnam. According to the same source "the insurgents doubt that they have the muscle to capture Phnom Penh without North Vietnam's aid" so "they urgently asked Hanoi to transfer the North Vietnamese Ninth Division... to the Phnom Penh front." Hanoi sent "combat demolition units."

So, foreign reporters agree among themselves that there are North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops in the Khmer Republic. Where they differ in their opinions is in their attempts to make distinctions between the so-called North Vietnamese and Vietcong "combatants" and "non-combatants."

But the facts remain irrefutable of the 40 to 45,000 NVN/VC troops on Khmer soil, about 1/3 are actively engaged in combat. The rest play diverse roles in the North Vietnamese war efforts to implement Ho Chi Minh's goal: an Indochinese Communist Federation.

What should one call the North Vietnamese and Vietcong foreign elements who are armed to the teeth to bring down the legal government of an independent, sovereign state, a member of the United Nations, if not aggressors? When a foreign army invades another country with a view toward dominating it, is this not an aggression? The Geneva Agreements of 1954 and the Paris Peace Agreements of 1973 stipulate that all foreign troops must be withdrawn from Khmer territory and that all countries must not interfere in Khmer internal affairs. The North Vietnamese and the Vietcong have done just the opposite: they violate the very accords they signed. It is they who represent the barrier to peace in the Khmer Republic.

The Khmer insurgents do not have the capability to defeat the Khmer Republic militarily - and the world knows it. They can keep up their war efforts only with the aid of North Vietnam. Hence, as the Khmer Prime Minister told *Le Monde*, "Hanoi has the key to the Indochinese situation, not Moscow or Peking."

To restore peace in the Khmer Republic, it is necessary that the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong abide by the 1954 Geneva Agreements and the 1973 Paris Peace Agreements; withdraw their troops from Khmer territory and allow the Khmers to settle their internal affairs without outside interference.

AFTER THE SHELLING

"On this sad occasion, on behalf of the President and in the name of the Government, I call upon all humanitarian organizations, both national and international, to help supplement the Government's aid to the victims, and to condemn and denounce these criminal acts by the enemy aggressors."

Long Boret

The American Friends of Cambodia has been recently formed. If you are interested in finding out more about the committee, call or write to it directly at 735 11th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001 or (202) 872-8700. Mr. L. Schiavini is the Acting President.

"And What About Greece?"

The Problem of Rightist Wrongs

by Hal McKenzie

One of the most distressing problems for liberal anti-Communists is the tendency of many governments, when faced with Communist subversion or takeover, to turn into oppressive police-states, sometimes assuming the tyrannical characteristics of their adversary. This tendency presents us with a moral dilemma. We are against the tyranny and suppression of human rights that Communism entails but can we in all conscience support regimes which are also suppressing human rights, even if it is in the name of anti-Communism? Can a right-wing dictatorship be more worthy of support than a leftwing dictatorship?

This dilemma is exploited to the hilt by Communist supporters who use it as an argument for withdrawing U.S. support of regimes such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Taiwan, and Korea who are fighting for their lives against Communism but who engage in some suppression of human rights. It is also used to diffuse the Free World's unity and strength of purpose by making anti-Communism appear to be an exclusive hobby of fascists, racists, and demagogues. This association is so pervasive that those who are opposed to Communism but believe in liberal values are prone to hide their convictions for fear of being labeled "rightist."

Communist Accusations
In dealing with this problem, it is important to keep in mind that a favorite tactic of a criminal is to "cry thief" against someone else in order to divert attention from his own crimes. The Communists are masters at this, loudly accusing the West of everything from police brutality to genocide, crimes which the Communists themselves are constantly committing on a much greater scale. This is not only a diversionary tactic but a result of the Communists' negative view of reality. Having no feelings of good will, honesty, or trust within themselves, they naturally cannot ascribe them to anyone else except as contemptible weakness.

Unfortunately many Western liberals accept Communist-inspired

accusations uncritically, automatically admitting that they have some basis in reality but without examining where the accusations are coming from. If they knew the nature of the regimes or groups which are hurling the accusations, they would come to feel that the criticism is unjustified as if Al Capone were to accuse someone of corruption or Hitler accuse someone of anti-Semitism.

Limited Designs

Also the anti-Communist regimes in question, though labeled "totalitarian", do not have designs on the rest of the world. The Greek junta is not interested in conquering the world but Brezhnev, Mao, Kim Il-sung, et al., are. Right-wing tyranny is usually a local phenomena concentrated on nationalistic or at most racist lines; Communist tyranny is global in its designs and therefore is worse in degree and extent.

But this does not resolve the ethical dilemma. Even if one person were to be falsely accused or wrongly imprisoned in the name of anti-Communism we could not condone or support it, if we were to remain true to our ideals of justice and individual rights. The sad fact is that many regimes, threatened by Communism, try to "fight fire with fire," using dictatorial methods against their populace. This is not only damaging to the people; in the long run it furthers the Communist cause. The Communists would much rather be faced with a host of petty dictatorships than with a single society which is united and free. Right-wing dictatorship only provides more "contradictions" for the Communists to exploit, and the energy and attention that the regimes expend in keeping their population in line diverts them from solving the real economic and social problems which provide a base for Communist agitation and propaganda.

Motivation

The very term "fight fire with fire" shows the irrationality of the dictatorial response to Communism. When you think about it, in how many cases does one "fight fire with fire"? In most

instances, one fights it with water, or foam, sand, anything cold and smothering which is contrary to fire. Applying this metaphor to Communism, the motivating force of Communism is its conflict-prone, negatively-biased ideology of Marxism-Leninism which thrives best in an atmosphere of conflict, mistrust, and hatred and is fueled by violent and angry passions. The one thing which can smother the fire of Communism is an atmosphere of trust, cooperation, and love between the leaders and followers in a society. Wherever such a relationship exists, Communism has never been able to obtain a foothold.

The Communists recognize this, condemning and destroying any efforts or ideas which could lead to cooperation and unity between classes and groups. Marx wrote in *Das Kapital*, "The more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of the dominated classes, the more stable and dangerous its rule." In other words, for Marxists, the most dangerous thing about any government is its ability to win the love and respect of its people!

Spiritual Values

For this reason, also, the Communists condemn and try to destroy religion. Lenin said that Communism is the death blow to religion; but the fact is, conversely, that religion is the death blow to Communism. All of the world's great religions are essentially antithetical to Communism because they can see a higher reality than mere materialism, and they emphasize positive, cooperative ideals and respect for human dignity and life, rather than contradiction and conflict. In Tibet, Eastern Europe, Cambodia and even within Red China and North Korea, religious consciousness is the "bourgeois thought" the Communists fear most.

In the case of America, Christian humanism and natural philosophy of the Founding Fathers fostered a respect for human dignity, a commitment to serve mankind, and to extend to others the benefits of freedom. The Judeo-Christian ideal of the Family of Man under God

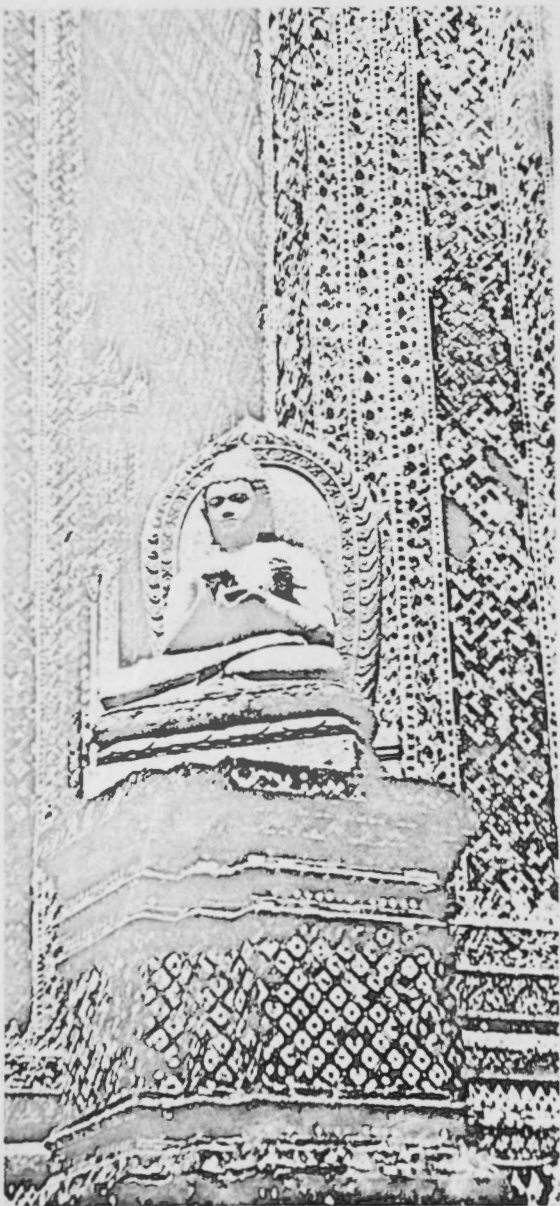
prevented ideas of caste and class from developing along rigid lines and allowed immigrants, Jews, and blacks to rise to positions of influence in our society. Also the virtues of fair play, humility, support of the down-trodden, and responsible activism make democracy possible. Without such virtues, violence and tyranny flourish. It is a measure of the effectiveness of these values in fighting Communism that the Communists so strenuously try to erode spiritual values. The fault of religion lies not in its intrinsic values but in that these values have not been applied strongly and consistently enough.

