

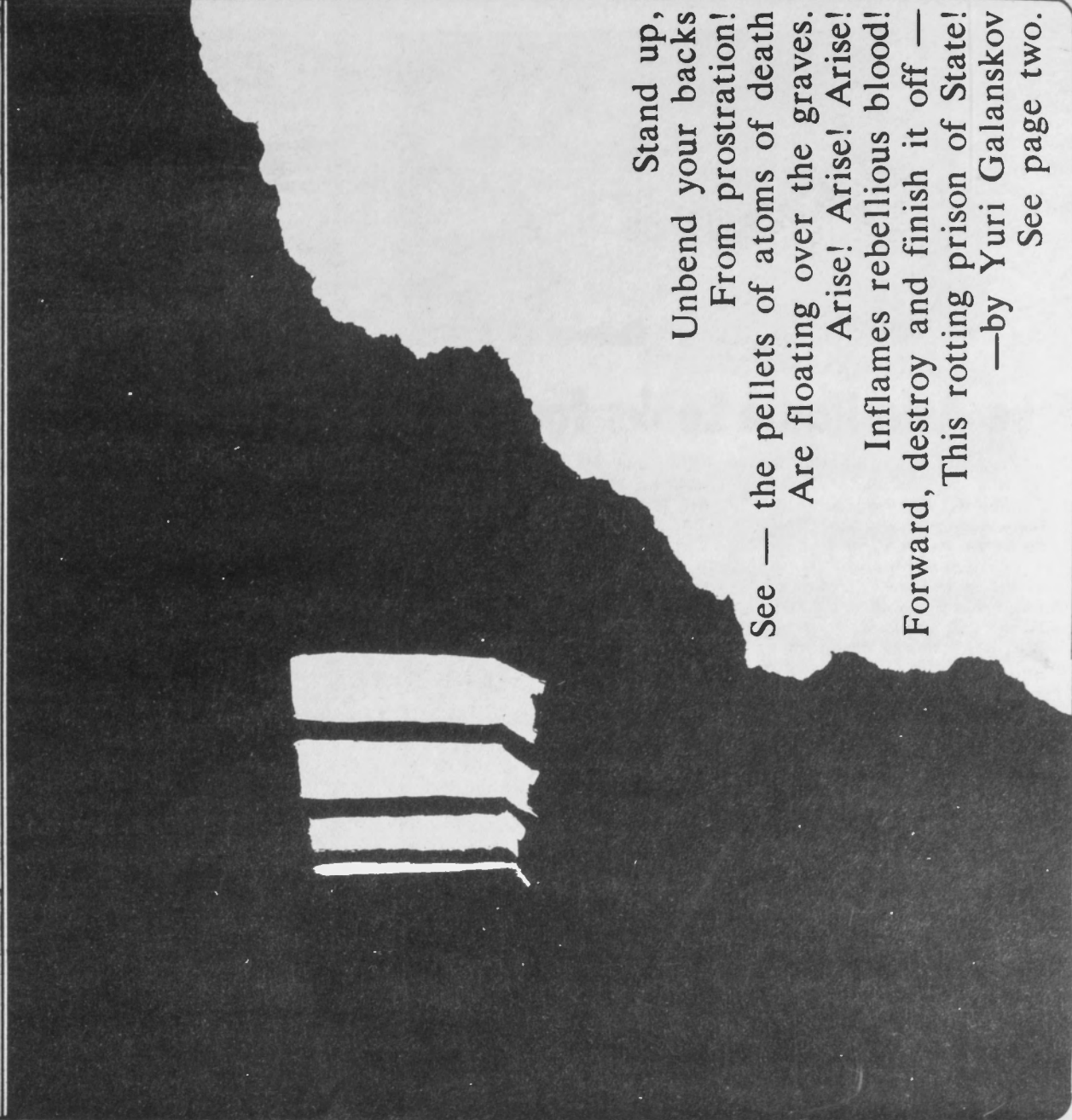
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# The Rising Tide

Volume Three, Number Six

March 26, 1973



Stand up,  
Unbend your backs

From prostration!

See — the pellets of atoms of death

Are floating over the graves.

Arise! Arise! Arise!

Inflames rebellious blood!

Forward, destroy and finish it off —

This rotting prison of State!

—by Yuri Galanskov

See page two.

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# The Rising Tide

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## Which Way America?

by Gary Jarmin

Today many people — especially Americans — are as unsure of themselves as they have ever been. Our youth are not only seeking but demanding answers to the social, religious, and political strife which engulfs them. One of the major questions now asked is shifting from "Why do such problems exist" to "How can they be changed?" They are seeking a new direction which can incorporate their individual purpose into something greater. The direction of the world is moving toward the unity of mankind — not division...toward a world where universal values must be the foundational root for each individual to find unity and common purpose, nurturing — not negating — each one toward creative fulfillment.

The search of our youth is reflected in our nation. We have become insecure about our role in the world and are hastily trying to kiss its problems good-bye. This trend toward isolationism is not because of our ignorance of the world's problems but because of our relative lack of concern for them. Many believe we should try to take care of ourselves first and leave the world to itself.

How can we speak of restoring morality in our nation unless we speak about something that is universal in its nature? Can there be one standard of values and justice for one nation and then a completely different standard for another? If such a thing is true, then everything becomes relative. We are moral relativists in condoning Communist oppression in one country as a "unique experiment in social progress," while in the same breath saying "but it's not for us."

If we firmly uphold certain spiritual values, principles, ethics, and standards of morality, then we must realize two important things: 1. That such things are universal in their nature. They are universal truths and cannot be limited by national boundaries anymore than the laws of physics could be. 2. Therefore, the purpose of our and all nations upholding such common principles should be to extend them to all mankind.

### America's Mission

In defining the mission of America, we might say that we must be like the Good Samaritan, stopping to help those less fortunate than our-



Gary Jarmin at an FLF Rally

selves on our journey toward reaching the goal of a more prosperous and just society. Many would advocate that we ignore others and try to "clean up our own backyard first." However, was it not such an attitude that ushered in two devastating world wars? It's not unlikely that a third will be our reward should we continue our present course. Realizing the universality of the principles we are committed to, we are presented with a challenge. What is the ethical standard by which we should act within our world? What is the moral imperative?

The answer is simple. We must *serve*, sacrificially serve mankind. This does not necessarily mean we must help everyone at the cost of destroying ourselves. Then NO one would benefit. It does mean that we have a responsibility to our fellow man. We *are* our brothers' keeper. The greatest patriot is the one who sacrifices himself for the sake of that nation. Likewise, the greatest nation will be that one which sacrifices itself for the sake of mankind.

How then should America deal with Communism? Should we try to make "peace" with it? Or continue to try to merely contain it? To do either would contradict our own principles and our responsibility to those who are subjected to the false and immoral ideology of Communism. To make peace with it would essentially be the same as condoning its existence. By simply trying to contain Communism, we are *writing off* one third of mankind to its perpetual oppression. By order of good conscience, we cannot allow either course to continue.

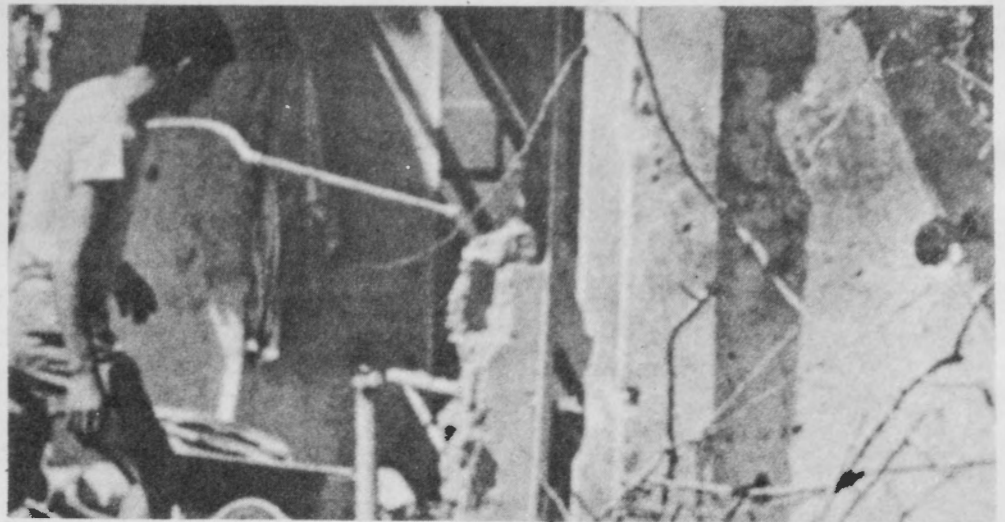
### Our Response

The goal we must seek is total liberation of those oppressed by Communism. No false ideology will last forever; the only moral thing we can do is hasten its own undoing. We must go on an ideological offensive against Communism. Communism will crumble before the superiority of our own ideological beliefs. That is why the Communists fear the ideological struggle more than any other. To abandon our responsibility to help those oppressed by Communism would be an immoral crime.

