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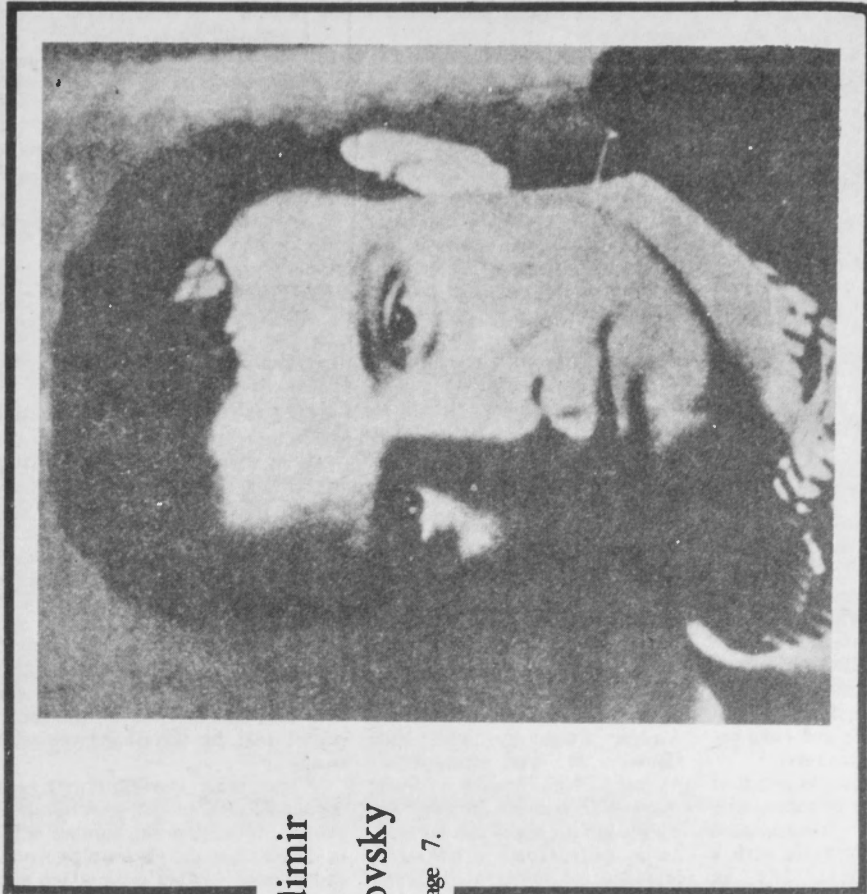
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The Rising Tide

Volume III, Number Four

February 26, 1973



Vladimir
Bukovsky

See page 7.

WFI

WFI, from page 1.

goodness, love and beauty. If enough Westerners are so dedicated that the Communists cannot possibly kill them or frighten them away from their goal, the Communists would be converted. Cowin emphasized that the Communists are human beings seeking love and peace, and that disillusionment with Communist ideology in Communist nations is widespread because Communists find that it does not fulfill their own ideals.

Reactions to the speech were mixed; the students were clearly challenged by the FLF ideas. Many were unfamiliar with Communist ideology. All had grown up in an atmosphere of radical chic, where the U.S. government was clearly the culprit in causing world tension. A few commented that Cowin was "biased" against Communism because he did not say any good things about it. A "balanced view" they thought, was necessary.

Other students, however, were inspired by the example of the underground Christians. They asked if the underground was effectively organized and if there was a chance of overthrowing the Communist regime. Many were intrigued by the idea that Communism could be defeated without a world war and asked about FLF activities.

Cowin considered the presentation a major step forward because of its effort to present FLF as an organization as well as FLF views.

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World Freedom Institute Reaches High School Students

The World Freedom Institute, the educational arm of FLF, opened a new offensive in the war for the minds of America's youth. FLF Research Coordinator James Cowin spoke six times on Feb. 14 to a combined total audience of roughly six hundred students at George Washington High School in Alexandria, Virginia, on a topic: "FLF Approach to American Involvement in World Affairs."

His presentation was arranged by Miss Ellen Tabb, an English teacher at the school who had attended last month's FLF reception for the South Vietnamese Congressmen. An anti-war reporter for the *New York Times* had spoken at her school, and she was looking for a group who could effectively present the opposite point of view. She was introduced to FLF Program Coordinator Gary Jarmin, and arrangements were made for an FLF speaker.

Cowin discussed the dilemma which U.S. leaders faced in deciding foreign policy. Should the U.S. go along with the current world trend toward "easing tensions" and accelerate the pullback of U.S. troops from Europe and Asia in spite of the constant pressure by the Communists? Or should we re-emphasize our commitment to defend free nations against Communist moves in Southeast Asia or elsewhere? Cowin noted that strong voices in the U.S. advocate the pullback policy. He declared, however, that the U.S. refusal to resist the Communists "would be the worst thing that ever happened to civilization."

If the world did become Communist, he asserted, mankind would suffer enormously. According to Cowin, the Communist ideology, with its materialistic view of man's life and its doctrine that progress comes through struggle between opposing forces, insures that any government founded on Communist principles can have no real regard for human life. Because good is determined by what is good for the Communist revolution, any

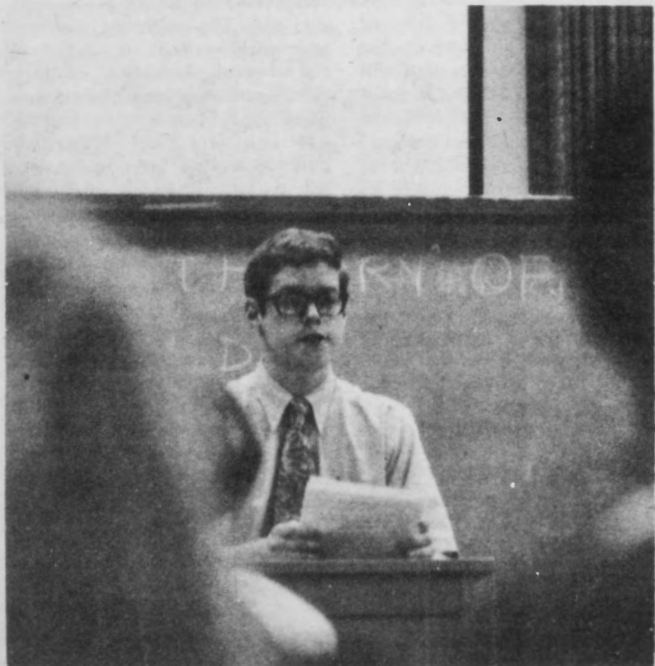
opponent of Communism can be disposed of as a worthless outcast.

Examples of Communist brutality mentioned by Cowin included the Viet Cong program of assassination on South Vietnamese union leaders, North Vietnamese shelling of refugees fleeing An Loc and Quang Tri provinces, and the suffering of intellectuals, Jews and underground Christians in the Soviet Union. A large display prepared by the Russian-American Committee for the Defense of Believers and Victims of Persecution in the U.S.S.R. illustrated the hopes and sufferings of Soviet dissidents such as Alexander Solzhenitsyn, General Pyotr Grigorenko, and Yuli Daniel.

Cowin advocated continued resistance to Communism with the aim of eliminating the Communist ideology. He stressed the FLF view that the Communists can be defeated without a world war if Marxism-Leninism can be decisively proven false and if democratic nations are willing to work sacrificially to proclaim to the Communists the validity of the ideals of progress through cooperation and a civilization based on ethical values. The effectiveness of such an approach has already been proven, according to Cowin, because of the Communist fear of the ethical concepts of religion. Cowin called the underground Christians "the greatest single threat to Communism" because of their emphasis on brotherly love and because they risk their lives to convert Communists. "This is why," said Cowin, "out of thirty million believers in the Soviet Union, over a million are estimated to be incarcerated in prisons, concentration camps, or insane asylums."

Cowin said that the FLF's Unification Ideology, which measures the strength of civilizations by the strength of human relationships rather than by the abundance of material resources, can have even greater power in the West because people are free to try to satisfy their higher needs for truth,

See WFI, page 8.



James Cowin



Two Koreas: Kim Il Sung (above) and Park Chung Hee (right).



