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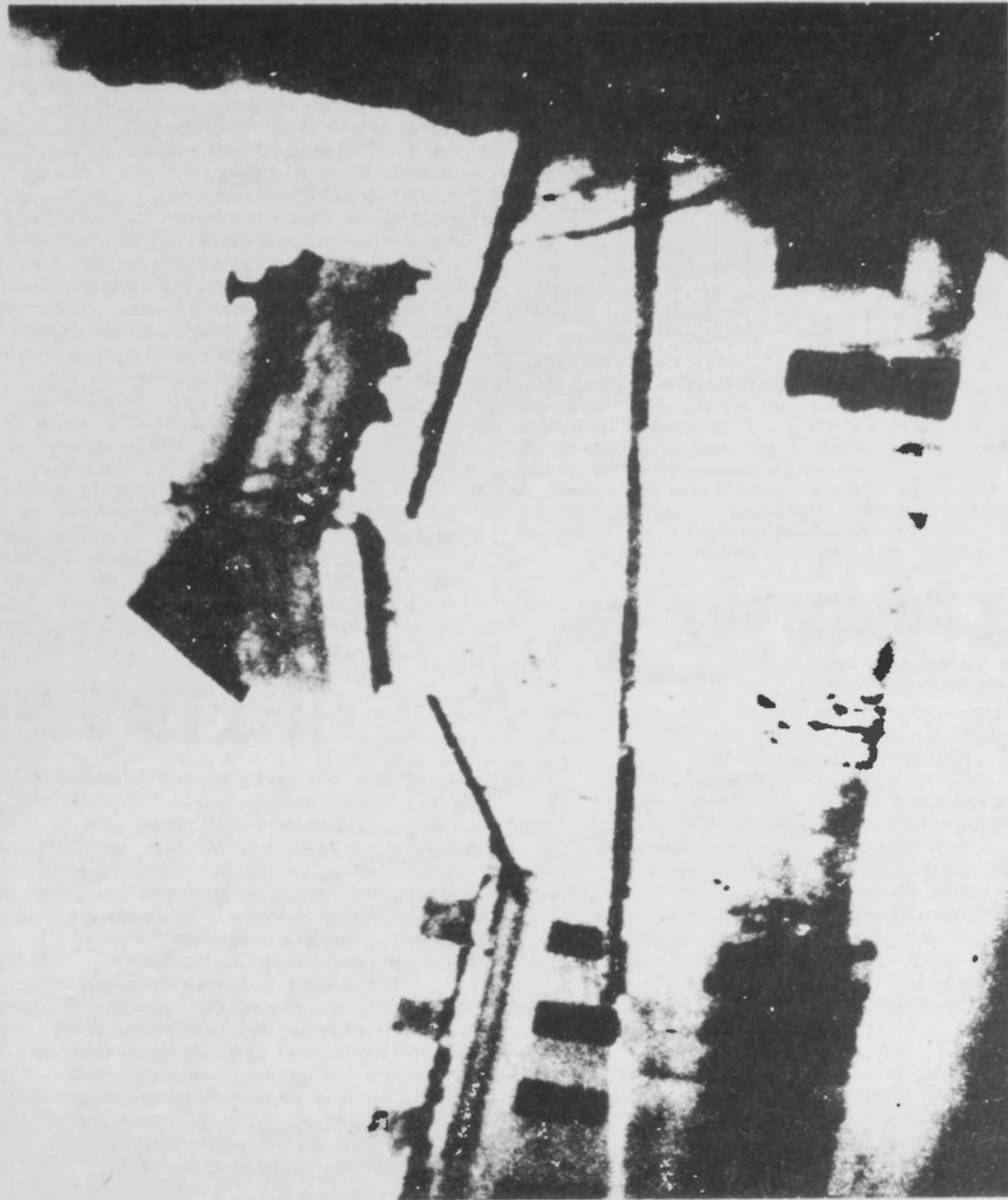
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# The Rising Tide

Volume III, Number Two

January 29, 1973



Or of prison-hospital in which Vladimir Gershuni is confined...see page 7.

## Repression Exposed

HANDBILL, from page 6.

and the right of bringing up one's children in accordance with one's beliefs.

• Against the violation of the right of freedom to travel, to choose one's place of residence, and the right to travel abroad.

• Against the violation of the right to demonstrate, of freedom to form organizations and societies; against the violation of the right to human dignity and a worthwhile life.

Many of those who fearlessly fought for the rights and freedoms in the USSR are unknown. Even those who are known are in the hundreds and we have no means to innumerate all of them here. We are demonstrating in support of all the known and unknown fighters. As a symbol of all of them, those who fought for the truth and freedom as well as those whose rights to freedom of speech were suppressed by cruel punishment, we today chose VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY. For his open fight against the violation of Human Rights, for his denunciation of the inhuman practice of incarceration of dissidents in mental asylums, for his demand for legality and justice, Vladimir Bukovsky was on January 5th, 1972 tried and sentenced by the Moscow District Court to 2 years in prison, 5 years in a strict-regime concentration camp, and 5 years in exile.

People! We are addressing you. VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY gave his own freedom for the rights and freedom of all.

Be in your hearts and thoughts with all the courageous fighters for your rights, with VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY and his numerous friends this December 10th.

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EDITORIAL

## The Inauguration

The FLF national offices overlook the route of the inauguration parade, and it wasn't easy getting to work on Saturday to put out the *Tide*. Thousands of demonstrators came walking and running past us in disarray as we made our way to the Munsey Building in the heart of Washington, D.C. Red flags and Vietcong flags were waving. A pitched battle had just been concluded directly in front of the FLF offices, and a mood of mob tension was thick in the air. It was reminiscent of Berkeley, but with an atmosphere of even more cynicism and alienation. A few blocks away, President Richard M. Nixon began his Inaugural Address.

**Let us resolve that this era we are about to enter will not be what other post-war periods have been: a time of retreat and isolation that leads to stagnation at home and invites new danger abroad...**

It sounded good—but one couldn't help but wonder exactly what it meant.

If the next four years are not to be years of retreat, isolation and international insecurity, strong moral leadership is necessary in America. The last four years have been characterized by a kind of behind-the-scenes exercise of Executive power which leaves the people confused and their legislative representatives often angered.

By laying it on the line, the Nixon administration very well could have led this nation into a new level of commitment to the defense of freedom and the pioneering of new levels of social service throughout the world. A call to greater sacrifice for the sake of the people of South Vietnam, for instance, would have been difficult, but it was exactly what was needed if the American people were expected to continue to be able to discern right from wrong in the area of international events. Instead, promises of peace, ceasefires, prisoners home by Christmas left us confused, wanting only to reconsolidate our forces and rediscover our national identity before moving forward to fulfill our responsibilities to the world.

Perhaps such a period of reconsolidation was necessary. But even if Nixon had led as we outlined above, people would still have been confused and large numbers substantially alienated, opening the way to real disaster if the whole idea of our commitment against Communism were to have been rejected. But what might have happened is not the point.

