The Rising Tide

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Residents of Hue search for remains of relatives who were massacred by the Communists.

Vietnam Bloodbath: Myth or Reality

The recent ceasefire proposal with its insufficient provisions for enforcement has caused many free world statesmen to fear a bloodbath in occupied areas, and possibly in all South Vietnam, in the event of a Communist takeover. North Vietnamese sympathizers, such as Professor George Kahin and researcher Gareth Porter of Cornell, have claimed that this is not possible. The alleged bloodbath of the land reform program of 1954-56 is a myth, they maintain.

The evidence, however, clearly shows that a bloodbath is to be expected. First, several noted authors, among them J.P. Honey, Joseph Buttinger, Bernard Fall and Hoang Van Chi assert that the 1954-56 land reform campaign resulted in massive terror. Hoang, a former North Vietnamese businessman, estimated the death toll at half a million. He reported that Party cadres were assigned quotas of five to ten people per village. These were "tried" by the 'People's Courts" and executed. Fall also mentioned the quota system but his estimates were somewhat lower.

Moderation Regretted

Truong Chinh, then the Secretary General of the North Vietnamese Communist Party

and the number two man in Hanoi, was quoted as saying "We regret only that the repression of the reactionaries during the August period was not carried out more fully... For a newborn revolutionary power to be lenient with counterrevolutionaries is tantamount to committing suicide.'

To ensure Communist control over the Viet Minh in 1946, General Vo Nguyen Giap, Ho Chi Minh's top military commander, ordered the murder of thousands of political opponents. A U.S. Senate publication, The Human Cost of Communism in Vietnam reported that the number of non-Communists in the 1946 National Assembly was reduced from 70 to 20 at that time. Of these, only two voted against the Communists. "One was arrested, and the other went into hiding.'

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the murder of opposition figures such as Hoa Hao leader Hynh Phu So and noted Trotskyite leader Ta Thu Thau. The booklet also mentions that a revolt in Nge An, Ho Chi Minh's home provice, touched off by the brutality of the land reform, had resulted in the death of six thousand North Vietnamese peasants.

Terror

The mass terror tactics of the NVA and the VC in the South have also been carefully documented. Senator Gale McGee of Wyoming introduced into the Congressional Record a list of over 60 South Vietnamese labor leaders who had been assassinated by the Viet Cong in the 1960's.

Labor officials, along with teachers, police and village officials are prime targets for assassination, since they provide the kind of leadership which society to pro alleviating thereby the economic stagnation upon which the Communists thrive. Literally thousands of such leaders have been systematically exterminated by the Com-

The Hue Massacre, in which an estimated 5,700 people were murdered by the NVA and VC, provides an example of Com-

See BLOODBATH, page 3.

FLF Holds Conference With Chinese Students

The Freedom Leadership manent WFI training center in Foundation will sponsor a World Freedom Institute conference next month with the Association of Free Chinese in America (AFCA) at a training center in Tarrytown, New York. Approximately 100 people are expected to attend.

FLF President Neil Salonen said the seminar had three major purposes --- "first to offer resident Chinese students training in the complexities of the ideological struggle both in America and throughout the world, second to establish a base of interaction and communication with the AFCA, and third to discuss the most effective way for Chinese students to work in America for the cause of their country and world freedom.'

AFCA President Richard T. T. Liu, who organized the conference with Salonen, noted that many Chinese students who come to the United States are misled by Communist propaganda. He added that Communist groups had subverted previous attempts by his organization to coordinate and mobilize anti-Communist Chinese students here.

Liu said that Chinese students from several Eastern states would be attending the conference, which he hopes will establish a foundation for unified action and cooperation among Chinese students and with sympathetic U.S. groups such as the FLF.

WFI Program Expands

FLF's World Freedom Institute program has expanded rapidly over the last few months, Salonen said, with seminars held every two weeks at the George Washington University campus.

recent seminar there featured political philosophy professor Carl Linden, who spoke on the philosophical roots of Marxism. Salonen said an average of about thirty students were attending the seminars, adding that FLF has plans to expand the program to several other Washington area campuses and purchase a perthe near future.

He said that the Institute held special training programs for over 100 church youth leaders last summer. "The need for a permanent training center at this time is particularly great," Salonen added.

Salonen attributed the success of the WFI program to what he termed "FLF's new critique of Communism and the presentation of a moral alternative based on the Unification Ideology.

He described FLF's teaching as "a synthesis of scientific and religious understanding which relates directly to the problems of young people today and clarifies the need to actively oppose the negative, violenceoriented Marxist concept."

Salonen went on to say that he believes the political and military conflict in the world today to be "based on the struggle of ideology."

He noted an "intensification of ideological educational conformity" in the Soviet Union and said that "if a period of detente and power balance is achieved, it will most certainly be characterized by an intensification of the international ideological struggle."

"The United States and the Free World at present are unprepared for this confrontation of world views," Salonen declared. "If the U.S. does not arm itself morally and ideologically, we will lose the ideological struggle; and this will inevitably lead to the collapse of our social system and the triumph of Communist totalitarianism worldwide."

emphasized, Salonen however, that he is "cautiously optimistic" about the future of mankind. "The youth of this nation are searching for the truth," he said, "and they're not finding it in drugs, free sex or violent revolution. If American youth can be awakened and mobilized, the U.S. will once again become a leading and inspirational force in the international struggle for freedom and justice.'



FLF Program Coordinator Gary Jarmin leads discussion group at recent World Freedom Institute seminar.



'The Freedom To Worship Mao'

by Solveig Eggerz
reprinted from

Religion and Society; August, 1972

...A devoted Communist said recently in Tientsin, "we hate to see a man in prayer because it implies belief in a power higher than the Party."

...An example of what the Communists have done to religion can be found in the words of Communist Buddhist leader, Shirob Jaltso, who calls the Chinese socialist state, "the earthly realization of Buddha's paradise."

Instead of abolishing religious institutions entirely, the Communists strove to gain control of them and transform them into tools of the state to facilitate the destruction of the traditional society.

All religious institutions were infiltrated in 1950 and 1951 by Communists and dissident religious leaders were arrested as "counter-revolutionaries hiding under the cloak of religion," and were executed, expelled, or imprisoned for "thought reform."