History has shown us that nearly all great nations and empires fell when they became morally corrupt and self-centered. Should we allow America to take this course, then our doom is inevitable. However, such actions are completely contradictory to everything we believe in and stand for. We ought to act for the sake of mankind. For the sake of our own integrity and what we hold sacred, we must extend freedom to others or lose it ourselves.

*"Those who have freedom and deny it to others don't deserve it themselves."*

Abraham Lincoln



## No Sign of Terrorism's End

by James Cowin

The killing of two U.S. envoys and a Belgian diplomat by Arab terrorists earlier this month, by eight members of the Black September terrorist gang who shot their way into an embassy party and grabbed them as hostages, gave rise to new international concern over terrorist activities. U.S. Ambassador to the Sudan Cleo A. Noel, Jr., American Charge d'Affaires G. Curtis Moore, and Belgian Charge d'Affaires Guy Eid were submachine-gunned to death at a diplomatic tea party given by the Saudi Arabian embassy to celebrate the first anniversary of the end of the bitter Sudanese civil war.

Black September spokesmen originally offered to exchange the three diplomats for sixty Palestinian prisoners, including Abu Daoud, a leader of the Al Fatah terrorist group; Sirhan B. Sirhan, convicted murderer of Senator Robert F. Kennedy; and Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhoff, whose anarchist terrorist gang carried out several bombings in West Germany last year.

### The Black September

Black September is the most extreme of Arab terrorist groups. Its name is derived from September 1970, when the King Hussein's troops crushed the Al Fatah terrorists who were threatening his government. The group claims credit for the 1971 killing of Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi Tal in Cairo and for the brutal massacre of eleven Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics in Munich. Also attributed to Black September are a series of letter bombs sent to Jewish and Israeli organizations around the world, several airplane hijackings and the 19-hour seizure of the Israeli embassy in Bangkok, Thailand.

The Khartoum raid may have major repercussions in the Mideast, as it was considered a personal affront to Sudanese President Jaafar Al-Numeiry. Numeiry, a former revolutionary, had significantly improved relations with the United States and because less militantly outspoken against Israel after a Soviet-backed coup by the Sudanese Communist Party almost toppled him from power in the summer of 1971. The Saudi Arabians, who had been major financial contributors to Palestinian groups, were also stunned when the Saudi ambassador Sheikh Abdullah el-Malhouk was also held along with the Jordanian Charge d'Affaires and threatened with death.

### Connections Exposed

President Numeiry's reaction was particularly noteworthy. The Sudanese obtained confessions from the eight terrorists, who surrendered after the murders, that the Black September was in reality an arm of the supposedly more moderate Arab guerrilla movement Al Fatah, and that the kidnap operation was supported by the Libyan government. Numeiry immediately demanded extradition of Fawaz Yassin, Al Fatah leader in Khartoum, who had flown to Libya upon invitation shortly before the coup. Numeiry publicly condemned "another state" for supporting treason against his government, and began to psychologically prepare the Sudanese people for a trial of the eight murderers. Previously, Palestinian terrorists have been regarded as idols in "progressive" Sudan, and a public trial would have been unthinkable. Yet Numeiry is

demanding the death penalty for the terrorists.

The Sudanese response to the terrorists, the first of its kind in the Arab world, raised new questions among world leaders. What steps should be taken to stamp out terrorism? President Nixon, following the example of Israel, refused to give in to the terrorists' blackmail. He declared: "The nation that compromises with terrorists today could well be destroyed by terrorists tomorrow," and he asked an all-out effort through the U.N. to prevent kidnapping and to punish criminals where crime cannot be prevented.

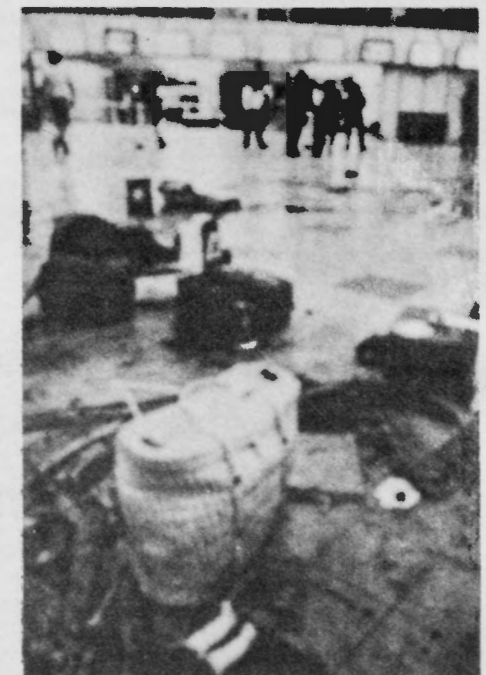
### Justice

Yet the U.N. and European nations, especially Italy and West Germany, have been notably lax and even cowardly in launching a counteroffensive against worldwide terror. The March *Near East Report* reiterated a long list of failures to resist the Arab criminals:

"Premier Tal's murderers were immediately released by Cairo; seven terrorists involved in plane attacks were released in England, West Germany and Switzerland after the massive 1970 hijacking; West Germany paid \$5 million to ransom a hijacked Lufthansa plane and was swiftly repaid when Black September murdered Israeli athletes at Munich."

"Those jailed for the Munich massacres were soon given a hero's welcome in Libya (after Arab terrorists had hijacked a Lufthansa airline to demand their release). In Rome, two young Arabs who had arranged to stuff explosives into an El Al plane were provisionally released. Not a single U.N. agency whispered protest when Japanese agents of the terrorists mowed down travelers at Lod Airport. Indeed the U.N. has shockingly defaulted by failing to approve effective measures to combat terrorism."

The dilemma persists and will probably grow worse. For example, the March 14 *Near East Report* reported that several terrorist bombs were discovered outside Israeli banks in New York and near El Al's cargo terminal at Kennedy Airport.



After the Lod Massacre (Crossroads)

# Poet Yuri Galanskov Killed by Neglect in a Soviet Prison

By Stephens Broening  
Associated Press

MOSCOW—A tentative inquiry into the death of a Soviet citizen.

Name of deceased: Yuri Timofeyevich Galanskov.

Age: 33.

Occupation: poet.

Last employment: prisoner, sewing mittens.

Last mailing address: Zh Kh 385-17a, Potma, Mordovian U.S.S.R.

Date of death: Nov. 4, 1972. Cause of death: to be explained.

Galanskov was tried in January 1968 for anti-Soviet activity. He pleaded innocent.

In her trial summation, Galanskov's lawyer, D.P. Kaminskaya, said in part: "I beg the court not to forget that Galanskov is a very sick man. He suffers from a stomach ulcer which causes him great pain. The establishment of this fact by a medical commission is among the reports in the file of this case."

Galanskov was sentenced to seven years in a Potma labor camp. He was not an ideal prisoner. He signed several letters protesting camp regulations



Galanskov before arrest

and took part in a number of hunger strikes.

Fed on the camp diet, consisting largely of fish and black bread, Galanskov's ulcer got no better. He is known to have been hospitalized on at least one occasion before his death.

The account of Galanskov's last months in Potma camp was provided by several friends of the deceased who claimed to be in a position to know.

His family frequently wrote to authorities asking for medical treatment because Galanskov was sick. The replies invariably affirmed that he was well.

### "He's not sick"

Last June when Galanskov's mother visited the camp complex she brought a jar of honey for her son.

At that time, Galanskov complained of extreme pain in the mornings. Late to work, he didn't fulfill his quota of mittens.

A camp official told Mrs. Galanskov the honey was forbidden.

"He's not sick," the official reported. "He's just a hooligan who shirks his work."

Another time a camp doctor named Shakh said: "There is nothing the matter with him. He's a poet and he thinks too much of himself."

Nearly a year ago, Galan-

skov's friends asked establishment poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko to put in a word so that Galanskov could get medical attention. Yevtushenko said he was too busy. He had to go to Chile.

Galanskov could not publish his poems in his own country. In 1961, he compiled one of the first typescript *Samizdat* self-published journals in the post-war Soviet Union.

### Phoenix 61

In "Phoenix 61," Galanskov, a pacifist, included a poem of his which began:

"Moscow!

"New York!

"Cairo!

"All repudiate war.

"But, like a squirrel, the tortured world

"Keeps turning on a canon-wheel."

Apparently considering sentiments like these proof of madness, the authorities confined Galanskov to a mental asylum. He was found sane, however, and released.

Five years later, Galanskov published "Phoenix 66." A journal sharply critical of some aspects of Soviet life. There he criticized establishment novelist Mikhail A. Sholokhov's public denunciation of underground literature as "traitorous."