The next four years **must** be characterized by a clarification of the moral alternatives now facing our nation. We have gone as far as we possibly can in proving our willingness to make peace. In fact, we have placed ourselves in an inferior position to the Soviet Union in terms of strategic armaments, opened unofficial relations with Communist China at a terrible cost to Taiwan and making questionable the faith of all Asia in the U.S. defense commitment, given in to demands for a European security conference which will benefit no one but the Kremlin, and refrained from any reference to the ideological struggle while the Russians and Chinese intensify effective ideological and political warfare with no qualms.

Ever since the Cold War began, the U.S. has been on the defensive—attempting to contain Communism militarily while losing in the critical arenas of politics, diplomacy and ideology.

*The time has come for America to take a stand.* The whole free world and much of the world enslaved by Communism look to the U.S. for moral leadership. We have demonstrated our good faith beyond a shadow of a doubt. Now let's stand up for the ideas and principles we know to be right. Even the rhetoric which the President uses in describing our policies and the Cold War is so critical! Instead of failing to say what we really mean for fear of alienating the Communists, we should be proclaiming our belief in freedom, God, and moral-spiritual principles even more intensely than the Communists proclaim the unchanging, totalitarian, violence-oriented principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Only in such a way can the respect of all people—especially including the Inaugural protestors—be won for our country.

The President closed:

**We are embarking here today on an era that presents challenges as great as any nation, or any generation, has ever faced. We shall answer to God, to history and to our conscience for the way in which we use these years...Let us go forward from here confident in hope, strong in our faith...and striving always to serve His purpose."**

We would hope that the inspiring words President Nixon seems to reserve for his inaugural addresses will be used more and more in articulating the real issues confronting the world in the conflict between the false promise of Communism and the hope of the free world.



A Vietnamese Congressman talks with a reporter from a student newspaper at the FLF reception January 19.

## FLF Hosts Reception for Vietnamese Congressmen

The Freedom Leadership Foundation held its first major social event in Washington, D.C. on January 19, as it hosted an immensely successful reception for 17 Senators and Congressmen visiting the United States from Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese legislators were in town to make contact with their counterparts on Capitol Hill and to educate the American people through the news media about the reality of the situation in their country. The FLF reception provided a valuable opportunity for the Congressmen to meet with a variety of leaders of the U.S. Despite concurrent inaugural celebrations at the Watergate, a crowd of 210 guests attended.

FLF President Neil Salonen said he thought the reception was a "milestone" in FLF's history. He also said he was delighted that the Vietnamese legislators were able to meet with such a wide variety of the Washington diplomatic and political community. "I feel we have really done something here to serve the cause of freedom on the international

level," Salonen commented.

Seven Southeast Asian nations sent official representatives to the reception. Attending were His Exc. Sonn Voeunsai, ambassador of the Khmer Republic (Cambodia); His Exc. Dong Jo Kim, ambassador of Korea; His Exc. Phagna Pheng Norindr, ambassador of Laos; His Exc. Anand Panyarachun, ambassador of Thailand; His Exc. Tran Kim Phuong, ambassador of the Republic of Vietnam; and Minister Tai-chu Chen of the Republic of China.

The Vietnamese delegation included seven Senators and ten Congressmen, not all of whom supported the Thieu government but who expressed their unanimous sentiment that no peace could come to Vietnam without adequate assurances of North Vietnamese compliance with any ceasefire agreement.

One of the Senators, Nguyen Van Ngai, had been imprisoned both by the Communists and the Diem regime as well as by the French. He was vehement in his opposition to Communism, stating that he hoped

See page 4.

## Goodbye, Elena

Elena Barros, after one and a half years of dedicated, sacrificial service as FLF Administrative Assistant, has left the National Office for the greener pastures of Tarrytown, New York. Elena leaves in body, but not in spirit. Her long nights and hectic days keeping the office in order, typing *The Rising Tide*, answering the phones, setting up and improving the mailing system and responding to the simultaneous

urgent priorities of the rest of the staff stand as a living testimony to her dedication. She will be remembered always with fondness in the hearts of those who knew and worked with her.

Elena will be replaced by Felice Walton, formerly of Oklahoma, who has already demonstrated her ability to hold up well under the heavy burden.

Goodbye, Elena. Welcome Felice.



# Senator Jackson: Care Must be Exercised at SALT II

## CREDIBLE DETERRENCE IN A SALT II ENVIRONMENT

by

Senator Henry M. Jackson

*From a speech before the Military Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly.*

There are enough lessons in the recently concluded strategic arms limitation talks to keep our scholars, soldiers and statesmen busy for a long time. As we think about the experience of SALT I and prepare for the difficult negotiations of SALT II, we would do well to ponder an old and wise Turkish proverb: "He burned his tongue on the soup, and now he blows on the yogurt."

### BASIC LESSONS OF SALT I

There are, in my view, three fundamental lessons of SALT I that arise out of the American experience in Helsinki and Vienna. The issues they involve should be high on the agenda of NATO consultation.

#### 1. The Need for a Strategic Doctrine

The United States, in consultation with its alliance partners, must develop a coherent strategic doctrine based on a set of objectives understood in the West and communicated effectively to the East. We do not now have one. Even without continuing arms control discussions we would need, in the United States and within NATO, to reformulate fundamental nuclear strategic objectives to take realistic account of the extraordinary growth of Soviet strategic forces that first set the stage for and then were confirmed by the Moscow accords of last May. But precisely because we are continuing the strategic arms negotiations, the need for a careful formulation of doctrine and objectives remains important. Without it we have no careful, reliable means of measuring the wisdom of the various proposals that are under consideration, we have no guidelines by which to take account of the attitudes of our friends and allies and we have no basis for responding to the various positions taken by the Soviet Union.

When I say that the United States today lacks a coherent strategic doctrine, I do not mean that America lacks ideas about the nature and purposes of its strategic forces, but, rather, that we have several such notions, some of which are in conflict with others. For example, we seem, on the one hand, to hold to the view that America's European allies should rely on the U.S. strategic deterrent to protect them from Soviet threats and intimidation. On the other hand, our arms control policies — and the explicit pronouncements of many American specialists and diplomats — appear to be based on an extreme concept of minimum deterrence that would limit the role of the U.S. strategic force to the striking of Russian cities in response to a direct attack against the continental United States. Clearly such a doctrine is inconsistent with the objective of extending the American nuclear guarantee to our NATO partners and marks a departure from longstanding alliance policy. What makes this doctrinal inconsistency both real and important is the growing awareness, on both sides of the Atlantic, that the strategic balance, which is increasingly adverse to the United States, leaves little room for an alternative American strategic posture.

