

Cyprus



## Yuri Glazov on dissent in Russia

Yuri Glazov

...a pleasant, soft spoken, peaceloving man; and at the same time very sincere and intense. He is very fond of his country and its culture -he feels almost like a fish, used to the high pressure and darkness of a deep ocean basin, which has been suddenly transported to a shallow sea; it is intoxicated with light and

In January Professor Glazov spoke to the Amnesty International luncheon. One of his concerns was about the 'wester' interpretation of what he meant by 'intelligentsia.'' In Russia the "intelligentsia" are people from all walks of life who think and speak freely about human rights, life and liberty

#### Interview with Prof. Glazov excerpted from Irene Kirk's Profiles in Russian Resistence

Q. The West admires the courage shown by the protest movement in the Soviet Union. But many of us wonder: do such people as Pyotr Grigorenko, the Medvedev brothers, Amalrik, and Litvinov risk so much only because they feel that there is some chance that their actions will bring about reforms or improvements in their country?

The fact that the West admires the courage of these people does not bring me any joy; what we need most is not praise or wonder but understanding. What is lacking is the understanding by the West of what is happening in the Soviet Union. As for the motives of these people, they speak out because they cannot keep silent—the atmosphere and the situation demand it. Before 1968 there was still a hope that some reforms or changes might be possible. After August, 1968, it became evident that any serious dialogue between the Soviet Government and the protest movement was impossible.

Q. Does the Government sometimes allow dissent in order to identify the troublemakers?

The Soviet Government is in a very peculiar position. On the one hand it is quite capable of suppressing every movement inside the country. On the other hand it has its games with the West and tries to save face. That is why it isn't right to assume that the Soviet Government is absolutely free in its actions against the members of the moral protest movement. The movement at first was a shock to the Government. Later it was thoroughly investigated, especially by the KGB which more than any other organization, understood the motives of the people in the movement. I think that the KGB wanted to see how the movement would develop. They didn't need to identify the people -since the outstanding members of the movement had often been in trouble with the Government. It was kind of an experiment-to see if there would be a chain reaction. But to their great amazement they realized that the society they had created was rather stable and there was no chain reaction. The members of the moral protest movement are isolated not only from the authorities but also from the people

and the other members of the Intelligentsia.

Q. Do you think government agents penetrated the movement?

In the Soviet Union there is bilingualism and the Intelligentia speaks it's own language, and, of course, the officials are interested in that other language and they send their agents to interpret it. But those who are in the movement are not afraid any more and they speak openly even if they suspect that someone is an agent.

Q. Are women liberated in the Soviet Union?

don't think so. We have a different tendency there: the Russian women would like to be, so to speak, enslaved. They would like to live quietly in a family circle, with a husband who has an adequate salary that would allow them to raise their children quietly at home.

Q. Do you see any link between yourselves and the nineteenth century Intelligentsia? Does the present Intelligentsia feel any links with the people? What are the myths of the present Intelligentsia?

The revival of the Intelligentsia in Russia is a real miracle. After all, it was exiled or wiped out during the Revolution, and wiped out again in the 1930s. And even though we don't have anyone on the level of Nicholas Berdyaev, Sergei Bulgakov, or Leo Shestov, we will. This reborn Intelligentsia is not the same as the Intelligentsia of the previous century, or that of the beginning of this century. These were very often infatuated with the people and were antireligious. The Intelligentsia now makes use of the lessons of the past and is trying a synthesized approach. Though they realize that the Russian people, in spite of everything, did not undergo any transformation and are basically very stable, there is no cult of the people to communicate with the people, because there is a gap between them and they need a lot of education to understand things. So instead of narodnichestvo (populism) there is now intelligentchestvo: an appeal to Intelligentsia as a single class that may close this gap.

