



The Rising Tide

Volume III No. 11 June 4, 1973



Free
Grigorenko

EUROPE -- From page 5

-Special efforts to promote exchanges of students, young factory workers, farmers, etc.; with the possibility of their being lodged in private homes.

-Development of international contacts between engineers, business managers, economists, teachers, administrative officials, etc.

-Reduced travel costs to facilitate such exchange - on airlines and trains, with petrol coupons, etc.

2. Freedom for the exchange of ideas to promote mutual respect and understanding

-Complete freedom of movement for newspapers, books, and films between East and West.

-Systematic efforts to improve the teaching of foreign languages and to stimulate the translation and diffusion abroad of each European country's literary and dramatic output.

3. Disarmament

-The first aim should be the establishment of parity between rival military forces, both as regards their number, armament, and geographical location. Nothing is more conducive to international tension than a state of military imbalance, aggravated by the presence of foreign military forces in areas that were previously unoccupied.

-This first step accomplished a progressive disarmament will become possible, on the basis of mutual control and inspection. The West, for its part, is prepared to submit to control and inspection. All it asks is a similar cooperation from the East.

4. Relations between European states
-Creation of a Court of Arbitration to settle all disputes between European states.

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The Mournful Manifestation

The gray, dismal rain did not keep away the many hundreds of Ukrainian-Americans of all ages and from many Eastern states who gathered at the Shevchenko memorial in Washington, D.C. The gathering, called the Mournful Manifestation, was in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the Great Famine in the Ukraine, which killed over seven million people. "It is our bounden duty to inform our fellow Americans of this genocidal act that defies human imagination (see article on the "famine" by Dumitru Danielopol), opened Dr. Lev Dobriansky, professor at Georgetown University and President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of the United States. He also read a message by Senator Javits: "The heinous acts of the past and the repression of the present—the arrest of Ukrainian intellectuals and the ransom of Soviet Jews—cannot be overlooked in a bargain of convenience."

"We can't relax..."

Congressman Edward Derwinski (Illinois) warned the crowd that we should not be deceived by the apparent gentleness of the present Soviet regime. "Let us not be misled by temporary diplomatic maneuvers. These adjustments have been dictated by fear and weakness... There will be no permanent peace until Communism



Congressman Derwinski

as we know it disappears. We have a moral obligation to all those enslaved by Communism. I appeal to all of you to rededicate yourselves to freedom and embark on an educational program with your fellow Americans. Emphasize the basic point that we can't relax with half of the world in the slavery of Communism." He concluded: "Regardless of how dark the clouds may be, all people behind the Iron Curtain will be free. Then we can enjoy our own freedom."

...eternal vigilance

Mr. Paul Yuzyk, Canadian Senator, gave dramatic evidence that the famine had nothing to do with natural causes but was purely an attempt at forced Sovietization. He concluded his chronicle of suffering in the Ukraine: "This must compel us to eternal vigilance. It could happen here."

"God will not be mocked!"

General Thomas A. Lane accused Bolshevism, the alliance of "atheism and tyranny," to be the "declared enemy of God and freedom." He continued, "The avarice of merchants and the belief in peaceful co-existence brought us a harvest of wars. God will not be mocked! The United States will search in vain for peace and prosperity until it is led back to a principled course in foreign policy."

Telling the Story

Because you love this country, you want to extend these privileges to others, said Dr. Walter Judd, former missionary and Congressman from Minnesota. In emphasizing that loyalty to the United States and to the Ukraine were complimentary, he said, "You appreciate the United States more... You know what things are like. You have an obligation to tell the story. You must never give up. Your weapons are the hearts of a billion people behind the Iron Curtain."

The Mournful Manifestation also included a number of Ukrainian speakers and a procession to the Soviet Embassy. The fortieth anniversary of the famine will be commemorated in many cities by religious ceremonies, mass rallies and a public education campaign.

Free Grigorenko



A demonstration will be held on June 8, 1973, asking for the release of General Pyotr Grigorenko, one of many victims of the Soviet use of psychiatry for political repression. Grigorenko is in danger of dying in the mental hospital where he has been forcibly kept for the past four years unless he is released soon. The Freedom Leadership Foundation and other concerned citizens have formed the Free Grigorenko Committee, which will hold the demonstration on his behalf. Its purpose will be to ask President Nixon to take up the matter of General Grigorenko and psychiatric abuse with Leonid Brezhnev in their upcoming meetings. The well-known mathematician Alexander Yesenin-Volpin and Solzhenitsyn's sister-in-law, Veronica Turkina-Stein, will be guest speakers at the rally. The demonstration will be at 1:00 p.m. in front of the White House. For further details call the Freedom Leadership Foundation, (202) 785-3020.

