



The Kremlin

SET FLAME TO THE WEST'S CONFORMITY

THE SECOND EDITION of Victor Sparre's book, 'The Flame in the Darkness' (Grosvenor Books, 1979) has just appeared. Here the author, one of Norway's leading artists, writes of developments since it was first published.

SOON AFTER the first edition of *The Flame* in the Darkness was published last year, five dissidents were released from Soviet concentration camps. Before the eyes of an astounded world they were exchanged for two Russian spies imprisoned in the USA.

One of them, Alexander Ginzburg, said just after his arrival in the West, 'We want a society where every individual is a human being.' He echoes the ideas held by many of the dissidents. For they are not powerseeking politicians. 'We wouldn't even be able to run a railway station,' comments Maximov.

What is happening is that Russians, especially the younger generation, weary to death of all the false conformity, are returning to simple moral and spiritual values. I think back to that December evening in 1973 in Sakharov's flat in Moscow, and remember him saying in his characteristic manner—quiet but all the more convincing —'In future the most important aspect of *our human rights campaign will be to ensure* the right to a faith.' Remarkable words from one who does not classify himself as a believer.

Alarm

All over the world souls are rebelling and seeking a way back to fundamental values and to their divine origins.

In Poland millions turned out to cheer the new Pope, John Paul II, when he visited his homeland. What was it but a gigantic referendum for freedom and human dignity, against materialism, for God?

Equally significant is the sudden emergence of Islam as a powerful spiritual and political reality on the world arena, rising again after a long period of colonial rule. We watch anxiously the outburst of hate in Iran, untypical though it may be, and the rejection of so many features of the West's lifestyle its films, its fashions, its pop art, its women's lib, its alcohol, its violence, even some aspects of its stand for human rights.

Much greater, though, is the alarm in the Kremlin, which faces the prospect of a Moslem majority in the USSR in the not too distant future. Symptomatic of their troubles is the hurried replacement of the Tadjiks and Uzbeks in their forces in Afghanistan, because these men were buying up copies of the Koran, unobtainable in the USSR, and generally becoming 'contaminated' by Islam.

King Hassan of Morocco asserted recently that secularisation in the Christian world had clouded the gospel's alternative to Marxism, and that here Christendom can learn from Islam, in which religion is never put in a separate compartment from statesmanship. He recommends a dialogue between Christians and Moslems, and expresses the greatest respect for Pope John Paul II, who, he says, possesses all the qualities of a great leader and has appeared on the scene at the right time.

Conformity

The world has been roughly awakened from its rosy dreams of detente by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The shock to the USA has been the biggest since Pearl Habour. The invasion was, of course, no hasty improvisation. Quite deliberately the Russian leaders risked losing everything they had gained through detente, all their goodwill in Africa, even the great propaganda show of the Olympics.

Sakharov, the chief spokesman of the opposition in the USSR, gave powerful expression of his indignation and grief, and he paid the price in exile to Gorky. There was a tremendous outcry throughout the world, and the Kremlin decided that they had little more to lose if they cracked down on all their opponents.

Father Dudko, known as the Father Confessor of Solzhenitsyn and other dissidents says, 'The USSR today is a Golgotha'. Early this year he was seized by the KGB and put in prison, but he managed to put some important facts into a letter which has been published. Many priests in the Orthodox Church are being replaced by obedient functionaries, he says, in an attempt to suffocate the growing spiritual forces.

But the Russian freedom fight will never

die. The flame is borne by new hands as the old ones are locked behind prison doors.

For the dissidents who come to the West, though, it is painful to observe the conformity from which they fled flourishing even more strongly here.

Will the world at last understand? The battle is not between political groupings but between good and evil. It is a moral and spiritual battle for each individual. That is why the freedom fighters in Russia are almost the only ones who do not ask for bombs and guns, but for Bibles and Pasternak's writings. It is time for all freedomloving people to learn from the experience of these men, and light their flame to illumine the dark world. If we in the West do not realise that the fight is ours as well, the day may come when we lose our freedom.

A group of senators in Washington once asked Bukovsky, 'What can we do for you?' The Russian replied, 'Gentlemen, the question is: what can we do for you?'