Counter Appeal

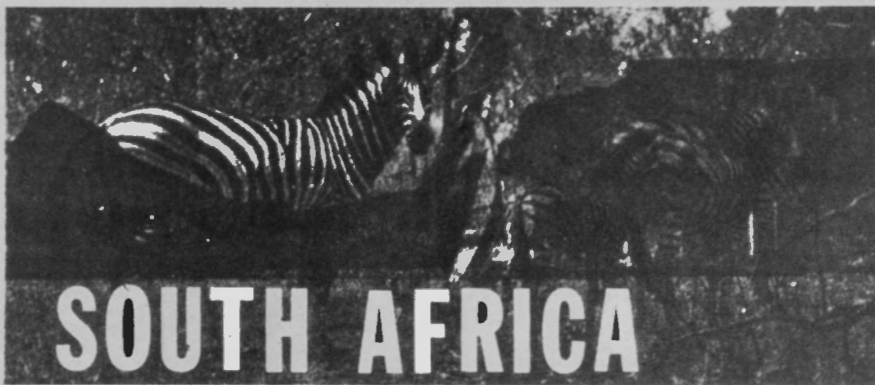
As the historian Arnold Toynbee has shown, religion is the cement that holds a society together and motivates it to work for a common goal. The success of Communism derives from the fact that it is a sort of secular religion, even though it denies God and holds class war as its highest sacrament. It is this "faith" that gives direction and certainty of victory to its cadres, legitimizes its regimes (no matter how oppressive) and justifies the sacrifices of the millions under its control. However, no matter how irrational and destructive the Marxist faith is, it offers more than no faith and no purpose, which is the state of mind of many Western intellectuals. Because of this lack of a forceful alternative, the Communist conflagration is spreading so quickly in many areas of the world, and many regimes react in a negative and dictatorial way, unable to counter the appeal of Communism to their own people.

Many embattled governments have tried to strengthen the spiritual resources in their countries against Communism, seeking the support of their national religions or churches. Although necessary, this alone is not enough. Communism is a world-wide movement, therefore only a world-wide response can effectively defeat it. Communism has a global outlook and global strategy - but the outlook of many regimes does

(Continued on page 7)



Religious values provide a cohesive force strengthening societies against totalitarian takeovers.



SOUTH AFRICA

The Problem of Apartheid

by Hal McKenzie

This is the second of several exploratory articles on Africa to be done by the FLF staff.

Che Guevara's dream of "one, two, many Vietnams" seems to be shaping up as a reality in Africa. There are at least five small but growing guerilla movements in Africa; in Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique, Rhodesia, and Namibia (part of South Africa). The situation seems to be following the classical Vietnamese pattern. Indigenous "nationalist" movements are fighting against white "colonialist" regimes, becoming more and more armed, trained, and ideologized by Russian and Chinese Communists, and regarded sympathetically as "freedom fighters" by a significant portion of Western liberal opinion. Russia's designs for naval supremacy over the Indian Ocean and China's desire to be leader of the "third world" nations adds big-power confrontation and competition to the mix. America's role so far has been cautious—maintaining official disapproval of the racial policies of the White regimes while quietly maintaining economic investment and avoiding involvement in the countries' internal affairs.

This situation presents great perils but also great opportunities to the U.S. The peril is that the U.S. might find itself outflanked by Russia in the Indian Ocean and pushed out of the African continent by the ascendancy of Communist influence among the majority of Africans. The

U.S. might also find itself saddled with the onerous necessity of supporting unpopular neo-colonialist regimes against the native insurgents, similar to America's support of the French against the Viet Minh in 1954.

The opportunity is that the U.S. can act in Africa in such a way as to bring lasting peace and stability to the area, avoiding the same mistakes that made the Vietnam conflict such a trauma for the U.S. and the Vietnamese.

Apartheid Policy

The major stumbling block in American relations with Southern Africa is the white-supremacist and "apartheid" policy of the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese regimes. It certainly is in America's interests to halt Communist influence in the area, but colonialism and apartheid are contrary to America's democratic ideals. America joined with the United Nations in voting for economic sanctions against the Ian Smith government of Rhodesia, and there are calls from Congress and the public that the U.S. withdraw all economic investment from the Republic of South Africa.

In a following series of articles, we will examine the patterns of white-supremacy in Africa to try to find what America's response should be.

Apartheid (which means, literally "separateness"), the South African policy of strict racial separation between whites and blacks, is a unique institution in human history. Its apologists say that it will eventually allow the races to develop "along their own lines." The Afrikaners, descendants of the Dutch "voortrekkers" or pioneers, maintain that

it is the only way to preserve their God-given racial identity and Calvinist faith. Its critics contend that it is merely an excuse for the retention of power by a minority having the effect of making the black African a trespasser in his own land, besides being an affront to human dignity and a tool of economic and cultural oppression of the blacks.

Apartheid can be divided into "Grand" and "Petty" forms. Grand apartheid is the separation of the different tribes into separate "homelands" within South Africa, elaborated by Prime Minister Verwoerd in 1960, where the natives are supposedly free to develop their own areas, eventually achieving a sort of national autonomy within a South African commonwealth. Petty apartheid is the strict segregation of everyday life between blacks and whites in the towns. It is similar to the segregation that used to be practiced in the Southern states of the U.S. — segregation of park benches, drinking fountains, restrooms, marriage, job opportunities, etc. The difference is that in South Africa this segregation is not just a "de facto" social custom but is firmly institutionalized as the law of the land, backed by the police and courts.

To understand how this peculiar institution came into being, a glance at South African history is necessary.

The first colonists in South Africa were "Free Burghers" brought to Capetown by the Dutch in 1657 to raise food for a fueling station for ships rounding the Cape of Good Hope. The aboriginal Hottentots, a mild race of blacks, were soon subjugated and assimilated into a landless proletariat. The Bushmen farther inland were pushed into the deserts. The first settlers had little prejudice against color — the main

division was between Christian and heathen. Converted blacks could become accepted into society and even intermarry with whites. The descendants of such inter-marriages are known today as "Cape Coloreds." However, slaves were introduced from other parts of Africa in 1658 and racial inferiority became structured into society. The color-consciousness of the Afrikaner originated, as in the American South, from the mentality of the slave-owner.

The colonists gradually spread into the interior, evolving into the semi-nomadic farmer-ranchers known as the "trek-boers." These hardy nomads were poor, isolated, and Bible-based. They were Calvinists. The Bible was often their only source of literature. In the Old Testament they could find many parallels with their own situation. They were a law unto themselves, forming a sort of primitive aristocracy. Because of slavery, certain menial tasks came to be regarded by them as unfit work for white men. They eventually came to impinge upon the Bantu-speaking Xhosa tribe. In the hundred years following 1777 nine "Kaffir Wars" were fought, the Xhosas always being defeated, but never conquered.

The British took the Cape from the Dutch by arms in 1795, obtaining permanent jurisdiction over it in 1806. With British rule came a new and, for the Afrikaners, shocking administrative principle of "equality before the law." The British colonial administrators began to investigate allegations of mistreatment of slaves and Hottentots, which greatly incensed the Dutchmen.

An act of Parliament abolished slavery in 1833. The Boers, untouched by the humanistic trends in Western thought which had led to this decision, rejected the conventional morality of the world outside of South Africa. In 1836 the Boers migrated en masse out of the colony to escape from British rule. This became known as "the Great Trek," and its participants, the "voortrekkers," or pioneers. The emancipation of the slaves was their final grievance, but, as one of them wrote afterwards, "it is not so much their freedom that drove us to such lengths as their being placed on an equal footing with the Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and religion, wherefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity." As the Boers withdrew into the interior, the Colonial Office followed in their wake, annexing more and more territory for the British empire.

In 1853 a representative government was granted to the Cape Colony and independence to the Voortrekkers beyond the Vaal River, which led to the formation of the Transvaal or South African Republic. Thus two distinct philosophies of government evolved in South Africa, each with a completely different attitude toward color. The essence of the Cape tradition was equality before the law, the franchise was based on a property distinction and no attempt was made to exclude non-whites. In Natal, a new racial group appeared the Indians, 6,000 of whom were brought in as indentured servants in 1860 to serve the interests of the sugar growers. They soon became integrated into the economy, displaying talent as traders.

The Europeans of Natal showed a racial prejudice against the Indians in contrast to the liberalism of the Cape but did not go as far as the legally-enforced discrimination of the Boer republics. The Transvaal at that time was a loose association of ranching families, constantly involved in irksome wars with the natives. The British tried to re-annex the Transvaal in 1877 because it seemed to be drifting into bankruptcy and anarchy. It was hoped that a federation with the other colonies could be forced on the Boers, and the British could withdraw after some stability was achieved.

However, the Boers rose in revolt, which led to the Boer War of 1899-1902. The British put over 450,000 men into the field, the largest overseas campaign they ever conducted in an effort to suppress Afrikaner nationalism. The last stages of war

were extremely bitter, leading to a scorched-earth policy against the Boers. Boer refugees were confined in camps, where over 20,000 of them died of disease. Peace was finally concluded, the British maintaining their rule but conceding to the Boers the security of the Dutch language and forestalling until the introduction of self-government the question of giving the vote to the natives.

The war hardened the nationalistic and racial consciousness of the Boers more than ever. Even in defeat they became even more determined to preserve their language, customs and beliefs from outside influence. Their mentality is symbolized by the "Laager," the protective ring of ox-wagons which was their defense against the Bantus in the Great Trek.

Eight years after the Boer war, the four colonies — the Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River colony, and Transvaal — came together in the Union of South Africa.

In the years between 1902 and the election of 1948, Afrikaner nationalism emerged as the most dominant political force in South Africa. At first the English

of groups and tribes, without a common language, at different stages of development, divided by tribal hostilities and economic jealousies.

The first political activity of the non-white population was conducted by the Indians, who had found a leader of genius in Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, a young barrister who came to South Africa in 1893. He remained in South Africa for 20 years. There he evolved the first steps of his famous non-violent resistance tactics which were to have such an incalculable effect all over the world. In 1894 he founded the Natal Indian Congress to defend the rights of Indians who were about to be excluded from the franchise on the grounds of race. In 1906 he led a movement of protest in the Transvaal against the "Pass Laws." The concessions he won were small, but it was surprising that they had been achieved at all. In 1914 he returned to India.