Among those to undergo the latter was Father Francis Luca, an Italian priest, who after three and a half years of being "struggled against" in prison finally "confessed" in a manner that pleased the judge and was freed. During a severe prison beating Father Luca's spine was broken, rendering him incapable of continuing priestly duties after his release.

In 1951 the Triple Autonomy Movement or Three Self Movement (self support, self propagation, and self government) was launched in order to break the Catholic church's ties with the Vatican. A schismatic, Communist controlled church was established with the help of the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association. By 1957 party-elected bishops were being illicitly consecrated to head the church.

Christians called spies

The Catholic church was more of a challenge for the Communists because of its unity than the Protestant ministers who worked individually without the benefit of Vatican City. Christianity as a whole was closely linked to imperalism and clergy, under the "anti-American, anti-imperalistic" campaign, were accused of being spies, special agents, and counter-revolutionaries...

Newspaper articles in Communist China's papers reaffirm that the Constitution guarantees freedom of religion and yet stipulate that "Only when counter-revolutionary elements are wiped out can the normal religious life begin."

The China Missionary Bulletin of October 31, 1951, made clear what kind of clergy the government would tolerate. It said: "Those who had not shown themselves to be reactionary in speech or action and whose services were required by the churches, might stay and continue their work but might not hold any administrative positions."

Freedom of religion under the Chinese Communists is balanced by the Communist policy of page 2

"anti-religion," which permits destruction of religious property if the state needs it. In 1955-56 county officials of Wutangshan, the mecca of Chinese Taoism, destroyed Taoist images to gain scrap metal to help balance the county budget. This was an act of "anti-religion."

As part of the Cultural Revolution's policy of destruction of the "Four Olds" of Chinese culture, ancient Buddhist temples all over China were destroyed. Buddhist nuns and monks were driven out to wander around the countryside, while Christians were sent to prison camps.

Persecution Cripples Religion

When the Communists first took power Christian clergy reacted in three different ways: by fleeing, by compromising with the Communists and thus ceasing to be promulgators of the Christian faith, or by fighting the new tyranny and suffering as a result...

If the angry mob known as the Peoples Tribunal endorses the death sentence the counterrevolutionary is killed. One of those whom the mob refused to sentence to death is the 65 year old French priest Father Bernard Druetto. When Father Druetto emerged from prison after eight months he weighed only 79 pounds. He was much beloved in Luyang county where he served and was expelled into Hong Kong.

Since 1954 Father Druetto has been ministering to the civilian and military population of Taiwan's offshore island of Quemoy. He longs to return to "my own people" of Luyang county where, according to Druetto, "the Communists executed 86,000 persons between 1949 and 1951." Among these were 780 of the 3,674 Catholics in Luyang county.

At the time of the Communist takeover the Protestant community on the mainland numbered about one million and the Catholics were three million. Since then there are no figures for the Christian community as a whole.

the Christian community as a whole.

But from 1949 to 1951 the 1,700 Protestant missionaries dwindled to 235. Of the 8,100 Catholic missionaries 1,240 had left China by 1952. Most of the others were either in prison or under some form of house arrest or had simply "disappeared."

Then there's the myth that Buddhism fared better than the "foreign" religions because, having been introduced in China in 100 B.C., Buddhism is considered a national religion of China. Of the 268,494 Buddhist establishments in China in 1930 less than 100 remained in 1954. Buddhist leaders decreased from 600,000 in 1931 to 2,500 in 1954, half of whom were Communist agents.

The first Moslems arrived in the seventh century and by 1949 they numbered 50 million. Today only 10 million remain. The Moslems were not liquidated as quickly or thoroughly as other religious groups, because of their vehement resistance to Communist takeover of their lands and mosques. Yet, the rumor that the

See CHINA, page 8.
The Rising Tide

Soviets Intensifying Ideolgical Education

from a Radio Liberty News Dispatch

Official directives issued shortly before the opening of the Soviet school year on September 1 point to the leadership's concern to intensify ideological discipline as well as to fit education more effectively to the changing demands of the economy in science and technology. However, a number of educational experts and scientists have attacked the system's rigidity and inadequacy in encouraging initiative or promoting artistic and moral values.

The authorities' tight hold on education has always been noticeable in the close relationship maintained between the students' choice of subject and the needs of the economy --- which virtually determine the number of places available for each specialty. One of the difficulties facing the planners seems to be to decide what these needs are in light of changing technology.

New Decrees

A new Party-government decree on higher education published in Pravda (July 30) stressed the importance of improving scientific and technical studies. Similar resolutions on secondary education and vocational and technical schools urged higher standards all around, with emphasis on improving teaching methods and inculcating a proper Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

The resolution on general schools were even more critical, complaining that methods were out of date and that children were not being sufficiently educated in "the spirit of Communist morality" and a conscientious attitude to learning and to work.

Last February, Academician M. Lavrentiev, a well-known mathematician who is currently a vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and head of its Siberian branch, made a scathing attack on the system. Writing in Trud, he said that in recent years the average secondary school had been marking time while higher education had "gone into reverse." An increase in compulsory material was suppressing creative initiative and leading to the production of "a tremendous mass of indistinguishable individuals."

The dissident physicist, Academician Andrei Sakharov, has also been very critical. In a letter to Brezhnev, in March 1971, he proposed more pay and greater independence for the teachers, a wider range of studies in schools and less uniformity. In a postscript written in June 1972, he drew attention to the poverty of rural schools and their overcrowded classes, low standards among the teachers, and the younger generation's "widespread indifference to moral, artistic and scientific values."

For all who wanted to see, Sakharov said, the "lamentable position" of popular education could not be kept secret, although it was carefully hidden from foreign eyes. In addition, the "system of privileges" existing in Soviet society had a pernicious effect, he said.

Standards Toughened

Growing dissidence, or at least a trend toward more independent attitudes, also seems to be affecting staff, for the decree on higher education proposed more rigourous standards in the selection of professors and teachers and in the granting of degrees. In an interview in Komsomol'skaia pravda (August 16), an official of the commission mainly responsible for this task added that degrees could be taken away from academics found guilty of "immoral, unpatriotic and other acts."

Up to now, Soviet students have shown little eagerness to join the waves of unrest among young people that have affected so many countries, but a concern to inoculate them against possible infection may underlie the renewed dmphasis on ideological education.