"You, citizen Sholokhov," Galanskov wrote in Phoenix 66, "are no longer a writer. Once you were an average novelist, but you have long since ceased to be even that. Now you are an ordinary political demagogue."

Shortly afterward, in January 1967, Galanskov was arrested.

Last September, Galanskov managed to smuggle out a letter which said: "I am dying...They are doing everything to hasten my death."

### Neglect

On Oct. 18 he was operated on for a perforated ulcer. The operation was performed in the camp hospital by a fellow inmate, a doctor who had no training as a surgeon. Galanskov contracted peritonitis.

Appeals to move Galanskov to a civilian hospital were refused. Outside help was delayed. When a medical expert from Moscow was allowed to visit him, Galanskov was already dead.

On Nov. 5, the day after Galanskov's death, his family was brought to the camp. They were told that during the last three days of his life he had been fed boiled eggs.

He was buried that same day in the village of Barashevo, opposite the camp hospital. Officials permitted a cross to be set above the grave instead of the usual numbered grave marker.



...Six years later

The poem is part of a display created by the Russian-American Committee for the Defense of Believers and Victims of Persecution in the USSR; the article appears on a recent flyer.

Lately I frequently burst into tears  
When nights seem at peace.  
For now the wealth of one's soul, one  
fears,  
Hasn't grain to release:  
No one needs it.  
In search of the idiot  
You wear yourself out in a day!  
After work people go  
After money and whores.  
Why not?  
I shall make my way alone  
In a mass of human ice  
Glittering like a precious stone,  
Unique among the flocks.  
Skies!  
I want to shine.  
Let my soul scatter its gems at night  
Along the velvet line  
Of your black dress.  
Ministers, leaders, papers — they lie!  
Stand up,  
Unbend your backs  
From prostration!  
See — the pellets of atoms of death  
Are floating over the graves.  
Arise! Arise! Arise!  
Inflames rebellious blood!  
Forward, destroy and finish it off —  
This rotting prison of State!  
Tread the corpses of cowards  
Bringing black bombs,  
Like plums,  
For the hungry,  
Spread them across the trays  
Of a meeting place.  
Where are they?  
Those whom we need,  
Those who will freeze the trigger,  
Those who will cut out the ulcers of war  
With mutiny's sacred dagger.  
Where are they? Where are they?  
Where are they?  
They may not exist?  
Over there —  
You see their shadows  
Welded to lathes  
By coins clenched in a fist.  
Man disappeared.  
Worthless, a fly,  
Scarcely moving through lines in a book.  
I'll stand in a square  
And hammer a scream of despair  
Into city's big ear...  
And then I will press my revolver  
Hard on the temple...  
No one will tread  
The white, shredded veil  
Of my soul.

People!  
Leave me, forget it...  
Don't bother to comfort  
There is nothing to breathe with  
In your inferno!  
Welcome Famine and Paltriness now!  
And I, in the gutter,  
Spit at your mighty city of iron  
Crampled full of money and dirt.  
Skies!  
I can't give account  
Of all that I do...  
Give me a knife to chastise!  
Can you see someone pouring  
Black lies on the white?  
Can you see  
How the dark at Dusk  
Grips in its teeth  
A bloodstained flag?  
And life terrifies like a jail,  
Built on human phosphorite.  
Falling! Falling! Falling!  
Grow bald instead of me.  
I have no wish to feed on carrion  
And so conform.  
I have no wish to pick the fruits  
Off graves to satisfy my labouring guts.  
I don't want your bread:  
The dough is mixed with tears.  
I fall,  
And I soar high,  
Hover in delirium,  
Awake in sleep...  
And I feel humanity  
Spreading its blossom in me.  
We are used to  
Looking at faces,  
While taking a stroll in the street,  
With time all our own,  
And see them befouled  
By life, like your own.  
And then —  
Like thunder,  
Like an appearance of Christ,  
Trampled, crucified, crushed,  
Rises beauty of man.  
It is I  
Calling to Justice,  
Calling to rise.  
No longer wishing to serve,  
I tear to pieces the fetters,  
You cast in your lies.  
It is I  
Shackled by laws,  
Proclaiming a human manifesto!  
I give my breast to the ravens:  
Let them peck out a cross.

—Yuri Galanskov

## Capitol Report

# Time to Examine Values

by James Cowin



As America turns to domestic problems the issue of obscenity and pornography has again attracted notice. Congressman John M. Gaydos (D) of Pennsylvania expressed his desire for the conviction of smut peddlers in pending court decisions in Washington, D.C. and Tennessee. He commented on the implications of the mass of pornographic material which has blighted many of our cities. He spoke not only of legal problems but the implications for the United States as a society.

He said that obscenity and pornography merchants were "stripping one more layer of civilization from our society and pulling man back into the jungle." The phrase brings to mind the conclusion of the President's Commission of Obscenity and Pornography, which the President later repudiated, that there is no relationship between anti-social behavior and pornography. The question immediately asked is "What constitutes social behavior?" The answer seems to be that which builds society or aids relationships between people.

The nature of such relationships can vary, however. Former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, in an address before the Annual Convention of the National District Attorneys Association in August 1970, spoke of "a society in which the noble side of men is encouraged and mankind itself is elevated." The building of such a society requires several components: trust—the feeling that one's neighbor is worthy of help, cooperation so that men of diverse interests can work together for the good of all, industry—the desire to always do the best possible job, sacrifice—the realization that one must temporarily forget one's own desire for comfort or even a basic need in order to build for the future. All of these virtues are based on a

greater concern for others than for one's own self.

Pornography appeals only to one's sense of physical gratification. No love is involved, no care for another person. Those who feel that pornography is harmless do not realize that the harm is in debasing relations with the opposite sex. The reduction of love to mechanical gratification orients the individual toward reducing a society to essentially an organism set up to satisfy his material wants: food, clothing, shelter, and entertainment.

Such societies have littered the graveyards of history. The most classic example is the Roman Empire, where values deteriorated to such an extent that the state spent much of its time providing free bread and amusement to a growing army of urban poor, while well-to-do citizens did nothing to inspire the nation and stop decay.

Historians tell us that one principal reason for the fall of Rome was the lack of desire of Roman citizens to serve in the army—they would rather pay foreign tribes to fight for them while they remained at home. But the Goths and Vandals invaded, and Rome, with its great population, was unable to defend itself. The near-burial of civilization for several hundred years resulted.

In the U.S., also, the preoccupation with material gratification and the abandonment of moral ideals appears to be leading our society down the same path as the Romans. We have experienced similar troubles in military, economic, and sociological areas. From the lessons of history it seems that the United States must reverse this trend or eventually face serious consequences. Congressman Gaydos did well to mention the issue of pornography.



Anti-Israel demonstrators in Rome (Crossroads)

## Italian Extremists Instigate Anti-Semitism

by Lawrence Gulotta

(The following is from an article, "The Revival of Anti-Semitism in Italy," appearing in the February issue of *Crossroads*, the monthly bulletin of the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East. The author describes anti-Semitic and anti-Israel activity encouraged by both extremes of the political spectrum; of particular interest here is the role of the Communists.)

Italy's proximity to the Middle East has produced within its internal political life an unusually intensive involvement with the issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The vast majority of democratic political elements in Italy stand firmly with the struggle to defend Israel. This support derives from a common identification with democratic ideals and concrete security interests relating to Soviet penetration of the Mediterranean.

Yet, during the past year there has arisen a point of view in Italian politics of overt hostility to Jews and the cause of Israel. The perspective can be identified with a confused amalgam of political forces located on the far ends of politics: The neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) and the Communist Party (PCI).

The revival of anti-semitism in Italy, although limited in scope, is most unexpected. As a movement Mussolini's Fascism did not exhibit overt racist ideology. In fact, a number of high ranking Fascist officials were of Jewish origin. Some sociologists have pointed out that more Jews occupied prominent positions within the fascist movement than the Communist Party. The absence of an anti-semitic tradition in Italy makes the current situation unprecedented....

It has been a common assumption by so-called "progressive" intellectuals in the United States that the Italian Communist Party (PCI) represents a unique exception to totalitarian politics. It has been argued that it is democratic in internal life and free from Soviet control in international affairs. The PCI's (Communist Party) vigorous defense of the Soviet Union's involvement in the Middle East conflict should lay this myth to rest.

### Communist Anti-Semitism

Italian Communist support for the Arab program against Israel takes several forms. Articles regularly appear in *L'Unita*, the Party daily, and in *Rinascita*, its weekly theoretical journal, supporting the "progressive struggle of the Arabs and Palestinians" and denouncing Israeli "racism" and chauvinism. The Party has even created a special Arab department headed by the prominent Giancarlo Pajetta. Pajetta's job, in addition to being a member of the PCI's seven-man secretariat, is to cultivate contacts with Arab Communists.