Many American spokesmen, and some Europeans, have tried to derive not only an American, but also a Soviet strategic doctrine by interpreting what they presume to be the "logic" of the SALT I accords. According to this view both countries, in subscribing to the ABM treaty, have in effect "agreed" to remain vulnerable to a retaliatory attack, thereby assuring that even quite

small deterrent forces will be adequate to deter. The logic of this interpretation escapes me. First, it fails to take account of the massive Soviet air defense system. For another, it ignores the basic principle of strategic deterrence: the certain survivability of one's retaliatory force. The fact that we will not have to contend with sophisticated ABM systems is not in itself a guarantee that enough of our nuclear force could survive attack to assure retaliation. Finally, it seems to me far more plausible to explain Soviet interest in the ABM treaty as an effort to stop the United States from continuing with its much more advanced ABM deployment at a moment when comparable technology was unavailable to the Soviet Union. The last thing I would read into the ABM treaty is the otherwise unsupported notion that the Soviets have accepted the doctrine of minimum deterrence as it is understood by some of our own arms control specialists.

I want to take a moment to reflect on the minimum deterrence doctrine because I am concerned that, in the vacuum created by our failure to identify and pursue a coherent strategic doctrine, it will come to dominate our thought about strategy just as it has already come to dominate much of our thought about arms control. According to this doctrine all that is necessary for a policy of stable deterrence is to maintain a capability to destroy some finite percentage of the adversary's cities and industry in response to a direct nuclear attack. Typically, the proponents of this view can be brought to admit that a single Poseidon boat could, by itself, assure this capability and that it therefore would constitute an adequate U.S. deterrent force. Some American scientists have gone so far as to argue that a handful of weapons targeted on a handful of Soviet cities constitutes strategic sufficiency. To those of this persuasion the SALT accords, despite their having conferred a 50% advantage in numbers of ICBM's and SLBM's on the Soviets, have in no way diminished the deterrent capability of the United States.

Needless to say, minimum deterrence for the United States could easily be understood to mean no deterrence at all for our allies: for if all that the U.S. strategic force can (or should) do is execute a salvo of mass destruction following a Soviet attack on the United States, its political and military weight with respect to discouraging Soviet intimidation of NATO will be slight indeed. But that is not all. What is perhaps most disturbing about the minimum deterrence doctrine under the present and evolving strategic balance is that it is not credible. The Soviet Union might possess so many strategic weapons as to contemplate a counterforce first strike which would employ but a fraction of its total strategic force. This could well leave the bulk of its strategic force free to threaten the destruction of American cities should the United States actually launch a retaliatory strike in response to the initial Soviet attack. Since it is difficult to take seriously the prospect of American retaliation under such conditions the credibility of the U.S. deterrent cannot help but become increasingly uncertain.

Now, minimum deterrence is the orthodoxy of the arms control community that planned and negotiated the American side of the Moscow accords. But it need not become the basis of our strategic doctrine and still less the strategic objective of our alliance partners. For that matter there is, in principle, no reason why minimum deterrence should persist as the central doctrine underlying SALT II.

It is not my purpose here to define an American strategic posture from which an approach to SALT II might be derived, but merely to argue that doing so is an essential prerequisite to intelligent negotiation. On the whole I rather incline to the view that the first task of SALT II must be to design a

posture that takes account of the large Soviet strategic reserve force and imposes limits that would reduce that reserve. One such limit might involve a reduction in total throw weight which would, in turn, limit counterforce capabilities. Another possibility might be to allow the U.S. to deploy additional silo-defending ABM's to offset Soviet throw weight advantages. We need to find a means of coping with strategic scenarios in which there is even a slight possibility that we might be deterred from retaliating.

#### 2. Stop Negotiating with Ourselves

In SALT I we spent far too much time negotiating with ourselves. That is, we tended to assess various arms control proposals not in terms of some overall strategic objective but, rather, in terms of what we believed would be acceptable to the Soviet Union. Negotiability became the central criterion by which much of what we thought and proposed and planned was evaluated. This is foolishness. The essence of negotiation is the reconciliation of conflicting interests and values through accommodation. This requires that one enter negotiations with positions which, while unacceptable in their entirety, contain elements that can be rearranged, combined and moderated in the search for an agreement and to the extent that accommodation is reciprocated. To discard in advance propositions that are meritorious but believed to be unacceptable to the other side is to abandon the effort to persuade the adversary of the wisdom of one's position — to say nothing of abandoning the effort to influence. I am hopeful that enough people involved in the SALT deliberations have become aware of the foolishness of filtering our own positions before presenting them and that this will be remedied in SALT II.

#### 3. We Need to Stand Firm

Partly because of our failure to define our objectives clearly, and partly because of the unseemly haste that overcame our efforts to conclude the Moscow accords in an orderly fashion, the United States failed to stand firm in support of its negotiating position on a number of key issues. For example, we dropped our insistence on the right to substitute sea-based for land-based intercontinental missiles and we failed to obtain a low ceiling on the overall number of Soviet launchers. Both objectives had been part of earlier U.S. proposals. Indeed, there is astonishingly little resemblance between our early proposals and the final agreements. What is more, there is little doubt that if the May 26 agreements had been proposed early in the preparation for the talks they would have been dismissed out of hand by American planners as conceding too much to the Soviet Union. The history of the American position is one of unimpeded deterioration.

One issue on which we did stand firm — and about which I will have more to say in a moment — is our view of the mission of U.S. forces in Europe. We have maintained that these forces, dedicated to the defense of our allies, cannot be calculated in the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance. We have recognized that the Soviet insistence that they be so included is a political tactic designed to split the alliance.

I am confident that on this issue — with your help — we can continue to stand firm throughout SALT II and that our clear and unequivocal position on so-called forward bases will remain the rule rather than the exception.

When I say that we need to stand firm in support of our negotiating positions in SALT II, I do not mean that we ought to be rigid and unyielding on every detail. There must, of necessity, be compromise and accommodation on both sides. What I do mean to urge is that we define our objectives and design arms control

policies that implement them and present proposals based on them as forcefully as possible. On those matters that are not essential for our security there can be adjustment and accommodation. On essentials we must stand firm. The Soviets will respect us for it and the resulting agreements will be better and safer for it.

#### SALT AND THE NATO ALLIANCE

For as long as there have been Parliamentary meetings such as these there have been expressions of the need for improved consultation within the alliance. This meeting will almost certainly follow the pattern of our previous meetings in this regard. Among allies there can never be too much consultation. Generally the thrust of the call for greater consultation has carried with it the suggestion that the United States would do well to listen more and to ponder with greater attentiveness the views of our European allies. I have often shared this view.

Thus I was troubled and disappointed to observe how little solid advice on strategic arms limitation matters originated with our European friends during phase I of SALT. I am sorry to say that in my view there was little said, and less to be learned, as a result of the European contribution to SALT I.

What is perhaps most curious about the seeming inattention on the part of our European friends to the complex issues surrounding SALT is how disproportionate this is to the stake the alliance has in the outcome of these negotiations. It is not enough for our friends in Europe to limit their concern to that part of the SALT discussions which involves U.S. and allied forces in forward areas, although that is clearly a high priority issue for the countries which host the bases and are protected by them. The nature of the intercontinental strategic balance, the pace of developments in weapons technology, the relative throw weight of the two strategic forces, the survivability of the U.S. deterrent — all these issues involve the European as much as the North American side of the alliance. In fact, from a strictly strategic point of view, it is the European-based deployment that is of least significance in determining the balance between the United States and the Soviet Union.