Q. What are the prospects of the moral protest movement in the immediate future?

The movement has now come to a standstill and frankly I am not surprised. There is a lot of disillusionment even though many things had been foreseen. I think that after two or three years of silence there will be other developments. Because if the Soviet authorities will not understand that it is necessary to change course, and to stop their spiritual genocide, then they will be opposed in at least four different ways. First by the underground-in some cases we have already seen the appeal for strikes in Moscow last year. Then there is a new revival of Slavo-

philism. I'm not a partisan of that, especially when it is connected with anti-Semitism or fascism, but I share their belief that the Russian people will finally gain their freedom. Another strange revival is neocommunism. The young people who do not want to learn from the lessons of Czechoslovakia think that Stalin did corrupt Lenin's ideals and that they could revive Lenin's teachings as put forth in this What's to Be Done? and try to realize a new approach to communism the way Dubcek tried. Lastly, there is the Christian revival, but one connected with social activities. The religious approach now demands action in

the social sphere, as with Boris Talantov and Gleb Yakunin. That is why I am not pessimistic at all in regard to the future of Russia. We will witness all this in three or four years. I don't invite anyone to make another crusade against the Soviet Union. It is invalid to blame only the Party officials and the Government for what is going on. They are not more responsible than the people and the Intelligentsia. Finally, it is necessary to intensify everyone's feeling of responsibility for what goes on on this earth-whether it is happening in South Africa or Bangladesh or in Ireland or in the Soviet Union.

#### Andrei Sakharov - the focal point

Sakharov: The Chained Titan

To the Editor:

On Dec. 10 in Oslo, Elena Sakharov received a gold medal and diploma which her husband, Andrei Sakharov, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, was unable to accept in person. The event took place almost exactly ten years after the Russian intelligentsia, revived from ashes of executions and imprisonment, conducted its first demonstration to defend human rights. Sakharov seems to be the only mighty voice that has survived the movement's persecution by the Brezhnev regime. The list of victims is longtoo long.

Sakharov posed quite a problem for the Soviet authorities. He is too influential to get rid of without much fuss. The possibilities of silencing him are limited.

He might be expelled from the prestigious Soviet Academy of Sciences. He might be put on trial and sent to a remote place in Siberia. He might be deported like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, but unlike Solzhenitsyn he could use his knowledge of the theory of relativity to discover rather peculiar laws dominating in our two artificially separated hemispheres, and by so doing he might advance the day when pro-socialist and non-religious intellectuals of the West will embrace their counterparts-proreligious and non-socialist Rus-

The Soviet authorities could keep on playing their favorite game: Leave the lamp untouched while catching all birds and flies rushing to the light -that is, isolate Sakharov from his friends and associates.

Since the middle of last October, a new offensive against Sakharov has been under way. One blow followed another. On Nov. 22, Yuri Zhukov, and editor of Pravda, informed millions of Soviet TV listeners of the "indignant letters" about Sakharov he had received. (On Nov. 23, a worthy Soviet recipient for a peace prize-from the Moscow-supported World Peace Council-was at last found; Leonid Brezhnev.)

On Dec. 10, Sakharov was forbidden even to be present at an "open trial" of his friend Sergei Kovalev in Vilnius.

After ten years of non-violent struggle, Sakharov received the Nobel Peace Prize abroad while at home, or rather far from Moscow, the native city of both Sakharov and Kovalev, his close friend was sentenced to ten years in a strict prison camp and internal exile.

Like Prometheus, Sakharov is being chained to a Soviet rock, and an eagle of slander daily approaches him to eat his immortal liver. Will Heracles show up, in whatever shape, to release the titan?

(Prof.) Yuri Glazov Halifax, N.S., Dec. 16, 1975 The writer is chairman of the Russian Department at Dalhousie University.

Reprinted from The New York Times

#### Sakharov: World Symbol of Redemption

To the Editor:

I am writing this letter to a Western newspaper because I am not allowed to express my opnions in the U.S.S.R. My subject is the great Soviet physicist and Nobel Prize winner Andrei Sakharov.

Except for party- or governmentinspired press attacks on him, in my country the silence over Sakharov is complete. But the West should know that there are many people here-and I am one of them-who strongly disapprove of the dirty campaign waged against the man who is perhaps the only absolutely honest person among our eminent

The almost absolute lack of overt support for Sakharov among highly placed Soviet scientists and scholars clearly demonstrates that there is no such thing as the Russian intelligentsia any more. If Sakharov's colleagues and former friends, such as Khariton and Zel'dovic (not to speak of the sixty other academicians and professors) signed the "letter" denouncing Sakharov, it can mean only that moral considerations are fully excluded from the mentality of those who should base the whole of their activities and lives on moral principles.