On page 2 is background information on General Grigorenko; on page 3 is the letter which will be presented to President Nixon. You can help by signing the letter and sending it to him.

Stalin's Special "Famine"

By Dumitru Danielopol

WASHINGTON--It was forty years ago that Stalin sent his hirelings into the Ukraine to perpetrate one of the greatest massacres in history. Over seven million Ukrainian peasants and hundreds of thousands of other non-Russians died in a man-made famine.

In 1953 Stalin, who had become the undisputed master of the USSR after the expulsion of Leon Trotsky in 1929, adopted a policy of rapid industrialization and collectivization of peasant holdings.

"We are 50 or 100 years behind the advanced countries," Stalin told a conference of industrial managers in 1931. "We must make good this lag in 10 years."

He went to work with speed and ruthlessness. The accent was on building heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods. He proceeded simultaneously with collectivization of individually owned farms. This policy had twin purposes; to release workers for the factories and to undermine the individualism and independence of the owner-farmer. Communism could not survive unless that was done.

The peasants resisted. They fought the commissars who came to take over their land. The Ukrainians, a tough and rugged people, fought relentlessly and bravely.

In 1932 Stalin sent in troops in what has been called a "year of horror."

The bulletin of the antiBolshevik bloc of nations recalls the story:

"Russia sent in troops to take away the harvest, the bread...hundreds of thousands of Russians troops plundered Ukrainian villages, confiscating grain and killing people."

They burned the crops rather than leave any food for the farmers.

Dantean scenes followed. Mothers died with their starving children in their arms, but still the Ukrainians refused to join the communal "kolkoses." In all, seven million perished. Several million others—the so-called 'Kulaks' (well-to-do farmers) were deported to Siberia and labor camps in other parts of the country. They died like flies. An estimated 10 million Ukrainians died at the time at the hands of Stalin, 25 million peasants were forcibly moved and 25 million privately owned rural holdings that existed in 1929 became 100,000 large collectives.

It was Stalin's greatest crime, and his greatest mistake. Soviet agriculture never recovered. Today's per capita production is below that of 1913!

Ukrainians abroad have never forgotten nor have they harbored any illusion on Kremlin intentions. The bulletin says:

"On this 40th anniversary of the greatest genocide in the history of mankind, Ukraine warns the free world against the Russian tyrants who are preparing a similar genocide for it."



General and Mrs. Grigorenko and their son.

Help Save My Husband!

Freedom-Loving Citizens of the World

From behind the prison bars and despite strict surveillance, a letter has reached me from my husband Pyotr Grigoryevich Grigorenko. The letter is a chronicle. A record of what happened to my husband during the 10 months he spent in the dungeons of the K.G.B. in Tashkent and in the prison cell of the Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow. It is a chronicle of mockery and arbitrariness. A chronicle of courage and convictions. A chronicle of suffering.

How can my husband be saved? On January 13, 1970 I sent a letter to A.N. Kosygin. I wrote of the crimes committed against my husband, of the savage reprisals which befell P.G. Grigorenko for his democratic convictions, for his criticisms of Stalinism. I ask the Prime Minister to use his influence to save an innocent person from further suffering and death.

On 7 February 1970 a court sentence on the case of P.G. Grigorenko was issued in Tashkent; guilty under article 70 and 190, clause 1, of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR and article 190, clause 4, of the Criminal Code of the USSR; not responsible for his acts due to mental disability; subject to compulsory treatment at the prison psychiatric clinic in Kazan.

In this manner, the court corroborated the conclusions of the Serbsky Institute on the mental disability of P.G. Grigorenko (i.e., the conclusions of a second commission to which my husband was sent after the first, the Tashkent commission, pronounced him mentally fit). The second doomed Grigorenko to a terrifying experience, the worst which can occur to a normal person....

All who are acquainted with P.G. Grigorenko, who have read his works (military-historical analyses and open letters in defense of human rights)—all know that lucidity of the mind and sobriety of thought are my husband's distinctive traits. Furthermore, to his clarity of thought is added a rare ability to think consistently, honestly and profoundly. It is precisely for this — for his honesty of thought and conscience — that my husband has been declared mentally unbalanced. For this he was doomed to a fate as a result of which one can really become insane....