North Korea

Armistice Offer Is A Disguised Threat

By Dan Fefferman

According to the *Star News*, North Korea recently made a secret proposal to Seoul for a formal peace treaty officially ending the Korean war. "The South Koreans," said the February 15 editorial, "were right to turn down the suggestion, at least for the time being. They suspect, probably with good reason, that the North Koreans are less concerned with establishing peace than they are with precipitating the dissolution of the United Nations command in Korea and the withdrawal of some 44,000 American troops."

Citing the past history of Kim Il-sung's totalitarian regime, his continuing ambition to unify Korea under Communist rule, and his awareness of the growing sentiment in the U.S. for withdrawal of American military power from Asia, the editorial urged "caution" in assessing North Korean "sweet talk." It concluded that "American forces in Korea (still) provide the best insurance against a renewal of the Korean war."

Let's look at the history of North Korean foreign and unification policies to find out why this is so.

American University Research Scientist Rinn-sup Shinn, writing in the current issue of "Problems of Communism," analyzes North Korea's foreign policy development in terms of six phases since the sector's formation in 1945.

From 1945-50, writes Shinn, North Korea followed the Soviet policy line strictly. The Soviets were the sole source of economic support for North Korea, not to mention their role in establishing former Red Army officer Kim Il-sung's authority in Pyongyang, literally behind Russian bayonets. If Kim had any disagreements with Stalin's policies, he wasn't talking.

The period from 1950-53, of course, was dominated by the Korean War. Kim's decision to start the war, probably made at Stalin's urging after the U.S. excluded South Korea from its defense perimeter, turned out to be a costly gamble for Kim. Not only did the U.N. move quickly to block his massive southern invasion, but Stalin refused to come in on his side. Long years of bloody fighting and only indirect Russian support through arms shipments and Communist Chinese troops left Kim disillusioned and North Korea ravaged almost beyond repair.

The years 1954-60 saw an all-out "peace-offensive" on the part of the North Koreans. Shinn suggests that the North Koreans needed time to repair their ruined economy; they thus proposed the reduction of both side's armies to 100,000 and the establishment of an all-Korea commission on economic and cultural exchange to ease tensions and forestall a possible invasion from the South.

These proposals, of course, were contingent on the withdrawal of all U.N. forces from South Korea: no U.N. agency would be permitted to supervise any elections in the North; North-South elections would be handled not on a one-man, one-vote basis—since Kim Il-sung would surely lose—but rather by an all-Korea conference with an equal number of delegates from the North and the South (South Korea, however, has well more than twice the population of the North).

During this period North Korea continued to swear allegiance to Marxist-Leninist principles, proclaimed there could be no peaceful transition of the social system in the South, and at the

same time made its "epochal proposals for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland."

All of this, Mr. Shinn points out, was rejected by the South as propaganda, though he thinks the Communist moves may have been a sincere attempt to reduce tensions since Kim realized that "his efforts to take over the South would be fruitless as long as the South Korean people feared and distrusted his regime."

During this period, North Korea's need for economic redevelopment was intensified by Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign, as the new Soviet ruler disapproved of Kim Il-sung's leadership style and considered his economic plans too ambitious to support with substantial funds.

After Syngman Rhee's overthrow in 1960, the failure of the subsequent Chang Myun regime to establish a neutralist or pro-Communist policy, and the military coup by pro-U.S. elements under Gen. Park Chung Hee in May 1961, the North Korean line became increasingly militant. It launched a clandestine campaign to support revolution in the South, began to construct large-scale defense industries and fortifications systems, and found itself treading a difficult path between Moscow and Peking. Disillusioned both by Peking's earlier unilateral withdrawal of forces from Korean soil and Soviet squeamishness during the Cuban missile crisis, Kim finally embarked on the "self-reliant" path.

Increased Militancy

In 1966 a period of intensified militancy began as North Korea reacted to Park Chung Hee's decision to send troops to Vietnam and to the consequent strengthening of U.S. support to South Korea.

Moderate elements of the Korean Workers Party were purged. Broadbased economic development was again pushed aside in order to intensify defense preparations, and the 7-year economic plan scheduled for completion in 1967 was extended until 1970. The Pueblo incident, assassination attempts on President Park, commando raids against Southern territory, the establishment of guerrilla training schools for revolutionaries the world over, and extremes of bellicosity in political rhetoric were soon to follow.

New Era

Continued U.S. presence and support of the R.O.K. made Kim's reported pledge to unify Korea before his 60th birthday (last year) impossible, while on the other hand the events of the 1970's have apparently calmed Kim's fears of a U.S.-supported invasion from the South. The result has been a return to moderation and heightened diplomatic activity.

Kim significantly softened his formerly venomous anti-Japanese line after the Nixon-Sato communique of 1970, which omitted former references to the "essentiality" of South Korea to Japanese security. Other international contacts were also broadened to match similar initiatives by the R.O.K., though it is interesting to note that North Korea's revolutionary activities by no means stopped. Its embassy in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) was shut down and its personnel expelled in April 1971, after North Korean agents allegedly encouraged the widespread revolt that broke out there that month.

The final stage of North Korea's new "moderation" began with the recent moves to establish dialogue with the South. After Kim

See KOREA, page 4.

European Security Probed By Youth Council



WASHINGTON -- Examining "Major Issues of European-U.S. Relations in the Seventies," the United States Youth Council (U.S.Y.C.) held a weekend seminar here February 17-18 with over 50 youth leaders from throughout the U.S. in attendance.

The Council is the U.S. affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth, an international body of over 60 national youth councils formed in 1948 to "promote international understanding through activities with national groups (and) to support the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

FLF Participates

U.S.Y.C.'s membership includes such diverse groups as the Young Republicans, the Young Democratic Clubs of America, NAACP Youth and College Division, National Student YWCA, Young Peoples Socialist League (social-democratic), National Catholic Youth Organizations Federation, and the National American Indian Youth Committee.

FLF President Neil A. Salonen and Education Coordinator Dan Fefferman attended the two-day conference as observers.

European Security

The seminar opened Saturday morning with talks on European Security by Dr. Wynfred Joshua, Assistant Director of the Stanford Research Institute, and Richard Perle, Staff Member of the Senate Subcommittee on National Security.

Perle's talk emphasized the growth in strategic military advantage of the Soviet Union in Europe, particularly since the recent Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) at which, according to Perle, the U.S. was far too generous with the Soviets.

A more comforting view was given by Thomas Simons, Political - Military Affairs Officer of the Office of Disarmament and Communist Affairs of the U.S. Department of State.

Simons said that, regardless of the long-term goals of the Soviet Union vis-a-vis the U.S. and the "capitalist world," it is now in the Soviets' best interests to achieve European stability rather than to bolster their strategic position for possible expansionist purposes, as Perle had implied.

According to Simons, the Soviets want European stability because they are in desperate need of improvement in economic efficiency, for which they need help from the West. He also said that the regimes in East Europe--the Warsaw Pact regimes--had developed a measure of support, if not legitimacy, from their peoples.

When pressed by U.S.Y.C. National Affairs Vice-President Josh Muravchick, Simons admitted that in free elections these regimes "would be swept from power," but he claimed the governments were now more successful in meeting certain needs of the people, a "giant step forward" from the Stalin era.

Muravchick commented that he didn't think the invasion of Czechoslovakia or the "mowing down" of hundreds of striking Polish workers and students by Communist forces constitutes very significant liberalization.

Panel Discussion

Highlighting the afternoon was a panel discussion featuring characteristic views of business, labor, and government on current international trends in Europe.

"U.S. Business Interests in the Atlantic Community" was presented by Gene Bradley, President of the International Management Development Institute. Bradley emphasized the positive effect which large corporations have had on economic development in Third World countries noting several examples of how workers' lives have been improved by U.S. corporations in economically deprived areas.

Bradley explained that solving the economic problems of the Atlantic Community could

lead to a solution of economic problems world-wide. He argued for the transcendence of ideological barriers to foster international cooperation in economics.

"I believe it can be one world," Bradley stated, "if we can learn to negotiate with one another seriously and in good faith."