In addition to supporting Moscow's propaganda line, the party often invites Arab "students" to speak at local

meetings. Money is usually collected at these meetings to help support anti-Israel youth activity.

Recently the PCI has come under sharp attack in the press and from within its own ranks on its anti-Israel position. Some newspapers have accused the Communists of practicing discrimination against Jewish members.

Milan's authoritative daily newspaper *Corriere della Sera* observed, "Today only three Jews are left at the summit of the Italian Communist Party. . . . Any Communist Jewish militant who does not fervently accept without reservations the party line, particularly on the Middle East problems, is pushed aside, with rare exceptions. The same applies to issues related to anti-Jewish discrimination in the USSR."

### Terrorists in Perugia

Even the Socialist Party (PSI) has bowed to Arab pressure. Though the police have been forced to place controls on the G.U.P.S., the underground Arab terrorist organization active at the University of Perugia and protected by the local PCI, the PSI has played down the issue. An article in the PSI organ *L'Avanti* entitled "The Arab Hunt Descends on Perugia" observed, "The Palestinian students have denied the existence in Perugia of Arab terrorist organizations, affirming that the periodic circulation of slander and of defamatory news is evidently part of the anti-Arab politics espoused by the international Zionist movement and the capitalistic powers that support it."

In analyzing what Sergio Piperno Beer, the president of the Union of Jewish Communities of Italy has called, "a reawakening of anti-semitism" it is essential to make some important political distinctions. The overwhelming majority of Italians and Italian political institutions are not anti-semitic. The struggle to maintain a democratic Italy and to defeat Fascism cost many thousands of lives and much suffering. For this reason all democratic political forces, from the Social Democrats to the conservative Partito Liberale Italiano, have extended their support to the State of Israel and to the defense of Soviet Jews. Democratic Italians have expressed great fear of Soviet penetration in the Middle East and the consequences of a united Soviet-Arab victory upon Italy's freedom.

### The Response

It is a healthy sign that anti-semitic and anti-Israel activity is being directly and forcefully challenged. Yet a fundamental solution must be found to the root causes of religious intolerance and racism, and to social dislocation which propels people to look for scapegoats and to seek refuge in totalitarian movements. The strengthening of democratic institutions, economic justice and pluralism seem to be the only answers. Hopefully Italy can meet the challenge.

# Arab Anti-Semitic Propaganda

The Zionists use the spread of corruption and decay as an objective and a means; precedents for this were found in the Bible...Zionism exploits references to espionage in the Bible in order to transform espionage into a so-called religious service.

In "The Palestine Problem," written by the Jordanian Minister of Education, Dukan al-Hindawi, (1964-67).

Reports from the captured homeland tell that the Zionist enemy has begun to kidnap small children from the streets. Afterwards the occupying forces take the blood of the children and throw away their empty bodies. The inhabitants of Gaza have seen this with their own eyes.

Al Fatah radio, April 24, 1970

One should not forget that, in contrast to Europe, Hitler occupied an honored place in the Arab world...(Journalists) are mistaken if they think that by calling Nasser Hitler they are hurting us. On the contrary, his name makes us proud. Long live Hitler, the Nazi who struck at the heart of our enemies. Long live the Hitler of the Arab world..."

Nasser, 1961



Egyptian anti-Semitic cartoon (Israeli Embassy)

## Vietnam

# Violations Continue

by James Cowin

Some U.S. leaders, experienced in dealing with the Communists, have voiced extreme concern over the repeated North Vietnamese violations of the January 28 ceasefire. Since that date the North has infiltrated over 30,000 troops, 300 tanks, and heavy anti-aircraft equipment down the Ho Chi Minh Trail. It has rebuilt the Khe Sanh airstrip in the northwest corner of South Vietnam so that North Vietnamese planes fly out of it, and it has continued attacks in several areas through the South and in Cambodia. All three measures have caused protest even by President Nixon. At a press conference on March 15 the President said: "Based on my actions of the past four years the North Vietnamese should not lightly disregard such expressions of concern.... with regard to violations." Possible retaliatory actions such as the mining of Haiphong Harbor or the massive B52 bombing campaign last December were hinted at.

No action has yet been forthcoming as U.S. leaders are trying to achieve the ceasefire they had worked so hard to negotiate. Some reporters in the U.S. press maintained that the North Vietnamese were afraid that President Thieu might want to wipe out their forces after the Americans leave and have therefore moved the extra men and equipment to the South Vietnamese border as an act of prevention.

### Secret Plans

An observation of Communist operations for decades, especially in Vietnam, indicates that duplicity by the North is to be expected and that

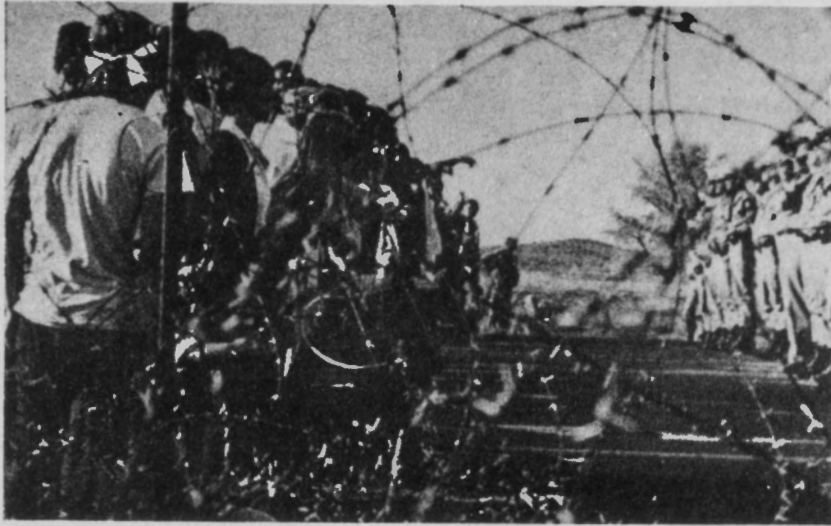
the chances of its living up to the ceasefire is slim. The *Washington Star-News* reports that captured documents instruct Communist forces in the Mekong Delta to continue their attacks from March 15 to the end of June. These orders may be a regional part of a general campaign. President Thieu is seriously concerned about a new Communist offensive.

### A Pattern Emerges

The more than 7,000 Communist violations of the ceasefire may not give a clear picture because certain "low-level" violations had been expected before the truce teams moved into place. But the violations have continued at a steady pace. According to columnist Ray Cromley, they follow a specific pattern. He reports that captured documents show regularly issued orders from Communist headquarters in the South to capture certain hamlets, kill key personnel in particular villages, and surround specific roads. The attacks, however, occur almost entirely in rural areas. Cromley reports in the *Washington Star-News* that even larger villages are ignored.

The Communists appear to be following Mao Tse-tung's pattern of using the countryside to surround the cities. Cromley reports that the aim of the Communists is a slow strangulation of commerce through the central highways of strategically located hamlets, rivers and roads.

So far, the evidence is not conclusive. But if the present pattern continues, the United States may be facing many difficult trials in trying to stop North Vietnamese attempts to capture South Vietnam.



# The Soviet Union: Ideology Encounters Political Theory and Science

## Soviet Political Theory--"promoting the same bitter struggle...since World War II."

by James Cowin

*The Freedom Leadership Foundation has been concerned for some time about the lack of understanding on the part of the American people about Communist values and aims. Although many Americans feel that, at long last, Cold War differences between Communist and non-Communist nations can be settled, a scanning of well-known Communist political journals reveals a tone of hostility and mistrust toward the United States and her allies.*

*Many Americans have felt that this hostility has arisen only as a result of actions by the Western nations against the Soviet Union and other Communist states, beginning with the Allied intervention in the 1917 Russian Revolution. Ample evidence exists to indicate that this is not true, and the Communists themselves provide the best source material.*

*The article below, "The Crisis of Imperialist Foreign Policy," by L. Vidyasova, was written in the January 1973 edition of International Affairs. Published in Moscow, this journal is probably the best known Soviet analysis of foreign affairs published for foreign readers. Consisting of analyses by well-known Communist professors as well as shorter news articles and book reports, the magazine is sometimes made dull by heavy Communist rhetoric. But it is also a powerful force which cannot fail to leave an impact on the reader.*

Communists feel that capitalism is undergoing its final crisis before it is overcome by the socialist system, according to Miss Vidyasova, a Soviet journalist. Capitalist states find that this imperialist foreign policy has suffered heavily as a result, as "expansionist ambitions" have been thwarted. Miss Vidyasova explains how this has happened. She writes that imperialist foreign policy practiced mainly by the United States is built around "militarism" and "economic penetration," or "neo-colonialism." Of greatest importance is the "role played by the armed forces and the war-industrial monopolies in mapping out long-term foreign policy." The imperialists, especially the United States, make use of armed might as a "key instrument" in foreign policy as they "coerce" or "blackmail" other nations to do their will. She condemns this "diplomacy of violence."