The decree on higher education calls for better teaching of Marxism-Leninism and a more profound study of the works of its founders and Party documents, so that students may develop a proper class approach and "an ability to criticize anti-Marxist views in a well-reasoned manner." Studies in "social science" -- ie., Communist ideology---remain compulsory, and according to Radio Moscow on Stember 22, three million Moscow inhabitants and about half a million in Leningrad will be studying Marxism-Leninism in Party schools during 1972-73.

The Rising Tide

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President Neil Albert Salonen
Secretary General Dan Graydon Fefferman
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Program Coordinator Gary Louis Jarmin
Research Coordinator James Victor Cowin
Treasurer David Hess
Director of Public Information Geraldine Porcella

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THE FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION, INC. P.O. Box 678, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20004 Phone: (202) 638-3320

In Memoriam: Dr. G.M. Dimitrov



On Nov. 29, Dr. G.M. Dimitrov, leader of the Bulgarian peasant movement and of the Bulgarian resistance movement in exile, died in Washington, D.C. His passing at the age of 73 was a tragic loss for the Bulgarian people and for all those who cherish freedom--because more than any other man, he symbolized the aspirations of his people for a free and democratic Bulgaria.

Dr. Dimitrov had the unique distinction of having been sentenced to death in absentia by both the Nazis and the Communists. His personal epic is an integral part of the epic of modern

Bulgaria; his tragedy is its tragedy.

During World War II, when the Bulgarian government was allied with the Nazis, Dr. Dimitrov directed the underground movement from outside the country. As a result of the efforts of the underground, the pro-Nazi government was overthrown, and on September 1, 1944, the new government of Moraviev decided to declare war on the Nazis. The proclamation was not published on that day because certain crypto-Communists who were close to the Minister of War urged postponement until September 8. On September 8, the Soviet Red Army, which had been concentrating its forces in Rumania, declared war on Bulgaria, and sent the Red Army pouring over the frontiers. That same day, the Communist-dominated Fatherland Front staged a coup and arrested the government--which had already declared war on Germany!

Dr. Dimitrov returned to Bulgaria on September 23, to resume his position as Secretary General of the Peasant Party. When he returned to Sofia, he was told by his party leader that the situation was rapidly building up to catastrophe. Communist controlled police and the Communist-organized militia had already instituted a reign of terror. Hundreds had been arrested and scores had been shot. His party chairman, Nicola Petkov -- later to be executed by the Communists -- greeted him with the words: Thank God you've come back! I'm afraid we've made an awful mess of things."

The Communists feared Dimitrov more than any other person because he commanded the passionate allegiance of the Bulgarian peasant masses and because they knew he was a man who could neither be bent or broken. When they called Nicola Petkov to Moscow for discussion on October 12, 1944, their chief demand to him was that the Peasant Party purge itself of Dr. Dimitrov. Six weeks after Petkov's return from Moscow, in December 1944, the demand was converted into an ultimatum: either Dr. Dimitrov resigned as general secretary of the Party, or they would take drastic action. In a play for time although he and Petkov were in complete agreement -- Dr. Dimitrov resigned on January 21, 1945. The Communist pretense was that, while they were against Dr. Dimitrov, they were for Nicola Petkov. On the day of Dimitrov's resignation, Communist Vice-Premier Dobre Tarpeshev gushed. "If I were a woman, I can think of no one I would rather marry than Nicola Petkov." Hard on the heels of this, the Communists, employing their famed "salami" tactics, demanded of Petkov that he dismiss the entire Central Committee of his party. Petkov refused -and the Communists decided on a frontal attack.

On April 23, 1945, they placed Dr. Dimitrov under house arrest while he was recovering from a severe attack of pneumonia. One month later, on May 24, Dr. Dimitrov escaped by sliding down a drain pipe, and dressed in workers overalls, walking out a side alley past the Communist military guard. He took refuge in the American Embassy. The Soviets sent a contingent of Red Army troops to the Embassy and demanded the surrender of Dr. Dimitrov -- or else they

would seize him. In an epic art of diplomatic courage, the American Minister, Maynard Barnes, posted his two Marine guards at the gate with loaded carbines and told the Russians that he had given them order to shoot if any attempt were made to enter the Embassy. Maynard Barnes was one of those rare American diplomats who knew how to deal with the Communists -- and after a month of hard bargaining with them, he finally obtained permission to escort Dr. Dimitrov to the airport and put him aboard a plane.

Deprived of their principal prey, the Communists vented their spleen on others. Nicola Petkov was arrested and executed in September 1945. The Peasant Party was suppressed. Dr. Dimitrov's wife was gruesomely tortured before she was permitted to leave with her husband. His secretary was tortured to death. Dimitrov's son and daughter -- children who were incapable of any political action -- were denied permission to leave the country. His son, a cripple, died without ever seeing his parents again. His daughter Anastasia finally obtained an exit permit 17 years later, in 1965. She today lives in Washington, where she is married to Dr. Charles Moser, head of the Slavic language department at George Washington University.

But no terror and no personal pressure could deflect Dr. Dimitrov from his commitment to the liberation of the Bulgarian people. In exile he continued to work indefatigably as Chairman of the Bulgarian National Committee, Chairman of the International Peasant Union, and as one of the leaders and several times Chairman of the Assembly of Captive European Nations. He was always serene and always optimistic about the ultimate outcome of the struggle. He leaves behind him an example and a legacy that impose a duty on every free man and free nation.

DAVID MARTIN

Vietnamese Bloodbath

BLOODBATH, From page 1.

munist methods. Unlike typical wartime atrocity cases, Com-munist troops had violated no orders, but had systematically searched out and massacred all known local South Vietnamese officials and their families.

During the recent invasion, NVA gunners deliberately "shredded" columns of South Vietnamese refugees fleeing from Quang Tri. NVA units also gunned down refugees from An Loc when they begged for permission to leave the battered town.

'Blood Debts'

A North Vietnamese defector, Colonel Le Xuan Chuyen, stated that five million South Vietnamese were on Communist "blood debt" lists, and that ten to fifteen per cent would pay with their lives.

The Communists have traditionally maintained a pattern of annihilating their enemies, a pattern which is ideologically rooted. To hardline Stalinists like the North

Vietnamese, consciousness is determined by class and cannot easily be altered. Hence, those with the wrong consciousness must be destroyed, especially if their continued existence poses a threat to the regime.