The Labor View

Former AFL-CIO European Representative and current Director of the African-American Labor Center Irving Brown spoke on "American Labor's Interest in the Atlantic Community."

Brown agreed with Bradley that the world has passed from the era of confrontation to that of negotiation, but he emphasized that the ideological struggle is far from over.

He said the Atlantic Community's problems are not the struggles among business, labor, and governmental organizations of different nations, but rather between the forces of "relative freedom and absolute dictatorship." He noted that the original objective of the Atlantic Alliance was "to meet a certain (Communist) threat. This objective," he added, "should be supported."

Brown went on to say that President Nixon's description of Atlantic relations as the cornerstone of American policy is "essentially correct," adding that "the Atlantic Community contains the material and spiritual key to the establishment of a free world universally."

On the subject of the European Security Conference, Brown claimed that Soviet objectives there include: "The recognition of postwar conquests, the acceleration of U.S. withdrawal from Europe, and the impeding of European political (though not necessarily economic) unity." Brown said that Soviet moves toward a more stable European economic balance should be viewed not only as motivated by short-term economic self-interests but as a basis for long-term political struggle against the free world.

State Department European Affairs aide Richard Harding spoke next, emphasizing that with the winding down of the Vietnam war, U.S. attention can be refocused on the very substantial political, economic and ideological problems centering around the European community.

Speaking on "The U.S. and the Expanded Common Market," Harding explained that a united Europe causes problems for U.S. trade interests but is actually better for us in the long run. The reason for this, he said, is that "A united Europe can play a more responsible role in world affairs" and will mean much more viable mutual defense agreements against possible Soviet expansion.

Sunday's session featured Dr. Karl Cerny of the Department of Government at Georgetown University speaking on "Ideological Trends in Europe." Dr. Cerny noted that Europeans are far more ideologically oriented than are Americans, the three main non-Communist European ideologies being "Christian Democracy, Liberalism and Socialism."

Dr. Cerny was concerned about the growing trend toward coalition between socialists and Communists, which could lead, for instance, to a Communist takeover in France and the general disruption of healthy competition among the non-Communist ideologies.

State Department Youth Affairs Advisor Jerry Inman followed Dr. Cerny with an analysis of the major international youth groups in Europe. Inman noted a high degree of professionalism and ideological orientation among Communist youth groups as contrasted to naivete on the part of their Western counterparts. He said that many American students who had been to the Soviet Union on exchange programs had radically changed their attitude toward U.S.-Soviet relations after viewing the heavy-handed tactics of Communist political youth organizers. Most Soviet "youth" leaders, said one

Council delegate, are in their middle-to-late thirties, or even their early forties.

The conference closed with a luncheon speech by State Department official Dr. Richard T. Arndt, who examined ways in which government might cooperate with constructive U.S. youth movements without dominating them or influencing their direction. He explained that a major problem for U.S. international youth organizations is the absence of a commonly shared ideological perspective and their lack of sophistication in comparison to their highly trained Communist counterparts.

"Everyone expects the Communists to manipulate their youth groups for their own purposes," Arndt declared, "but for us this would be denying our own ideological perspective."

U.S.Y.C. President David Dorn closed the meeting with special thanks to all the speakers and participants, stating that he was glad to see such a good turnout for the event and that he hoped the conference would serve as a basis for increased cooperation among non-radically oriented American youth groups.

The general feeling of the participants was that American unity has begun. With the internal conflicts over Vietnam dying down and attention shifting to Europe, where American responsibilities are more universally accepted, the American people could very well unite behind bi-partisan national leadership to foster international cooperation while at the same time refusing to compromise in the ideological struggle.

The FLF delegates, however, could not help but think of the continued U.S. responsibilities to Asia and whether or not these, if not already abandoned, will continue to be fulfilled. To recall Mr. Brown's characterization, "If this country really believes in universal equality, why should freedom for Europeans by any more valuable to us than freedom for the Vietnamese?"

No Ideological Detente in the Soviet Union

by Christian Duevel, Radio Liberty

The most authoritative Soviet pronouncement yet to be published on the subject of the "free flow of information," which would naturally be an essential element of any genuine detente in Europe, appeared in the November issue of the theoretical CC/CPSU journal *Kommunist* (No. 16). The article, entitled "The European Public and Peace in Europe," is authored jointly by V. Zagladin and V. Shaposhnikov, who are both Deputy Chiefs of the International Department of the CC/CPSU. Because of his membership in the party's Central Auditing Commission, Zagladin, however, ranks higher in the party hierarchy than Shaposhnikov, who is also a member of the Bureau of the Soviet Committee for European Security. In view of these credentials, there can be little doubt that the article by Zagladin and Shaposhnikov represents an authentic interpretation of the official Soviet position on this question.

Referring to the question of "cultural exchange and exchange of information between all European states," Zagladin and Shaposhnikov write:

It is necessary to recall that there exists on the question a mass of speculations that are hostile to socialism and the cause of world peace. A considerable number of those politicians and statesmen, who have still not been able to overcome their "cold war" prejudices, are presently unfolding a campaign directed toward the use of information channels in the service of psychological warfare and the incitement of hatred between peoples. In the guise of exchange of ideas, they strive to implement in relation to the socialist countries a subversive (*podryvnaia*) strategy based on the profoundly anti-scientific concept of "convergence" of the two social systems. With this purpose, some of them "argue" their case by reference to their supposed intention of achieving "full peaceful coexistence," i.e., they mask the real sins of this strategy, striving to extend this principle to the field of ideology... Let us say first of all clearly and distinctly, so that there will not arise any ambiguities or any illusions, that the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialism,

while struggling against militarism and revanchism, against an ideology hostile to the cause of peace and international cooperation, support the broadening of exchanges in the field of culture and in the field of information... At the same time... we came out and are still coming out against this kind of exchange being used in any way to the detriment of the principles of peaceful co-existence of states with a different social order and contrary to those demands for European cooperations which follow from the Statutes of the United Nations and which have been set down, in particular, in the Solemn Declaration of the Brussels Assembly. (pp 92-93)

The Soviet approach to the question of the free flow of information is thus essentially a schizophrenic one. On the one hand, Moscow comes out against the concept of "full peaceful co-existence," including the ideological sphere, which is attributed to Western statesmen who have not yet overcome their "cold war" prejudices; on the other hand, it comes out against opposite attempts, apparently attributed to the same category of people, to use the cultural and information exchange "to the detriment of the principles of peaceful coexistence." The Soviet position amounts, therefore, essentially to a dialectical argument which, on the one hand, justifies their ideological struggle against the capitalist countries, while at the same time denying those countries any moral right to engage in any kind of "ideological struggle" of their own, on grounds that this is contrary to the principles of "peaceful coexistence" and, accordingly, to detente. This schizophrenic position is rationalized by the use of various labels that are tagged on to one or the other position: "subversion," "psychological warfare," "militarism," "revanchism," "national hatred," "slanderous information," etc., for the Western efforts aimed at broadening the exchange of information, and "cause of peace," "friendship of the peoples," "mutual understanding," "respect for each other," etc., for the socialist countries' activities in implementation of their thesis about the "shar-

pening ideological struggle."

Zagladin and Shaposhnikov make these tactics quite clear in another passage of their article. Again referring to those who have become used to the ideas of the "cold war," they write:

It is they who, making use of the weapon of slander, as before depict every step in the struggle for the consolidation of peace in Europe (including the holding of the (Brussels) Assembly) as a matter advantageous only to the communists. But is this not precisely here that their "Achilles' heel" is? For if the consolidation of peace in Europe is a "communist machination," then does this not prove that it is precisely the communists who are the most consistent exponents of the vital interests of the peoples and those with whom it is worth linking one's future?

Peace in Europe, security, and cooperation - these are ideas that correspond to the interests of all states, all countries, all nations and peoples in Europe. And whoever comes forward with such

slogans is expressing precisely these interests, and whoever struggles against European peace is hence trampling underfoot the needs and aspirations of each and every European. (p. 95)

Zagladin and Shaposhnikov thus let it be known that Moscow believes it has found the "Achilles' heel" of the European nations with their "peace offensive." "Peace," to them, is a slogan which - like "Open sesame!" - should open the hearts of Europeans, and, no doubt, also help repel any Western attempts to extend the exchange of information beyond the strictly-controlled state channels in the socialist countries. Inasmuch as the concept of a state monopoly on information is intrinsically alien to democratic countries, the Soviet Government, from its narrowly utilitarian point of view, has nothing to gain from any uncontrolled exchange of information.