Sir John Lawrence, Chairman of Keston College (a Foundation for Christian research into the Soviet Union) wrote in a review of 'The Flame in the Darkness' in 'Religion in Communist Lands':

'VICTOR SPARRE is a distinguished Norwegian artist who has made the cause of the Soviet dissidents his own,' he writes. 'When Solzhenitsyn asked him what made him "such a persistent fighter for the freedom of my country?", he answered, "Because I believe that the rebirth of faith will come from those who have suffered most." He has been to Russia and visited some of the leading dissidents in their homes, he has worked unremittingly for their interests and has befriended many of them in exile.

'He gained their confidence quickly, because he has a natural sympathy with them. So they opened their hearts to him as Russians will when they trust you. The result is that in this book he gives a picture of them as living people which is not like anything else that I have read. Not all of them are Christians but most of them are, and they have come to a depth of faith which reflects a depth of suffering.'

'The Flame in the Darkness', available from Grosvenor Books, 54 Lyford Road, London SW18 3JJ. Price £1.95, or £2.30 with postage.



I WISH I WERE ONLY FIFTEEN. For the period before us will be so demanding, so challenging, that I can only wish I could be a part of the creative contribution which young people will make.

My generation has experienced much of evil and much of good—two world wars, the rise and fall of Hitler's Reich, millions robbed of life by the madness of those perverted by power. We have seen Communism advance globally, while great colonial empires shrink to small national states. On the other hand we have watched the emergence of the Third and the Fourth World and an unbelievable extension of the possibilities for good and evil. But the years ahead of us will be more important still for the future of the world.

We live at a time of breaking with old ideas. In fact we may already have entered a new epoch. The Yugoslav thinker and author, Milovan Djilas, writes, 'Nations, peoples, the human race are living in a new age, even though their concepts continue to be those of the former age. In this lies both the hope and the misfortune of mankind.'

Even now there are people who believe that the world's problems would disappear if the greedy capitalists and brutal imperialists could be eliminated. Just as many believe that all we need is to be rid of the hate-filled Communists and power-hungry Leninists. Their out-dated approach could lead to catastrophe for mankind.

Where does the hope for humanity lie? A new consciousness is forcing its way through the old concepts. It is happening as much in the West as in the East, in the North as in the South. There are two main currents in which these new concepts find expression.

The first can be seen in the search for solutions to the problems which threaten the survival of humanity. In 1976 alone there were four such conferences—the law of the sea conference in New York, UNCTAD IV in Nairobi, the Habitat conference in Vancouver, and a conference on unemployment organised by the ILO in Geneva. The year before there were conferences on the population explosion, world nutrition and the world's water needs. And this year there has been the Brandt Commision's report on the way to a new economic and social world order.

Such matters have made us aware as never before that we need each other. A deeper sense of responsibility is emerging in the world, and this holds out hope.

This current is concerned with the outward basis of mankind's survival. But as important, if not more so, is the inward basis for survival—the inner freedom of the soul, the mind, the personality. It takes a struggle to achieve the inward basis for living—a struggle which will decide whether future generations can lead their lives in freedom or must live in slavery and oppression.

In the West we are in the process of losing our freedom without realising what is happening. We need to open our minds to the wisdom and experience of the freedomfighters in the East.

'The aim of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union,' declared Andrei Amalrik, 'is to change the moral climate, to end the double morality and the lie with which Soviet man has been drenched. Double-think has become an integral part of the Soviet system; a rust which corrodes everything. This is what we are fighting.

'We are not a political, but a moral movement. We seek a revolution in mankind's thinking. We strive to bring an awareness of human rights, and fight for these rights to be respected. If we succeed, it will bring about a change in the entire



ANDREI ALEKSEYEVICH AMALRIK is the author of 'Involuntary Journey into Siberia' and 'Will the Soviet Union survive until 1984?' He was sentenced in 1970 to three years in strict-regime labour camps and in 1973 to a further three years of internal exile. He now lives with his wife in France.

'Whenever force is unable to pla DEMOCRACY—TH

political structure of the Soviet Union.

'We do not, therefore, seek first to change the system. We do not believe that if the system were gradually to change, it would improve human beings. We want to start with the human being; to alter the way people think and give them a sense of the their worth and an inner conviction which will stand up for its rights. Only then will the system begin to change.'