In 1912 the Africans formed the first organization of their own, the South African Native National Congress. It attempted, without success, to gain white sympathy in opposition to the Native Land Act of 1913, which introduced the prin-

The war hardened the nationalistic and racial consciousness of the Boers more than ever... They became determined to preserve their language, customs, and beliefs from outside influence.

dominated industry, commerce and the professions and were contemptuous of the Afrikaners' language and traditions. The Afrikaners' first spokesman was Gen. James Hertzog, who formed the National Party in 1914 to defend the interests of Afrikanerdom. In 1918 a number of "nationally minded Afrikaners" formed a secret society called the Broederbond (League of Brothers). Its aim was the furtherance of Afrikaner welfare and the preservation of their national identity. In time, they established a network of cells which linked the National Party with the Dutch Reformed Churches, the teaching profession, the public service, the army, the police and fields of commerce and industry. In all but doctrine, they greatly resembled the Bolsheviks. They evolved by themselves Lenin's techniques of organization, party discipline, and strict ideological conformity. Their desire was to create a South Africa in which the "right-thinking" Afrikaner would not only survive but implant his doctrines in the hearts of those living in his country.

The English liberals, elitist and disdainful of the Afrikaners but divided in their loyalties and without a strong ideological base, compromised more and more with the National Party, usually at the expense of the non-whites. Each successive administration contributed to the mass of legislation imposing a pattern of segregation of whites and blacks. Apartheid began to appeal more and more to the white electorate. Dutch and English. Finally, in the election of 1948, the Nationalists achieved a clear majority in Parliament, and Daniel Malan, a staunch Afrikaner, was elected Prime Minister. With the election of 1948, Cape liberalism became a dying hope.

Immediately after 1948 apartheid showed itself in its most negative sense. Legislation was passed forbidding mixed marriages and extending the penalties for sexual intercourse across color lines. A population register was created in which men and women would be classified, in perpetuity, by race; there could be no more "passing for white." Residential segregation in towns was enforced not merely between whites and non-whites but between different kinds of non-whites as well. "Petty apartheid" was emphasized, including public transport, elevators, and entrances to public buildings. The government also succeeded after five years, over the objections of the opposition, to remove the colored voters of the Cape Province from the common electoral roll.

The non-whites of South Africa could do little to affect this trend. They were not a community but a set

ciple of segregation of ownership of land. The African Native National Congress (renamed the African National Congress in 1919) was little more than a debating society with no political powers. It summoned an "All African Convention" in 1935 to declare its opposition to the elimination of the Cape Coloreds' franchise, but that was as far as it went. After 1948, the National Indian Congress appealed to the Indian Government, who brought the issue to the United Nations.

Much hostility against South Africa was generated in the UN, but this only had the effect of consolidating the defensive unity of the Nationalist government at home. The African National Congress became more active after World War II, as new leaders began to replace the older, more deferential leaders, and Africans became inspired by the post-war idealism of anti-colonialism and UN Declaration of Human Rights. A defiance campaign was launched in 1952, taking much of its character from the non-violent tactics of Gandhi. Thousands of blacks were arrested for such offenses as using "whites only" amenities in public places. The leaders were arrested under a provision of the Suppression of Communism act which made it an offense to attempt political change through illegal action. This "statutory Communism" had nothing to do with Communism in the usual sense of the word.

The Africans hoped to achieve a change of mind in the whites, but the movement led to open violence which only consolidated white opposition. There were riots in several cities in which the attitude of the African mobs was indiscriminately hostile to whites, and the police opened fire. The disturbances quickly subsided.

In 1955, a "Congress of the People" met near Johannesburg. There were nearly 3,000 delegates representing all of the major non-white political groups, as well as a white group with Communist affiliations calling itself the Congress of Democrats. The Congress endorsed a document known as the Freedom Charter, which combined its far-reaching hopes and exhortations to peace and brotherly love, with demands for universal suffrage, equal rights for "all national groups and races," the nationalization of banks, mines, and industry, the sharing of the land and the abolition of apartheid in all its forms. The slogan "The People shall Govern" now began to make its appearance.

The government in reaction conducted an extended series of raids against the organizations, arresting about 150 men and women of all

(Continued on page 8)

An Opinion

Looking Beyond Ourselves

by G.F. Willis

* More than six million people will die from starvation in the dry, arid regions of West Africa.

* Hundreds of thousands on the sterile plains which stretch through South Asia lack enough food to survive.

* Millions of men and women will leave their meager, unproductive farms for the cities in search of jobs only to find that there are no jobs.

* Seventy to seventy five million new babies will swell the ranks of humanity—90% of the increase coming in countries without proper health care or educational programs.

Starvation — urbanization — unemployment — overpopulation —

These are only some of the problems facing the poorer nations of the earth — in this year alone.

Yet in this year, of all years, the United States is drawing back from foreign aid programs. For example, the House of Representatives voted to reject a request from the International Development Association for 1.3 billion dollars worth of foreign economic assistance. Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank and the International Development Association called the House move an "unmitigated disaster for hundreds of millions of people in the poorest nations of the world." For the people in these countries the U.S. contribution to IDA means the realization of "some alleviation of their poverty and desperation," according to McNamara.

The rejection of the IDA request comes as the culmination of an overall cutback of U.S. economic aid to foreign countries. In relation to national income, the U.S. effort is only 1/10 of what it was 25 years ago. Congressmen say the "high cost of living" and the "energy crisis" are prominent reasons for the cutback. But today America's per capita income is 45% higher than it was at the height of our aid efforts 25 years ago — 30 to 40 times higher than that of people in the poorest



nations. And how can we compare the relative cost difference between an American housewife waiting in line one hour for gas and a 2-year-old African baby missing 3 meals a day? When famine swept India in 1967 the U.S. contributed 11 billion dollars to help save the victims. This year the worst famine in modern history is raging in West Africa. U.S. relief dollars total only \$300,000 so far.

U.S. Commitment

Many people argue that American foreign aid money is used wastefully and ineffectively. Certainly new programs and policies to distribute aid, promote economic development and insure self-help are vitally important. But first the American people must

unite behind the aid effort. America is the only nation in a position to raise the economic and social standards of the poorer countries.

And why should Americans care about the rest of the world? Charity? New markets? To check Communism? For all of these reasons and more. Economic aid is only a means to the greater end of peace and freedom. If our means and ends conjoin, then American dollars and spirit can lift mankind into a new era of vision and hope. Such efforts will free America from her guilt and doubt and free others from self-pity and fear. This is the task before us. It is not the responsibility of the IDA or Congress alone. It is for all of us to share.

And Also The Muslims

by Lorenzo Gaztanaga



Area of the Soviet Union with a large concentration of Muslims.

The situation of the Muslim people in the U.S.S.R. has been largely ignored in the West. The Muslims' situation has always played a secondary role to that of Jews and Christians. This may be because of two factors: the traditional isolation of the central Asian and Caucasian peoples where the majority of the Soviet Muslims

live, and to the lack of a unified voice by Muslims in the free world.

In order to obtain a broader and deeper view of Marxist effects on the Muslims we must know a few important and basic facts. Probably most Westerners do not even know that there are Soviet Muslims. In reality they are a substantial group in the U.S.S.R., one which has had

an impact and been a matter of concern to the Czarists of old as well as the Marxists of today.

According to the 1959 Soviet census there were 25 million Soviet Muslims in the U.S.S.R. or 13% of the total population. This population is spread over the Kazakh and Central Asian Republics where Muslims number about 55%, the Caucasus at 25%, and the Volga region at 20%. The Muslim population is composed of about 38 different nationalities. Nearly 84% of these belong to Turkish stock and speak varieties of the same Turkish language. The remaining percentage are divided into 8% Iranian stock and 7% Ibero-Caucasian.

Czarist Times

From the time of the Czars these people were considered part of the Russian nation. Both they and their land have economic and political value. The land, very rich in cotton and in oil, serves as a buffer along an 1800 mile border with the Red Chinese.

Life under both the Czarist and Marxist systems has not been pleasant to these Muslims. During Czarist times treatment of Muslims was not extreme, at least in comparison to that of the Jews. This is not to say that they were either loved or respected as equals by their overlords. The Czarists viewed the Muslims as an economically sound investment and as serfs.

Under Marxism

Real oppression with the thrust of Russifying the Muslims did not start until the coming of the Marxist-Leninists. They have used political, social, economic and cultural as well as coercive means to bring these people in line with their plans. The Soviets set arbitrary lines to create new republics and territories. Some of these are Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, Tjikistan, and Turkmenistan. These were made seemingly to be the fulfillment of nationalist desires. The borders often cut apart closely-knit areas, resulting in persons of similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds living under different jurisdictions and governments. In the 1920's, when most of the apportionment took place, nearly 95% of the Muslims were illiterate. Naturally many of them did not even know to which "nationality" they belonged.

Conscription in the army is another and perhaps most effective tool of Russification. Hence Muslims were thinly dispersed among other troops to prevent formation of nationalist cliques from within. They were also exposed to the heavy indoctrination that any Soviet soldier must endure.

Islamic faith provides a deeply ingrained way of life affecting politics, economics and social structure. Yet since 1921, when Islam

(Continued on page 8)

advertisement

Letters From AIM That The Editors Chose Not to Print

Accuracy in Media has found that newspaper editors frequently do not print letters calling attention to incorrect statements that the paper has published. The following are examples of AIM letters to several papers that were not printed.

NBC's Violation of Fairness Doctrine

January 29, 1974

The Editor
Time Magazine
Rockefeller Center
New York, N.Y. 10020

Sir:

Your article, "Who Decides Fairness?" in the February 4 issue of *Time*, omitted certain very important facts bearing on the question of whether or not NBC's program on private pension plans was unfair.

You might have informed your readers that at the time the program was aired, controversial legislation affecting private pension plans was before Congress. The NBC program was highly praised by the sponsors of this legislation and was criticized by business and labor groups who were critical of the legislative proposals. NBC admitted that its interest in producing a program on the subject of pensions was aroused by reports of two Senate committees concerned with this legislation.

NBC originally contended that its program dealt with private pension plans in America "comprehensively and accurately." After it became clear that this was not a tenable position and that there was a danger that the FCC might actually invoke the requirements of the fairness doctrine the network shifted ground and argued that the program was focusing only on the failures of the system, not on the system as a whole. NBC's problem is that a transcript of the program shows clearly that the program did purport to deal with the broad questions of private pension plan performance and with such issues as portability, vesting, funding and fiduciary relationships. These happened to also be issues involved in the controversial legislative proposals.