Basically, the same position on this issue, though in even harsher tones, was recently expounded by V. Platkovski in the army newspaper, *Krasnaia*

Zvezda, on November 16, 1972. Platkovski is a former Deputy Chief Editor of the CC/CPSU journal, *Kommunist*, who has been identified recently as engaged in work on the multi-volume *History of the CPSU*. He is a party ideologist, like Zagladin or Shaposhnikov, but of lesser standing in the hierarchy. Platkovski writes:

The ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism is acquiring increasing scope and increasing significance. The CC/CPSU November 1971 plenum was very decisive in pointing out this phenomenon. It stressed that "in the Party's further struggle to implement the foreign policy of the Twenty-fourth Congress, the role of the ideological struggle is growing increasingly in the international arena." In his speech of June 27, 1972, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev again drew attention to this. He said: "In striving to uphold the principle of peaceful coexistence we are aware that the successes in this important

See DETENTE, page 6.

Allan Brownfeld

The Revolution that Refused to Happen

Reprinted from *Anaheim Bulletin*

REYKJAVIK, Iceland—If any event remains singular about 1972 it is the fact that American intellectuals have been shown to have been completely out of touch with the reality of their own society.

All through the nineteen sixties it was popular to say that America was on the verge of revolution. Student rioters and demonstrators met with little opposition on the part of college administrators and faculty members. Somehow, these academicians thought that the demonstrators represented the wave of the future. In the currency of modern intellectualism, the only proper thing to do with a "wave of the future" is to join it, and this they attempted to do.

The "revolution" declared that the United States was not dissimilar to Nazi Germany, that opposing aggression in Vietnam was much the same as imposing it upon Czechoslovakia, and that, in the words of Herbert Marcuse, America's tolerance of diverse viewpoints was itself a subtle form of "repression."

Misplaced Attack

Intellectuals who had placed their faith in the world of politics, in creating a heaven on earth through social programs and economic reforms, had no belief in enduring standards — even in standards of form, such as majority rule and a belief in free speech. Thus, when student radicals stormed the barricades of civility and of academic freedom, the intellectuals had no defenses. Instead, they joined in the attack which was, although they didn't realize it, an attack upon themselves.

That they did not understand the political feelings of the American people was evident with the results of the Novem-



Brownfeld

ber election. Through the sixties, intellectuals expressed the sincere belief that America was on the verge of revolt. Yet their candidate, George McGovern, carried only a single state. His radicalism even cost him support within the very academic circles which had stimulated his nomination. As a protest, radicalism was pleasing. As a policy, it seemed dangerous. More important than this, however, is the fact that they did not understand what young people were really trying to say.

A Young Person Answers

Joyce Maynard, who is 19 and has written a book which will soon be published, discusses the moral relativism and attack on values which she and her generation endured at the hands of our modern, liberal intellectuals. Speaking of the renewed religious interest of the young, she writes:

"Now... Jesus has come out of the closet. The disenchanting and the ones never enchanted in the first place are returning to the fold with a passion their once-a-week religious parents never possessed. It is a sign of many things: of their desire to purify the spirit, to be drenched in holy waters after a drug filled

adolescence... What's really going on, though, in the Jesus movement is our search for a prophet, for someone who can, for a change, tell us the answers. (The big line I remember from our school days was, "There is no one right answer. What's your opinion?") After so many unprofound facts and so much loose, undisciplined freedom, it's comforting to have a creed to follow and a cross to bear."

Joyce Maynard and her generation have been cheated by our educational system, which has failed to transmit the culture and values of our Western civilization and of our Judeo-Christian tradition. This generation sought answers from their parents and their teachers to the ultimate questions about life's meaning and purpose. All they received was the radical chic pronouncements of men and women who could do little more than condemn their country, their tradition and, in effect, themselves, and had nothing affirmative to give. They sought paradise in welfare reform and medicare, and it is no wonder that young people in search of truth stormed their barricades. It is little wonder that the barricades collapsed.

But youthful nihilism, even as a reaction to modern liberalism, is as dangerous as middle-aged skepticism. The frenzy of the nineteen sixties has, hopefully, come to an end. As we begin 1973 one fact which looms above many others is that the search for meaning and values has moved to a new stage. It is, of course, only part of man's eternal search. It is a pity that men and women in our society who call themselves learned seem to have learned so little about the things which are most important. For them, the cliches seem to be their own reward. For others, they remain more hollow than ever.

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B'nai Brith Reports

Far Left Threat to Israel

By James Cowin

The Jewish community, long fearful of accusations from the far Right, now acknowledges the campaign of the Communist parties of the far Left, which if successful, would mean the destruction of both Israel and world Jewry.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith compiled a study of leftwing propaganda and activities which was published in its magazine *Facts* and reprinted in the February 8 *Congressional Record*. A sampling of the articles gives an excellent portrayal of the Communist view of Israel. *The Militant*, the newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyite) reported the following resolution at the 1971 SWP national convention: "The struggle of the Palestinian people against their oppression and for self-determination has taken the form of a struggle to destroy the state of Israel."

A "draft thesis" for a resolution at the 1972 national convention of the Communist Party U.S.A. printed in the *Daily World* reads: "Zionism...has become a weapon of imperialism...the state of Israel, tying itself to the imperialist warmakers of the U.S., has become the oppressor of the Mideast"

The far Left, seeking to establish increased "solidarity" with Arab guerrillas, engaged in several activities to promote the terrorists' viewpoint and to attack that of the Israelis. At the 1970 convention of the pro-Arab Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C. the Young Socialist Alliance burned an Al Fatah literature table. The Youth Against War and Fascism, a front group for the Workers World Party, a pro-Peking Trotskyite splinter group, reported in its newspaper *Workers World* that organizers had attempted to turn an Israeli Independence Day celebration at the University of Chicago into a pro-Palestine demonstration. They also reported picketing Israel Bond dinners along with Arab students. Another leftist WWP front group reported demonstrating at Rockefeller Center to "Stop Wall Street's Other Vietnam." Radical groups also put on teach-ins at major universities.

A third type of anti-Israel radical activity is the trip to the Middle East. There radical students meet Communist

students from all over the world, including from the Communist nations. They interview top terrorist leaders, help to build guerrilla training camps, and attend conferences run by Communist Arab terrorist groups. In September, 1970, for example, a group of Americans attended the Second World Conference on Palestine in Amman, run by the General Union of Palestine students. There they adopted a resolution pledging to work for the destruction of Israel and to build "a revolution in the U.S. which will overthrow capitalism and smash imperialism once and for all."

In connection with the attack on Zionism, American Jewry itself is also attacked. A February 1972 *Daily Worker* declared that "to carry out the aggressive policies of Israel, its (Israel's) Zionist supporters in the U.S. have sold themselves to the U.S. State Department. They support the Vietnam War and spread State Department slanders about Soviet anti-Semitism." One Communist Party writer, Hyman Lumer, went so far as to stoop to the traditional accusation used by the irresponsible ultra-Right—that there is an international Jewish banking conspiracy. This time, however, it is in league with "U.S. imperialists" instead of with "Communist conspirators."

The Anti-Defamation League report reveals that there is much cause for worry. According to Communist ideology, progress comes through violence, and good and evil are defined by what helps the world Communist revolution. A pro-Peking *Workers World* editorial on the Lod Airport killings reveals that Communists have no respect for human life. "The fact is that the 25 people killed at Lod Airport were, like the 50,000 GI's killed in Indochina, victims of a situation created by imperialism." Even though most were visiting Puerto Ricans who played no part in the struggle, guilt was unnecessary, for they were killed in a battle for a "just cause."

The ADL article revealed a double threat to the existence of the Jewish people: first through the attack on Israel, which is reported to be the source of hope and inspiration for the ultimate survival of the Jewish people; and second, through the assault on liberal democratic values, by which Jews first gained their legal rights.