In the Soviet Union an estimated 35-40 million were killed by the Communists, according to Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi. Professor Richard L. Walker of the University of South Carolina estimates that the Communist Chinese were responsible for the deaths of almost twice that many -- 66

million people. In the Soviet Union an estimated three to five million Ukrainians starved to death because Stalin created a famine to break their resistance. Millions died in Communist China as a result of Mao's rectification tification campaigns to eliminate "old thoughts" by means of "reform through (slave) labor."

The South Vietnamese have bravely resisted the Com-

munists. If not adequately protected, they may forfeit their lives, as the NVA and VC have made special efforts to destroy the families of those who resist most fiercely, such as at Dak Son, where women and children of anti-Communist Montagnard tribesmen were massacred with North Vietnamese flamethrowers.

There is ample opportunity for the Communists to strike since their troops are often interspersed among population and cannot easily be rooted out.

U.S. Role

If a viable ceasefire is not concluded, the South Vietnamese people will face grave dangers which will require continued U.S. assistance to prevent another bloodbath. However it is regretable that issues such as the intensity of the bloodbath, or, for example, the number of POW's in North Vietnam, are foremost in people's minds. Many South Vietnamese

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A South Vietnamese youth undergoes Vietcong torture

willingly fought and died to prevent their wives and children from falling under Communist rule. To them, the freedom of their families and their nation is worth the sacrifice.

They ask not that American troops fight in their place but that the U.S. enable them to protect their nation from aggression by a hostile, alien force. The harshness of life un-

der Communist rule is known to many South Vietnamese. They have had enough contact with refugees and ex-NVA soldiers to perceive the suf-fering of their Northern cousins. Their desire to live as free human beings and not slaves to the Communist system motivates them to continue their fight. They ask U.S. aid in the name of humanity.

December 18, 1972

Soviet Scientist Seeks Support For USSR Civil Rights Movement

by Reed J. Irvine

Accuracy In Media

A young Soviet physicist, Dr. Valery N. Chalidze, has appealed to Americans to lend moral support to those struggling to secure respect for elementary human rights in the Soviet Union.

At a press conference at the Georgetown University Law Center on December 1, Dr. Chalidze reminded the assembled newsmen that the defense of human rights was the business of all humanity. He expressed his sympathy for the civil rights activists in the Soviet Union who have been arrested in the latest Soviet move to suppress the human rights movement. courageous Pyotr Yakir, Yuri Shuhevich and Victor Krasin, are now in prison and undergoing interrogation. Their offense is that they have dared to demand that the Soviet state honor the human rights guaranteed by the Soviet constitution.

Chalidze said that demonstrations abroad of support for these and other Soviet political prisoners were helpful to their cause, but he urged that such demonstrations not violate any laws or generate violence.

Chalidze expressed his deep concern about the well being of some of the Soviet political prisoners. He said that General Pyotr Grigorenko, who has been imprisoned in a special psychiatric hospital because of his efforts to secure justice for the persecuted Tatar people, was in very bad health and there was fear of his life. He said that prisoners are fed enough to keep them alive, but many complain that they are very hungry. He said that it is regular practice in the Soviet prisons and camps to deprive prisoners of food as punishment for not working hard enough,

Asked whether he thought the Americans news media were doing enough to expose the persecution of the civil rights activists in the Soviet Union and the maltreatment of political prisoners, Dr. Chalidze said that he wished there was more interest in these matters in the United States.

However, the press itself answered that question ever more resoundingly.

Not one Chaldize's 90-minute press conference was published in either Washington's newspapers, and radio and TV were equally silent. The press blackout was astonishing in view of the great distinction of Dr. Chalidze and the unusual circumstances of his visit to the United States. He is one of the founders of the Human Rights Committee in the Soviet Union, along with the eminent nuclear physicist, Andrei D. Sakharov.

This committee was established in 1970 to press the Soviet state to respect human rights.

Chalidze's activities in the human rights field have resulted in harrassment, including interrogations, illegal searches of his apartment and difficulties. employment



PYOTR GRIGORENKO.

life may be in danger

Chalidze said, however, that he regards these things as trifles compared to what has befallen his friends who have been arrested.

Release a Surprise

In view of his activist record. there was considerable astonishment when it was revealed that Dr. Chalidze accompanied by his wife, the granddaughter of Maxim Litvinov, was being permitted to come to the United States to lecture at Georgetown University and New York University on the theory and practice of human rights problems under the Soviet legal

There has been speculation that the Chalidzes would not be permitted to return to the U.S.S.R. and that the Soviet Government had decided to, in exile them. Chalidze when asked about this stated that he hoped that the Soviet Government would honor his right to return to his home. He emphasized several

It was announced December 15, that the Soviets had revoked Chalidze's citizenship and that he would not be permitted re-entry into the Soviet Union .-- ed.

times that one of the most important human rights was the right to choose where one wanted to live. Those who wanted to leave a country should be permitted to do so freely, and no barriers should be put in the way of those who wanted to return. Chalidze said that Soviet law guaranteed citizens the right to choose their domicile, but he knew of no case in which the courts had defended this right.

Chalidze asserted that he did not want to give the impression that no civil rights were honored by the Soviet State. He said that millions of people live quite normal lives, but it was important to discuss and to struggle against the violations of human rights.

Among the rights being violated in the Soviet Union, he cited the failure to open trials of political prisoners to the public including friends and families of the accused. He said that he had repeatedly pressed for observance of this right, but the usual practice was for the trial to be packed with strangers who made it impossible for friends of the defendants to observe the proceedings except in

Mail Blocked

Other rights that he considered important that were being violated were freedom of information and academic freedom. He said that he personally had found it impossible to get through the mail documents on human rights from the United Nations. He said that while many people might not feel deprived by the

restrictions on the flow of information, he could not consider his own life normal if he could not get access to information that he wanted and needed.

Chalidze also criticized restrictions on what could be taught in the Soviet Union, and he deplored the arrest of individuals for giving religious instruction to children with the approval of their parents.

Chalidze declined to comment on Dr. Sakharov's statement that President Nixon's visit to Moscow had been a disaster for the human rights movement in the Soviet Union. Asked about help that had been obtained from abroad by the movement, he said those in the movement had been in contact with a number of lawyers in the West. These contacts were interesting and productive, he said.

In response to a question, Chalidze said that the Soviet human rights movement had received no moral support from Corliss Lamont National Emergency Committee for Civil Rights, a leftist organization that has been criticized for turning a blind eye to all violations of human rights in Communist countries.