I hope that in this second phase of SALT our European allies will find the time and interest to bring their great talents and important perspective to bear on the central issues of the East-West strategic balance. The United States would have benefitted greatly from the wise counsel of its NATO partners in SALT I, not only in protecting interests commonly identified with NATO, but in broadening our perspective on some more general matters as well. I suspect that the tendency of arms control planning to serve minimum deterrence perspectives would have been questioned earlier and with more insistence by some allied governments who ought to appreciate the implications for them of such a doctrine as the basis of American national security policy. Moreover, there is a crucial issue on which the view of America's NATO partners is vital and that is nuclear proliferation. I can well imagine how various American SALT postures might affect the growth of national nuclear forces, but it is far better to approach such questions on a multilateral basis rather than by resorting to guess work and theoretical models.

What I am saying is that some of our mistakes in SALT I might have been avoided if the other members of the alliance had regarded the negotiations with sufficient interest and had offered more extensive counsel. Briefings may convey the illusion of consultation, but not the substance. In SALT II the counsel of the alliance as an institution will be of great importance and there



## The Long Swim

Free China News Service

TAIPEI — The chilly winds and water of early winter have not prevented freedom-seeking Chinese from trying to escape from mainland China this year. Refugees were reaching Hongkong in mid-November by swimming across Deep Bay or Mirs Bay despite the danger of death in the cold sea.

On November 13, the body of a Chinese about 20 years old was found on the beach at Lau-faushan in Hongkong.

The swimmer wore a blue shirt and cotton drawers, standard attire for freedom-swimmers. The legs were covered with scars and veins were extended. The corpse had been in the water for a long time.

Villagers shrugged at the sight. They have seen many such bodies recently.

A fisherman named Lin said that a village fishing boat had picked up four swimmers who had made it halfway across

Deep Bay. They were exhausted and calling for help. They had started out as a group of five.

Apparently the body on the Laufaushan beach was the missing member.

The escape season usually ends by the first of October. This year the swimmers have kept coming.

The number of refugees accounted for in the first 13 days of November reached 566. Authorities estimate that four other refugees reach Hongkong for every one they detect.

The winter exodus raises some doubts about the credibility of Huang Hua, Peiking representative at the United Nations, who demanded that Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim stop U.N. assistance to the Chinese refugees in Hongkong and Macao.

Peiking claims there are no refugees and that travel between the mainland and Hongkong is continuous and natural.

DUMITRU DANIELOPOL

## France Going Red?

PARIS -- Could France possibly go the way of Chile?

Could apathy, dissension and the lack of political acumen among anti-Communist groups bring to power a left wing minority next spring?

The answer is "yes" and French middle-of-the-road political figures are alarmed.

Between February and March, President Georges Pompidou will have to set a date for the parliamentary elections. The majority party, composed of Gaullists and Independent Republicans who claimed 350 seats out of 487 in the 1968 elections, is losing ground fast.

On the other hand Francois Mitterand's Socialists have made peace with the Communists of Georges Marchais and have presented a "program for common action." Late 1972 polls give the Marxist coalition a 45-38 lead over the Gaullist-IR forces.

A series of scandals have hurt the Gaullists.

The "wear and tear of power" has been noticeable since Charles De Gaulle left the scene in 1969. Gaullism without De Gaulle seems to have lost its sting.

"The dogmas that were valid in De Gaulle's day are now outmoded," says Michel Poniatowski, a top figure in the Independent Republican Party.

### "Detente"

Lulled by talks of "detente" and "peaceful coexistence," more and more Frenchmen appear willing to accept Communist participation in their government.

The flamboyant centrist "reform movement" of Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Marcel Henri Jeanneney, a former confidant of De Gaulle, command some 15 per cent in the polls.

Its center position is now challenged by former Premier

Georges Bidault, once a De Gaulle supporter who broke with the general over Algeria. He has expanded his "movement for justice and liberty" into a nationwide political organization called the "national center." He proposes to present at least 100 candidates. That will give his party access to government controlled radio and TV, but Bidault is starting very late in the game.

"We are for a united Europe," Bidault says, "but without a loss in French sovereignty. We support the Atlantic Alliance and discard De Gaulle's folly of a 'defense against all comers'... We support social justice... We reject Marxism, since it generates hatred, economic fiasco and civil wars."

### Centrist Unity Appeal

In the same vein, the former governor of Algeria under De Gaulle, Jacques Soustelle, who also broke with the general in the 1950s, appeals for unity of the center groups.

"The hope for the future lies in the representation of the moderates who situate themselves between the two extremes," Soustelle says.

The danger, he says, is that voters, disgusted or disenchanted with Gaullism, could succumb to the illusion that the left wing can restore authority and clean government.

"What does a Marxist popular front really offer?" he asks.

"The indescribable political and economic disorder and dire misery of the Allende Marxist experiment in Chile? The organized penury and mass executions before the firing squads of Fidel Castro? Or the iron heel that is crushing the Czechoslovaks?"

## Allende Uses Currency Control

# Chile Tries to Silence Dissident TV Station

by James Cowin

Marxist-governed Chile is a country of growing tension. The nearly exhausted economy is continuing to disintegrate as a result of Allende's controls. About six to seven hundred million dollars in credits are needed this year alone, yet Chile has received only one hundred million dollars from Argentina. Last October the country was shaken by a wave of strikes by workers and small businessmen to protest government controls of their businesses. Even the miners, whose support had proved crucial for Allende in 1970, are disenchanted. Nine thousand recently went on strike to protest food shortages. The atmosphere is one of hatred, as the Allende government is constantly attacking any group or individual substantially opposing its Marxist aims.

One such individual is Father Raul Hasbun, Executive Director of Channel 13, the television station of the Catholic University of Chile in Santiago. Every day, the Marxist-run press describes Father Hasbun as a "robber," and accuses him of persecuting leftist workers because of their political ideas. Marxist political cartoonists picture him with horns and a tail, labelling him "Satan." Even stories of love affairs have been invented by the Marxists in attempts to discredit him.

Father Hasbun incurred the wrath of the Allende government because, when nominated to his post of Channel 13 Executive Director, he dismissed the chief of the press department, who distorted the news to fit Communist ideological patterns. Afterward, Father Hasbun remolded the press department to insure truth in news reporting.

According to Chilean law, only the state and the universities can operate TV stations. Allende converted the government stations to transmitters of propaganda and placed his supporters in key roles at the universities. Hence, all news programs became tools to further the aims of Allende's party.

Responsible Chileans considered this an absurd situation, and welcomed Father Hasbun's measures. Before he assumed his position, Allende supporters held 39 out of 45 jobs in the press department. After the chief was fired, their number decreased to 23 because, unable to promote their views over the air, they sought higher-paying jobs. Opposition newsmen replaced them. As a result, Channel 13, with its "balanced programs," is the only TV station in Chile which broadcasts the opposition viewpoint of the news as well as the government version.