Destruction in North Korea after the Korean War.

North's Overtures Hollow

KOREA, from page 1.

announced cuts in defense appropriations and refrained for several months from provocative military acts against the South, a high-level meeting took place in Pyongyang in May 1972.

After several rounds of hesitant dialogue, the famous joint communique of July 4, 1972 was signed. "Three Principles" were agreed upon: 1. that "reunification should be achieved independently without being subject to external force or interference"; 2. that peaceful means alone will be used to achieve reunification; 3. that both sides should foster the cohesiveness of the Korean people despite differing ideological and social systems.

foster the cohesiveness of the Korean people despite differing ideological and social systems.

The key issue for the North Koreans still remains the withdrawal of U.N. forces. For the South Koreans, the critical question is whether the North, still avowedly committed to the violence-based principle of Marxism-Leninism, can be trusted in its renunciation of force.

A massive propaganda campaign has been launched in the U.S. to use the Vietnam issue as a springboard for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea. For a change, the radical forces seem to be united on this issue. A Moscow-Communist dominated group known as the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center (A.K.F.I.C.) is worthy of particular note, but the pro-Pyongyang sentiment seems to be coming from everywhere, from the Black Panthers and the pro-Peking *Guardian* to the local radical undercurrents in college

communities throughout the nation.

North Korea has a long history of violence. Its official ideology states that "force is the midwife of every society pregnant with a new one."

Knowing this, we can understand the South's reluctance to adopt an attitude of complete trust or conciliation. When the *Star-News* says that the best insurance against the outbreak of another Korean war is the continued presence of U.N. troops on the Korean Peninsula, it is more than just the opinion of an editorialist who remembers the experience of the first Korean War.



Family of South Korean soldier killed in war.

USSR: Is Democratization Possible?

By Dr. Richard Pipes

...Soviet leadership in power since November 1917 has been thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Leninist politics. The reason lies not in the innate force of Lenin's ideas or the ability of any idea to be bequeathed intact from one generation to another. It lies in the fact that the Soviet leadership of today finds itself in a situation in all essential respects identical with the one Lenin had left on his death, that is, devoid of a popular mandate or any other kind of legitimacy to justify its monopoly of political power except the alleged exigencies of class war. The regime is locked in; and even if it wanted to extricate itself from its predicament by democratizing it could not do so because of the staunch opposition of the bureaucratic establishment to genuine political reform. The closed character of Russia's ruling elite,

its insulation from the inflow of fresh human types and ideas by means of the principle of co-optation assures a high degree of ideological and psychological continuity. In this respect, the Soviet elite resembles a self-perpetuating religious order rather than what one ordinarily thinks of as a governing class. The growth of productivity, the rise in living standards, the spread of education, and the sundry other factors which some Western observers count on in time to liberalize the Soviet system have no bearing either on the internal position of the ruling elite or on its political outlook. Only a minor upheaval—such as a prolonged and unsuccessful war, or a prolonged and unresolved feud among the leaders—could alter the situation.

The Soviet government conducts a "total" foreign policy which draws no principal

distinction between diplomatic, economic, psychological, or military means of operation. It also does not differentiate in any fundamental respect between domestic and foreign relations. This accounts for the virtual absence in the Soviet Union of a literature devoted to the theory of foreign relations. Every policy decision, after all, is made in the Politburo of the party. As a rule, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs (the incumbent, Andrei Gromyko, included) is not a member of the politburo—a fact which suggests what importance attaches to his office. The Soviet Union maintains a Ministry of Foreign Affairs with its diplomatic corps because other countries with which it deals happen to do so. It does not, however, charge the Ministry with the formulation of foreign policy. All important foreign policy decisions are made in the Politburo and often even carried

out by its own departments. The role of the Ministry is further whittled down by the practice increasingly to entrust foreign policy matters to organs of the police and intelligence. The KGB, through its "Foreign Directorate" (First Main Administration), and with the assistance of organs of military intelligence (GRU), may well have a greater voice in Soviet foreign policy, especially as it concerns the so-called Third World, than the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Alexander Kaznacheev, a one-time Soviet diplomat stationed in Rangoon, states that among his hundred or more colleagues in the embassy, fewer than one-fifth actually worked for the Ministry and were responsible to the Ambassador; the remainder was employed by other agencies, mostly engaged in intelligence activities and reporting directly to Moscow. In contending with a

foreign policy of such an unorthodox kind, the United States has had to charge its own Central Intelligence Agency with a variety of responsibilities exceeding its formal mandate. These activities have recently been restrained, to the visible relief of the KGB and other operational intelligence agencies of the Soviet Union which prefer to have this particular field all to themselves. The steady shift of the epicenter of US foreign policy management from the Department of State to the White House is probably part of the same process which earlier had led to the broadening of the CIA's functions, namely the need somehow to counter "total" Soviet policy of one's own.

(From "Freedom At Issue" May-June, 1972, p.11, excerpted from a pamphlet by the committee on government operations.)

EDITORIAL

Gearing Up

The fighting may stop, but the struggle goes on. The future is a question mark not only for Vietnam, but also for Europe, Korea, Jews and Christians in the Soviet Union, and anyone in any Soviet-bloc country who becomes a "class enemy" by expressing his own opinion. The Communists are gaining strength on the eve of the election in France; Russia shows no sign of decreasing her troop buildup in the Warsaw Pact countries; North Korea is making overtures aimed at expediting U.S. troop withdrawal from the South; while a re-Stalinization campaign is "rehabilitating" believers, intellectuals and Balkan nationalists in the Soviet Union. As evidenced by the findings of Radio Liberty researcher Christian Duevel, Communist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, have tightened ideological control, making their commitment to detente questionable.

FLF is strengthening itself to meet this challenge. A primary thrust will be educational programs. The World Freedom Institute, already successful in informing young people about Communism and inspiring them to commit themselves to building up the democratic system, will be substantially expanded. Coordinating this new effort will be Dan Fefferman, active in FLF since its inception and former Editor of *The Rising Tide*. He is turning over his position as *Tide* Editor to Louise Berry, who has been editor of the safety education materials of the American Automobile Association for three years. The FLF office is also strengthened by Pat Hannan, experienced in education and administration. As Administrator, she will enable President Neil Salonen to further develop policies and programs.



Because of a long-standing interest in the role of ideology in molding world affairs -- my field of concentration in college was the intellectual history of nineteenth and twentieth-century Europe -- I am especially pleased to begin working on *The Rising Tide*. I have been an editor for several years and am pursuing graduate education in journalism; I will do my best to continue to develop a responsible and informative newspaper. Louise Berry
Editor
The Rising Tide

Conflict, Progress and Purpose

By Dan Fefferman

According to FLF's Unification Ideology, the universe is a unit of one purpose, interconnected by give-and-take relationships and created by God. In this cosmology we are in radical disagreement with Marxism. Marx admitted that the universe was an interconnected unit, but based on conflict and contradiction rather than on harmonious give and take. He also did not believe it was created by God or that it was directed toward a purpose.

Marx believed that the foundation of all existence, motion and multiplication was contradiction. Lenin perceived what he called "contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies in all phenomena of nature (including mind and society)." Mao Tse-tung continued that "the interdependence of the contradictory aspects present in all things and the struggle between these aspects determine the life of all things and push all things forward."

To the non-Marxist mind, two things cannot be mutually exclusive and mutually interdependent at the same time. This would be a contradiction in terms. To the Marxist, however, it is simply a description of the universal paradox of matter in motion. As Mao so aptly summed up: "Without contradiction, nothing would exist."

Marxism's view of contradiction is the foundation of its proposition that all change is based on struggle and that all

qualitative change is based on violence followed by a leap to a higher stage, particularly in the conflict between economic classes.

We disagree on both counts. In the first place, not all change is based on struggle. Qualitative change necessitates neither violence nor a dialectic leap. The changing seasons, for instance, are based on the rotation of the earth on its axis. There is no contradiction involved, no struggle and no leap to a higher stage. There is nevertheless real change. The qualitative change of water from a liquid to a gaseous state, in the second case, is based not on an abrupt dialectic leap as water suddenly boils (this is what Marx suggested) but on the gradual evaporation of the water as the molecular motion increases until it transcends the force of gravity.