It is difficult to compare different ordeals, but last month a tribunal in Vilnius sentenced to seven years imprisonment plus three years of exile the biophysicist Sergei Kova-

lev, a members of Sakharov's Committee for Human Rights. For a scientist of more than forty years of age, this means death-spiritually and mentally, if not literally. Not one Soviet scientist protested. The members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences have become soulless puppets, devoid of convictions and conscience.

As for the West, I cannot understand the attitude of your scientists and scholars. Perhaps they do not fully realize that a powerful nation of 250 million, guided by the unscrupulous and having at its disposal first-class brains with no hearts and souls, may prove highly dangerous.

The examples of Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Angola show the impotence of the West in the face of the Communist machine. And real freedom and human rights in the Soviet Union are as important (if not more important) to the world as they are to us.

Please do not forget that there are many here kept in jails, labor camps and prison psychiatric hospitals who are suffering also for your freedom. Sakharov is for us-and should be for the world—a symbol of redemp-

I.A. Mel'cuk Moscow, Jan. 4, 1976. The writer is a senior scientist on the staff of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of Linguistics.

Reprinted from The New York Times

# Indonesia's political prisoners

by George Van Lunen

It has been eleven years since Indonesia changed direction, when army leaders replaced President Sukarno's cabinet by a military administration. Sukarno had directed Indonesian politics for quite a while. During World War II, Indonesia-formerly known as the Dutch East Indies-was occupied by Japan. Toward the end of the war the Japanese declared Indonesia independent and proclaimed Sukarno as its leader. For a while it looked as if the Dutch colonial rule would return to the archipelago, but in 1949 - partly as a result of American pressure - Holland gave up its territorial claims to Indonesia. There was, however one stipulation: The western half of the island of New Guinea, called West Irian, would remain under Dutch rule. Most of the inhabitants of West Irian were stone-age tribesmen; they should be encouraged to work out their own independence. Sukarno did not agree; he had set his heart on making West Irian part of Indonesia. In order to apply pressure on the Dutch he sought a close alliance with the Peking communists. There was some reason to believe that Indonesia would eventually move into the communist sphere, especially since the PKI, the communist part of Indonesia, rapidly gained in membership. On the other hand, the army, which was largely anti-communist, succeeded in increasing its political power. For the time being the Army and the PKI worked in a shaky alliance with President Sukarno, but bitter conflicts on the regional level soon developed.

In 1962 the West Irian problem was solved: the Dutch government agreed to turn the territory over to Indonesia. Unfortunately, another trouble spot developed at that time: Malaysia. Sukarno would have liked to add that region to his empire as well, but the British granted Malaysia its independence. The Indonesian Communist Party denounced Mayalsia as a "concentration of colonial forces on the very frontiers of our country" an attitude

now adopted a pro-Chinese stand and advocated the creation of an armed peasants' force to fight the government troops of Malaysia. The army, understandably, did not allow the PKI to take the initiative in military matters. It was in this atmosphere of tension that the coup

On that date a senior officer of Sukarno's palace guards tried to gain control of the army. He had six top-ranking generals kidnapped and assasinated and then called for support from the ranks. All enlisted men who supported him would be promoted one grade.

The role of the PKI in the coup is not clear. It is doubtful that the communists took part in the uprising, but they welcomed the emergence of a new army leader who might be sympathetic toward the

The coup failed when general Suharto acted decisively to occupy strategic posts and restore order. On Oct. 4 a joint statement by the Muslim parties and the Catholic Party blamed the PKI for masterminding the coup and called on Sukarno to ban the communist party. Before Sept. 30 Sukarno had been able to maintain balance of power between the army and the PKI, but now the army, under Suharto's leadership, was in control and Sukarno's power rapidly faded. -Throughout Indonesia PKI members and their sympathizers were hunted down by the army and by mobs. Some observers put the number of killed as high as 200,000 or 300,000.

In 1966 the PKI was outlawed by Suharto and this decree resulted in waves of arrests in 1967 and 1968. Political prisoners were put in the following categories:

a) the group against whom there is clear evidence of involvement in the September 30 movement;

b) those believed to have been involved in the Sept. 30 coup, but against whom there is insufficient evidence;

c) PKI sympathizers. According to a 1974 publication of

which Sukarno supported. -The PKI of September 1965 took place.