### Economic Strangulation

The station, expected to reach an audience of half the population of Chile by February 1, 1973, inevitably attracted Allende countermeasures. Chilean TV stations import U.S. and Mexican films to cover fifty per cent of television time because it costs four times as much to produce a television program in Chile than in other countries. These films must be paid for in U.S. or Mexican currency. The Central Bank of Chile, which controls foreign currency, cut off the supply of dollars to Chan-

nel 13 in 1971. As a result, the station ran up a half million dollar debt in that year.

After a hard struggle, the station obtained funds from the Central Bank in 1972, but received only enough to cover day-to-day operational costs. The half million dollar debt from 1971 remained unpaid, and as a result, U.S. companies discontinued their delivery of films. The pro-Government channels continued to broadcast U.S. films regularly, as they were well-supplied with dollars by the Allende government.

Channel 13 publicly protested this blatant discrimination. Through open press conferences and interviews with members of the Chamber of Deputies, they aroused public opinion sufficiently to lessen the restrictions on the dollar supply. This measure has helped provide for the current operational expenses of the station, including its 1972 supply of films, but the half-million dollar debt from 1971 still remains.

The activities of Channel 13 are vital because of the news distortion of government-controlled channels. For example, when the Popular Unity Front (ruling leftist coalition led by Allende) students lost a certain high school election, they assaulted the winners. Government news broadcasts condemned the opposition for attacking the Popular Unity students. Government newsmen described the attack as "brutal aggression by Fascist and seditious students against those students who are patriotic." The confused audience forgot that the Popular Unity had actually lost the election.

Such news broadcasts are typical of Communist tactics in general. According to a knowledgeable source, they "commit physical or moral aggression and portray the opposition in derogatory terms, such as Fascist, Nazi, seditious, imperialist, anti-patriotic, conspiratorial, or traitorous."

### Public Is Aware

The Chilean public is not generally fooled, however. Since both sides are heard on Channel 13, eighty per cent of the television viewers watch it, as opposed to twenty per cent who watch only the state TV. Since Father Hasbun's policy, described as "the best remedy against totalitarianism," is so effective, the government tries to "strangle" Channel 13. So Father Hasbun spoofed Allende's efforts while announcing the Saturday night movie. Introducing "The Boston Strangler," he said, obviously referring to Allende's attacks, "see how one can strangle 13 victims by closing their eyes and mouths and by stopping their breath." The government could do nothing because it was not actually mentioned.

Allende's government has been described as giving the external impression of freedom and justice, while violating the spirit if not the letter of the law. On March 15, Chileans will go to the polls to elect a new Congress. If the opposition gains two thirds of the Senate and a majority in the House, Allende can be impeached. If not, Chile will probably suffer at least four more hard years of Marxist rule, and Chile's eventual salvation will depend upon men like Father Raul Hasbun.

## Help Sell the Tide!

Want to participate in the historic struggle for ideological victory over Communism AND make \$2-\$3 per hour at the same time???? Then join the numerous students and young people all over the country who are doing just that by selling *The Rising Tide*.

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# Highlights of FLF Reception for S



White House aide Dolph Droge (right) talks with one of the Congressmen.



English IFVC President Dennis Orme speaks to a meeting of FLF members. FLF President Neil Salonen (below right) and former President Allen Wood at the reception.

From page 1.

President Thieu would be firm in his determination to refuse a ceasefire without adequate enforcement insurances.

Ngai said he hoped the United States would commit heavier support to the South Vietnamese defense effort than it is now willing to commit. He stated that South Vietnamese armaments from the U.S. are inferior to those the North Vietnamese receive from the Soviet Union on nearly every level from rifles to tanks to fighter planes.

### Protestors

Potential trouble arrived with a group of "Vietnam Veterans Against the War," who gathered outside the reception and threatened to disrupt the proceedings. Beyond calling names and passing out leaflets, the protestors did not succeed in causing any trouble, as police arrived quickly at the scene.

FLF was pleased to welcome many new faces at the reception as well as numerous old friends. The atmosphere was festive but serious--the general feeling being that recent U.S. policy has come dangerously close to undermining this nation's mission as the crucial leader in the worldwide struggle against Communism. Conversation was lively; many new contacts were made for all those involved.

Two European representatives from FLF's worldwide affiliate organization, the International Federation for Victory over Communism (IFVC), greeted guests at the reception with FLF President Neil Salonen. Dennis Orme, President of the English federation, and Reiner Vincenz, head of the French chapter, spoke urgently of the increasing leftward trend in Europe.

At a private meeting for FLF mem-



View of Washington from the 'Sky Room'

bers later that weekend, Vincenz said he thought France had a "50-50" chance of going Communist in its next election and that U.S. groups must make a "100% effort to defeat the enemy in America by projecting the highest possible standard of sacrificial determination."

Both men stressed that the situation in Europe is most critical. They said they expected an increase of violence in Europe and that intense, widespread suffering was nearly inevitable. "You American members had better work sacrificially to keep the same thing from happening here," Orme declared.

Other notable reception guests included nationally syndicated columnist Holmes Alexander, American Peace Society Secretary James D. Atkinson, American representative of the International Human Rights Committee Constantine Boldyreff, journalist Allan Brownfeld, Associated Press Asian affairs reporter Spencer Davis, U.S. Youth Council President David Dorn, National



# Vietnamese Congressmen



the Army and Navy Club.

Security Council aide Dolf Dorge, former U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam Eldridge Dubrow, American Council of World Freedom Secretary Lee Edwards, Senate Chaplain Rev. Edward Elson, President of the American Security Council John Fisher, Hungarian Freedom Fighter leader Istvan Gereben, *U.S. News & World Report* diplomatic reporter Howard Handelman, *Seapower Magazine* editor James Hessman, Accuracy in Media leaders Reed Irvine and Abraham Kalish, Research Institute on Korean Affairs Director General Young Hoon Kang, White House aide Sven Kramer, American Council of World Freedom Chairman Gen. Thomas A. Lane (Gen. Lane arranged for the excellent "Sky Room" at Washington's Army and Navy Club), political warfare expert Gen. Edward Landsdale, Capitol Hill aide David Martin, Asia specialist Prof. Franz Michael, George Washington University Slavic Studies Chairman Dr. Charles Moser, U.S. Marine Corps General Ernest Reid, Georgetown University



(Clockwise from left) Hungarian Freedom Fighters leader Istvan Gereben with a Vietnamese Congresswoman, Prof. Charles Moser talks with guests, White House aide Sven Kramer greets new FLF Administrator Pat Hannan at the reception line.



political scientist Dr. Joseph Schiebel, Vietnam Veterans for a Just Peace leader Glenn Siegal, former Young Americans for Freedom Executive Director Randal Teague, *World Affairs* magazine Associate Editor Father Joseph Thorning, novelist Freda Utley, and a host of others, all of whom deserve more than a casual mention.