Motion and change come about through harmonious give-and-take. The electron revolves around the proton--not in contradiction to it or struggle with it--but in perfect oneness and harmony to create a unified bond. The same is true from molecules to enzymes to cells, organisms, plants, animals, oceans, planets, galaxies, and man. In all its workings, the universe is bound together through an awesomely complex web of give-and-take relationships. The limited conflicts which appear to exist are due to the alienated nature of man.

As a materialist, Marx refused

to acknowledge that the world or history was directed to a goal or purpose, since this would imply an intelligent creative force behind the universe. Instead, he claimed that the economic laws derived from dialectical materialism led inexorably to the establishment of a world Communist society through the development, struggle, and resolution of the contradiction between the means of production (labor) and the productive relations of the ruling class.

Neo-Marxists have tried to resolve the problem of Marx's "non-teleological teleology" by inferring an "intelligent quality" inherent in matter itself. If matter is intelligent, and matter comes from energy, then energy, too, must be intelligent; if you have intelligent energy moving behind the material world do you not, in effect, have the movement of the spirit of God? Marxism, however, sees the religious search as an opiated pipedream. As the scientific search approaches the recognition of the spiritual world, the result has been that both religious and intellectual freedoms have been ruthlessly repressed in all Communist societies. Tragically, the Marxists will never achieve that liberation which many of them legitimately seek for all mankind until they free their own societies to seek after the truth from outside the confines of dialectical materialism. An important key to world liberation lies in cultivating religious and intellectual freedom within the totalitarian Marxist regimes.

Capitol Report



Vietnam: End of U.S. Involvement?

by James Cowin

The Vietnam ceasefire has been in effect for three weeks, but there has been no real let-up in the fighting as of this writing. In some areas the fighting has been heavier than before the ceasefire. Both sides have been ordered to stop shooting, but neither will comply. The motives of the South Vietnamese are obvious. They want to preserve their nation and expect the North to push for a takeover after U.S. troops have been withdrawn; they therefore fight to stop any possible North Vietnamese gain.

The North Vietnamese may be trying only to grab as much territory as possible before the inspection teams are in position and the ceasefire takes full effect. They could, however, be trying to find weak spots in preparation for a major push.

The possibility of peace, even a temporary peace, is questionable under these circumstances. The North Vietnamese are deliberately continuing hostilities, and do not show any sign of wishing to stop.

Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho) has seen the issue clearly. In a newspaper article reprinted in the February 15 Congressional Record, he warned about the implications of the Vietnam ceasefire. He wrote that he expected a North Vietnamese attack because the issues which divided the North and South had not yet been settled. Continued U.S. involvement in Vietnam in the form of civilian technicians, advisors, and AID personnel caused Senator Church to wonder if the threat to the thousands of American lives would be sufficient cause for U.S. re-involvement in the Vietnam War. If U.S. forces are to be re-committed, Church wrote, the Senate must first be consulted.

While Senator Church's overall viewpoint

reflects neo-isolationist doctrines, his vision is accurate. There is obviously the possibility of a major flare-up in South Vietnam. The example of China in 1946-47, when Mao's troops used the ceasefire to build their forces in preparation for another attack, does not offer an optimistic viewpoint of North Vietnamese intentions.

The U.S. clearly faces the question of re-commitment in Vietnam. Almost everyone in the U.S. was glad to see a halt to the fighting, and everyone would like to be able to concentrate on our domestic problems, but the fate of thirty million Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians rests ultimately on our shoulders. In addition, the faith of the world in the U.S. will increase or fall, depending on our behavior in Vietnam. Given the upcoming European elections in which the Communists may score big gains in France and Italy, and given the pressure for U.S. troop withdrawals from Europe, the U.S. need for world support is great indeed.

Congress has expressed concern over the persecution of Lithuanian Catholics, and both houses have pending legislation which calls for economic sanctions against the Soviets until they end their anti-Jewish emigration tax. Yet few voices protest the Communist murder of thousands of South Vietnamese civilians.

Critics have condemned the war on moral grounds, citing destruction of human life and the desire of the average South Vietnamese to be "left alone." But being "left alone" means being free from Communist domination, and few declare that the aid of a nation in distress follows the highest tradition of morality. If the North Vietnamese engage in massive violations of the ceasefire, the fate of Indochina will be doubtful without firm U.S. support.

"America's fastest growing
freedom newspaper"

The Rising Tide

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Dumitru Danielopol--Romania: Humane?

WASHINGTON — Only a brazen liar like Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu could have the effrontery to present such a totally distorted picture of Communist Romania as appeared recently in the London Times.

In an 8-page advertisement written in Bucharest, Ceausescu explains his party's "Credo:"

"The supreme aim of the society we are building is to serve man, the implementation of the loftiest aspiration of the whole people. It directs its efforts towards insuring both high material civilization and a spiritual life for all the citizens of the country."

Baloney! On the same page Adrian Paunescu, a Communist writer, called the Ceausescu regime "Humane Communism."

"Since we are humane

people, history has placed us in the position to be a humane country," he writes.

More baloney! The Romanian people are humane, but the regime in power is the most cruel, ruthless and barbarous ever visited on that country since the beginning of its history in 110 A.D.

Systematic Degradation

Not even the barbarian invaders, the Huns, the Goths, the Visigoths, the Tartars, the Turks or even the Czarist Russians who invaded the country for nearly two thousand years ever conceived anything similar to the systematic degradation perpetrated by the Communists. The regime imposed by Stalin against the wishes of the great majority of the Romanians was and is a

carbon copy of Stalinist Russia.

In order to impose their Marxist doctrine, eradicate Christianity, destroy the "class enemy" and collectivize the land of the peasants, the "humane Communists" stole, tortured and murdered.

Treatment of "Class Enemies"

Ceausescu doesn't mention the thousands of innocent people who died at the abominable Danube-Black Sea Canal, a ditch they were supposed to dig practically with their bare hands in all weather conditions with little food, foul shelter and no medical facilities. Nor did he mention the "class enemies" who worked all day in the Danube Delta in the water to their midriff and had to sleep in their wet rags.

Let me also recall the

terrorist prisons of Securitate in Bucharest and every other Romanian city, the torture chambers at Aiud and Pitesti, the floggings and tortures perpetrated on peasants who resisted the exploitation of their land, on people who were found praying to their God, on former political leaders including Lucretiu Patrascanu, the ostracized Communist party leader, who died insane after the ruthless treatment received from his former "comrades."

Out of a population of some 20 million, about 3 million rotted in Communist jails for no other reason than that they refused to become Communists. An estimated 300,000 died.

It was at the insistence of the United States government that "political prisoners" still in jails were released in 1964.

Ion Ratiu, a former



Danielopol

Romanian diplomat, turned London shipping executive, publishes the "Free Romanian Press" in London. He calls the ad "A concentration of distortions and untruths." He asks Ceausescu if he can buy a 2-page advertising section in Bucharest's newspaper, Scanteia, to answer a few of the Red claims.

What do you think Ceausescu will say?

Soviet Ideologists Set Forth Hard Line On Struggle Against Free World 'Sabotage'

DETENTE, from page 3.

matter in no way signify the possibility of a relaxation of the ideological struggle. On the contrary, we must be prepared for the intensification of this struggle and its becoming an increasingly acute form of antagonism between the two social systems." Recent events, including those which have already taken place since the Soviet-American talks, fully confirm the complete validity of these conclusions. (emphasis supplied)

Platkovski's insistence on the fact that the official thesis on the "sharpening of the ideological struggle" remains fully valid even after President Nixon's visit to Moscow and the ensuing detente in U.S.-Soviet relations suggests strongly that the thesis' continuing validity is questioned in some quarters. The context of his statement, however, does not permit any conclusions as to whether such doubts may have appeared in the USSR itself, in one or the other socialist country, among lower party ranks or among some segments of the cadres, on a small scale or on a larger one.