This has happened to him before, in the years 1964-65.

There was the finding of mental disability, followed by confinement in the Leningrad mental hospital prison. I remember the meetings in this hospital... A group of patients is being brought to see relatives under escort. And there is my husband. We sit side-by-side, and it seems that for one hour it will be possible to dismiss the nightmare which surrounds us. Suddenly we hear a heart-rendering cry, and one of the patients, with a distorted face, throws himself at his parents. "He killed three," my husband tells me, "during his attack he displays great physical strength." In the same cell with my husband was a man who had slaughtered his six-year old daughter; he acted like a beast. This was the environment: maniacs, murderers, degenerates. However, there are more terrifying things — the methods of 'cure.'

Now this hell faces my husband once more. Nobody knows for how many years. But I know well that a 62-year-old invalid will not be able to endure this hell for long.

The investigation committee gained its end; the trial took place without the presence of the defendant. Grigorenko was deprived of the right to defend himself; and henceforth — as mentally disabled — he is completely deprived of every human right. If Grigorenko would have spoken at the trial, the first consequence would have been all the lawless actions undertaken by the investigation committee would have become known (as, for example, the beatings of Grigorenko while he was artificially fed); and, secondly, the groundlessness of the accusations would have become self-evident. My husband has never lied or made slanderous statements (Art. 190, clause 1), has never agitated against the Soviet state (Art. 70), but has merely spoken openly and fearlessly against the consequences of Stalinism in our country. For this he is being punished with incomparable brutality and cynicism.

People: Pyotr Grigoryevich Grigorenko is threatened with death!

I appeal to all democratic organizations defending human rights, and to all freedom-loving citizens of the World! Help save my husband!

The freedom of each individual is freedom of all!
Z.M. Grigorenko

Pyotr Grigorenko

"...nobody, including me, can be guaranteed against arbitrariness. Experience demonstrates that an individual is weak to resist arbitrariness of the KGB. Tens of millions of innocent people were tortured to death in torture chambers, shot and liquidated in death camps only because they came out one by one against the organized savage power. In order to avoid this in the future, people should organize to defend their civil rights. This is precisely what I will do in the future, based on the Constitution of the USSR and the laws in force. I will organize people for a collective defense of those who are the victims of the lawless court and extrajudicial repressions." Pyotr Grigorenko to Y. V. Andropov, Chairman of the Committee for State Security of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Pyotr G. Grigorenko, born in 1907, is very typical of the many Russians who grew up believing in the Soviet system. In fact, Grigorenko was an active member of the Kom-somol and later at the age of 20, became a member of the Communist Party.

Distinguished Career

In 1929 Grigorenko distinguished himself as a gifted student at the Kuibyshev Military Engineering academy. Later he went to the General Staff Academy to further his military education.

During World War II, Grigorenko was awarded many medals, including the Order of Lenin. In 1959, he was promoted to the rank of Major-General and worked for 17 years at the Frunze Military Academy. The last position he held there was as chairman of the departments of Cybernetics.

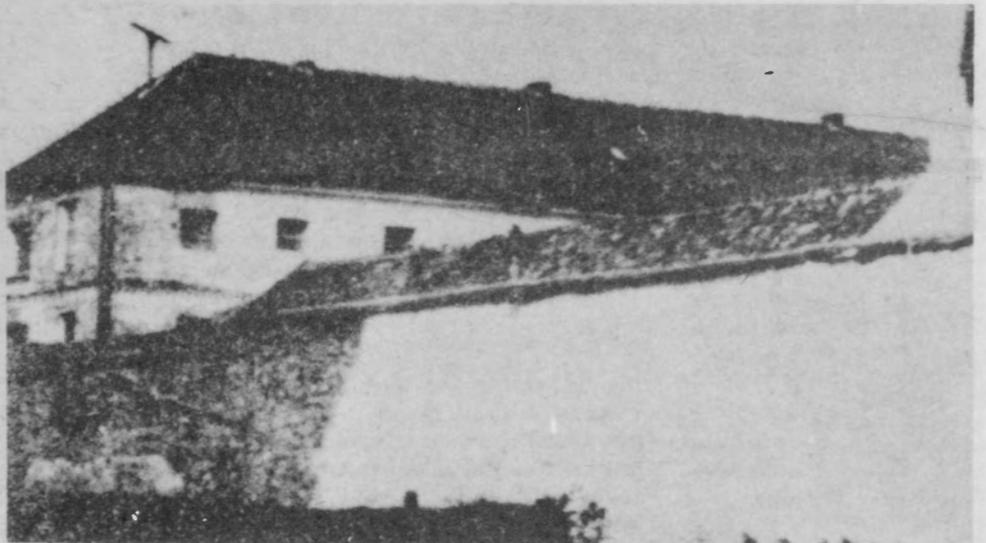
Grigorenko established himself as a major