Rather than enlighten the viewers about the complexities involved in these issues and provide them with proper perspective by pointing out that the abuses shown occurred only in a very small percentage of the private pension plans, NBC chose to present a one-sided, emotional program that can only be called "propagandistic". It was designed to produce an emotional response on the part of the viewers who would presumably take pen in hand and demand enactment of remedial legislation.

We do not believe this is good journalism. We have cited by way of contrast a story on private pension plans in *The Washington Post* which covered both sides of the controversy, helping the reader understand the facts and make up his own mind. We have pointed out that *The Washington Post* is under no legal obligation to present both sides of controversial issues, but in this case it chose to do so simply because that was what good journalism required.

NBC, on the other hand, is legally obligated to present both sides. It chose not to do so, and it perversely contends that one-sided propaganda tied in with controversial legislation is good journalism.

That is what the fairness doctrine was designed to prevent. If this can be done with respect to the controversy over private pension plan performance, it can equally well be done with respect to busing, abortions or any of a hundred other controversial issues.

AIM thinks broadcast licensees should avoid propagandizing for legislation or candidates they favor. We are happy to see that the F.C.C. agrees.

Times Fails to Identify Solzhenitsyn Attacker

January 25, 1974

The New York Times

To the Editor:

On January 25, *The Times* carried a story describing an attack on the Soviet author, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, by an American named Albert Kahn. *The Times* did not identify Kahn, but it did print Moscow's description of him to the effect that he was a distinguished American writer.

Readers of *The Times* might well have wondered who this distinguished writer was who would sink to assisting the Soviet regime in its effort to discredit the brave and brilliant Solzhenitsyn. No famous writer of that name is listed in *Who's Who*.

However, AIM was able to find that an Albert Kahn was questioned about his alleged connections with the Communist Party by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in March 1955. He took refuge in the Fifth Amendment. This same Albert Kahn had previously been identified as having been active in the New York State Communist Party in the late 1940's, and he had been a member of a long list of Communist front groups.

Could this be the "distinguished writer" who has attacked Solzhenitsyn in Moscow? Would *The Times* complete the story and tell its readers just who and what Albert Kahn is?

AIM Contrasted With the National News Council

December 5, 1973

Editor
The Washington Post

To the editor:

In a recent article on the National News Council, *The Post* said that the council was "hearing several times a week from Accuracy in Media, Inc." *The Post* goes on to quote the executive director of the council as saying, "we certainly hope we're not going to be used on a regular basis by organizations with big public relations departments."

The statement that AIM is writing to the council several times a week is false. The implication that AIM has a big public relations department is ludicrous.

At the time your article was published on December 2, AIM had filed the grand total of four complaints with the National News Council. We have since filed one more. Since AIM has filed over 120 separate complaints so far this year with newspapers, broadcasters and magazines, it is obvious that the number of complaints we have shared with the National News Council has been small indeed. We have occasionally sent the council courtesy carbon copies of our letters of complaint to various news media. We have done so because the council expressed interest in being kept informed of AIM's activities. Neither AIM nor the Council has considered these courtesy copies to be complaints to the Council.

Accuracy in Media has no large public relations department. It doesn't even have a paid staff. It is ironic that the National News Council, whose main activity to date has been in the public relations area, should be the source of such innuendo about an organization whose main activity has been working on complaints of error and distortion in the news media. AIM wishes the National News Council success, and we do not wish to draw any invidious comparisons, but it should be noted that the Council's annual budget is about 10 times the size of AIM's.

AIM has sent a few complaints to the Council to see what it would do with them. It is our belief that the Council's restrictions on complaints are so tight that it is unlikely that it will ever get many usable complaints from the public. Our experience shows that there are ample errors in the news media to keep both AIM and the Council busy. But if the Council wants to keep busy, it will have to follow AIM's example and welcome complaints instead of discouraging them.

Times Omits Vital Facts in Black Panther Case

November 8, 1973

To the New York Times

To the editor:

John Kifner's November 8 story about Ramsey Clark's demand for a federal investigation of the 1969 death of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton omitted important and highly relevant facts.

Kifner repeats the charge that the police fired 99 rounds into the Panther apartment while the Panthers inside fired but once at the police. What Kifner fails to say is that this charge was disproven by new evidence that came to light during the trial of Chicago State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan.

During the trial the prosecution accidentally came across recorded interviews between the Black Panthers who survived the police raid and their attorneys. These statements showed that at least four shots had been fired at the police by the Panthers. This contradicted the public claims of the Panthers and the findings of the grand jury which had been based on extrinsic evidence only.

The prosecution was obligated to call this evidence to the attention of the court, and it was an important factor in causing the judge to dismiss the case against Hanrahan and his co-defendants.

The readers of *The New York Times* are entitled to be reminded of this information about the Hampton case. This is especially true since Kifner failed to mention it in his October 26, 1972 story reporting on the dismissal of the Hanrahan case.

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Through Looking-Glass Land with Arthur Koestler

by Judy Green

Alexander Solzhenitsyn's courageous response to a life whose terms he could not accept has become a stirring example to millions of people who will never know the details of his situation or read a word of his writings. His impact on the American intellectual community is even more startling, for while the quality of his work and of his intellectual credentials is impeccable, the content of his novels challenges the very foundations of those beliefs and experiences which dispose the American intelligentsia toward the left. One of the saddest aspects of the current response to Solzhenitsyn is the perennial quality of the experience he shares with his readers; so little has changed in the 33 years since Arthur Koestler wrote *Darkness At Noon*, his fictional account of the odyssey of faith of one intellectual who gave his soul to the Party during Stalin's purges.

An intellectual is characterized by his capacity to dream; the lives of Koestler and Solzhenitsyn present fascinating mirror-like similarities which suggest certain universal experiences which characterize the situation of the man who dreams. Koestler and Solzhenitsyn have shared an experience of Looking-Glass Land: Solzhenitsyn was born there; Koestler was led there by his dreams. Koestler described the dream of the Revolution in *Darkness At Noon*. "Only such suffering made sense as was inevitable; that is, as was rooted in biological fatality. On the other hand all suffering with a social origin was accidental, hence pointless and senseless. The sole object of revolution was the abolition of senseless suffering."

Koestler became a member of the Communist Party in Germany as a young man in the early Thir-

ties. The fascists were rapidly gaining strength there, as in other parts of Europe. No one seemed to realize the threat which they posed to human rights and dignity except the Communist Party; no one seemed to offer an active and powerful ideological alternative to fascism except the Communist Party. Therefore, Koestler joined the Communist Party and spent seven years working for world revolution. Only after a period of digesting the relationship between the abstract ideology of Marxism and a nightmarish experience of its embodiment in the Soviet state did Koestler undergo a revulsion toward his seven-year hope. He had become a true believer because to cease to dream is to despair; the experience of renouncing the Communist Party must have seemed much like spiritual suicide. "We brought you truth, and in our mouth it sounded a lie. We brought you freedom, and it looks in our hands like a whip. We brought you the living life, and where our voice is heard the trees wither and there is a rustling of dry leaves. We brought you the promise of the future, but our tongue stammered and barked..."

Solzhenitsyn was born in Looking-Glass Land; the impact of his situation lies in his status as a product of the Perfect Society. A mathematician before he became a writer, Solzhenitsyn must have been an object of considerable pride over the years as the pleasant fruit which bore witness to the comeliness of the tree from which he sprang. Yet Solzhenitsyn himself denounced the society which nurtured him as rotten at its core because it betrayed the dream of liberty, equality, and fraternity which gave it birth. It is this shared dream which makes Solzhenitsyn and Koestler spiritual kin and joins them with so many American intellectuals who presently reel un-

der the blows of Solzhenitsyn's pen.

Many young intellectuals in the United States today, who have a shallow acquaintance with Marxism similar to young Koestler's, embrace it not for its own sake but for the sake of their dream. Since they see no holistic alternative to Marxism which offers hope of fulfillment of the dream, they embrace Marxism rather than cease to dream. Never being directly confronted by the reality of a Communist society, they can continue to attach their dreams for liberation to the abstract intellectual system of Marxism while repudiating all of its historical embodiments as barbaric failures. The excuse is made that these experiments failed because dreamers of the past failed to truly understand Marxism. Yet they have no interest in the sort of objective philosophical analysis of Marxism which would make it intellectually repugnant on purely formal grounds because of its lack of predictive and explanatory capacities. Thus a different sort of standard is applied to the evaluation of Marxist theory than holds elsewhere in academia; the intellectual opiates himself with Marxism for the sake of the dream. Once having become a true believer, he is careful not to shatter the fragile foundations of Looking-Glass Land.

This willful schizophrenia of the true believer is more difficult to maintain for those whose knowledge of the reality makes it hard to reconcile the activities of daily life with their dream. Unlike Marxist ideology, the dream is not concerned with external changes in the economic, social, and historical relationships within the masses of men. Rather, it is a dream of internal change in the quality of life of the individual as well as in his relationships to a larger whole.

Herein lies the immense power

of the Koestlers and Solzhenitsyns of the world - their dedication to the dream forces their unflattering portrayal of the reality. They offer a rebuttal of the Marxist position more powerful than any purely ideological argument could hope to. Because their literature offers the reader a shaking experience of the human consequences of Communism, they have made human rights in Communist nations again, or perhaps for the first time, a live issue in liberal intellectual circles. The intellectual adequacy of Marxism is non-negotiable to the true believer, but archetypal human experience is undeniable. Koestler's Rubashov is nearly shaken from his life-long commitment to the Party because, as he explains in *Darkness At Noon*, "Since then I have heard Bogrov call out my name." He had experienced the horror of the purges through the outcry of a devoted companion being led to his death after days of torture calculated to destroy his dignity and will.