> the Dutch branch of Amnesty International at least 55,000 people are now spending their tenth year of imprisonment in jails, in labour camps and on prison islands throughout the Indonesian Republic. Apparently the Indonesian Government still sees those in

prisoners and prisoners of consctragic events of 1965. Then, as now, critics of the Sukarno Government. detained as suspected communists after the attempted coup of September 1965."

The Christmas 1974 issue of follow in closing:

Pacific Ocean New Guinea Malaysia International Indian Ocean Australia Portuguese 19 Indonesia

detention as a serious threat to its

In 1972 Amnesty International stated in an Indonesia Special issue: "Amnesty's aim is to help political ience; we are not concerned with national politics, nor do we pass judgement on the beliefs of those in prison. Amnesty's interest in Indonesia began in 1961, long before the it was motivated by a concern with the principles of human rights, had no partisan political interest, and worked for the release of individual prisoners of conscience, at that time Today its work is focused on more than 55,000 untried prisoners,

Hervormd Nederland, weekly of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, contained a letter from a political prisoner in Indonesia. The letter reflects the sense of despair besetting those who are detained year after year. Some excerpts

'There are 123 political prisoners in this prison. A while ago a team

#### Mail - Star **February 14 1976**

60,000 killed

JAKARTA (AP) - About 60, 000 persons have been killed since the outbreak of civil war in East Timor last August, the vice-chairman of East Timor's provisional government said Friday.

Francisco Xavier Lopez da Cruz also said the pro-Indonesian forces will complete their takeover of the former Portuguese colony in three or four weeks.

from Amnesty International was here. At that time the food was good and abundant --- In 1966 I got house arrest as a result of false accusations. Three years later I was offered a pension with the observation that I had been involved in the September 30, 1965 coup. I refused the pension, for I was innocent. In 1973 I was arrested and I have been in prison ever since...Nothing is done to bring up my case. I have told my wife not to take action on behalf, because such action will only make the situation worse for us prison-

The authorities do not shy away from intimidation. Five or six times a year it becomes known that the guards have beaten a prisoner to death...

## Mohandras Ghandi: Reform without violence

by Gurprit S. Kindra

Mohandras Karamchand Ghandi, the great Indian social reformer, politician, and philosopher, was the pioneer exponent of satyagraha (Sanskrit truth force) or in English, non-violent resistance. Asserting man's unity under one God, he preached Christian and Moslem scriptures along with the Hindu; vigorously expousing abolition of untouchablility. Called the Mahatama (Great souled) he was widely revered because he could exact political concessions by threatening 'fasts unto death''. He was a major figure in the non-violent struggles and conferences leading to India's

Gandhi's idea of non-violence states that if there is to be any injury, violence, suffering, or sacrifice it is to be on his side and not on the party whom he wanted to convert to his point of view. To some people with the false notion that the "frail old man" was too scared to use violence, I would like to point out that it requires much more courage and patience to stand the beating rather than retaliate violently. He was non-violent and yet a fearless critic, a bold reformer, and a courageous revolutionary.

Political disputes between nations have most frequently been settled by violent means against those who were considered a hinderance. The existance of modern technological weapons will scarcely allow a continuation of this humilating state of affairs for a long time to come. Therefore there mus be other means to pursue the interests of one group against those of another group. At this point the idea of non-violence may help in two ways. First, it turns round the most disputed slogan "the end justifies the means". The idea of non-violence states that it is the quality of the means, e.g. the intention to suffer for the good ends but not to inflict suffering upon others, which provides the justification of the ends. Secondly, it states that it is only by gaining the approval of the masses that we can reasonably persue our interests.

Non-violence plays a most important role in politics. It is a general tendency of our times to create international law courts which can be evoked for settling problems between nations. This is surely the right step in the right direction. But

frequently, at least in the near future, the authority of such an institution will be questioned by one of the parties. Also a general lack of interest among other nations may frustrate the judgement of such an institution. In such a case Gandhi's idea of non-violence could help to draw the attention of the people and emphasize the urgency of it's solution because the personal engagement as Gandhi's idea of non-violence may be stronger than the somewhat impersonal idea of international law courts.