According to Platkovski, "the marked development of various political and economic ties between states of the two systems raises the imperialists' hopes for a possible intensification of ideological sabotage in the socialist countries." (emphasis supplied)

The term used by Platkovski here and elsewhere in his article is *ideologicheskie diversi*, which might also be translated as "ideological subversion." It is even more derogatory in its implications, however, than Zagladin's and Shaposhnikov's term *podryvnaia strategii* (subversive strategy), so that the translation "ideological sabotage" would seem to come quite near to the actual meaning of the term in Russian. Such semantic differences, however, should not be overestimated. *Krasnaia Zvezda* has traditionally adopted a somewhat sharper tone and vocabulary in its articles related to foreign policy. Nor would it be true to say that one term is being used to the exclusion of the other. Thus, Platkovski also uses the term *podryvnaia*

deiatel'nost' (subversive activity) in another passage of his article.

The extent of Moscow's maximum demands with regard to Western concessions in the name of "detente," "international cooperation," and the "peaceful uses of information," etc. may be gathered from Platkovski's calculations that there exist 110 "ideological sabotage centers" in the Federal Republic of Germany, 170 in the United States, 30 in Canada, and "scores" in Britain, Brazil, South Africa, and other countries. Only three are referred to by name in this context: Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, and the Central Asian Research Center in London.

Platkovski concludes his article with the following adamant statement which seeks to nail down the present Soviet ideological position in what may be regarded as an attempt to make it unassailable even in the future: "There is no lull, and can be no lull, on the ideological front. The battle of ideas and the class battle between the two systems continues and will continue until the complete victory of communism."

Some interesting insights are provided also by an article featured in the November issue of *Kommunist Moldavii*, the theoretical party journal of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, which is known for its hard-line position in foreign affairs and orthodox stand in domestic politics. The author of this article is Professor Iu. Vorontsov, a doctor of philosophical sciences, who heads one of the departments of the prestigious Institute of Foreign Languages named after Maurice Thorez in Moscow (presumably the department (kafedra) of Marxism-Leninism at this Institute). Vorontsov's article may be classified as fairly hard-line. It is noteworthy above all for a passage in which he interprets the tactics of "present-day anti-communism" (in the context of foreign political propaganda). One of these tasks is said to be the creation of a psychological climate in which the social-psychological bases of mass consciousness would be shattered, and there would take place a fragmentation of

views, and the loss of immunity toward bourgeois ideology, since this immunity has been acquired to a specific virus of anticommunism (the "cave" or "vulgar" species). p. 37.

Vorontsov seems to give away here what the Soviet leadership really feels concerned about, viz., not the crude forms of anti-communist propaganda, to which the population is believed to have become immune, but the more subtle ideological influences that are already causing concern and that would loom very large, for instance, in the event of a freer flow of information and less restricted personal contacts between Soviet citizens and foreigners. In its outward propaganda which seeks to explain the Soviet opposition to an unfettered exchange of information, however, Moscow likes to play up isolated instances of outright reactionary or revanchist propaganda sallies, although it knows very well that these do not pose any real problem for the maintenance of domestic ideological discipline.

Unlike Zagladin, Shaposhnikov, or Platkovski, Vorontsov finds it necessary to draw attention to one specific aspect of "ideological sabotage" by "imperialism," namely the efforts to inculcate into the conscience of people a "consumer psychology."

Vorontsov refers in the concluding part of his article to a statement by Lenin, which said:

The question arises only thus: bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle of the road here... Any diminution of socialist ideology, any drawing back from it, therefore, means ipso facto a strengthening of bourgeois ideology. (Complete Works in Russian, vol. 6, pp 39-40)

Vorontsov finds that this Leninist thesis "assumes a special meaning and significance" in "our days." (p. 44)

The above three articles are believed to be among the most important Soviet policy pronouncements to appear since Jean Riollot's two-part

survey, published on October 17 and November 2, 1972, entitled "The Free Flow of Peoples, Ideas and Information and European Security." They further elaborate the basic Soviet attitude on this question, as it has become increasingly explicit since late summer of this year.

While there exist certain differences of emphasis, tone, and terminology in all these articles, there seems to be no reason to believe that any concrete divergences of views have developed in Soviet official quarters over the issue. In the articles by Platkovski and Vorontsov one may sense, nevertheless, a certain concern lest detente be allowed after all to make certain inroads on the thesis of the "sharpening ideological struggle, as this would result in some degree of ideological "softening" in the USSR, despite the solemn assurances by Brezhnev *et al.* to the contrary. The article by Zagladin and Shaposhnikov by contrast, gives more the impression of forthright optimism. This might be explained quite naturally by the fact that Zagladin and Shaposhnikov are concerned only (in view of their positions in the International Department of the Central Committee) with the foreign policy implications of the Soviet "peace offensive." It might be argued at the same time that their article is primarily designed to dispel certain misgivings about the domestic implications of this policy that may be troubling some party cadres by pointing out the benefits that would be reaped in the field of foreign policy. This can naturally be considered only a working hypothesis not corroborated so far by any significant amount of direct or circumstantial evidence.

A few ideas and considerations might be added about the implications of a "free flow of information" as regards the other countries of the Warsaw Pact. It is hardly possible, of course, for one researcher to encompass the literature published on this subject in all or even the majority of socialist countries. One obvious con-

sideration is that all the countries of the Warsaw Pact are vulnerable, to a greater or lesser degree, to the impact of a free flow of information in any meaningful sense of the word because they have adopted a social system which rests to a considerable extent on the monopoly of information exercised by a single party. This will automatically insure their support of the Soviet policy line on these Western proposals. Only the case of Rumania would seem to be somewhat different: on the one hand, the Rumanian regime is naturally opposed to any free flow of information to its own country, but on the other hand, it is also opposed to any strengthening of "monolithism" in the Soviet bloc, for which the effective exercise of the information monopoly by the ruling communist parties is an important factor. Only time can tell how Rumania will react under the impact of these, it would seem, mutually exclusive policy aims.

The cases of Hungary and Poland also pose certain questions in view of the fact that the Party's information monopoly is exercised somewhat more liberally in these two countries. If the trend toward detente were to result in a uniform level of liberalization of the socialist countries' information policy, this would amount to a fairly big chunk for the Soviet Union, but to comparatively little for, say, Hungary. The case of Czechoslovakia again is different because this country has not yet recovered fully from the impact of its earlier period of a free flow of information. These differences should obviously not be overestimated, but they might conceivably result under certain circumstances in divergencies of policy on this issue. This is quite unlikely to happen, however, so long as this issue has not reached the stage of concrete bargaining at the international conference table, and even then only if Western pressures for significant progress toward the free flow of information, as an indispensable component part of further detente in Europe, were to be maintained unwaveringly.

Voices of Freedom in the Soviet Union

Vladimir Bukovsky in Prison

By Gary Jarmin

Vladimir Bukovsky, before his last sentence to 12 years of imprisonment and exile, was able to report to Western journalists about the terrible treatment he and others received in Soviet mental hospitals and prison camps.

In 1963 he was arrested for possessing two photocopies of *The New Class*, written by the anti-Communist Yugoslav author Milovan Djilas.

For that he was tried in absentia and sent to two mental asylums, where he spent, in his own words, "fifteen months of hell."

"There were about 1,000 men in the asylum, political prisoners and insane murderers," says Bukovsky. "The sick raved, the healthy suffered." One of his cellmates was a maniac who had murdered his wife and children, then cut off his own ears.

Bukovsky usually kept out of the way of other prisoners, and was later moved to a larger ward where he made friends with a French Communist and an Australian of Latvian origin. Both had believed Communist writings about the good life in the Soviet Union and immigrated to see it first-hand. Shocked at the pay in a Moldavian shoe factory, the Frenchman had urged the workers to strike. "Communism will never condemn the working class fighting for its rights," he argued. He was condemned to three years in the asylum.

The Australian, disillusioned by life in Moscow, had simply tried to leave. He was told that since he was of Latvian origin, he was a Soviet citizen and could not go. He persisted and was put in the Leningrad asylum for contacting foreign embassies. He spent his days shouting, "Bloody dogs!" at the guards.