Koestler's brief autobiographical narrative in *The God That Failed* describes the situation at the time of his conversion to Communism, one ominously parallel to that of a great many contemporary young intellectuals. He deals with the Fathers of the Revolution sympathetically, almost fondly in *Darkness At Noon*, calling them "militant philosophers." They dreamed of power with the object of abolishing power, of ruling over the people to wean them from the habit of being ruled. All their thoughts became deeds and all their dreams were fulfilled. Where were they? Their brains, which had changed the course of the world, had each received a charge of lead. Some in the forehead, some in the back of the neck. Only one or two of them were left over, scattered throughout the world, worn out. His sympathy for these men gives

a balance to his indictment of the movement to which they gave birth. "The movement was without scruples; she rolled toward her goal unconcernedly and deposited the corpses of the drowned in the windings of her course. Her course had many twists and windings; such was the law of her being. And whosoever could not follow her crooked course was washed unto the bank, for such was her law. The motives of the individual did not matter to her. His conscience did not matter to her, nor did she care what went on in

assertion which his reactionary cell neighbor taps through the stone wall which separates them, "HONOR IS TO LIVE AND DIE FOR ONE'S BELIEF." Rubashov responds, "HONOR IS TO BE USEFUL WITHOUT VANITY."

Nor could the outcome be different if the Marxist experiment were conducted by more skillful hands in different circumstances, for the ideological foundation on which it rests is internally contradictory. The Party denied the free will of the individual - and at the same time it exacted his willing

Koestler shows that to destroy allegiance to a false hope is not enough, that the alternative to dreaming is despair, and that men must despair unless a new hope arises

his head and his heart. The Party knew only one crime to swerve from the course laid out; and only one punishment: death. Death was no mystery in the movement; there was nothing exalted about it; it was the logical solution to political divergences.

The ethical paradox of commitment to the movement is described in such a manner as to provide a clear stumbling block to the man of conscience: those concerns about justice, human dignity, and the suffering of one's fellow man which motivate the idealist's commitment to Marxism must be set aside in order to accomplish the universal authority of the Communist Party. Blameworthiness is determined on the basis of historical correctness to which the question of whether one acted in good faith is irrelevant. "For us the question of subjective good faith is of no interest. He who is in the wrong must pay; he who is in the right will be absolved. That is the law of historical credit; it was our law."

Nor is it the case that such concerns can be set aside until the revolution is completed and later given their due. State's interrogator Ivanov emphasizes the ultimate incompatibility of Marxism and pre-revolutionary ethics during his search for the genesis of Rubashov's (Koestler's main character) political divergencies. "There are two opposite conceptions of human ethics, and they are at opposite poles. One of them is Christian and humane, declares the individual to be sacrosanct, and asserts that the rules of arithmetic are not to be applied to human units. The other starts from the basic principle that a collective aim justifies all means, and not only allows, but demands, that the individual should in every way be subordinated and sacrificed to the community - which may dispose of it as an experimentation rabbit or a sacrificial lamb."

Koestler resolutely connects this ethical premise to a tidal wave of tragic historical consequences appalling to the most detached of ideologues. "So consequent (were we), that in the interests of a just distribution of land we deliberately let die of starvation about five million farmers and their families in one year. So consequent were we in the liberation of human beings from the shackles of industrial exploitation that we sent about ten million people to die of forced labor in the Arctic regions and the jungles of the East, under conditions similar to those of antique galley slaves."

Ultimately Rubashov sees the idealism of the intellectual as a handicap to success in the Communist Party. "As the only moral criterion which we recognize is that of social utility, the public disavowal of one's conviction in order to remain in the Party's ranks is obviously more honorable than the quixotism of carrying on a hopeless struggle." To the coded

self-sacrifice. It denied his capacity to choose between two alternatives - and at the same time it demanded that he should constantly choose the right one. It denied his power to distinguish good and evil - and at the same time it spoke pathetically of guilt and treachery."

Such reflections caused Rubashov some second thoughts on the correctness of the initial premise that the end justifies the means in the last few hours before his execution. "Soon it would be over. But when he asked himself, 'For what are you dying?' he found no answer. It was a mistake in the system, perhaps it lay in the precept which until now he had held to be uncontestable, in whose name he had sacrificed others and was himself being sacrificed in the precept that the end justifies the means. What had he once written in his diary? 'We have thrown overboard all conventions, our sole guiding principle is that of consequent logic; we are sailing without ballast.'"

Nonetheless, Koestler knows that to destroy allegiance to a false hope is not enough; that the alternative to dreaming is despair, and that men must despair unless a new hope arises to take the place of that which has been destroyed. Thus Rubashov prophesied a second revolution of the spirit which would sidestep the pitfalls of the old. "Perhaps later, much later, the new movement would arise - with new flags, a new spirit knowing of both of economic fatality and the 'oceanic sense.' Perhaps the members of the new party will wear monks' cowls and preach that only purity of means can justify the ends. Perhaps they will teach that the tenet is wrong which says that a man is the quotient of one million divided by one million and will introduce a new kind of arithmetic based on multiplication on the joining of a million individuals to form a new entity which, no longer an amorphous mass, will develop a consciousness of its own, with an 'oceanic feeling' increased a millionfold, in unlimited yet self-contained space."

The lesson to be learned from Koestler is that ignorance is not merely a neutral state or an absence of substantial content, but rather it is an active state of believing falsely which motivates one's actions as surely as does truth. Solzhenitsyn's novels offer ample evidence for the American intellectual that he may have the benign or harmless nature of the Soviet system as well as the abstract attractiveness of Marxist ideology. It is only after one awakens from the dream that he comes to the frightening realization that as "knowledge is power," just as surely false belief has power. But with the fatal difference that it cannot guide an individual in the realization of his dream, often having the opposite

(Continued on page 8)

Theater Review

Arturo Ui: Brecht on Hitler

by Jan Greenfield

Arena Stage found a diamond in the rough when it chose to do Bertolt Brecht's "The Resistable Rise of Arturo Ui" - a seldom done play - even harder to find a translation for. Bertolt Brecht was that very "total artist" that originated the Berliner Ensemble and is as much responsible as anyone else, through his plays and individual insights, in shaping world theatre. You might even go as far as to calling him the B.F. Skinner of contemporary theatre.

Brecht is noted for his theatre of "Alienation", a form which he devised to separate the audience from the characters of the play so we could view the play in its entirety. The play's the thing, instead of the actor. The play becomes a self-confrontation for the audience. There is created a safe distance which allows for the full self-scrutiny to evolve. Brecht's language is highly polished and plain at the same time. The actor speaks this language as if we were reciting someone else's lines. The actor is concerned with the telling of the story - nothing more. I imagine Mr. Brecht up there in Brechtland, having many sleepless nights overlooking other people's productions of his plays. Usually they are so caught up in past reflections of how Brecht should be done (the all famous Brechtian way), that they forget that Brecht was human too - capable of love, hate and most of all those inner struggles with society with its hypocrisy and deceptions.

Arturo Ui depicts a gangster (Arturo Ui) and his quest and ultimate rise to power. The way in which he gets there is the guts of the play. It's a play celebrating power; how it originates, corrupts, kills and ultimately exists. A play where politicians and gangsters are wed together in an unholy alliance



of crime and corruption. Brecht parallels the figure of Hitler and incidents that lead to his power as the theme of the play within a play. A barker, a ringmaster of sorts - played intelligently by Wendell Wright, retells through amplified sounds the real seizure of power Hitler went through. It's the case of the shadow following the true image in exact steps - there is no separating, no escape into fantasy.

It is a circus of ideas, feelings and physical environment that Arena offers us in the conception of *Arturo Ui*. The environment was very concretely stated in the beginning but except for a timely swing song by Stanley Anderson, was never really used to flush out the play. We are sometimes utterly lost under the big top. *Arturo Ui* is certainly not one of Brecht's more easily playable plays. It takes a supreme effort, both on the side of actor and audience alike, to reap fully what Brecht has so intricately sown. The ranting and raving and totally precise physical presence of Richard Bauer, as Arturo Ui, and Stanley Anderson's intriguing character portrayal of a gimpy

gangster, brought the play to sometimes a very electrifying and humorous level. It was at these times that the connection between audience and play truly joined.

The play as a whole, however, became a slave, not master nor equal to the uneven playing by the whole company. There was no attempt, as an ensemble, to come out of themselves enough to realize that in Brecht's case, the play's the thing. I had a hard time in the first act feeling the sympathy, comedy and tragedy that Brecht can and does plant inside each of us. They just weren't having fun playing together. As the first act ended, the intermission air was filled with "What does it mean? Is it about Hitler or a trained seal?" Instead of going inside for the answers, the production was forcing the audience to go outside for them. I feel this is in direct conflict with Brecht's goal for the audience.

But to my resounding joy the second act was far superior to the first. Not that Brecht was different, but the action and spatial relationships were more clearly defined. There was more connection and fun between the actors. We were

able for the first time to sit back and enjoy that distance. We could let ourselves be infected by the pure power trip Richard Bauer imposed on us. We could finally catch a glimpse at the way director Carl Weber plotted for us and enjoy escaping into the musical interludes that were created for us. In a play of many episodes the connection and flow of each are essential, if we are going to derive any coherent message. In the first act that connection and flow seemed lost, consequently we were. In the second it appeared and we, that vital part in any drama - finally appeared. But alas, a play is made up of more than just one act, much more.

The Berliner Ensemble, which Brecht formed and headed until his death, works a minimum of 6 months on a production. Of course, European theatre's priorities focus more on process than product. I just can't conceive of any theatre or group fooling themselves and others by presenting a Brecht play with just 4-6 weeks rehearsal time. It's like trying to have a child in that time; it just can't be done the way it should be done. I applaud Arena stage and its staff of creative people in trying new and thought provoking plays in Washington - my only regret lies in the full understanding and development for all concerned namely, actors, audience and play. I recommend for the time and money not to go to Arena but rather: to buy or pick up a collection of Brecht's plays and insights. In reading him you will come to know a fugitive: one who has left behind him countless train stations, too timid to be a man of the world, too experienced to be a scholar, too knowing not to know anxiety, a man without a country, a man whose sojourn in any one place is always limited, a passer-by of our time, a man named Brecht.

Soldier

(Continued from page 1)

saved, volumes of newspaper articles and editorials were generated by the activities of the Committee, and, as Eugene Lyons said, "it left an indelible record for history."

Eugene Lyons described Mr. Martin's role, and the qualities Mr. Martin exhibited throughout his career by quoting a passage from the prophet Micah: "This is what Yahweh asks of you - act justly, tenderly - walk humbly with your God."