The imperialists can no longer fight their aggressive wars with impunity, however. The Vietnam War enraged U.S. and world public opinion, caused a U.S. money crisis in the late 1960's and led to the "dissolution of bloc solidarity" among NATO

nations. Since direct military action seems too dangerous, the imperialists have pursued a policy of economic penetration. Imperialist economic policy has two aims: to tie together the Western bloc so that all are dependent upon the U.S. and to prevent newly independent Third World nations from breaking away from the capitalist system.

To accomplish their aims, imperialists seize key economic positions and work from within to keep new nations weak by playing on nationalist feelings and tribal differences. By being integrated economically, these nations would be tied to the imperialist bloc and could be prevented from receiving aid from socialist countries.

The author asserts that colonialism has also failed because of the growth of the national liberation movement. Spreading throughout the world, this movement takes the form of popular uprisings against the imperialist governments. With "moral and material support" from socialist nations, the movements have stood up to the U.S. and "imperialists" are unable to take effective counter-measures. The "abortive demonstration of strength by U.S. militarists against Bangladesh" serves as evidence. The British imperialists have also been forced to leave the Arab states east of the Suez because of revolutionary activity.

Since both cornerstones of foreign policy have failed, the capitalists have adapted to the new world situation in which socialism has taken the lead, and have "renounced their policy of direct confrontation." To Vidyasova, the transition from "balancing on the brink of war" to "an era of negotiation" is a "convincing indication of the change in the relationship of forces in favor of socialism...." The "pioneering spirit" exhibited by the French in seeking closer relations with the Soviets and German Chancellor Brandt's Ostpolitik are indications that Western Europe sees the writing on the wall.

But the imperialists are to be guarded against, warns Miss Vidyasova, as they try to turn the socialist states away from their ideological orientation. They do so, she says, by maintaining that the Cold War is a battle of nations, which can be resolved by agreements, not of ideologies. She sees this as an attempt to "soften up" the socialist community with subversive propaganda created by the CIA. The policy of peaceful coexistence has also been the victim of an attempt to further imperialist ends; the imperialists have demanded ideological concessions as a condition for relaxation of tensions. For instance, Western political leaders maintain that an all-European conference should not deal with problems of security and cooperation but should "open the door to free ideological penetration into the socialist countries."

The West, however, has not completely abandoned its militaristic stance, according to the author. She asserts that "militarist ruling circles...and die-hard reactionary groups are trying to revive the Cold War." The arms race continues as the imperialists use their weapons as bargaining chips in negotiations. Secretary of Defense Laird is described as arguing that "the

favorable outcome of the talks was due to the U.S.A. having acted from positions of strength," and that he "urged that this be the policy in all future talks."

The author also condemns the West for "crisis diplomacy" and for the policy of "selective peaceful coexistence" according to which Western leaders promote peaceful relations on one continent while pursuing war on another. Western relations with Communist China are condemned as a means of dividing the socialist bloc.

The socialist nations have been able to thwart imperialist moves because socialist foreign policy "coincides with the general course of historical development, while imperialist foreign policy upholds the interests of a society that has been doomed by history." Because imperialists have acknowledged the futility of their "frontal attacks," the Cold War is being transformed into an era of peaceful coexistence, "the only reasonable basis for relations between countries with differing social systems."

The policy of "peaceful coexistence," as explained by Gus Hall, Executive Secretary of the American Communist Party in *World Marxist Review*, October 1965, "has never been a policy based on the acceptance of the status quo in world relations. It has been and remains a weapon of struggle....With one hand, the aggressive forces of world imperialism and world war are held back (by the Soviet arsenal); with the other, full support is given to the forces fighting for national independence and...moving toward a socialist goal."

(This "support" includes such measures as the massive arms supply of the North Vietnamese army, training and arms for Arab terrorists, and rockets and guns for the Irish Republican Army in Belfast.)

The article ends with the acknowledgement of the "contribution of the Soviet Union in advancing toward the creation of favorable conditions for the construction of socialism and communism...and for ensuring a peaceful life to all peoples."

The tone of the article indicates the author's feeling of a gigantic struggle on a worldwide front in which arms, mass communications, trade, and high-powered diplomacy are weapons. The struggle sways back and forth in accordance with dialectic method; it is, however, undeniably headed in one direction, toward victory for Communism. The capitalist tide is receding, as the capitalists are continually repulsed no matter what tactic they try, since they are less able to force other nations to do their bidding. Through force of arms or economic leverage, they have turned to trickery. But this approach is failing because the nations of the world easily recognize the moral and technical superiority of Communism over capitalism.

The author is confident of victory. The U.S. appears as an enemy whose strength is deteriorating, and, if left to fate, will automatically fall apart in the future. The author seems to regard the "imperialists" as powerful game caught in a trap. They remain dangerous until they have thrashed about and exhausted themselves. Then

they can be captured very easily.

The author implies that the U.S. and other Western nations have been thrashing about against Communist bars for some time. They are exhausting themselves against the increasing military, economic, and ideological power of the "socialist" system. Eventually, the continued economic and military crises caused by the weaknesses of the capitalist system, magnified by pressure from the Soviet Union and other "socialist" states, should cause its surrender.

This pressure is the real "contribution" of the Soviet Union in "advancing toward the creation of favorable conditions..." The "peaceful life to all peoples" can come only with the overthrow of Western democracy. Although the words of the author call for peace, the real meaning behind the phrase is very militant.

Thus, the Soviets appear to be promoting the same bitter struggle which has characterized East-West relations since World War II. To use Communist terms, the Communists have "adapted to the changing world situation," but their aim is the same and poses as great a danger as ever for the West.

## The Medvedev Papers: "Focusing on the age- old conflict between demands for ideological orthodoxy and the requirements of cultural- scientific progress."

*The case of Zhores Medvedev provides a fascinating study of the relationship between science and ideology in the Soviet Union. Rudolf L. Tokes, professor of Political Science at the University of Connecticut, gives a good overview of the Medvedev case in his review of The Medvedev Papers by Zhores Medvedev, New York, Macmillan - St. Martin's Press, 1971. The review, here excerpted, appeared in the January-February issue of Problems of Communism. (Medvedev has been granted permission by the Soviet Union to spend one year at Britain's National Institute for Medical Research).*

AS SOVIET IDEOLOGUES from Lenin on have repeatedly affirmed, one of the main objectives of the building of communism is the creation of a "new Soviet man" who will represent the pinnacle of human development under socialism. This new man is conceived as being a materialist, yet imbued with lofty moral values; an individual, yet endowed with an unlimited capacity to subordinate his interests to those of society; a person of scientific outlook, yet having an empathy for the universal aspirations of mankind, and so on.

Judging from complaints in the Soviet press about the persistence of graft, alcoholism, and profligacy among Soviet youth, this ideal Soviet man still remains in the incubation period and seems likely to remain so in the foreseeable future. However, socio-political development in the USSR since Stalin has given birth to

See MEDVEDEV, page 5.

# FLF's Responsibility Ideological Victory

by Gary Jarmin

Today, the Freedom Leadership Foundation is offering a challenge to America and to the youth of this country. The challenge is to bring ideological victory over Communism and foster the establishment of a world brotherhood founded upon universal spiritual ideals.

FLF has always emphasized the need for America to serve mankind in the struggle to establish world peace and freedom. For America to learn this pattern of sacrificial service, a group of people exemplifying such a standard of action must emerge.

Many of those who are familiar with FLF have often commented on the high level of motivation and dedication of its members. We are very proud of this fact. The power we generate as individuals and as a group comes from our commitment to certain principles and ideas which transcend both conservatism and liberalism. Neither of these have been truly effective in opposing the ideological force and magnetism of Marxist ideology. Consequently, a new and powerful ideology, uniting spiritual, scientific, political, and economic truths into a system of thought and action is necessary to bring ideological victory over Communism.

The Unification Principle, advocated by the Freedom Leadership Foundation, is such an ideology, offering new hope and vision to mankind. Thousands of young people in over 26 nations are actively putting the Unification Principle into practice and have had great success in leading former radicals to reject Communism in both theory and practice.

As history has shown us, it is not mere political or economic events that have shaped our world. The moving force of history has been ideology. Ideology moves the man and man changes the world accordingly. The progressive forces of history have been those centered on enlightening the conscience of man and enhancing his spiritual advancement and creativity.

The reactionary forces have been those whose values are based on materialistic concepts, contradicting man's true nature and usually justifying violence as a necessary means to achieve some particular end. When viewing history with this in mind, it becomes quite easy to distinguish between good and evil forces. Communism then obviously falls in the latter category. And if this sounds like a value judgment, then you are absolutely right! If we do not make value judgments, then we will end up, like so many young Americans, without any values at all.