The recent revolts of students, on Indian campuses and the proletariat of many western countries, seem to be a revolt against the aquisative base of society and the violence that excessive greed breeds. In this sense it surely should be welcomed as an effort to turn away from the evil traditions of the past. Perhaps to some degree the revolt may be due to the invisible influence of Mahatma Gandhi.

At present the whole world is in danger of destruction through violence. Large scale violence involving nuclear weapons and biological warfare could be catastrophic. Non-violence is the only way through which mankind can survive the tension of a bi-polar world.

Who can say that violent revolution is a manifest success? The persistance of war in the Middle East is achieving the utter ruin of the peoples of the countries involved and the only beneficiaries are the handful of capitalistic "developed" nations hawking all kinds of killing devices. Might not a nonviolent opposition to their enemies be more effective and less miser-

able. Does violent revolution really lead to the well being of the masses? There has to be a better

Surely at the very least anyone who cares for the survival of mankind should give serious and prolonged attention to Gandhi's philosophy and his life before concluding that non-violence is of

no significance.

Non-violence is most emphatically not the feeble weapon of those who have not the courage to give up their lives or to suffer hardship. It's discipline is more strict than that of a soldier, for it is surely harder to stand up to beatings unarmed and refuse to hit back then to go into battle with guns, ready to kill the enemy. It is the whole world that needs to stop and think of attending to the prophetic voice of Gandhi Ji. Truth and non-violence, the principles on which Gandhi lived, provide a new foundation for human society. We must re-examine our basic assumptions.

Our job new remains to translate truth and non-violence into a language that means something real to the people of the world, particularly the West, and then make it our own by living up to it.

### **American Viewpoint**

#### In the wake of Moynihan:

What role for the U.S. in the U.N.?

by Don Kniseley

Now that Daniel Patrick Moynihan's brief but notorious career at the UN has come to an anti-climactic finale, it is well to ponder just what legacy he leaves to his replacement. Many Americans are found wondering whether indeed in the aftermath of Moynihan there can be any objectivity in UN debates involving questions of the third world and a new international economic order. More importantly, it is timely to speculate on where we go from here, given that the U.S. has increasingly become anathema among allies and foes alike.

Lest we be too critical, there seem to be at least two positive aspects arising from the belligerent Irish-American's nondiplomatic brand of diplomacy. He may have done both the UN member nations and the U.S. public a service by the candor of his statements, as his line of confrontation has the redeeming feature of decisiveness, in contrast to many of the Ford and Kissinger subtleties. In fact, Moynihan's proclivity to tell it like it is (or as he believed it to be) undoubtedly heightened any dissonance there may have been between him and the State Department and did much to hasten his termination of duties at Turtle Bay.

Secondly, his harangues have focused U.S. attention on the UN for the first time in several years. Although Moynihan has apparently been quite successful in leading middle America through the paces of backlash (70% of Americans gave unconditional support of his tactics in a recent poll), even backlash may be preferable to "benign neglect" if it forces examination at some point. He may have only mirrored the reactionary attitudes of the American people, but eventually both guilt and defiance must be left behind if there is to be meaningful progress. It is obvious that continued "get tough" rhetoric can only exacerbate an already delicate situation, and while Americans historically have been all too ready to acquiesce in the type of victim-blaming Moynihan represents, there is some reason to believe that the extreme line he perpetrates makes his critics all the more plausible. This could certainly be the case if the next U.S. Ambassador to the UN strikes a



Moynihan at the UN

more moderate position with respect to the third world, and at this point it is indeed hard to imagine that anyone can have other than a more moderate stance.

Of course this begs the question of whether the UN will remain (or for that matter, ever has been) a viable unifying force in our troubled world. At the expense of echoing a trite aphorism, I reiterate that at present it is all our troubled world has got. That the UN has little institutionalized capacity to intervene in the lopsided distribution of the earth's riches should not deter our efforts to maintain the premier forum for global debate and discussion. Ultimately, its power lies in the collective effect of what is said and reported on the peoples of every member nation state. Hence the need for other than the continued state of confrontation which seemed to be emerging out of the pugnaciousness manifested in Moynihan; a state in which truculence at all levels is the end product.