In Defense of Refugees

Mr. Martin also organized and was the Executive Secretary of the Refugees Defense Committee. This was the only organization that carried on an active fight against the forced repatriation of Soviet POW's and the coercive pressures that were brought to bear against Displaced

Persons (DP's) from the Soviet Sphere. Operating with a budget of only \$5,000 a year, the Committee inspired a remarkable measure of public and editorial support, and its activities effectively put an end to the forced repatriation of Soviet POW's and to UNRRA's cynical efforts to coerce and induce the repatriation of the anti-Communist DP's. The culmination of the committee's activities was a petition, written by Mr. Martin and signed by representatives of several prominent charitable agencies, including the American Friends Service Committee. Mr. Martin arranged an appointment with Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, who gave more than an hour of his time to the delegation. Immediately after, American policy changed to a strong stand against forced repatriation.



In many other capacities and for a number of other refugee groups, Mr. Martin was a sacrificial servant for their interests. He was a fundraiser, advisor, public relations agent, and friend for thousands of homeless people with nowhere to turn. Mr. Martin found time to help, not only groups, but individuals in need of assistance.

A young woman named Nora Samuelli, for example, was working for the American Embassy in an Iron Curtain country. She was kidnapped by the Communists and spent twelve years in Communist prison camps. When she was finally released and allowed to emigrate to the United States, David Martin not only helped her to orient herself but went through the long and involved process of getting the State Department to reimburse her for all of the back pay she had accumulated during her imprisonment. In a message sent to the dinner from France where she is now living, Ms. Samuelli said, "He sacrificed many long hours of leisure time for my special case. He fights without hatred, with no will to destroy. He does his best to aid the oppressed."

Helping the Kalmuks

Djab Naminow, a leader of the Kalmuks in the United States, movingly told the story of how Mr. Martin helped his small and unrecognized Mongol people when no one wanted to accept them into their countries because they were Mongols. The Kalmuks were a Buddhist people in Russia who followed the Dalai Lama. Because of their anti-Communist sentiments their whole population was deported to Siberia, where many thousands died. A remnant of about 650 Kalmuks found themselves in a refugee camp in Ingelstadt, Germany. After hearing of their plight Mr. Martin organized the Kalmuk Resettlement Committee, which included representatives of all the voluntary agencies working for the refugees. For months, all of the efforts of the Committee to find a home for the Kalmuks made no headway. Mr. Martin visited them at their camp and told them not to lose hope. Finally a last-minute telephone call by Mr. Martin - literally hours before the expiration of the second Displaced Persons Act - succeeded in persuading the State Department and INS to grant blanket admission for the Kalmuk DP's.

Mr. Martin also served as a volunteer editor and political advisor for the Kalmuk Liberation Committee, which sought to draw attention to the plight of the Kalmuk people and the other minority nationalities who had been the victims of mass deportations under Stalin. The Committee got a delegation of two Kalmuks into the Bandung Conference, where they distributed hundreds of tracts dealing with the genocide of the Kalmuk people, before the Communist organizers of the conference got wise and had them expelled from Indonesia.

served with distinction in the Zellerbach Committee on the European Refugee Situation, which helped to resettle 750,000 refugees who had been neglected, and inspired the launching of World Refugee Year (1960), through which the last of the refugees were resettled.

Representing Man's Drive for Freedom

Mr. Martin served as foreign policy assistant and speech writer for Senator Thomas Dodd for over 11 years. Long before Sakharov warned the world against the dangers of detente without more freedom for the oppressed people of the Soviet Empire, Senator Dodd, in speech after speech, stood for freedom as a cardinal objective of our foreign policy. The exceptional quality of these speeches allowed the Senator to serve as a bridge between liberal and conservative anti-Communists—something which Mr. Martin has sought to do in all of his activities. In his present position as Senior Analyst of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, he has helped to initiate studies and hearings focusing on the inhumanity of Communism and the plight of its victims. *The Human Cost of Communism, The Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Repression in the Soviet Union, Communist Treatment of POW's (a historical survey), Soviet Forced Labor in the Post-Stalin Era*, etc.

Neil Salonen, President of the Freedom Leadership Foundation, described how David Martin had "discovered" them and advised them through many projects, especially the 1970 tour of Vietnam and Cambodia. Mr. Salonen said "David represents man's irrepressible drive for freedom; no matter how long it takes, to fight until it's won."

David Martin, speaking for himself, explained "I get mad. I simply get angry at injustice and small and helpless people being pushed around." He said one of the greatest faculties that man can utilize for freedom is "man's capacity for indignation." Speaking of the Soviet dissidents Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, he said, "Whatever I did, I risked very little, but they risked everything." At his request, some members of the Freedom Leadership Foundation sang his favorite song, "The Impossible Dream," as an expression of his ideals.

Rightist

(Continued from page 3)

not go beyond their own national borders. Therefore they find themselves outflanked and outmaneuvered by Communists on the international scene.

Victory Over Communism

For this reason, the first step in developing a strategy for victory over Communism is to adopt a universal goal and outlook. Communism is the most violent and oppressive movement in the world today, which is reason enough to want to defeat it. But our intrinsic goal should be to bring about peace, freedom, and prosperity to all mankind and to relieve human suffering. Therefore, victory over Communism must not be seen as an end in itself but rather as a necessary step in a larger scheme to bring peace with freedom and unity to the whole world.

From where, then, would we derive a counter-ideology to challenge Communism? First, we must realize that there are unifying historical forces at work contrary to the negative trends which foster Marxism. In particular, there is the trend toward the assimilation of mankind's fragmented culture and

Thoughts on the Energy Crisis

by Chris Elkins

America, known as the "land of plenty" is getting caught short! On all fronts we find limited supplies of everything from fuel oil to newsprint. And it seems that the day of scrimping, hoarding and eventual deprivation has dawned. But before someone hits the panic button, let's look beyond the local situation. Americans are not the only ones scrambling for more. In fact, industrialized nations the world over are feeling the pinch. Will fierce competition for remaining resources be the only answer?

Energy is the focal point in the shortages picture - here the battle is clear between the have's and the have not's. With arms bared, the major energy-consuming nations are prepared to do economic battle for remaining energy reserves. Strangely enough, the have not's are battling each other and thwarting strength that a unified effort could create. On the other hand the "have's" are sitting on their reserves and, in effect, choking themselves on something they cannot effectively consume. International reserves indicate that the present scarcity can be alleviated when the economic tide resumes.

Global Depression

Walter J. Levy, prominent oil consultant, has warned of global depression if oil prices do not stabilize. At present price levels, the 1974 U.S. trade deficit could exceed \$13 billion due to oil importation alone. Mr. Levy warned of "special oil deals" contributing further to spiraling prices.

In addition, the smaller energy consuming nations are being choked out by economic competition on top levels. In the January 21, 1974 issue of *Newsweek*, economic correspondent Rich Thomas stated that he felt many of the 80 under-developed nations now supporting the Arabs would fall away due to excessive petroleum costs. Most of those same countries are food importers, also, depending on a stable world economy. Many have suggested all-out economic battle in order to force the oil issue to reasonable consideration. Suggestions such as a technological embargo, "starving them out," a political seige,

and even sending under-developed nations to the Arabs for aid and assistance have been brought forward in recent weeks. But a war is not effectively ended by starting more battles. In that case nobody gains a decisive win - but more people lose. Peace must be pursued through peaceful means.

The issue of shortages has quickly developed worldwide proportions. Not only in fossil fuels, but likewise in many minerals and raw materials a breakdown in production has occurred. The crux of the matter is that the supply of the finished product is dwindling while the demand and price sharply rise.

Mineral Scarcity

An accounting of mineral fields the world over reveals critical shortages in industrialized nations. Spurred by Arab financial boon, many mineral wealthy nations are now seeking to establish artificially high prices for their product by creating a pseudo-shortage scare. Competition for a "scarce" product keeps the price high. In the U.S., for example, there are many mineral areas that are low-grade or relatively inaccessible to the extent that mining in these areas is unprofitable. U.S. industries then seek importation of those minerals for a variety of reasons: 1) to keep quality high and prices low; 2) to concentrate industrial development. Due to labor costs in the U.S. importing raw materials from around the globe is cheaper than domestic supply. The United States depends on foreign resources to an extent that few realize. For example, the U.S. imports 57% of its tungsten, 83% of its tin, 89% of its bauxite (aluminum production), 97% of its manganese, and 100% of its chromium. All of the above are critical in industrialized markets. On the supply end, Malaysia and Bolivia alone supply 70% of the world's tin. Four under-developed countries control 95% of the world's bauxite and a similar number control 54% of the supply of natural rubber. Considering the situation on the petroleum front, world chaos and eventual depression could follow if economic sanction against industrialized nations are pursued in



other supply fields.

But why should such a situation even rise? Plainly this world is crying out for a universal standard. Wealth can no longer be effectively concentrated. Nations depend on each other too much to allow economic injustice and isolationist tendencies to sabotage progress. The industrialized nations have evidently taken advantage of lesser able nations and in some cases exploited the government, the area, and the people. Developed nations must now make a concerted effort to support and offer material help to suffering nations in order to raise their standard comparable to a "world norm."

Providing For All

The resources available must be used wisely. First an equitable system of production and distribution must be pursued to achieve world confidence. World citizens must rise above the pitfalls of an economic battlefield to consider the future from a

perspective of providing for all.

In recent high-level talks there seems to be one major theme emerging from both sides. Simply, there is no easy answer to the existing problems. In these situations world leaders find no precedent to follow and thus have to proceed cautiously and slowly ahead.

Not regarded very productive were the February 12th talks among energy consuming nations in Washington. It was made even clearer that unless exploding oil prices and restrictive trade cease all energy-consuming nations are in for financial chaos. This would undoubtedly create an atmosphere of "sink or swim" among nations affected. Such an atmosphere would only enhance further back-stabbing and underhanded deals among nations where actually unity is the only productive answer. The forecast for the situation from Washington could only be termed gloomy.