The goal we must strive for is not to create a free, open society as an end in itself, but to infuse into it vital spiritual ideals giving birth to a moral society. Without such a moral foundation, any free society will remain vulnerable and bend easily against whatever wind is blowing the hardest.

The morality and values of the past are still true and good today. However, even those principles from generations before remain incomplete. Often they were too self-centered or nationalistic. We must broaden our vision and realize that the ideal goal is not just a moral society, but a unified and moral world.

America has the great potential of becoming the vanguard nation to help create such a world. Therefore, America must be revitalized to enable her to pioneer a new frontier in world peace and brotherhood. America needs both an ideological reawakening and people willing to dedicate themselves to this task. FLF has such an ideology and people dedicating themselves towards creating a new and vital America.

Too idealistic, you say? Don't forget that 60 years ago a small band of men, dedicated to a false, materialistic philosophy, started a Communist revolution that now oppresses one third of mankind.

Armed with a more true and powerful ideological weapon, cannot we do any better? Of course we can--and do it we shall!

## Science Versus Soviet Ideology

MEDVEDEV, from page 4.

considerable numbers of a striking new type of individual whom, for want of a better term, we shall call *civis Sovieticus*.

What sort of person is he? In some respects, he does fulfill the requirements of the new Soviet man; he is at once a patriot who takes pride in the historical, cultural and spiritual traditions of his homeland and a socialist with a positive commitment to the ideological premises and institutional foundations of Soviet power and a belief in the eventual fulfillment of his nation's destiny under socialism. But, on the other hand, he is an individual who looks upon himself as a citizen rather than a subject of his country, as a person not only indisputably entitled to human dignity but also endowed with certain rights that he considers inalienable, universally valid, and protected by both the Soviet Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The *civis Sovieticus*, by definition, need not be a dissident. However, driven by the compelling logic of the continued denial of civil rights to the Soviet people by Stalin's

successors, he is often presented with no other alternative but to become one of those courageous Soviet citizens who are openly challenging the way they are ruled and the very legitimacy of the system that has made official lawlessness possible.

The *civis Sovieticus*, as we know him, emerged during the second stage of Khrushchev's rise to power, that is, sometime in the late 1950's. At that time, destalinization was gathering momentum, and the surviving victims of Stalin's purges were beginning to rejoin the society from which they had been ostracized a generation before. These pitiful human reminders of the evils of Stalinism were subsequently joined by young Soviet intellectuals, by artists, writers, and members of the scientific elites, by religious believers and members of national minorities, to form the nucleus of a swelling movement asserting a common interest in the defense of civil rights, creative freedom, and other moral, political and economic rights guaranteed by the Constitution but routinely violated by the regime.

IT WAS IN THIS context

# Yugoslavia Divided on Many Levels

by Dumitru Danielopol

WASHINGTON—During a conversation at Oxford, England, in the summer of 1941, I asked the 11-year-old son of a diplomat if he was Yugoslav.

"Je Suis Serbe," was the answer (I am a Serbian).

Serbia was and is part of Yugoslavia, but the distinction was clear even at a moment when his country was invaded by the Nazis.

That provincial nationalism still persists and plagues Marshal Tito.

### Pluralism

Formed after World War I was the Yugoslav kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The new country was supposed to become an anchor of stability in the volatile Balkans. King Alexander tried hard in the 1930s but old antagonisms and religious, cultural, economic and political differences thwarted genuine unification.

More than thirty years has not changed the situation. In fact, many observers wonder what will happen after the demise of Tito. Some consider him the only cement that holds the Yugoslav mosaic together. And new disruptive factors have been added—ideological antagonism and Soviet intrigue.

### Middle Course

Tito took over the country after World War II with the help of the Soviet army and installed a Communist regime. It was composed of six districts called "Federal Republics," Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. But all the power rested in Belgrade. For a time Marxism pushed nationalism, below the surface, but after Tito was expelled by Stalin from the Communist fold in 1948 he was forced to shift toward a middle course. Peasants were allowed to retain their land. Private enterprises were permitted in

many fields such as tourism, hotels, services, restaurants, local stores, etc. Tito also was forced to decentralize power, passing much of it to the federal republics. Economic necessity forced him to permit hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav workers to go abroad every year to earn their living in the west and send home desperately needed hard currency.

Today millions of tourists from hard currency countries flock to elegant resorts on the Dalmatian coast. Western ideas circulate more or less freely. Massive American aid has helped Tito survive, but it also worries the Soviet Union. Moscow says Yugoslavia spurred Czechoslovakia towards liberalization in 1968. When Soviet tanks rolled into Prague Tito organized his people for prolonged "Guerrilla" operations should the Soviets move into Yugoslavia.

### The Results

For doctrinaire Communists the situation is now out of hand. Once they had tasted freedom, the people wanted more and more.

At 80, Tito has been forced to take drastic measures to curb the Democrats who talk of a two-party system. He has purged Soviet-encouraged Croat separatists who would secede.

The Kremlin promised them a Finland type neutrality should they become independent, in exchange for bases for the Soviet fleet on the Dalmatian coast.

Some Slovene leaders also are clamoring for secession, envisioning an autonomous country tied closely with Austria.



Italy and West Germany.

As he goes into his eighties, Tito appears to be trying to salvage Communism and national unity but the old-style repressive forces have slipped through his fingers. Instead, he seeks reforms to make the Communist party more attractive. Paris' Le Monde predicts he will fail. He cannot turn back the ideological clock, it says.

Others still keep a wary eye on Moscow.

If anti-Soviets, particularly generals, gain authority in Belgrade the Russians could play the Croat card and support an uprising in Zagreb. They might also play the Bulgarian card, permitting that country to annex Yugoslav Macedonia.

Such moves would confront the west with difficult choices.



DANIELOPOL

## Soviets Harass Chronicle

MOSCOW (FCNS) — *The Chronicle of Current Events*, the publication of the Soviet Union's dissidents, has missed its publication date after a drive by the Soviet Committee of Public Security (KGB) to put it out of existence.

The *Chronicle's* issue No. 27 came out later than expected in the fall. Issue No. 28 should have been out by the end of 1972, but has yet to appear.

Soviet authorities have been cracking down on the *Chronicle* and other *samizdat* (self-published) works of the dissidents for more than a year. A number of dissidents have been jailed, and in recent weeks the KGB has broken up five meetings between Russians and Western newsmen. The KGB has also conducted a number of household searches of those connected with the *Chronicle*.

"...America's fastest growing freedom newspaper"

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*The Rising Tide* is published bi-weekly by the Freedom Leadership Foundation, Inc., a non-profit educational organization dedicated to developing the standards of leadership necessary to advance the cause of freedom in the struggle against Communism. Editor: Louise Berry. Four dollars yearly (26 issues) or 25 cents per copy. Articles may be reprinted with attribution; please send copies of all publications in which *Rising Tide* material is used to FLF National Headquarters. Signed articles appearing in *The Rising Tide* do not necessarily reflect the official position of the Freedom Leadership Foundation.

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See MEDVEDEV, page 6.

# The Environment of Karl Marx



From *Communism: A New Critique*  
by Dr. Lee San Hun

The first half of the 19th century in which Marx grew up was a time when all Europe was in an atmosphere of revolution. Beginning with the French revolution of 1789, the liberal ideas of freedom, equality and brotherhood spread like wildfire throughout Europe. Wherever the old social order remained, the flame of revolution was bursting forth. In the Europe of 1830, monarchy and noblemen oppressed the common people so severely that, particularly after the Vienna Conference, they were on the verge of revolution and would readily follow any radical leader who arose. Germany, particularly the Rhineland where Marx was born, was cosmopolitan and industrialized. There the social unrest was even more intense due to foreign influence.

In such a social environment Marx was brought up. He entered Bonn University in 1835 and went from there to Berlin University, where he continued his study under the direct influence of Hegel's philosophy, which was sweeping German academic circles. During this time the philosophical ground for the formulation of Marx' thought was developing. At this time Hegel's school of thought was divided due to different interpretations of his philosophy. That division was manifested not only in theory, but in application of the philosophy also. One side was conservative and recognized the state as a reasonable, legitimate body. This faction, therefore, received the favor of the Prussian government. The leftist youth group (Young Hegelians) were revolutionary and developed an ideological movement in opposition to the government.

Marx, of course, was a leftist, as was Feurbach, from whom Marx adopted his materialistic philosophy. This division in the Hegelian school was a reflection of the time, namely of the oppressive policy of the monarchy and the complaint of the masses, who longed for freedom from oppression. Therefore, the Prussian government later suppressed the leftists. In such a setting, Marx, who had just left Berlin University, worked for the Rhine newspaper. But when it was closed, he fled to exile in France with his wife.