During his stay Washington, Dr. Chalidze gave two public lectures at the Georgetown University Law Center to capacity crowds. The Washington Post gave no publicity to either lecture or to Dr. Chalidze's press conference. The Washington Star-News did cover the second lecture and published a story on it. The New York Times published no report on the press conference or lectures, but it did run a signed article by Chalidze on human rights in the Soviet Union. Chalidze said that his only TV appearance had been a brief interview by CBS News.

Acting on a complaint, Accuracy in Media investigated the failure of the Washington Post to carry a story on Chalidze's activities Washington. The Post explained that what Chalidze had to say about the human rights movement was old stuff and not news. However, judging from the questions asked by the reporters for the Washington papers at the press conference, the reporters themselves were not well informed about the human rights movement and the plight of the political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

Capitol Report Care Needed In Detente by James Cowin

The problem of implementing East-West detente should take up much of the Congressional agenda for the next several years. U.S. aims are for friendlier relations between ideologically opposed blocs, but Communist aims need a careful analysis. The Communist dialectic method prescribes periods of detente in preparation for a major advance against the free world. The still festering Sino-Soviet conflict, however, indicates that both nations genuinely fear each other and seek smooth relations with the U.S. to insure increased freedom of political (and possibly military) action against each other. Also, in the late 70's, the U.S. should be relatively weaker militarily vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and Communist China and will be more susceptible to Communist pressure.

In relations between Communist and free world governments, Communists follow Marxist-Leninist ideology. According to Marxists, progress comes about through violent struggles during important periods in history. As the latter twentieth century is such a period, it is now possible even for underdeveloped countries to "leap" into the industrial age by using Marxist-Leninist socialist methods.

World Impact

This ideological appeal has had a jarring impact on the world, as it serves as the basis for most of today's terrorist groups. Maoistoriented Palestinian guerrillas committed the massacre at Munich and are responsible for the letter bombs sent to Israeli diplomats. Cuba and North Korea have special schools for terrorists and hijackers. The U.S. student mob riots in the late 1960's followed the terrorist pattern, with the SDS, Maoist groups such as the Revolutionary Union, and the Communist-led People's Coalition for Peace and Justice leading or inspiring the violence

The tragic Indochina War took place because the North Vietnamese planned to communize all of Southeast Asia, and Eastern Europe is composed almost entirely of "captive nations" The Rising Tide

because the Soviets sought not merely hegemony over the region but to forcibly create Communist societies in those countries.

No End in Sight

The problems caused by the Communist ideology are likely to continue. With the increase in East-West contacts, the Communists have imposed increasingly rigid controls on freedom of expression in order to maintain ideological purity. Brezhnev declared at a dinner for Fidel Castro prior to President Nixon's trip to Moscow that the ideological struggle will be intensified. This intensification will mean that the free world will receive larger doses of Communist propaganda, which, together with a show of military power, will give the impression of the inevitability of a Communist triumph, hopefully eroding to the West's will to resist.

Congress can counteract this problem by telling the American people that detente, although it may lessen tensions, can have serious consequences if Americans are no longer concerned with the Communist professed aim of world domination. Legislation, such as Captive Nations Week, which reinforces the fact that most people in Communist ruled nations regard themselves as prisoners and do not support their government, is a step in the right direction. The Jackson Rider to the SALT agreement, which urged the President not to limit U.S. strategic military strength below that of the Soviet Union in future treaties, also gives clear guidelines.

But President Nixon has not made a Captive Nations speech in two years and much of the press is overly sympathetic toward the Communists. Also, neo-isolationist Senator William Fulbright has prevented the showing in the U.S. of award-winning U.S. Information Agency films on Communist agression. The need for further Congressional activity, especially in regard to education about the nature of Communist ideology, is great, as detente can be dangerous if Americans are lulled into a false sense of

NOTICE TO READERS:

The Rising Tide will not be published during the first two weeks of January. One issue is regularly skipped at this time each year. We plan to greet the new year January 15, with a special issue and a new format we know you'll like.

Thank you.

-- THE STAFF



Soviet tank in Czechoslovakia...Has Communism really mellowed?

Marxism Changes, but Not in its Fundamentals

Marxism has become an increasingly complicated and sophisticated "theory" as it developed through time, but its fundamental assumptions have remained the same. All Marxist schools share a commitment to the philosophical base of dialectical materialism -- a system of thought which denies the existence of God and asserts that all progress results from the struggle of contradictory but interconnected opposing forces. Nevertheless, there have been significant development since the time of "classical" Marxism and these should be understood if we are to overcome the Communist challenge most effec-

"Early and Late" Marx

By the end of Marx's life there were already several contending Marxist-based schools. The Communist Manifesto (1854) is an example of "early" Marxist thought, setting forth a program of revolution, but leaving many questions unanswered. Later attempts to resolve these questions led to so much controversy that contending Marxists became their own worst enemies.

A significant difference between the "early" and "late" Marx is that the latter allowed for the possibility that in some advanced countries socialism could be established through the parliamentary process without a violent revolution. A major emphasis of Marx's whole philosophical world view and "social science," however, was to "prove" that qualitative progress only comes through contradiction and violent struggle. Thus, Marx's theory remained a rallying point for the forces of violent revolution, and rightfully so from a theoretical point of view.

Lenir

Marx called for the revolution and laid the theoretical justification for its necessity and inevitability. It was left to Lenin, however, to deal with the question of how a Marxist socialistic system could be implemented in practice.

A major problem for Marxists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was that the proletariat was becoming unrevolutionary. Lenin's theory on imperialism dealt with the problem by explaining that im
December 18, 1972

perialist nations could exploit the labor and resources of their colonies and pass on just enough benefit to the workers back home to keep them from revolting.

On this basis Lenin justified a small revolutionary elite (not necessarily proletarians, but "proletarianized") taking power by any means necessary and leading the masses into revolutionary consciousness by methods which included terror, mass executions, lying, torture and the suspension of civil liberties such as freedom of speech, press, worship and assembly.

In this way, Lenin solved the practical problem of how to implement Marx's theory in the world's non-revolutionary climate. Lenin's "innovation" established the precedent of "democratic centralism" in which power can be nearly completely controlled by a strong leader. Such was the case not only with international Communism centering around Stalin, but with every Communist system established as part of the Fourth International.