On the other side, however, the picture seemed bright as Arabs basked in their new-found luxury of dominance. Quite unconcerned, it seemed, the parlay between the Arab embargo nations was suddenly called off through a communique from Tripoli. No date was set to resume the talks of possibly lifting the boycott. Now that the Arab-Israeli scene is calm there seems to be little effort in settling pressing matters abroad. Talk of a further tour to Arab States by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger pending immediate action on the embargo situation came from Capitol Hill.

Looking Ahead

The shortages problem is far from over. The economic situation is clouding the scene on every level and soon, in desperation, drastic measures to rectify the cause could come about from oil and mineral consuming nations. However, a burgeoning spirit of international cooperation seemed somewhat on the upswing as an announcement came forth from the conference in Washington of a joint effort among the U.S., Japan, and all 9 European Common Market nations to meet the forlorn crisis together. But, until the whole shortage/economic situation is dealt with multilaterally the crisis will remain as a threat to world economics and stability.

world view into one planetary culture and world view, the "global village."

Secondly, Communism, through its brutal excesses and obvious contradictions, is creating its own "antithesis" - most tangibly, the millions of its victims inside and outside the Iron Curtain who have experienced the reality of Communism and reject it totally. This is creating an anti-Communist internal and external "proletariat" which is ripe for mobilization into a revolutionary force which can reverse the process and the expansion of Communist tyranny.

Progressive Thought

At all times our tactics must be the exact opposite of Communist tactics. Where they inspire hatred and conflict, we must inspire love and cooperation. Where they deceive and confuse, we must enlighten and strengthen. Where they try to break down and disintegrate society, we must revitalize it and spur it on to new levels of achievement. In short, where Communism negates, we must affirm. The best way to avoid making a reactionary and dictatorial anti-Communist stand is to take the aggressive - to stress, not anti-Communism, but world-wide "Victory over Communism." If any government could couple this with righteous economic and political policies, a concern for the rights and welfare of all its citizens, and open and honest communication with the people, I have no doubt that its citizenry would unite behind their leaders. A nation united in love is the only thing which can surpass the Communist state in unity, prosperity and strength of purpose, while at the same time preserving the freedom and rights of its people.

Demo

(Continued from page 1)

groups. Kyrill Borisov and his wife, Maria, were active in planning the rally. When asked why he considered this rally so important Borisov explained, "It should be the free people's responsibility (especially of Russian heritage) to reinforce Solzhenitsyn's work. Not just simply buying his books but supporting his spirit. He (Solzhenitsyn) represents thousands of writers and artists not able to express themselves freely. And each one of those writers and artists represents the spirit of hundreds of thousands of common citizens who feel they cannot speak out." Maria Borisov expressed concern at having the rally disrupt-

ted by the police. She said, "I am somewhat disappointed at having to move the demonstration because of the impact it could have on Soviet diplomats." She added too, that the police were very courteous and that there was no trouble involved.

A secretary, Soya Mendjuk, spoke out fervently when asked why she turned out on such a cold day. "I am so impressed with these zealous youth who are standing up for ideals that I have held in my heart for years." Mrs. Mendjuk continued, "The spirit and courage of Solzhenitsyn belongs to everyone! When I attended the symposium I wondered where all of this concern for human dignity had been hiding itself. I was always afraid that people everywhere were too involved with the material world to be concerned over the spiritual matters." Upset over the lack of religious freedom and practice in the USSR, Mrs. Mendjuk said, "People just seemed too busy to care. But Solzhenitsyn has been saved, not by his ouster, but by people joining him in the battle against Soviet oppression." Continuing to pass out handbills she concluded, "Not everything is decaying."

We must not forget

A Russian housewife, Maria Levitsky, who made her first appearance at a rally that morning, expressed herself quite clearly on the need of the public not forgetting the others in the Soviet Union now that Solzhenitsyn is out. "When I was in the Soviet Union studying at a university in Leningrad," Mrs. Levitsky recounted, "I was dismayed at how people never spoke out. People never expressed their hearts. At least they didn't to me, anyway." Continuing to move along the sidewalk she said, "Even the section of the university relating to the arts and the mind was not nearly as developed as were the science and math departments. The Soviets are afraid of the spiritual man and they cannot deny its existence because they continually try to suppress it." "Russians have a great love for their country," she appraised, "but so many of the young Russians inside do not know about the spirit behind freedom or how to express it." Leaving, Mrs. Levitsky said, "I want to do what I can to help them. Someday I want to go back."

Acting president of the Russian Cultural Society on the American University campus, Ray Lewis, helped to organize the inspiring symposium that spurred the rally. "I am concerned," Lewis said, "because it is not mainly Solzheni-

syn that has brought us here, but the many individuals inside the Soviet Union who cannot speak out. Solzhenitsyn was a leader, a very brave man. Now that he is gone I fear for the future of others not so well known in the free world." Lewis warned, "We must not forget that the pain and anguish expressed by Solzhenitsyn in his works still exists inside Russia today." On the subject of detente Lewis added, "Are we willing to renege on our position on human rights for the good of detente? What good is detente if we cannot hold our own? I fear that we have backed down already, especially evidenced by the 'non-comment' from Kissinger and the White House on the Solzhenitsyn expulsion." Moving on he added, "Does detente have any real value for us?"

Nick and Raiza Petrof were the driving force behind the organization of the rally. Mrs. Petrof expressed, "We feel that we must speak out and that it is necessary to be heard." Future efforts are still in the planning stage, the Petrofs added, and anyone interested in joining in this peaceful effort should contact the Ad Hoc Committee at 785-3134.

This spoke much clearer of the desires of those involved than did destructive riots of the past. Each person there was dedicated to the hope that tomorrow can bring new answers but only through efforts started today. Raiza Petrof said it best after the rally when she turned to Maria Borisov and said, "As far as that (the rally) goes, we've at least ruffled them -- they know we're here. And that is just the beginning."



The Rising Tide is published by the Freedom Leadership Foundation, Inc., a non-profit education organization dedicated to developing the standards of leadership necessary to advance the cause of freedom in the struggle against Communism. Editor: Louise Berry. Staff Writers: Chris Elkins, Lorenzo Gaztanaga, Judy Green, Hal McKenzie, Ray Mas, Gerard Willis. Design Consultant: Alexis Burgess.

25 cents per copy

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The Freedom Leadership Foundation is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501 (C)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. All contributions are tax deductible.

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The Miners Strike— A British Viewpoint

from The Rising Tide, London, January 31, 1974



As predicted in our Dec. 6th Rising Tide the call to strike by the miners was raised by their Executive when sufficient militancy had been created. Obviously we can only suggest that Marxist tactics are superior to the government's strategy. It is a chilling thought. The entire intelligence services, the entire political experience of the Conservative Party have been outflanked. Not by subversive, subtle revolutionaries, but by straightforward Marxist tactics.

Did the government seek to outflank the Marxists or merely to present a more entrenched position? These are some disturbing factors present. First, no government can possibly counter Marxism without a thorough knowledge of its adversary. Secondly it must also possess a knowledge of good—of the spiritual principles on which our civilization rests, the basic love and concern that must provide the basis for all its legislation and action.

Thirdly it must actively support its own principles of unity. It is no good asking for unity whilst perpetrating a tax system that basically penalizes the worker. In addition it is no good any government asking the more moderate men to enter union politics unless they are prepared to reward them for doing so. It is true to say that the most militant unions get the highest pay. So why should

moderates succeed anyway? Politicians who make unrealistic and unsupported appeals are bound to fail anyway.

It remains the contention of this newspaper that the unity of the nation has not been promoted by the last six governments. The Industrial Relations Act cannot be said to be good since it does not promote unity between management and workers. There was an old saying that said if you have to have recourse to the law to decide how to do things then you have already failed.

The failure of previous governments is embodied in the Industrial Relations Act. Any government prepared to support the working man, prepared to reward his endeavour, and prepared to promote unity, cannot but win the nation's support.

What are the basic principles in what the working man requires?

1) He needs rewarding for co-operating.

2) He needs to be rewarded for producing more including during overtime where at present more of the extra money earned goes in taxes.

3) He needs to feel that it is not an us them situation—but fair for all.

4) He needs to feel the government actually love him and are concerned for him.

What is the basic attitude of Parliament?

1) The worker should be taxed

regularly, and the more he works the more he should be taxed.

2) The worker is a special case—he needs trade unions to tell him what he needs, should do etc.

3) That Economics come before unity.

4) That civil servants get a cost of living rise automatically but not for him, the honest worker, such an increase.

Industrial peace can only come about when it is in the interests of the workers to follow so-called moderate opinion. How is this created? First and foremost all loyal workers should be given a tax rebate of, say, 25% on their income tax. Those who never strike and those factories free from industrial action should receive a 25% rebate twice a year. This can apply to the management, to the doctor, policeman, ambulance driver, etc. It would help create unity and it would tend to isolate the irresponsible union leader. If the managing director lost his 25% rebate alongside the apprentice then there would be a true unity.

The more money circulating, the more is collected and hence the government would recoup some of its rebate. Further the worker would feel that he is loved by the government. At the moment he seems only to be on the receiving end of greater and greater tax demands. Also the individual company would become a unit, not a collection of unions. It would help cut down fragmentation. No worker worth his salt would want

to throw 200 pounds away of tax rebate twice a year.

No doubt the government would say they cannot afford such a rebate. This answer is necessarily ruled out since they have lost far more by bad management in industry, the three-day week, the Concorde Project, and those likely bottomless financial pits of the future, the Channel Tunnel, the Maplin Project. The backbone of this nation is its working and middle class. It is no secret that a few Marxists have brought this nation to its knees economically. It is no secret that they have done this because they are more attractive than the government's own policies. If this is true, then clearly the Marxists have been able to outflank the last six governments. The reason is perhaps because instead of loving concern we have had a sterility of ideas.

It is time we had a government that did indeed promote unity. The bitterness of party politics, the outdated press and media categorizing everything into left and right-wing have left little room for real debate. Ideas have long been treated on this old-fashioned, outdated left-right syndrome. In God's world there is only love and co-operation. It is time our politicians built it. Are they less intelligent than in some years? Are they less well informed? If they are they have an excuse. Otherwise they are guilty of neglect. Further, they are failing in love.