The obligation for creating an aura of constructive dialogue lies not only with the U.S., though in light of our history of big stick and carrot foreign policy the initiative surely does. Admittedly Henry Kissinger gave tacit recognition to the need for a new international economic system last fall, but there is little reason to think any state official is very serious in implementing an alternative to the present unjust state of things. And this is precisely what is needed - a commitment to re-constitute global economics. If such a commitment is forthcoming from the U.S. and the rest of the "northern world", the developing countries then have the obligation to act not out of fear of aid reprisals, nor with debilitating accusations, but in mutual realization that everyone's interest is best served in a setting of truly world-wide scope.

Only a heavy mask of naivity could convince us that all the

earth's difficulties can or will be solved at the UN. Nationalism, with all its attendant attributes, both good and bad, is likely to be with this planet for some time, and will unquestionably determine many of the decisions concerning international relations. There will be, however, certain problems which require collective thought and action. The better able the UN is to meet these problems, the greater the possibility of extending its aegis. At worst, with omnipresent spectres of terrorism, mass starvation, nuclear holocaust and other twentieth century horrors continually compel us to opt for elusive unity among nations. At best, we are motivated by a sense of the necessity and the desirability of global redistributive justice.

#### Rebirth of the International Students Association

There are almost a thousand foreign students from some thirty countries at Dalhousie University. This figure is nearly doubled when one includes St. Mary's and Mt. St. Vincent universities as well. Clearly, there is potential for an International Students' Association (ISA) in Halifax, and one that includes both Canadians and non-Canadians.

There are already several major national or regional societies in existence; these include the African, Arabian, Caribbean, Chinese and East Indian groups, as well as the various language clubs. They are largely concerned with social functions for their members and, as such, make a very important contribution to student life.

It is hoped the the ISA will complement these activities by addressing itself to the following

main areas of activity:

1) Reception of foreign students. Advance contact should be made with prospective students from overseas, and information sent which will help them decide whether to come, what to bring and what to expect. A reception and orientation programme must be planned to welcome new students each fall, to introduce them to the university, town and community, and to help them make new friends and settle down quickly. Accommodation of foreign students must be recognized as a priority for early consideration.

This work is the concern of the Foreign Student Adviser and the Office of the Dean of Student Services. There are many ways in which the ISA could assist with

their programme. 2) Social Events

These are well covered at present by the Student Union and the various national societies. However, there is scope for more multicultural activity on campus; a sharing of foods, costumes, theatre, social customs and traditions, religions, philosophies, arts and crafts... The 'International Nights' which have been held in past years have been very successful. An 'International Bazaar' in the SUB, and regular international lunches could be considered.

3) World Development Activity. Active debate and consideration of the many global problems which we face today is important to us all, as inheritors of a bizarre world! Dire poverty is to be found in all corners of the globe. 460 million people are actually starving; while food is so unevenly distributed that in many cases there is enormous wastage. Population is about to double in the next thirty years; and some 75,000 people a day are migrating to overcrowded cities. An estimated 200 million are unemployed. The resources of the planet are steadily running out; and the environment is being polluted to the outer limits of tolerance. Vast sums are being spent on arms .... and the world moves ever further from peace.

These problems can only be approached at the international level. They are worthy of a great deal of thought and action by the

4) "Dalhousie International" This issue is the first of a joint venture by Dal Gazette and the provisional ISA. It hopes to cover the whole spectrum of international concerns, both cultural and political, on a regular basis. It could become a very valuable contribution to the student community; and later

perhaps, to the city at large.

Over the past two months the ISA has been organized by an interim steering committee. It is important now that a new committee is elected or that the existing committee receive the endorsement of the larger community of foreign students. The Association has been registered with the Student Union and a provisional constitution has been written. This too is due for revision or endorsement.

There will therefore be a GEN-ERAL MEETING OF THE ISA on Wednesday 10th March in room 314 of the SUB to elect an executive committee. All those who are concerned with the future of the ISA are invited and encouraged to attend. Nominations should reach Dean Marriot's office (A & A building) by the day before the elections. Further information regarding the ISA can be obtained from any of the following:

Ali AKSU Eyasu ARAYA Yogendra DOSHI Dede IJERE Sankar SRIVASTAVA **Dorrik STOW** 

DALHOUSIE INTERNATIONAL is a joint production of the Dalhousie Gazette and the International Students Association. A monthly publication during the school year it is designed to be a forum on international issues. Contributions from all sources are welcomed and