In other words, the Russian dissidents have not formulated a political programme; nor have they drawn up any alternative to the society in which they have to live. Their concern is the human conscience.

I asked Vladimir Bukovsky, one of the legendary fighters of the Gulag Archipelago, what enabled him to remain unbroken by examinations, solitary confinement, psychiatric maltreatment, persecution, and punishments of every kind.

LEIF HOVELSEN'S indentification with from his experiences in concentration While in solitary confinement he regain a commitment under God to bring ch Answering questions after his talk, M

I SPENT FOUR MONTHS in solitary confinement—in a very small cell, with no air. I wasn't allowed to read or write or leave the cell. Suddenly one day one of the top Gestapo came to see me. I had been through quite a lot already and I was afraid he was coming to interrogate me.

But instead he talked to me. He painted a fascinating picture of the united world the Germans would build after the war. Then he asked if I would like to be moved into a cell with my friends. 'If one of them came back from interrogation and said, "I really fooled them this time", would you tell us?' he asked.

I was only 18. I was under tremendous pressure, I knew I could be executed and here was a chance to get out of solitary confinement. But I knew I could only say no.

He asked me three times. Then he said he'd give me time to think it over. But he never returned.

If I had said yes I'd have lost everything I had inside me. The conscience my parents had built into me made me say no. If we can wake that in our children then we need have no fear about the future.

Since then I have found more and more how important it is to have absolute moral standards for my life. They help to clear my sensitivity so that I can see and feel and think. They are the guiding stars that help me find the reality I need. Without them I am dependent on the stream of ideas that come from outside, on the fashion of the times.

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E RIGHT TO FIGHT-

He replied, 'The only way to survive as a personality is not to give way to any external pressure whatsoever, or submit to any of the demands the State functionaries make to get you in their power.

'When once you have found the inner freedom which comes from remaining true to what you believe and not betraying your friends, then no outside power can shift you or take your inner freedom from you.

'From what I have observed, many in the West have forgotten what freedom and democracy are. To them freedom has become an undemanding and comfortable way of life: to seek a high standard of living and have a good time. They forget that democracy and freedom mean first of all the right to fight.

'We Russians have had to learn to fight. Perhaps a characteristic of ours is the idea that there's nothing to be gained by fighting

the dissidents of Eastern Europe stems camps in Norway during World War II. ed his Christian faith, which grew into ange in the world.

r Hovelsen spoke of his own experiences :

If you allow yourself to be manipulated by the forces of the time, after a while your moral borders get eroded, and you are preparing for tyrants to control you, for the situation which Tarsis describes education by the State of 'oppressed robots'. This is where each of us has the responsibility to keep our conscience alive—it's not a personal question any more.

The friend who betrayed me during the war had no standards from his home. He believed the Gestapo's promises and betrayed us to get his freedom. But they never let him out of their sight, squeezed him for information and in the end he even took part in interrogations. He lost all trace of humanity.

One day, soon after the war, I became convinced that I should go to the Gestapo officer who had tortured me and tell him I had forgiven him. The thought shocked me,

When I told my mother she said, 'Tell him I'm praying for him.'

I told him I forgave him, and added what my mother had said. He shook all over, but did not say anything.

Later he was condemned to death. Before he was executed he asked for communion. This experience liberated me and gave me

a vision of what I could do when I later went to work in Germany.

Recently I told a Russian dissident about this. He said he could never forgive the KGB. I told him that it had been a fantastic gift from God to be able to forgive—a great privilege to be given that freedom.



VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY has spent twelve out of his 37 years in prisons, labour camps and psychiatric hospitals. He risked all to expose Soviet misuse of psychiatry and in 1976 was expelled to the West. He is the author of 'To Build a Castle'.

those in power. It's an attitude that goes far back into our history. In time people adopt the view that you cannot achieve anything. This attitude rests on false assumptions. It is a matter of life and death to overcome it. For we know that when everything seems impossible, but you still fight, then possibilities open up. Solzhenitsyn has proved it. Sakharov has proved it. I myself have experienced it.

'Often fear is greater than the danger itself,' he went on. 'But we know from our experience that whenever force is unable to play on fear, power stands helpless.