After the death of Stalin a trend emerged toward liberalization, both in terms of economic and intellectual freedom--and in the subserviance of "satellite" states to Soviet hegemony. The Soviet Union, though never withdrawing its proclamation that Communism would inevitably "bury" the Free World, announced that it had entered a period of "peaceful coexistence" with the United States.

Sino-Soviet Split

This "revisionism" was the theoretical justification which the Chinese used for their breach with the Soviets in 1960. The issues involved stem at least as much from power politics as from ideology alone. The Chinese, unwilling to sacrifice themselves to Russian interests, proclaimed that the "East Wind" of socialism would eventually prevail. The myth of the transcendent unifying power of the Marxist communal goal was shattered.

The breakdown of a unified international Communist movement has led many to consider that international Communism is no longer a great threat to world freedom.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

The Soviet Union under Brezhnev, far from continuing the trend toward liberalization, has clamped down on intellectual, religious and cultural freedom and has intensified ideological uniformity controls in an attempt to insure that none but the "Red-est" of experts and bureaucrats reach the top levels of the Societ hierarchy. The regime has mercilessly squelched any attempts of its vassal states to try to go it alone or experiment with "new forms" socialism such Czechoslovakia tried in 1968, and the rest of the U.S.S.R.'s definite satellites--despite signals that they desire to free themselves from economic and ideological domination -- stand in awe of the threat of the

The Sino-Soviet split did not stop Red China's genocide in Tibet, nor her exportation of revolution throughout Southeast Aia, nor her fanatical extremes of ideological repression, as exhibited in the Cultural Revolution--extremes which could break out again at any minute, despite the present relative calm.

U.S. Confused

Far from strengthening the position of the United States in the struggle for world freedom, the Sino-Soviet split has if anything weakened our resolve and sense of international mission. No longer faced with a monolithic political and military world Communist force, the U.S. has been left morally disarmed. This is due to the sorry fact that we never recognized the primary Communist challenge--not in political and military might alonge--but in the ideology from which the Communists' political and military strategies are derived.

Because of the "lack of relevance" of (or more properly, our failure to live up to) our Judeo-Christian moral and spiritual tradition, the national purpose of America has become increasingly vague. This can be attributed to lack of moral leadership as well as the changing times, but it has left many Americans so confused about what our role in the world should be that all they can do is cry "America, come home."

The Rising Tide

EDITORIAL——

Human Rights and the Ideological Struggle

In this issue we are emphasizing the question of human rights in Communist countries. Built into their ideological base, all Marxist-Leninist systems possess guarantees of systematic repression of "reactionary elements." The degree and character of this repression may vary from nation to nation according to the priorities of both the internal and external struggles against capitalist society and its remnants--such as religion, academic pursuits outside of a Marxist-Leninist framework, cultural diversity when it is deemed "antagonistic" to the state, freedom of travel and choice of profession, the right to disagree vocally with the ruling powers, and in many cases even the right to one's own private beliefs. But repression will remain a salient characteristic of all societies which call themselves Communist.

A period of detente in the Cold War could be used by the U.S. to pressure Communist countries to ease the restrictions on their peoples' freedom. But on the other hand, if in our desire to establish detente, we disarm ourselves as a moral and military power committed absolutely to certain eternal principles, then increased freedom in Communist countries will have little value. The history of Communism clearly shows that freedom will be crushed at the slightest sign of its becoming a threat to the Communist system and its rulers.

The tragic thing is that our leadership has been forced, in seeking to ease tensions with the Communists, to compromise its moral standards and thus confuse our people about the real nature of the Communist threat.

The Communists know that coexistence is not eternal and that it requires an intensification of the ideological struggle--and they do not hesitate to say it publicly or implement programs accordingly. America, on the other hand, is all too willing to believe that "the Cold War is over," that we should be very careful not to isnult the Communists and upset the delicate balance we are seeking to maintain, and that the ideals of the democratic world are not worth the sacrifice of another Vietnam or Korean war, in any case.

These are extremely dangerous attitudes, especially when the Communists clearly do not share them in a reciprocal manner.

And even aside from the ideological struggle, the United States has made such great compromises to achieve a new equilibrium with China and the Soviet Union, that our *strategic* situation may have been damaged beyond repair.

To name only the most negative of the events of 1971-1972, Taiwan has been expelled from the United Nations, Japan has recognized Communist China's claim over Taiwan, India has been forced--even if unwillingly--into the Soviet camp, several East Asian nations have had to implement martial law because of lack of security about the American commitment, the United States has negotiated a SALT agreement which could allow the Soviets 5-1 nuclear superiority by 1975, and we may be very close (though we hope not) to negotiating another agreement which would leave South Vietnam at the mercy of the North Vietnamese Communists.

What it all boils down to is whether the U.S. is seeking a generation of peace for itself alone, or a real peace for the people of all the world. If our nation is still founded on the universal ideals which made her great, then we cannot separate our national interests from those of the world society in which we are the leading force. Only if we reassert our moral and ideological strength at this time by making it clear to the people of the world that the United States still stands for freedom, justice, truth and ultimately for God, can a period of coexistence be transformed into the ideological victory which will mean the liberation of all mankind.

If we had realized that the real battle was spiritual and ideological--that we had something to give the people of Communist countries and not just something to lose if were military attacked--perhaps we would not have lost our sense of purpose when the enemy began to fight amonst itself.

It is a lesson that is still not too late to learn. Marxism, despite all its developemnts, deviations" and rationalizations remains a bankrupt ideology. But, ironically, it is an ideology with a following which is second to none and still growing. Until the Free World does something to fill the moral and ideological vacuum which Marxism alone is substantially filling, Communism will maintain the ideological offensive; and it will make Communism's ultimate demise all the more painful and destructive both for the people who are now forced to live under its yoke and for the people of the whole world.

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The Rising Tide

--see page 8.



ANGELA DAVIS... Still in the same old Moscow bag.

DUMITRU DANIELOPOL

Sergei Kourdakov: A Young Man Who Knows the Communist System

Jane Fonda, Angela Davis meet Sergei Kourdakov.

He'll tell you a lot about life in a Communist 'Worker's paradise."

The 21-year-old, six foot tall, blond, handsome Russian Navy lieutenant was brought up as an atheist and a dedicated Russian Communist. He learned so well that he was hailed as a "perfect speciman of Communist youth." He was brilliant in school, qualified for the Naval Preparatory School at 16, had a perfect score as a leader of the youth movement "Komsomol." He was a swimming champion at the Naval Academy, a judo champion, an expert mountain climber, a skin diver and a parachutist.