Several Congressional offices sent representatives, and many sent regrets at their inability to attend due to the inaugural preparations. A number of professors from George Washington University's Sino-Soviet Institute and

American University's Department of Internal Service also attended.

The reception seemed to be enjoyed by all who attended. It was the unanimous feeling of the FLF staff that the results were well worth the effort.

To foster communication and cooperation of groups with a common commitment to freedom has always been one of our major goals. We hope this event will be only a first step of a major contribution on our part toward the ultimate victory which we know the forces of freedom will eventually gain.



(Right) A Vietnamese Congressman talks with guests while journalists Allan Brownfeld and wife Solveig Eggerz chat with Jay Parker of the Friends of the FBI.



(Left) Rising Tide Editor Dan Fefferman talks with Cambodian Ambassador Sonn Voeunsai and Vietnam veteran Glenn Siegal.



# In Red Square Young Men Publicize Intellectual Repression



KIENTZI

CELLETTI

KROSBY

Following is a translation of a handbill distributed recently in Red Square by the three men illustrated. The handbill was small—about 4" by 5"—and had a picture of Bukovsky. All three went to Red Square; only one began to pass out leaflets. He was arrested—another of the three took his place. The same thing happened, but by the time all three were arrested they had passed out over 1,200 handbills. The three were deported from Russia. Sponsoring organizations were: Den Norske SMOG (stands for "courage," "youth," "image" and "depth") Komite, Oslo (Krosby); Europa Civita, Rome (Celletti); Societe D'Entraide Aux Prisonniers Politiques, Paris (Kientzi);

Svenska SMOG Committen, Stockholm; and Vlaams Aktiekomitee Voor Oost-Europa, Antwerp.

The 10th of December is the Day of Human Rights. It is not a world-wide holiday but a day of remembrance that even today too often Human Rights are suppressed and Human Dignity is downtrodden. The 10th of December is only a day of worldwide solidarity with the fighters for Human Rights, but we must defend them from day to day wherever they are violated.

Human Rights are not a whim of the pampered bourgeoisie. It is the foundation of freedom. It is the right to have one's own

opinion, the right to state it openly. It is the right to choose one's government and the right to strike. Human Rights means the right to choose one's own destiny.

The observance of Human Rights, irrespective of what we are told by those who violate them, are not "an internal affair of the state." Were the bestial deeds of the Gestapo really an internal affair of the Third Reich, or apartheid an internal affair of Rhodesia? Therefore, we proclaim our solidarity with all those who fight for the observance of Human Rights. We are demonstrating here in support of all those who oppose the violation of those rights in the USSR:

- Against censorship which suppresses all independent thought, all disadvantageous information, all unwanted words.

- Against the violation of legality, secret juridical trials, non-judicial persecution, and incarceration of dissidents in mental asylums.

- Against the violation of freedom of conscience, the persecution of religious faith,

See HANDBILL, page 8.

## Capitol Report



# US - Soviet Trade

by James Cowin

As the American public scans the horizon for an Indochina ceasefire and as top American diplomats prepare for the European Security Conference next summer, an important issue is slipping away from U.S. leaders' attention. The issue concerns trade between the Communist bloc and Western nations; it promises to be of great importance in international relations for the next several years.

Much evidence has accumulated to show that the U.S. is actually hurting itself militarily, politically—and in some cases—economically by trading with Communist nations, especially the Soviet Union. A report to the 1972 Republican Platform Committee by Anthony C. Sutton of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University documents the almost unbelievable amount of unwitting assistance which the U.S. has rendered the Soviet military machine. American-invented suspensions for heavy-tracked vehicles are standard parts in Soviet T-54 tanks, U.S.-built tubes go into Soviet missiles, and large truck plants built with U.S. assistance produce army trucks, jeeps and chassis of rocket launchers.

The heavy demand for U.S. technology, however, puts the Soviets in an extremely vulnerable position. Their drive to surpass the United States militarily, coupled with the heavy need for U.S. grain due to the recent crop failures has rendered them extremely susceptible to a U.S. trade embargo.

The use of economic pressure as a political weapon has much to recommend it. Economic measures take considerable time to plan and implement. Hence, there is ample opportunity for negotiations. No military build-up and little mobilization of the nation's resources are required. No bloodshed is involved. Also, an embargo can produce a long-range effect, as the Soviets would have to adjust their policies to such a change in American attitude. This is a powerful opportunity for the U.S. to deter Soviet aggressive moves, especially now that military pressure involves greater and greater risks.

The U.S. government, however, has pursued the opposite policy. The list of restricted goods has been shaved to microscopic size. High-precision machine tools, which the Soviets have not been able to produce and which are essential for production of sophisticated weaponry, were taken off the list in 1972. Only fissionable atomic materials and goods with a direct military application are still restricted.

The Senate once regulated trade with Communist nations. During the Kennedy and Johnson administrations a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats voted down all proposals for unnecessary trade concessions to the Soviets. With the Nixon administration, however, the Republicans, no longer the opposition, fell in line with the policy of a Republican President.

In 1971, the Congressional regulatory power was surrendered as both the Senate and a reluctant House granted the President the right to extend credits to Communist-bloc nations if he thought it in the interest of U.S. national security. The same liberals, led by Arkansas Democrat J. William Fulbright, who had so ardently protested the President's "usurpation" of Senate foreign policy-making power, gave the President more authority as they enabled him to use the Export-Import Bank for this purpose.

Our government seems caught in a dilemma. Some leaders have advocated leading the Soviets to a more peaceful policy by showing them the good will of the U.S. and the successes of Western technology. But this approach has failed despite four decades of effort. Soviet leaders adhere to their ideology, which proclaims that the capitalist system must be overthrown by a Communist revolution. The Communists therefore have learned Western methods to use them against the West.

A U.S.-Soviet trade relationship based on the reality of the international political situation would demonstrate that the U.S. cannot be continually deceived and that, above all, we value freedom more than money. This is a good area in which the Senate could reclaim its lost prerogative.

# Deep in the Heart Of Eastern Europe

by Edward E. Plowman

Dissident Russian author Alexander Solzhenitsyn says he would like to use his \$79,000 in Nobel Prize money — if he ever gets it — to build a church.

Such is the mood these days among an increasing segment of the Soviet Union's population. After more than fifty years of atheistic indoctrination and outright harassment, religion hasn't gone away as Lenin predicted it would. Indeed, evidence indicates a recent upsurge in spiritual activity not only in U.S.S.R. but throughout Eastern Europe. Worried Communist leaders are speaking out more often in reaction, and some are cracking down harder. They allege that religion tends to revive nationalism (the Soviet empire comprises scores of nationalities and language groups, many of whom dislike each other), and is bad for man's dignity, social awareness, and intellect.

It is difficult to assess the situation. Although the entrenched bureaucracies cling to the status quo, wide-ranging changes are taking place. Conditions differ from nation to nation. Some allow more religious freedom than others — but almost always with strings attached. Most countries allow the printing or importation of Bibles — in severely limited quantities. Poland allows the Catholic Church to flourish but does not permit the construction of badly needed new church buildings or the existence of a Catholic press.