Grigorenko was active in protesting the trials of Sinyavsky and Daniel of Vladimir Bukovsky, Yuri Galanskov, and Alexandar Ginzburg. At one trial, he distinguished himself by hauling a KGB agent off to a police station after he had intimidated protesters gathered outside of the courthouse. In addition, he took an active part in defending Crimean Tartars who had been terrorized and deported from their homeland by Stalin.

Grigorenko always knew that some of his actions violated Soviet law. Because of his popularity, the Soviets knew that they could not arrest him in Moscow. Finally, on May 7, 1969, he was lured to Tashkent, where he was intending to defend Tartar leaders who were supposed to be on trial. He learned when he arrived that the date had not been fixed. When he went to the airport to return home he was arrested. The KGB tried to have him declared insane, but the Tashkent Committee of Forensic Psychiatry found him perfectly sound. Nevertheless, he spent the next six months in a Tashkent prison where the 62-year old man was severely beaten. Again in October 1969 Grigorenko underwent psychiatric investigation at the KGB controlled Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow. Here, under the instruction of KGB-picked doctors, he was declared insane and was sent to a psychiatric hospital prison in Chernyakhovsk.

"Unbearable"

Here Grigorenko was placed with maniacs and underwent cruel punishment. When his wife visited him, he said: "I walk in compresses of urine, I have sores all over me. My gastritis has worsened. I've developed cystitis; I feel very bad."



Chernyakhovsk prison - hospital.

leader of the human rights movement in 1961, when he delivered an anti-Stalinist speech at a Party conference. From the podium he charged that Stalin's personality cult was not an accident, that every Communist country had one, and that only way to prevent it was to change the system. For this speech and his criticism of the "harmful activities of Khrushchev and his team," he was transported to the Far East. Undaunted, Grigorenko continued to distribute anti-government leaflets which resulted in his arrest in February 1964. He was declared mentally ill and sent off to a psychiatric asylum where he stayed for fifteen months.

Grigorenko protested this illegal action, claiming that if in fact he were truly insane, he could not legally be demoted in rank and deprived of his pension. He argued that if here were insane and guilty of a crime, he should be brought to trial. Of course the Soviet government wanted to do neither, especially trying to avoid the exposure which a public trial would produce.

Official Discrimination

After Khrushchev's downfall, Grigorenko was released but was not reinstated. He was unable to find work and was forced to find a job as a porter. Despite this official discrimination, Grigorenko continued to fight against the arbitrary and inhumane rule of the regime. "In our country," Grigorenko observed, "there are many people—unfortunately, very many—who only have to speak the magic word KGB and at the order of a man representing that organization will commit the most shameful acts. At some point one must break the habit and must remember those fine words 'human dignity.'"

Grigorenko admitted that it was the mental punishment which was the hardest to tolerate. "Only now do I understand the terrible desperation of those who died by the millions in Stalin's jails," he wrote in his prison diary. "Thee physical suffering can be endured. But people were deprived of any hope whatsoever; they reiterated to them the omnipotence of their tyranny, the absence of any way out. And that is unbearable."

Grigorenko could end this suffering at any time if he wanted to. The only requirement for him to be set free, the KGB offered, was a signed statement renouncing his convictions. He replied: "They (his convictions) are within me. They are not gloves and cannot be changed."

"I will probably never see you again"

When Grigorenko last saw his wife in April of this year he was half-blind and in very poor health. He regretfully told her: "I will probably never see you again." It is almost certain that the words of Grigorenko will come true unless he is released immediately. Like Yuri Galanskov and others before him, the Soviets are doing their best to kill off anyone who opposes their totalitarian control.

Perhaps the sobering thought of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Russian Nobel-prize winner, describes most accurately the tragic situation now faced by Grigorenko and so many others... "It is time to think clearly. The incarceration of free-thinking healthy people in madhouses is spiritual murder. It is a variant of the gas chambers and ever more cruel. It is a fiendish and prolonged torture of those who are to be killed."