He even gained considerable prestige with the KGB as a bully boy who punished Russians caught worshipping God in underground churches.

By every Communist standard Sergei could look forward to a brilliant future in his own country. Yet one night a year ago, he leaped from a Russian trawler in the North Pacific and swam to the shore of British Columbia and freedom in a 10-hour ordeal.

"It was God that saved me," Sergei told this correspondent.

While he was struggling for his life through the waves, he said, he prayed to God for the first time.

"It never ocurred to me to pray to Marx or Engels or Khrushchev or Brezhnev," he said.

V.O.A.

What made Sergei Kourdakov change?

Many things, but perhaps, most important, believe it or not, is the Voice of America. Listening to American broadcasts, he said, he began to have doubts about communism and the Soviet Union. The VOA was explaining things differently than the Soviet propagandists-in more reasonable, more balanced, more believable terms

The Soviet Jews, for instance, who demonstrated for the right to leave the USSR were called murderers by the Communist media. The VOA explained that they were just ordinary people seeking freedom.

Read Bibles

Once the seed of doubt was planted, Kourdakov began to

figure things out for himself.

He read pages torn out from
Bibles he was supposed to burn.
He read forbidden works by
Solzhenitzyn and other authors
in "Samizdat" or underground
publications.

"I found out that the facts differed completely with the propaganda put out by the government," he said.

The people of Khrushchev's generation, he observed, really believed that the world would live in a Communist society by 1970, "but the youth today don't believe it anymore..."

Sergei is sharply critical of those like Miss Fonda and Miss Davis who extoll Communist society without having lived in a Communist country.

"Making \$500,000 for a film, paying a visit to Hanoi and playing the heroine is one thing," he said. "Living under communism is quite a different story."

Kourdakov, who is seeking American residence, says he hopes to devote the next two or three years to telling the people of America, particularly young people, what communism is really like.

Let's hope they listen.

THE RADICAL SCENE

Angela's Popularity Slips Among Students, Blacks

BY DAVID WYNN

Angela Davis, currently winding up a cross country speaking tour, is receiving increasingly critical responses from her audiences. Although Angela has often been criticized, by what she considers her political enemies, it is now coming from potential followers--students and fellow Blacks.

Miss Davis began her tour in New York after her return from the Soviet Union this fall. The purpose of the tour is "trying to build a movement to free political prisoners."

But, it seems that Miss Davis has lost the respect she once had as a revolutionary. Her popularity arose, not from her visionary leadership, but mainly from her getting into trouble with the dreaded "establishment".

First, she was fired from her teaching position at UCLA when the Board of Regents found out she was an avowed Communist.

Then Angela was imprisoned on murder conspiracy charges, for which the revolutionary movement and the underground press (including the entire Soviet international propaganda machine) promptly made her a martyr-type figure. Miss Davis then rocketted to the heights of radical political stardom, heights from which she seems to be falling with almost equal rapidity.

Angela began her descent when she opened her mouth and started the current speakingtour. Now, the very same people that only six months ago idolized Angela Davis are rejecting her.

'Elitist'

Blacks criticize her, "she is practicing elitism" and "she has deserted the Black people." Angela, a self-proclaimed page 6 spokeswoman for Blacks, spoke in New York--at \$12.50 per head! This outraged many and sent "reactionary" ripples through the Black community, resulting in wide-spread criticism.

Students also have rejected Angela's attempt to rally them to her revolutionary cause. For all the controversy surrounding her, for all the sensationalism and rhetoric, most students come away from her campus appearances with the impression of: "what was the big deal?"

Nothing New

Students have criticized Angela for her lack of new, workable ideas. In short, they are discovering that she is "nothing more than an old-line Communist." A reporter for the student newspaper at Arizona State University described one of Angela's appearances like this:

"Twenty-five people waited in a small room waiting for Angela Davis...(some with hostility). It had taken two security checks to get each reporter and camera man in... She fielded reporters' questions, explaining in a terse, Europeansounding monotone. Angela is...an ineffective speaker, with few new ideas, with a credibility lack. She said oppression in America was rampant...but does she represent a change? If getting into the press conference was hard, getting into the speech was impossible. The University of Arizona Black Students Union handled security, and each person was checked for student I.D. and given the once-over for weapons, contrary literature, and other contraband.

Stationed every twenty rows in the auditorium was a large (black) man with a green arm band signifying he was part of the security force. In front of the auditorium more security people watched the crowd.

Talk about a repressive and oppressive atmosphere! Many could be seen watching the security guards rather than Angela."

Angela's poorly organized speech rambled on....for the better part of an hour Angela rattled off names (of) political prisoners.

People were allowed to ask questions. They were written on 3x5 cards and passed to the front. As the questions came in, Angela's aides sorted out embarrassing questions, Soviet Jews for example; they were discarded. This is also oppression.

Students Not Fooled

Now, more than ever before, the students who were once so easily duped by radical leaders, are analyzing the ideas of those whom they follow. The result is that very few of these radical leaders remain as inspiring figures. A consequent atmosphere of cynicism and apathy has enveloped the campus and the students.

Only the most entrenched radical groups have survived. These are the best organized, best trained, and best versed in ideology and leadership. Without an exception these are violence-oriented Communist groups of one faction or another. These groups will be making every effort to get students back on the road of revolution.

The remaining half of the school year will bear witness to this struggle of Communist groups for a claim to leadership over the students. Which will advance? Which will lose? How much popularity will the Communists re-gain? Future columns will deal with this important situation.

The Rising Tide



KOURDAKOV... 'It was God that saved me.'



Scholars Argue over Black Education

by Isaiah Poole

The hill on which Washington's D.C.'s Howard University is situated overlooks what was one of the most turbulent sections of the city during the hot summers of the sixties. This was one of the sections of town where, in the aftermath of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., blacks hit the streets to show that they would not tolerate having their black consciousness stifled by white supremacy. Educational institutions, including Howard, were concurrently experiencing an attack against an education which was "irrelevant" to blacks.

Now many professors and students are wondering if the black-oriented curriculum, which came out of the student's demands for an education that didn't ignore the Negro race, didn't go too far. James E. Cheek, the Howard University President who guided the century-old campus through the rage that enveloped the surrounding neighborhood, has

come under attack for instituting a thrust in black studies which is contributing to, in the words of one critic, "the educational derailment of blacks."