## The Industrial Revolution

In France at this time there was an industrial revolution, which followed in the wake of the one in England. Consequently, the social structure in these two countries was undergoing general and rapid change. Especially in England, the change was premature and intense. Because of agricultural reform, farming became unprofitable; many farmers moved to urban areas where they became wage-earning laborers. Small businessmen and artisans gradually became the proletariat, oppressed by capitalists, and finally were absorbed into the class of laborers. Thus, 90 percent of the population lost its private property (*Communist Manifesto*). European society, particularly in England, was rapidly being divided into two great classes: proletariat and bourgeoisie, laborer and capitalist.

In this early stage of capitalism, many new machines were being invented but had not yet been perfected.

With such equipment, the daily increasing demand for products could not be met. In this situation the most expedient solution was for the capitalists to drive laborers relentlessly. They adopted this method without hesitation. Disastrous social effects occurred everywhere. The misery thus created was most severe in England. By the epithets given the factories of this time, such as "sweat shop," we can imagine the harsh and inhumane treatment which the laborers there received. The wages, hours, difficulty of labor, danger involved, and sanitation were little different from slave labor working conditions.

## No Political Representation

At this time there was one added disadvantage of the laborers: they had no political representation. There was no way for the masses to appeal legally to the government to obtain redress of their grievances, however inhumane their treatment. There were elections, but they had been constructed to fit the agricultural economy and couldn't be effective in the industrial age of Marx. Through the industrial revolution of the mid-19th century, the social and economic structures were transformed. The old classes of landed gentry and farmer were replaced by the newly emerging bourgeoisie and factory workers, who were forming the framework of the

new social structure. Accordingly, a system of popular elections to suit the new structure had to be introduced. The populace strongly desired this, but the capitalist class who were in power wouldn't permit it. One of the manifestations of popular feeling was the Chartist movement, a legitimate labor movement which arose in England between 1836 and 1848.

The Chartists led a fierce fight for a popular constitution. They asked for equal electoral districts, an annual meeting of Parliament, the abolition of property as a prerequisite of election, and the institution of the secret ballot. These conditions were included in the Chartists' petition. But this movement was many times rejected and suppressed, its leaders were victimized, and it was at last unsuccessful.

In this situation many conscientious thinkers accused the capitalists, who were interested only in material goals and expressed deep sympathy to the laborers. Pointing out the immorality of exploitation and suppression, they appealed to the capitalists' consciences and urged them to find more humanitarian means. Owen, Saint-Simon, and Fourier, who were criticized by Marx as dreamy socialists, believed that through the power of religious morality the human mind could be recreated and unegalitarian society changed into socialistic society through peaceful

means.

Most of these men carried on their activities with Paris as their base of operations, making Paris seem the very center of the socialist movement. When Marx fled to Paris, it was in a time such as this. With his acquaintance with socialism on the one hand and his observation of social injustice resulting from exploitation on the other, Marx further refined and solidified his system of thought. For Marx, the most fortunate event in his Parisian period was meeting Friedrich Engels, who was to be his lifelong friend. Later, publishing the *Communist Manifesto* in London in February, 1848, Marx and Engels proclaimed the actual start of the Communist movement. Shortly after the Manifesto was published, the February revolution in Paris broke out. There were more revolutions in Naples, Rome, Venice and Vienna. In March this flame finally reached Germany, where there was a revolution against the Prussian government. When this developed, Marx returned to Germany.

However, this revolution unexpectedly met counter-revolution; everywhere the revolutionaries were forced to withdraw. Marx had to flee again. This time he went to London via Paris. There he suffered in extreme poverty, but until death he carried on his Communist movement and put his entire effort into developing his ideology.

# Science Versus Soviet Ideology

MEDVEDEV, from page 5.

ruling practices of the broader Soviet political world that made Lysenko possible and his own persecution inevitable.

The *Medvedev Papers* consist of two essays: "Fruitful Meetings Between Scientists of the World," and "Secrecy of Correspondence is Guaranteed by Law," both of which were written between July 1967 and April 1970. In these essays, Medvedev develops four related themes — all of them bearing on the basic problem of freedom of scientific inquiry in post-Stalin Russia. The first theme revolves around Medvedev's frustrated attempts to accept an invitation to deliver an important lecture in England; the second has to do with the difficulties encountered by Soviet scientists when they attempt to participate in the professional life of the international scientific community; the third is a case study of Soviet travel restrictions and passport regulations; and the last concerns the inside workings of the Soviet postal censorship as experienced by a hapless non-recipient of personal letters and scholarly papers sent to him by foreign friends and fellow scientists.

From these essays there emerges a set of lucid, rational and extremely persuasive arguments focusing on the age-old conflict between demands for ideological orthodoxy and the requirements of cultural-scientific progress. Medvedev astutely points to the dichotomy presented, on the one hand, by the regime's sense of insecurity in internal political and external military affairs and, on the other hand, by its inherent inability — because of ideological inhibitions — to meet these challenges by means of political reform, economic modernization and scientific innovation. He contends that even a policy of freely drawing upon Western scientific and technological innovations has not succeeded in narrowing the scientific-technological gap between the USSR and the advanced countries of the West:

The scientific and technological gap between the USSR and the world level gradually increased during the years from 1946 to 1955, and this happened in spite of the free copying and borrowing of any technical achievements from abroad, supported

by the refusal of the USSR to take part in international conventions and discussions on patents, licenses and priority of inventions... (p. 118)

...as 1955 approached...those running the state, like Peter I in the past, began to go abroad and see what it was like, our scientific and technological gap became clear. The slogan of using the scientific and technical experience of other countries was proclaimed...

But, as it turned out, the practice of copying in the new conditions did not guarantee progress but only a permanent lag. The rates of technical

**"...a new sense of solidarity in quest of a moral authority and leadership..."**

progress in the world increased so rapidly, methods of construction and instruments changed so fast, that the process of copying turned into the copying of the obsolescent and the obsolete. (pp. 164-65)

After underlining the undesirable economic and military-technological consequences of Russia's long self-imposed intellectual isolation from the outside world, Medvedev presents the text of a memorandum which he addressed to the Ideological Commission of the CPSU Central Committee in an attempt to direct attention to the heart of the problem. In blunt language, the memorandum asserted that the criterion of ideological conformity is meaningless as an indicator of validity in the realm of the natural sciences. It went on to say:

If ideology is science, if communism is a science, if Marxism-Leninism is a science, then any criticism of any proposition in these sciences is also a science and not a "deviation." In any science, if it is not a collection of empty dogmas, certain propositions are continually going out of date and need to be replaced, new ideas, new

propositions are always appearing in connection with new circumstances, new conditions, new relationships...As a scientist accustomed to analyze facts, it is quite clear to me that there are no explicit criteria for demarcating the permissible forms of criticism. (pp. 280-281)

ONE OF THE MOST striking aspects of Medvedev's thinking is that it appears to embody widely-shared views—one might even say, a common ideological counterplatform—of the liberal Soviet scientific intelligentsia.

This phenomenon suggests the emergence among the Soviet scientific intelligentsia of a new sense of solidarity in quest of a moral authority and leadership that they find wanting in the professional politicians of the party apparatus. In his *Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom*, Sakharov looked to the "most progressive, internationalist and dedicated element" of the Soviet intelligentsia as symbolic representatives of such leadership. Medvedev, in his *Papers*, looks beyond national frontiers to find in the world intellectual community the potential "motive force" of an order dedicated not to narrow class goals but to universal human progress.

BECAUSE THIS REVIEW focuses specifically on the thinking of Medvedev and his fellow scientists, it must perforce omit discussion of the other segments of the Soviet dissident community — in literature and the arts, among the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR, and in the ranks of persecuted religious believers. It is probably true that the latter two groups include a good many who, in terms of commitment to the ideological and institutional foundations of the Soviet state, would not fit the description given at the outset of the *civis Sovieticus*. Nevertheless, it is important to note that members of all these groups do share common ground, whether as writers of *samizdat*, as editors or contributors to the clandestine *Chronicle of Current Events*, or as compilers of protest documents, they form the articulate vanguard of a growing democratic movement seeking to propagate a new spirit of modern Soviet citizenship and a redefined sense of democratic patriotism.



## Free Asia Radio Looks for MIAs

*Radio of Free Asia, established by the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation in 1966, broadcasts over 3,000 programs each year into China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Mongolia. It has sponsored a number of interviews with those concerned about the POW issue and has initiated a special programming effort to obtain information on MIA's. The following is from their most recent bulletin.*

Joe McCain, whose brother, Navy Commander John S. McCain, will be one of the returning POWs, has served as a member of the Board of Directors of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in South East Asia, and Chairman of the League's Identification and Discrepancy Committee.