## Jesus Movement

In Hungary, where foreign books are sold openly and Western music is popular, a strong strain of the Jesus movement has emerged among the young. Transient workers have carried it to East Germany, where it has attracted many adherents, according to Bishop Kurt Scharf of the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg. Scharf, after a recent visit to East Germany, said that despite much Communist repression a number of congregations show "a resurgence of vitality." The quality of preaching is higher than ever and deeply Bible-centered, he said, and many people are "flocking to the Gospel." The government's anti-church policy (advance approval is required for Bible studies and other meetings, young people are warned they will be barred from university if they persist in their faith) is the best witness of the church's significance, he added.

Interviewed at a political rally in Munich, several youthful Marxists indicated they were frustrated over politics and bothered by a sense of deep emptiness. "Peace must begin in me and spread to the world," one reflected. "It cannot be imposed." Spiritually, multitudes of young Marxists like him are at the threshold of a new revolution.

Several informed observers insist that Romania and the U.S.S.R. itself are the two countries in all of Europe where Christianity is making its most spectacular strides. Romanian-

American church leader Emmanuel A.D. Deligiannis a few months ago addressed packed-out large churches in Romania where nearly half in the audiences were under thirty. In an interview last month, a retired Baptist pastor from the Ukraine acknowledged that many young people in the Ukraine have been caught up in a spiritual revolution, with numerous conversions and baptisms recorded in the churches. (Youths under eighteen are forbidden by law to be church members or receive religious training. Nevertheless, some get baptized secretly.)

Pravda and the Red Star, an armed forces newspaper, have editorialized against the spiritual movement. The latter has carried several stories on Christian activity in the army, including one about a "Baptist sect" responsible for the conversion of many wives of officers and enlisted men. Another story named soldiers who apparently belonged to the *Initiativniki*, or "unregistered" Baptists (many are pacifists). (Some have chosen to be unregistered for separatist reasons, others as a protest against strictures on religious freedom. Also, said the retired Ukrainian pastor, the state refuses to register many simply because it doesn't want the growth known.)

Reporter Paul Wohl, in the *Christian Science Monitor*, said that local newspapers in the southern and eastern Soviet republics frequently report the activity of unregistered Baptists, Pentecostals, and Seventh-day Adventists and the sentencing of their leaders to long prison terms.

## Literature

The unregistered believers do a lot of printing too — of Bibles, hymnbooks, and even a magazine, *Fraternal Leaflet* — on a clandestine press. A group known as the Council of Baptist Prisoners' Relatives regularly releases letters and documents containing precise information about persecution and imprisonment of believers. (Hundreds of evangelicals are in Russian jails.) These accounts in turn are often picked up and widely disseminated by mission agencies in the West....

Meanwhile, the religious activity and tension is building up in the U.S.S.R. Thousands of Jews have emigrated to Israel to escape the pressure, but the evangelicals have nowhere else to go. All they're asking is that their government abide by its own constitutional decree of religious freedom and the United Nations article it signed. That article states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom... to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance."

Solzhenitsyn couldn't have said it any plainer.

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On Human Rights Day (December 10) FLF members participated in a rally of solidarity with Soviet and Eastern European Human Rights fighters in New York. FLF representative Barbara Mikesell was one of the featured speakers. See next issue for a report.

# A Soviet Psychiatric "Patient" Speaks

(Translated from *Samizdat* by The Bell, Birmingham, England.)

Vladimir Gershuni is a 40 year old worker. In 1949 he joined a small Leninist youth group, was arrested and sent for ten years to the same camp where Alexander Solzhenitsyn was held. In October, 1969, Vladimir Gershuni was arrested once more, and after several months of imprisonment and examinations, including a "forensic medical team", was found to suffer from "chronic schizophrenia". The evidence consisted of 20 copies of a leaflet found in his flat about Major-General Grigorenko published in Paris. After 8 months in the Butyrka prison he was sent to the hospital in Oryol.

**March 9:** It has been announced that letters can be sent off only twice a month. This is just the same as in Butyrka prison. On the 27th of February the latest party of prisoners arrived from Butyrka, the cells are full--before there were 7, now 8 people to a 16 by 17 meter cell--that is, 2 square meters per patient. This is all intentional. There is no room to move. He is allowed to go along the corridor, but only if it is absolutely necessary--to the toilet. There is a cess-pit: four holes in the ground and two taps for 54 people, very reminiscent of station lavatories in the worst sense of the word. Less than half of all patients work at weaving and making nets. This is a type of work which is far from dynamic. The exercise period amounts to an hour in tiny exercise yards far smaller than in Butyrka. There isn't a single locker in the cells; you can only write by squatting beside your bed on the floor. The light is poor.

**March 10:** We were warned that pencils and fountain pens would be taken away and that they would only be issued if this was absolutely necessary--to write letters, that is, just as in the case of Pyotr Grigorenko. A smooth routine is gradually 'being established' and will be like the routine in Chernyakhovsk, but even harsher, in the best traditions of the Central Prison at Oryol.

"What of the medical treatment? Any phrase spoken incautiously to a doctor or nurse can serve as a pretext for a series of aminazin injections. Sometimes these injections are prescribed without any pretext, simply because of some doctor's whim. The head of the medical department is an oculist. Another doctor is an ear-nose and throat specialist, a third is a therapist. As far as I can see the Head of the hospital, Lt.-Colonel Barishnikov, is himself supremely qualified to become a patient in a psychiatric hospital. It is by sheer and absurd chance that he is in charge of the hospital, for before we came, he headed a sanatorium for tubercular patients--in fact, in the very same building. By training this Lt.-Colonel is a surgeon.

"When our party of prisoners arrived from Butyrka, all 60 of us were prescribed treatment, without undergoing any medical examination. For instance, they took my blood pressure, but the others were not given even that much attention. Almost all of those who arrived were given aminazin, both orally and by injection. No one showed any interest in either a patient's heart or his liver or anything that was wrong with him, if these had no bearing on psychiatry. Only two arrivals, whose clear allergy to aminazin had been established at the Serbsky Institute, were saved from the injections. One had serious liver trouble--the result of injuries sustained at Butyrka. Because of these injuries, he had had to be operated upon--they took him to the Sklifosovsky Institute on the morning of March 11.

**March 11, morning:** During rounds, just by way of an experiment, I complained about feeling poorly after taking haloperidol, and asked that the dose be reduced. This led to my being prescribed even more aminazin than I was already receiving. The head physician, Evgeni Vladimirovich Kozich, the oculist I have referred to already, being in charge of my case, made this decision. During a hunger strike in January (I had been given aminazin since my arrival), I felt steadily worse and worse, and after making a complaint, I began to get aminazin injections in the maximum dose, or very close to it (approximately 6 cc). I couldn't sleep at all, yet the same dose was administered to me for twelve days in a row, until they became convinced that I was still not sleeping, and that the injections had not made me give up my hunger strike. I was given two injections a day, from the 7th to the 18th of January, and from the 19th of January onwards I have been given two tablets of haloperidol twice daily, that is 4 tablets in all (and Kozich assures me that this will go on for a long time). This medicine makes me feel more awful than anything I have experienced before; you no sooner lie down than you want to get up, you no sooner take a step than you're longing to sit down, and if you sit down, you want to walk again--and there's nowhere to walk. By the way, I'm not the only one who's had this sort of thing happen to him.