'The Soviet Union may have the world's most powerful armed forces, and a secret police numbering millions at home and abroad. But they are helpless when they stand face to face with free men who will not obey them. The whole system of power and apparatus of oppression is useless when faced with an opposition of free men, led by a spiritual force.'

Valery Tarsis writes in his book, *Ward 7*, about political prisoners in a mental hospital: 'Perhaps the most remarkable thing in the seventh ward was that all the people loved each other and loved truth, without hiding it, whilst everyone outside hated each other, or at best treated each other with contempt or indifference: at the same time they hated and feared the truth.'

In the introduction to the Norwegian edition of Tarsis' book, the author Asmund Brynildsen writes: 'With Boris Pasternak's Dr Zhivago, the conscience of Russia, sunk in the depths of the night, rose again. It is this forgotten, newly awakened and fearsome pride in being a man, an individual, a being with a conscience, with knowledge of good and evil, with desire for truth, and an unquenchable need for freedom—it is this that carries forward men like Tarsis, Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov, Amalrik, and Bukovski.'

This renaissance of conscience is the greatest thing that has happened in the East in our time. The worst that could happen in the West, on the other hand, would be for us to lose our conscience. But this is what is taking place, without our noticing it.

This is where you and I come into the picture, ordinary people at the grass roots. We can either lose our conscience or make it a daily reality by the way we live. In this we are somewhat in the same situation as the Russian and East European dissidents, in that we must fight for the soul and the conscience of the West; we must voice and live God's truth in a world that is drugged and blinded by affluence and self-righteousness.

Moral Re-Armament's fight in the world has been to strengthen the conscience and the spiritual and moral resources of men and nations. It has been one of God's great actions in our time—to raise up people all over the world to fight for a new world, shaped by God's will and not by fallible men and the dead hand of materialism, a world where God's spirit governs in and through people.

The coming age will not only require us to ensure the outward survival of mankind but also the inward survival of generations to come. There is the enormous task of building up a new world order together with the Third and the Fourth Worlds. We must also wage a global spiritual warfare so inclusive, so profound, and so creative in thinking and life-style, that we can convince the Communist world that there is a better way for mankind than the revolution of hate, bitterness, and violence. This is a calling and a task so great that it will demand all the talents, abilities, and gifts God has given each person.

But it is also in God's nature that when He calls us, He gives us guidance; He will give us the power, the wisdom, the courage, the persistence, the will, and the creative thinking needed to follow His calling and meet the needs of tomorrow's world.



VALERY TARSIS published his book 'The Bluebottle', which criticised the Soviet regime, under his own name in the West. As a result he was confined to a mental home for three months. This experience provided the basis for his book 'Ward 7' which was the first description of maltreatment in Russian psychiatric hospitals.

What Sartre missed

The French existentialist philosopher, Jean-Paul Sartre died last week. Michel Sentis and Charles Piguet write of him in their book 'Ce Monde que Dieu nous confie' (This world God entrusts to us):

SUPPOSE one evening parents discover that their small daughter has helped herself to peanuts from the shop counter, what is their reaction? Righteous indignation, hurt pride, fear of having a delinquent on their hands one day? These start the vicious circle of punishment and lies, leading on to repression and rebellion. Or there is the indulgent attitude: 'After all, she is so young and the theft is so small.' This is the first step in deadening a conscience, and it leads in time to the insecurity so common today.

The child who once stole the peanuts has become a mother herself. 'In fact, my parents had none of these reactions,' she says. 'When they found the shells in my pockets and saw my guilty look, they simply suggested that the three of us should be quiet for a moment and listen to the voice in our hearts. I knew at once what I should do. I would go and speak to the shop-keeper and offer him my pocket money.

'Next day, to give me courage, my mother went with me as far as the shop door. I came out hugging a little bag of peanuts which I had been given to share with my brothers and sisters. I had gained a respect for other people's property and experienced victory over fear. More important still, I knew that

USA BRISTOL Apathy under fire Book binds marriage

TWO MEN with wide experience of Moral Re-Armament's world action have been touring the United States at the invitation of people in many parts of the country. William Jaeger from Britain and Australian Gordon Wise went in response to a growing interest in Moral Re-Armament.