With the return of his brother, he resigned from the Board of the National League. Yet he is intensifying his efforts to clear up discrepancies in Hanoi's list of POWs and to gain a full accounting for all the American missing.

In an interview with Radio of Free Asia, Joe McCain declared unequivocally: "There is really going to be unanimity, probably greater than ever before in the families in the country on this problem (accounting for all POWs and MIAs) because the war is over and now it's a question of living up to an agreement that everybody wanted."

### Information on POWs/MIAs Being Withheld for Political Reasons

Asked if he thought the North Vietnamese might be hiding American

POWs and MIAs or holding them back for Hanoi's political purposes, Mr. McCain said bluntly:

"Sure, it's possible. They did it in Korea. Russians kept German prisoners in World War II as long as six years after the war was over. Two years after the North Koreans and Chinese had claimed that they had released every single prisoner of war, we found about 14 or 15 more. Dag Hammarskjold became directly involved and that's how we got those men back."

### At Least 53 Discrepancies

McCain gave some details on the current list of discrepancies. Out of 53 a handful have been identified, he said, and went on: "We still don't have any information on men like Navy Lt. Ron Dodge, Navy Lts. Walter Tigue and Jack Estes and others. Other cases exist such as a photograph which was printed in the military newspaper in 1968 in Hanoi that was unidentified by them. We still don't know what happened to these men."

"This was the photograph of the guy who has got his hands up in the air. This is the one so many different families have identified... You know the hope and the desperation of the years. They got this photograph and the families said 'Yes, that's my son.' I talked to four, one mother and three wives personally, and they're all positive that that's their husband. It's very sad and the North Vietnamese haven't cleared that up."

### Three Kinds of Discrepancies

There are three kinds of discrepancies, Mr. McCain explained. "The first are those men that we have some evidence about which the North Viet-

"Captain John Richard Hill disappeared April 27, 1970, between Da Nang and Hue while flying a U.S. Army medical evacuation helicopter. His helicopter crashed off the coastline between Da Nang and Hue... No evidence of any kind was ever found of Captain Hill.... However, Captain Hill is reported to have been swimming toward the shore over one hour after the crash by one of the surviving crew members.... Captain Hill was an excellent swimmer and more than capable of reaching the shore on his own."

With these words a narrator speaking in Vietnamese begins broadcast of an appeal for information, a broadcast which features a detailed physical description of Captain Hill. The broadcasts are beamed to reach even cheap transistor sets in the area of Captain Hill's disappearance.

Radio of Free Asia broadcasts for information about the American missing and unaccounted for in Indochina have been intensified in the past few weeks.

By intensification we mean that we are now broadcasting from the best broadcast facilities in South Vietnam, powerful enough to reach every inexpensive transistor radio in VC-held areas and in North Vietnam.

These new, high powered broadcast facilities of 100 KW and 200 KW are now broadcasting appeals for information about specific unaccounted for POWs and MIAs. Detailed descriptions of the missing and unaccounted for are broadcast along with information about the conditions of his last sighting.

Appeals for information are coupled with offers of \$250 for meaningful information. This reward for information was established following extensive discussions with officials in South Vietnam. The level is high enough to encourage responses but not so high as to stir up efforts to fabricate false or misleading information.

Contacts already have been made with South Vietnamese and with international channels for the prompt evaluation of any information about unaccounted for POWs and MIAs.

Recognizing that the reunification of families is not a one-way street, ROFA devotes some time in each broadcast to send news of North Vietnamese husbands, brothers and sons who have been held as POWs in the South.

Most families in the North have not heard anything from or about their family members since they marched south. News about them unquestionably will encourage them to send ROFA any information about unaccounted for or missing American servicemen they might have.

Broadcasts also are continuing from Vientiane, Laos. Facilities are being added in Laos to enable ROFA to expand broadcasts to include Lao, Meo and Thai Dam language transmissions to reach hill tribes who do not know Vietnamese.

—Radio of Free Asia

namese claim they never heard of. The second is a man that we have definitive information on that they say nothing about. The third kind are those 1,350 men who we know nothing about at all. The North Vietnamese are saying that we know where a quarter of the prisoners are, but we never hear of the other three quarters.

"The protocol and agreement both specifically state that on the day of ceasefire the North Vietnamese would release a list of all American prisoners of war. When there were no Laos prisoners on the POW list, the North Vietnamese were in automatic violation of the ceasefire agreement. A week later they finally released a

paltry number of 7 prisoners of war out of 311 men. You know that's absolutely ridiculous."

### POW/MIA Families Will Continue Their Efforts

What will be done, then, about the discrepancies and the unaccounted for missing? Joe McCain says that awareness campaigns and continuing pressure will be exerted to gain a full accounting. "If they produce a man, we don't care whether he went to Laos or he went to China. It doesn't make any difference. The only answer we won't accept is no answer at all. You know we're not going to ask any questions about where this man was but we want to get him back and we want them to identify him."

## 'The Reality of American Life Contradicts...Self-Hating Rhetoric'

by Allan Brownfeld

IT IS QUITE remarkable that, in the short time since American prisoners of war began to return from their tortuous ordeal in Vietnam, patriotism has begun to reappear.

Patriotism, of course, never disappeared in the minds and hearts of the overwhelming body of Americans. It did, however, seem to disappear from the mass media. For many years we have been hearing that America is a "racist," "aggressive," "imperialistic," and "fascistic" society.

This is the message conveyed to us not only by student radicals and black militants but by the whole intellectual "elite" which supported them. Masochism ran deep in American during the nineteen sixties among a small band of men and women who are lying low for a short time. Nevertheless, this short time gives us an opportunity to reclaim America from its denigrators.

That this narrow and fanciful view of the American reality has little support in the body politic was made clear this past November. At that time the radicals did manage to capture the Democratic Party and present a candidate of their own choosing—one who championed their excessive rhetoric. He carried a single state, and the debacle is well understood by the majority of Democrats who are now engaged in a process of de-radicalizing and reconstituting their party.

The activities of many of our self-proclaimed intellectual spokesmen is

not dissimilar from that of the "ruling class" of Great Britain recently discussed by former *Punch* editor Malcolm Muggeridge. He noted that:

"In the permissive climate of the 20th century our social elite, deprived of our lost Empire as a field for exercising its authority and realizing its ambitions, has tended to disintegrate and turn against the very institutions and loyalties it existed to uphold. There is nothing more socially deleterious than a ruling class on the run; its members make every conceivable mistake and miscalculation, and are so anxious not to appear stuffed shirts that they have an instinctive preference for our enemies over our friends— if, indeed, we have any left. The death wish in their hearts becomes an ideology of failure and despair."

The "death wish" in the hearts of too many prominent Americans during the past decade has expressed itself in continuous discussions of American "brutality," "aggression," and "barbarity." These were the cheerleaders urging on the student radicals who surrounded the White House when Lyndon Johnson was President chanting, "Yey, Hey, LBJ, How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?" These were the apologists for Angela Davis and the Black Panthers, these were the "sophisticates" who were shocked by the American commitment against aggression in Vietnam but were not shocked in the least by campus bombings in their own cities.

The masochism of our "intel-

lectuals" made them do a number of very anti-intellectual things. One of them was to misuse words. The Viet Cong were "nationalists," the Americans were "aggressors," the leaders in Saigon were our "puppets," despite the fact that they hardly ever followed our advice.

The fact that Americans have been told from lecture platforms, television screens, in movies and plays that their country is "evil" or "imperialistic" or "racist" does not make it true. The reality of American life contradicts the self-hating rhetoric to which we have been subjected for so long.

Fortunately, many Americans know this is true and have been doing their best to offset the rhetorical overkill of radicalism. Too often, however, their voices have not been heard.

Many Americans, for example, have heard the hate-filled voices of Angela Davis, Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown. How many have heard a far different kind of black voice — that of Air Force General Daniel (Chappie) James, Jr.?

When he was promoted to the rank of general, Col. James was asked whether being on the promotion list for general and being a Negro had special significance for him. This was his reply:

"Yes, but only in the sense of showing black kids that it can be done. Today black kids hear so much bitterness from the militants, who are so steeped in their own bitterness that they're trying to cure the disease by killing the patient. I'm not saying all the barriers are down. They are not....

But separatism is not the answer. There are opportunities today...everywhere in America."

General James declares that, "I am dead set against disloyalty, black or white, and racism, black or white. You will find prejudice of some kind everywhere in the world. I think our country is closer to true freedom than any other country in the world. Our system — if justly applied — will lead to eventual true freedom for all its people."

The return of the prisoners has produced a brief moratorium in the machinations of those who see in the American society only evil to be overthrown. Perhaps when these voices reappear, we will be better prepared to do battle with them.

Roll Call, March 18, 1973



Angela Davis — Does she speak for us now?