"Everybody here has their life made miserable by triflazin (trifluoperazine/stelazine), aminazin, and other powerful drugs. The doctor who used to be in charge of my case, Leonid Timofeyevich Petrov, and who saw Galanskov in Moscow (I think in Kashchenko Hospital), said to me in an attempt to justify the use of aminazin that the vast number of new arrivals made it difficult to ascertain what was the matter with each one of them, and that because of that errors occurred--in my case, the prescription of aminazin. Just now, during his round, Kozich assured me that everything was being done properly and there were no doctors who'd wish to harm their patients. 'I haven't met any doctors like that,' he said, 'I've only read about them.' And so once again I am prescribed aminazin. There you have it: the defenselessness of a prisoner in a special hospital, totally at the mercy of a doctor's whim, constantly in danger of being prescribed some new medicine or injections, whenever the doctor takes exception to some remark or glance of his. What has happened today has convinced me that if one complains that a medicine has an adverse effect, one will earn oneself either an increased dose of the same medicine, or an extra prescription of a new one. This has happened often enough.

"From 7 to 8:30 in the evenings, we are allowed to use the dining-room: we can write letters, or play dominoes and chess. The bedlam is indescribable. Your head feels as if it's about to burst. The letters you write in this atmosphere are horrible: just compare my letters that I wrote in Butyrka with the ones I sent from here, and you will realize the sort of life I lead here, and the effects of drugs prescribed in a completely haphazard fashion.

We only have an hour's exercise (we had two in Butyrka); the exercise yards are so cramped and crowded that it makes your head swim once more. Today, when Kozich heard my warnings that he would have to answer for the patients being treated in an arbitrary and unceremonious manner, he threatened to put me in a cell with severely disturbed patients; I have already savored the pleasure of such neighbors, and at some length at that--for more than

month, in fact. This happened just at the time when they were giving me injections in order to make me stop my hunger strike, but they didn't succeed, although sharing a cell with severely disturbed patients and having injections into the bargain is more than one can put into words. I finished my hunger strike at the very end of January, when I was told that I would not be allowed any visits.

"My teeth are firm again, but one is still a little loose--and that's two months later. If you have any doubts over what brought about this clash, I'll describe it in greater detail. January 17th was a Sunday. After my injection, I wasn't allowed to take exercise as the warden did not wish to take the responsibility for anything that might happen to me during my exercise period (my hunger strike scared him). Fairly calmly, I demanded the period of exercise due to a prisoner and tried to join those who were being led outside. They grabbed me, twisted my arms behind my back, forced me back into the cell, and in the doorway the exercise warden dealt me a blow on the jaw. My gums were rather tender, after all, this was the 42nd day of my hunger strike. Blood gushed forth. Once I had been locked up again, I broke the small pane of glass in the door, shoved my hand through the opening, drew back the bolt, ran out with a piece of glass still sticking in my hand, so as to settle accounts with the Chekist (secret policeman). But he managed to nip out onto the staircase and slam the door.

His name is Ivan Ivanovich--I didn't succeed in learning his surname. He still works in the same job--he hasn't even been transferred to a different part of the prison! As for the official record of the 'tooth' incident it states that this occurred when I, in a fit of insanity, smashed the pane of glass with my head, cutting my mouth and breaking my jaw at the same time. A lot of people in the hospital have trouble with their teeth, but they are not taken to the dentist. They're given pain killers and advised to take more care in eating.

"Those overcrowded cells are mockingly referred to as 'the little wards' and anyone who calls them 'cells' is threatened with punishment. Tender diminutives are coming into fashion; one talks of 'a little bit of aminazin', and so on. There you are: the Yudushka Golovlev syndrome. Here we joke about these things: a 'baby dungeon', 'teeny-weeny injections'...

**Friday, March 19:** For my birthday, there were heaps of letters. I was overwhelmed with joy. Only getting letters and reading (and it's not easy to read here) make one feel really good. The rest of the time: depression, complete exhaustion. More and more noticeably I'm losing my memory.

"The story of Victor Prikhodko, who was born in 1936, is also not without interest. He was a gifted lad who could even reel off Dostoyevsky's family tree, a dancer, singer, tremendously alive and alert (in July he was in the next cell to me). Before he was arrested, he had worked as a driver. In September, he was hauled off to the Butyrka hospital, where he had massive doses of aminazin and God knows what else pumped into him. And so it happened that one day he woke up--but not completely, and thereafter he remained in this half-awake state--his head on one side, his speech languid and indistinct, his eyes glazed. He sank into apathy, and all his reactions slowed down. Only now, since he's been taken off medicines, has he begun to come to himself. He was thus canceled out for five whole months. Hail to Soviet 'special psychiatry'!"

## Jackson on SALT II

JACKSON, from page 2.

are many of us who will view with great interest the contributions which increased European attention and study will yield.

### SALT AND THE U.S. CONGRESS

I hope that I will be forgiven for saying that, in my view, one of the most helpful developments with respect to SALT II was the overwhelming support given by the Congress to my amendment to the resolution authorizing the interim agreement. Of particular interest here is the fact that the Congress specifically sustained the view that the treaty to be negotiated on offensive arms in SALT II should be based on a numerical balance between the United States and the Soviet Union in intercontinental strategic systems, exclusive of any U.S. forces in Europe.

As some of my colleagues may know, we had a lengthy debate in the Senate over the equality principle as outlined in my amendment. Every effort to include our European forces in the determination of the balance between the Soviet Union and the United States was voted down, and by a substantial margin. The support of the White House was invaluable in accomplishing the clear declaration in my amendment which called on the

President to assure that in any future treaty the United States would not be limited to levels of intercontinental strategic forces inferior to the levels granted to the Soviet Union. These Senate guidelines were later confirmed by a vote of 307-4 in the House of Representatives and signed into law by the President.

To me, this is a hopeful sign that the lessons of SALT I are already being learned. We are now prepared to be tougher, more determined, and more attentive.

There is one additional point that should be made. The Congress' call for equality in SALT II -- an equality based on numbers and throw weight of intercontinental systems -- is best understood as a prescription for scaling down the level of armament on both sides. We should enter SALT II seeking equality with proposals to reduce strategic forces, particularly destabilizing systems such as the SS-9 and its even larger successor.

Guaranteeing the West's security requires imagination, ingenuity, and intelligence. No country has a monopoly on these virtues. That is why the resources of the entire alliance must be marshaled. The United States stands ready to consult, to plan jointly, and to collaborate on the crucial matters which affect the strength and security of the alliance and, therefore, the peace of the world.

"...America's fastest growing  
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## The Rising Tide

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