Muslims

(Continued from page 5)

was last mentioned in the Bakhoric constitution, the protection and preservation of Islam has not been a constitutional matter. Being totally dependent on the U.S.S.R. the newly formed republics never had foreign policy or trade dealing with cultural matters.

Economics

Economically Islam has been denounced as being opposed to Marxism "it prevents believers from being active and conscientious believers of Communist society." Its family-type economics as well as its nomadic way of life have encountered great opposition. Specifically the nomads found a difficult time. In order to force them into collectives, the Soviets slaughtered millions of their cattle. During the same time period between 1929-1939, their population dropped from 3,960,000 to 3,099,000 about 820,000 people or 1,500,000 if normal growth had continued.

Religious Discrimination

In the area of religion, reprisals and a slow strangling of public expression have been the keynote. The Jaddis, reformers of Islam and part of the Muslim intelligentsia, were eliminated in the 1920's. Reason for this act was the desire of the Soviets to totally eradicate Islam. "Ramadan" the fasting feast lasting 28 days, is curtailed to 3 days by the faithful because being caught fasting at the job could mean losing it.

"Kurban Bazram" a celebration where a sheep is the central object, is difficult to perform because that particular animal is scarce. The "hajj", the mecca pilgrimage, is impossible because of tight travel restrictions abroad. Sometimes hand-picked delegations by the government travel such as it was in 1953.

The mullahs, or priests, have grown extremely scarce because of persecution and the sole existence of one "madrasah" seminary. All the private religious schools have

disappeared and 9/10 of all mosques are closed. Through these means it is almost impossible for a faithful Muslim to participate fully in Islam. To make the Soviet Muslims still more dependent, Russian has been established as a second language throughout, particularly in higher education. High-paying jobs and positions of responsibility can only be obtained with the command of Russian. Still, all the efforts to Russify the Soviet Muslims have not been completely successful. According to an interview made with 31 refugees we find that yes, all Muslims speak Russian, but only at work or in the army, not at home. This is true even for the intelligentsia.

Setbacks for the Plan

Cultural and religious traditions although curtailed, still persist. Mixed marriages are virtually nonexistent since Muslims prefer to follow their own customs on courting and marriage. When a "mullah" can't be found, one of the elderly faithful serves as minister.

Even the original plan of creating new nations is backfiring. The artificial nationalities of fifty years ago are turning into new and real ones with the coming new generations. This is something that may give serious trouble to the Marxist overlords.

We can draw two conclusions. One is that no matter how much the forces of totalitarianism may try, man's humanity, with God's backing, will surface again and again. The other conclusion is that the suppressed humanity of some men needs the support of the free humanity of others.

The ones oppressed are Jews, Christians, Moslems, Russians and Czechs and Chinese and others. And this time of detente is the ideal time to stop this oppression and manipulation of people once and for all.

Apartheid

(Continued from page 4)

racism and charged them with high treason. In 1961 the accused were acquitted. But by then the South African situation had drastically changed. The current Prime Minister, Johannes Strijdom, died in office in 1958, and Hendrik Verwoerd became Prime Minister. Verwoerd pushed through parliament the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, which envisioned the creation of eight 'national units' for the African people. He talked of an eventual commonwealth of South African states, black and white.

Late in December, the African National Congress called for a series of demonstrations against the Pass Laws. On 21st March, the first demonstrations took place. At Sharpeville, a township in the Transvaal, police opened fire on the unarmed Africans with rifles and shot guns, killing 69 and wounding more than 150. The incident shocked the world and passed into the history of atrocity stories.

The government declared a state of emergency arresting about 1,600 people, including members of the Liberal Party. On 9th April an English farmer shot and wounded the Prime Minister Verwoerd in the head.

However, prophecies of disaster remained unfulfilled. Vorwoerd recovered, the African organizations were prohibited and disrupted, and the opposition party remained divided. The general election of 1961 was a massive victory for the nationalists, showing a general swing to the right.

The government continued to strengthen its coercive apparatus and military forces, while the nationalists went underground. An outbreak of sabotage and violence occurred in the middle '60's, bringing forth even more severe legislation from the government. The English press, churches, and universities — the only remaining outposts of white opposition — protested but to little avail. In September 1966 Verwoerd was stabbed to death on the floor of the House of

Assembly by a parliamentary messenger named Tsafendas, who was found insane by the court and confined as a madman. The murder produced no crisis.

The National Party elected John Vorster to the leadership and the country continued on its way.

Today, after twenty-six years in power, the Nationalist government seems immune from any internal or external threat, showing no sign of impaired vigor, no loss of confidence, and no erosion of its dominant ideology. The new African regimes and guerilla movements to the North speak the language of war against South Africa. So far, though, they lack the power to do much more than talk. South Africa is enjoying an economic boom; even Africans are sharing, however disproportionately, in the general prosperity. The non-white masses are leaderless and subservient, and the South African government has received a measure of support from the former protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland. In short, there is no revolutionary situation at the present time. However, there might be enough resentment in the hearts of the Africans to be kindled into revolutionary action sometime in the future, especially if the guerilla movements to the north achieve any measure of success.

Moreover, apartheid itself is beginning to be a hindrance to economic progress. As industries expand, the need for black workers in skilled trades and supervisory positions becomes more acute. South Africa is already experiencing labor shortages, requiring recruitment of labor from "the bush" in some cases. However, this would defeat the plan of having more blacks move into the homelands — the Afrikaners could feel a threat to their supremacy by a growing majority of blacks in the towns. This could lead to severe tensions if the racist sentiments of the Afrikaners do not give way fast enough for the rising expectations of the increasingly well-educated and responsible blacks. The feeling

among most liberals inside and outside South Africa is that no matter how stable the Nationalist government appears at the present time, progress will inevitably produce severe tensions unless the rigidity of apartheid is ameliorated.

One possible source of liberalization could be the United States. America has a number of large businesses and investments in South Africa, providing an opportunity for American businessmen to upgrade the education, wages, and training of their African workers, and engaging them in the practice of collective bargaining and union organizing. These businesses, in cooperation with the U.S. government, could, with some shrewd diplomacy and personal contacts, contribute to a cultural change similar to what occurred in the American South. Once the southern began to think that integration and the economic advancement of

the blacks were inevitable, he began to accept it with a fatalism that changed into a pleasant realization that blacks aren't so bad after all, if one can relate to them on the basis of cultural parity.

However, integration would never have come to the South if some pressure hadn't been applied from outside — from the Freedom Riders and Civil Rights Workers. It is a law of politics, as much as of physics, that "a body at rest tends to stay at rest unless acted upon by an outside force." It is unlikely that centuries of inertia built up by the "laager mentality" of the Afrikaner will be moved without some pressure from outside. America's problem is to find the right kind and degree of "leverage" to move the Afrikaners on the way toward greater understanding and cooperation with their black brothers.

To be continued

Rally

(Continued from page 1)

product of post-revolutionary Russia.

"His exposure of western values in a common struggle against tyranny during WW II

"His re-entry in the "normal" life of Stalinist Russia during the post-WW II era and the repressive years which followed.

These factors, said Dr. Schmemmann, combined to give Solzhenitsyn his outwardly repressed, but "inwardly liberated" quality. Schmemmann went on to explain what he called Solzhenitsyn's "Triune Intuition" on man and the universe.

THE GOODNESS. Solzhenitsyn sees man and the created universe as fundamentally good. "Never in Solzhenitsyn's work will you find any insult to the created world or to mankind as a whole." His characters and descriptions portray a general ultimate underlying goodness which stems from the Judeo-Christian outlook on a universe created by a God of goodness and justice.

THE FALL. Solzhenitsyn's view of evil is that it stems from the "brokenness" of the ideal. Evil for him is not merely the dialectic counterpart of goodness, but a self-centered perversion of the original innocence which somehow makes the ideal all the more undeniable.

THE REDEMPTION. Solzhenitsyn sees men and mankind as salvageable. No man is beyond redemption, and neither is mankind. Behind the struggle of history, God is active. Always there is the Christ-like figure who becomes a sacrifice for his fellow man. Somehow hope never dies.

The assembly unanimously adopted an open letter to be sent to Soviet leaders and President Nixon, protesting the imprisonment of Solzhenitsyn and declaring that "true detente" must be based on a free flow of people and ideas as well as material.

After the meeting was over a girl stood up in the back of the audience and announced there would be a demonstration in front of the Russian embassy.

Somehow, hope never dies.

Arrest

(Continued from page 2)

It's obvious that for some reason it's disadvantageous for them to call you officially. For example, they don't like to leave traces. If otherwise, they would have called

you a long time ago. Why then, he asked, make it easy for them?"

I took his advice, and subsequently understood that this possibly saved me from very unfortunate consequences.

In the morning on the following day, he phoned me:

"Well, did you solve your problem?" (We were talking about his request.)

"Not yet."

"Okay," he said. "It seems I have found the solution myself. I've managed to find and use other methods."

In a few hours I found out that he had been "taken," and that he was no longer there.

The "shell" had burst on him and removed him from battle; from an unequal battle in which he had remained up to the last possible moment, although realizing that he had already been marked for taking.

For some reason, during the summer when he was at our house and we were talking about the problems of leaving the country, Yuri read us the very moving poem by Chichibabin, which ended with the words, which have become for me his testament:

For him who remains there is hope,

For him who leaves—a dream! (The article is signed Vadim Belotserkovsky.)

Koestler

(Continued from page 6)

effect. Yet a dreamer must dream and once he awakens from Marxism there is no going back. "Did the righteous man perhaps carry the heaviest debt when weighed by this other measure? Was his debt, perhaps, counted double—for the others knew not what they did?"

An ideology which is merely anti-Communist can never hope to win the heart of the American academic, since in stripping him of one hope while offering him no other, it leaves him no course except the unacceptable one of despair. Solzhenitsyn and Koestler have done mighty deeds for the cause of human rights and freedom in shaking away the drowsiness from the consciences of a number of youthful American idealists. Nonetheless, the greatest task still remains the development of an ideology which provides a true alternative to Marxism while learning from the Marxist experience and the actualization of a foreign policy which promises to redress those grievances which broke so many hearts in the Great Experiment.



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