"Only the crafty survived," Bukovsky says. "You had to be nice to the guards, you had to make friends with them, you had to bribe them. Otherwise, they can beat you until you're nearly dead and tell the doctors you misbehaved. Or they could recommend medical punishment. They beat the Ukrainian every day, just tied him up and kicked him in the stomach. Sometimes they would put inmates in padded isolation cells and beat them almost continuously. I know of several men who died after this, and the clinic on the floor above us was always full."

However, the worst was medical punishment, which would often turn normal people into idiots or even human vegetables. Doctors would inject a drug that produced severe stomach cramps, fever, intense pain and a temperature of 104. The sickness lasted two or three days and left the inmate very weak.

Another drug reserved for serious misbehavior induced sleep and dulled the brain. Inmates were punished with ten days of daily injections. They woke up as human vegetables. Some regained their senses after two months, others did not.

Bukovsky was released in February 1965, shortly before his twenty-second birthday. He had lost weight, he had a heart murmur and rheumatism, "but otherwise I was all right. I was still sane."

Once back in Moscow he began to work again in the dissident movement, carrying on

his underground work exposing the inhumanity of the Communist regime.

"You must have friends in this type of work," he explains. "The KGB follows you all the time and sometimes they pull you in for questioning. If no one knows about it you just disappear."

"But if your friends know you've been arrested you're reasonably safe. They tell others. They attend the trial. They know the length of your sentence, and they know when you are supposed to be released. Stalinistic methods don't work anymore. The authorities don't want a big scandal. They have to maintain a semblance of legality."

On December 2, 1965, Bukovsky was arrested again for organizing a demonstration protesting the imprisonment of Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel. He was released in August 1966, but was again arrested on January 26, 1967 for organizing another demonstration protesting repression of Soviet intellectuals. This time he was tried as a criminal and sent to the Bor Labor Camp 300 miles south of Moscow.

The Bor camp, with 1500 men, was surrounded by watchtowers with armed guards, coils of barbed wire and a free-fire zone. The guards could shoot any inmate seen in the zone. "It could have been worse," Bukovsky says. "It could have been in Siberia."

"Whenever the prisoners heard of a man beaten up by guards we would riot. We just screamed, banged things, broke chairs and doors, and made a racket. After a few riots like that, they stopped beating us." However, more refined punishments were used. Loitering "unproductively," failing to doff one's hat to a guard, talking back—all merited being placed on a strict regimen. This entailed suspension of all visiting and parcel privileges, a cutback in the food ration, and a ban on shopping at the camp store. "They got you where it really hurts most—in the belly," Bukovsky observes.

More serious misbehavior earned fifteen days confinement in solitary—in small, unlit cages without toilet facilities and with virtually no food. Bukovsky was in solitary five times and he insists, "I was not a particularly troublesome prisoner."

Once a week, camp inmates were required to attend two hours of political instruction. Most welcomed this as a break from work and dozed through lectures on Communism. Bukovsky refused to attend. The chief political officer discovered his absence near the end of Bukovsky's three-year sentence. He was promptly put in solitary. After fifteen days the political officer asked him why he wouldn't attend the lectures.

"You don't believe in God," Bukovsky replied. "If someone forced you to go to church would you go?"

Finally, Bukovsky was released. Once back among his fellow dissidents, he continued in the struggle for human rights. However, Bukovsky is once again back in prison.

Realizing better than most what the consequences of his actions might incur, he still continues to insist: "The people have to know what is happening here. The world has to know."



Vladimir Bukovsky

On January 5, 1972, Vladimir K. Bukovsky was sentenced to seven years in prison and five years of exile for dissident activities. Bukovsky has already spent more than six years in prison and psychiatric hospitals for his defense of human rights in the Soviet Union. Here are excerpts from his closing address to the court prior to his sentencing to 12 years imprisonment and exile:

MOSCOW—Before my arrest there was constantly a tail on me. I was pursued, threatened with murder, and one of those following me lost his self-restraint to such an extent that he threatened me with his service weapon.

While under investigation I petitioned for a criminal case to be instituted against these people. I even gave the number of the official car in which these people traveled around behind me and presented other facts which made it possible for them to be sought out.

However, I never received an answer to this request from those departments to which I sent it.

As far as the detective is concerned, he, instead of examining my complaint and giving me an answer, sent me to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry for medical examination.

The investigation department of the K.G.B. very much wanted me to be found irresponsible. How convenient.

Then there would be no case about me, no need to construct a charge and here there would be no need to prove the fact of commission of a crime. The man is just sick, mad.

And only on Nov. 5, after pressure was exerted by the public, a new medical commission pronounced me healthy.

There you have trustworthy proof of my assertion - which is called slanderous here in court - that on the instructions of the K.G.B. psychiatric reprisals are set up against dissenters.

In accordance with my right to defense, I demanded that the lawyer Dina Isakovna

'They want to frighten those who tell the whole world about their crimes...'

Kaminskaya be invited for my defense in court. No lawyer was given me.

It took my 12-day hunger strike, a complaint to the prosecutor general, to the Justice Ministry and the Communist party Central Committee, and also new, active intervention by members of the public before my legal right to defense was finally fulfilled and I was given lawyer Shveisk, who was invited by my mother.

The trial proceedings today have also been conducted with numerous procedural infringements. The indictment, in which the word "slanderous" is used 33 times and the word "anti-Soviet" 18 times, contains no concrete indications of which facts are slanderous among those I communicated to Western correspondents and which materials that I allegedly distributed are anti-Soviet.

I allegedly handed over these materials in the presence of Volpin and Chalidze (Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, son of poet Sergei Yesenin, and Valeri Chalidze, a physicist and member of an unofficial Soviet civil rights committee.)

However, my demand that these two people be called as witnesses was not met.

Furthermore, not one of the eight people I called who could confirm the authenticity of my assertions on the facts of confinement and conditions of detention of people in special psychiatric hospitals was summoned to the court.

What were all these provocations and crude procedural violations needed for, this stream of slander and unfounded accusations? What was this trial needed for? Only to punish one person?

No, there is a "principle" a kind of "philosophy" here. Behind the accusation presented, there stands another, unrepresented.

With the reprisal against me they want to frighten those who try to tell the whole world about their crimes.

Our society is still sick. It is sick with the fear which has come down to us from the Stalin era. But the process of the public's spiritual enlightenment has already begun and cannot be stopped.

Solzhenitsyn Warns that Psychiatric Repression is Becoming Commonplace

This is how we live: without any arrest warrant or medical justification four policemen and two doctors come to a healthy man's house. The doctors declare that he is crazy, the police Major shouts: "We are an Organ of Coercion! Get up!" They twist his arms and drive him off to the madhouse.

This can happen tomorrow to anyone of us. It has just happened to Jaures Medvedev, a geneticist and publicist, a man of subtle, precise and brilliant intellect and of warm heart (I know personally of his disinterested help to unknown, ill and dying people). It is precisely for the diversity of his fertile gifts that he is charged with abnormality: "A split personality!" It is precisely his sensitivity to injustice, to stupidity, which is presented as a sick deviation: "poor adaptation to the social environment!" Once you think in other ways than is prescribed—that means you're abnormal! As for well adapted people, they must all think alike. And there is no means of redress: even the appeals of our best scientists and writers bounce back like peas off a



Alexander Solzhenitsyn

wall. If only this were the first case! But this devious suppression of people without searching for guilt, when the real reason is too shameful to state, is becoming a fashion. Some of the victims are widely known, many more are unknown. Servile psychiatrists, breakers of their oath, define as "mental illness"—concern about social problems, and superfluous en-

thusiasm, and superfluous coldness, and excessively brilliant gifts, and the lack of them.

Yet even simple common sense ought to have acted as a restraint. After all, Chaadayev did not even have a finger laid on him, but we have not been cursing his persecutors for over a century. It is time to think clearly: the incarceration of free-thinking healthy people in madhouses is Spiritual Murder, it is a variation of the Gas Chamber, but is even more cruel; the torture of the people being killed is more malicious and more prolonged. Like the gas chambers these crimes will never be forgotten, and all those involved in them will be condemned for all time, during their life and after death.

In lawlessness, in the committing of crime, the point must be remembered at which a man becomes a cannibal!

It is short-sighted to think that one can live by constantly relying on force alone, constantly ignoring the objections of conscience.

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