Instructors are upset over "politicized rap sessions" in some of the more popular courses, which push a slanted point of view, usually about the "devil white man." They also point out subtle discrimination practiced by "superblacks" on campus, directed against African blacks and the minority of white teachers.

These conditions have led to the downplaying of basic educational fundamentals, and in some cases the discouragement of research projects which are not connected with racial problems.

Rejects Critics

Cheek has fired some heated comments at the "traditionalists" of the "black right wing" who are responsible for the criticism. He labeled the criticisms of a black Harvard government professor who was concerned about Howard's reputation as 'sloppy thinking" adding that "I don't have patience with sloppy thinking..." Cheek pointed to Howard University's mission to "destroy the myth of white supremacy."

Cheek says the desires of most of the Howard population are "to be a pioneer in the new cultural renaissance in black cultural awareness." However, there is a considerable stir against Cheek's program which many feel caters to the immature desires of students and younger professors.

Cheek claims these charges are minor. They do, however, warrant serious inspection. It may be too easy for Howard, in an effort to uplift black culture and awareness, to slip into a euphoria of revolutionism and "reverse racism" which cannot fail to leave the black race socially bankrupt.

"No Time"

As one Howard instructor

noted, Afro-America doesn't have the time to waste on a barrage of talk about the "devil white man." "We've got to get the tools, the theory, which is sometimes abstract and boring," he noted -- which is a good enough reason for shying away from a "blacker than thou" curriculum.

But there is another equally important reason. It is apparent that Howard is following the same course as many white campuses - taking the ideological war into the classroom.

Activist professors are bypassing the lamp of knowledge to kindle the flame of conflict, hoping that their charges will become followers of their own particular revolutionary ideal, whether it be Marxism, Pan-Africanism, or the simply shaking-up of the "status quo." What results is not objective education where students creatively seek to elevate their world, but an indoctrination of the type that occurs when scores of anti-war speakers barrage the ears of the

people with a pitch that exploits the emotion and sweeps the intellect under the rug.

How black should a black curriculum be? It should bring the minorities it addresses to a level in which they can look at themselves and their culture with pride. It shouldn't, however, send anybody however, send anybody off on an ego trip. It should show blacks how to succeed in a society that hasn't allowed them to succeed in the past, and by all means it should provide the tools necessary to correct the faults within the system. What it should avoid is reinforcing the wall between the races by accenting the black consciousness thrust with hatred toward any

Utimately, what it boils down to is the same argument that blacks used not too long ago to break the trend of segregation in the South: the fact that I am black is secondary to the fact that I am a human being.

That's not simply an echo of Cheek's "black right wing." It's the way God planned it.

WHY ARE AMERICA'S YOUTH BEING RADICALIZED?

Drug Abuse . . . Promiscuity . . . Disrespect for Law and Order . . . these have become the "new values" of many of our nation's youth. Consequently, many of our young people, lost in a moral and ideological vacuum, have become susceptible to the deceptive, and violent-oriented concepts of Marxism-Leninism. Talk among college students today of creating a "socialist revolution" is almost as common as football games.

WHERE DO STUDENTS GET THESE RADICAL IDEAS?

The answer is simple. Today in the U.S. there are over 800 radical underground newspapers that boast a combined circulation of over 30 million. Thus many young Americans are becoming radicalized, after being bombarded with this tremendous barrage of Marxist-revolutionary propaganda. Unfortunately, little or nothing has been done to combat this massive and threatening challenge of the Marxist underground press.

That is, until now ...

THE RISING TIDE IS MEETING THAT CHALLENGE!

The Freedom Leadership Foundation, Inc. has launched a major campaign to distribute huge amounts of its new, pro-freedom campus newspaper, The Rising Tide

to college students for FREE. Code named Operation Tidal Wave, this project has already enabled thousands of students throughout the U.S. to read *The Rising Tide* and inform themselves about the fallacy of Communism's atheistic ideology, and its tragic record of oppression and destruction. OPERATION TIDAL WAVE will now reach thousands of students who have not been getting any other point of view except those expressed in Marxist underground newspapers.

However, this program could not exist without the help of concerned American citizens like yourself. Hundreds of thousands—even millions—of students need to be reached. To expand our FREE distribution of *The Rising Tide* your help is urgently needed.

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In the important battles now taking place on our college campuses, *The Rising Tide* has been an eloquent spokesman...

- Hon. Philip M. Crane (R-III.)



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talked about . . . Too many people do just that-talk about it. You, at FLF, through the Tide, work at it, day after day . . . - Hon. Barry Goldwater, Jr. (R-Calif.)



The Rising Tide is an excellent and informative publication which has made and will continue to make a real contribution

to the battle against Communism . . .

- Hon. Earl F. Landgrebe (R-Ind.)



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'Freedom to Worship Mao'

CHINA, From page 2.

Moslems have religious freedom in Red China is dispelled by Moslems who have escaped from the mainland. In an appeal sent recently by the Chinese Moslem Association in Taiwan to the World Muslim League it was stated:

There is no religious freedom under the Chinese Communists. Only a few of the 45,000 mosques are open and these only as shown windows. There were about 35 mosques in Peiping before 1949; only two remained open to be shown visitors from Moslem countries. Even these two were taken over by Red Guards for use as headquarters.

A noticeable difference between Chinese Christian leaders and those of the West is the strong anti-Communist stance of the former, based on their first hand experience with Com-

Symbolic of the sentiment of the church on Taiwan is the fact that Archibishop Paul Yu Pin of Taiwan proposed a platform opposing atheistic Communism at last year's Asian Bishop's Conference in Manila. The proposal was unanimously adopted. This occurred at the same time as clergy in the west were pressuring President Nixon to recognize Red China under the false assumption that Communism had "changed."

... Religion is persecuted in all Communist countries. Among those who understand this best is the Lutheran minister Rev. Richard Wurmbrand, who spent 14 years in Communist prisons in Rumania. Wurmbrand is well informed on the status of religion in China and says. "in Tientsin priests were buried alive," and "at least 100,000 Christians are imprisoned today in China.'

The sole "spiritual" guide permitted the people of China is the book of Mao's thoughts. Maoism is the religion of the mainland. Anyone not convinced of this should review the history of the past 22 years in China.

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