In an interview in Portland with the Oregon Journal, headlined 'Moral Re-Armament leaders bombard apathy', Mr Jaeger said, 'Apathy among most of the public is the greatest threat to democracy and freedom.' The problem was not so much the political extremes, he said but 'the apathy of good people.'

A religious and moral foundation was needed to make democracy work, said Mr Jaeger. He called on people to seek to 'set right whatever we see is wrong wherever we are, at home, at work or elsewhere.

'MRA means being responsible, and that means better productivity, teamwork between workers and management, decisions made on the basis of what is right, not what is in one's own interest.'

Mr Wise urged a better relationship between the West and the developing nations. He said, 'The non-communist world should take the initiative and help the Third World find markets, develop a more unselfish way to share resources and help them learn technology so that they can earn their way.'

During a visit to San Anselmo in West California reported in the Independent Journal, Mr Wise said, 'What is right is right for everyone. In labour and management when one side is willing to put the cards on the table, the other side will respond. Solutions come when trust is established and trust is established when there is honesty on both sides.' BBC RADIO BRISTOL had a call recently from a couple who had been helped in their marriage by Annejet Campbell's book, *Listen* to the Children. The station decided to interview the author before their morning phone-in programme.

'Would you describe the book as simply a collection of personal experiences, or is there perhaps an underlying theme to it?' asked the interviewer.

'The theme is that we don't have to buckle down to our problems and live in misery,' replied Mrs Campbell. 'Everyone has an inner wisdom that can help them face problems and find what to do. We find that children also know that inside they have two voices, a bad one and a good one, and they can listen to either one. As parents we can help our children to put this into practice.'

During the phone-in several people spoke about what Mrs Campbell had said. Three who heard the programme met to talk more about the ideas in the book with some of those who had invited the Campbells to Bristol.

During their visit to the West Country, Dr and Mrs Campbell met heads of schools, community relations leaders and many others in Bristol and Bath. Ron Nethercott, Regional Secretary for the Transport and General Workers' Union and County Councillor Robert Smith hosted a lunch for them where they spoke about the book.

Similar occasions have taken place in the Midlands and South Yorkshire, where Mrs Campbell was interviewed on Radio Sheffield.

'Listen to the Children' by Annejet Campbell, Grosvenor Books, price £1.50, with postage £1.85. inside me was a guide to which I could always refer.'

This story may sound trivial, but it has a special significance when compared with an experience of Jean-Paul Sartre at the same age. He describes it in *Les Mots*: 'I had been playing with matches and burnt a small rug. I was trying to cover up my crime when suddenly God saw me. I felt Him looking inside my head and at my hands. I turned this way and that in the bathroom, aghast at being seen, a living target. Then indignation came to the rescue. I burst out in anger against my gross stupidity. I swore with the language I had heard my grandfather use under his breath. God never looked at me again.'

Further on, the existentialist philosopher writes: 'Today, if someone mentions Him to me, I am like an old man meeting again an old flame. Amused and without regrets I say, "Fifty years ago, but for the chance that parted our ways, there might have been something between us.""

One cannot help wondering what Sartre might have become if the child had listened to his conscience. Would he have written, 'There is nothing in heaven, neither Good nor Evil, no one to give me orders'? Would he have encouraged a whole generation to follow that road? We can at least be grateful to him for his honesty about his experience. His own name for it was 'the story of a calling that was missed'.

USA Undepressed

JOYCE KNEALE a teacher from the Isle of Man is working in the United States, helping to create relevant courses in moral education for schools. She writes:

THE OTHER DAY a psychologist said to a friend of mine who is a member of his staff, 'We must not give people a sense of guilt. It will lead to depression.' What he really meant was, 'I refuse to take any blame for the temper, tantrums and rebellion which makes my 17-year-old daughter unbearable to live with.'

Fortunately this friend saw the emptiness in her boss's life. With infinite care and patience she spoke to him of the failure of all who surrounded the girl—including herself. She also suggested that he might ask the girl's forgiveness for his blame of her for the recent illness of her mother.

To say such things to one's boss takes courage. Not to say them is another nail in the coffin of the soul of democracy. Yet how often, though we call ourselves Christians, our love of comfort keeps us from such boldness. And instead of opening the door to healing and reconciliation we deny it to individuals and nations.

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