An Open Letter To President Nixon

Dear Mr. President:

At the invitation of The Freedom Leadership Foundation, a number of citizens of all walks of life have constituted themselves into a FREE GRIGORENKO COMMITTEE. The propose of this letter is to respectfully request, in the name of this Committee, that in your forthcoming conversation with Leonid Brezhnev you raise the question of the liberation of General Pyotr Grigorenko from his confinement in a psychiatric prison.

You will be meeting with Mr. Brezhnev for the purpose of seeking mutually acceptable solutions that will make the world a better more secure place than it is today. We feverently pray that the forthcoming meeting will truly serve the cause of peace and the larger cause of humanity. But we believe it would be advantageous to advise Mr. Brezhnev that when the American people talk of detente, they have in mind a genuine detente in which both sides are committed to abstain from political and military aggression. Among the several major indices which the American people go by in measuring the intent of the Soviet leaders is the way they treat their political dissidents at home. If scores of thousands are thrown into forced labor camps and thousands more are incarcerated in psychiatric prisons for the simple act of expressing differences with the Soviet regime, this fact by itself would cause Americans to question the motivations and good will of the Soviet government.

General Grigorenko has been guilty of no crime and the proof of this is the fact that the Soviet Secret Police have never dared to bring him to trial. Instead they have resorted to the inhuman subterfuge of having a panel of KGB psychiatrists declare him insane, thus effectively depriving him of the right to defend himself. General Grigorenko's "insanity" consists of his ardent defense of persecuted Soviet minorities, like the Crimean Tartars; of his criticism of the invasion of Czech oslovakia; of his demand that the Soviet government honor its constitutional commitment to the freedom of speech. This is General Grigorenko's second confinement to a psychiatric asylum. Committed to an institution in 1964 for writing anti-government leaflets, he served 15 months before his release. On his release from the hospital he had discovered he had been expelled from the Party, reduced the ranks and deprived of his pension. Unable to find a suitable job, he worked as a porter despite his very poor health.

In every battle against tyranny and arbitrariness, General Grigorenko was in the forefront. He protested against the trials of Sinyavsky and Daniel, of Vladimir Bukovsky, of Yuri Galanskov and Alexander Ginzburg. He led a demonstration before the court building during the trial of the participants of the August 25 protest march against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. He raised his voice in defense of A. Marchenko and I. Belogorodskaya and spoke strongly at the funeral of his friend, writer A. Kosterin, denouncing the totalitarian nature of the regime.

For these "crimes" and for his attempted defense of the Crimean Tartars, General Grigorenko was arrested May 7, 1969 and he has spent more than four years since that day in various KGB dungeons and mental institutions.

When a first psychiatric panel in Tashkent found in August 1969 that Grigorenko "shows no symptom of mental illness," Grigorenko was thrown back into his dungeon and was then transported to the infamous Serbsky Institute in Moscow where a second panel of psychiatrists, carefully controlled by the KBG, found that he was suffering from mental illness in the form of "paranoid reformist ideas that have taken on an obstinate character." They said that Grigorenko had been able to deceive the first psychiatric panel because of his "outwardly adjusted behavior, his formerly coherent utterance and his retention of his past knowledge and manners--all of wh ch is characteristic of a pathological development of the per-sonality."

During all this time that he has spent in dungeons and psychiatric prisons all that Grigorenko had to do was sign a statement admitting the error of his views--and he would have been released immediately. It has recently been learned that in January of this year Grigorenko was called before a psychiatric review board and sent back to continued "psychiatric treatment." When his wife Zinaida was permitted to see him in April, she found him emaciated, suffering from many illnesses and minus the sight of one eye. He told her this would probably be the last time he would see her.

Zinaida has appealed to all freedom loving citizens of the world to save the life of her husband. "The freedom of each individual," she said, "is the freedom of all."

If Premier Brezhnev truly wants the American people to place credence in his desire for detente, let him begin by releasing Pyotr Grigorenko and permitting his entire family to migrate from the Soviet Union to the country of his choice. Therefore, we beseech you, Mr. President, as leader of this freedom-loving nation in the name of humanity to use your in-fluence to help save the life of Pyotr Grigorenko before it is too late!

The Free Grigorenko Committee
President, Pro-Tem

Name

Address

Don't delay in asking your friends to sign this - mail it promptly to President Nixon.

A Call to Conscience

"(We) call upon the conscience of mankind to make known its profound concern about the continued denial of the free exercise of religion, the violation of the right to emigrate, and other human rights of the 3 million Jewish people of the Soviet Union and of other deprived groups and nationalities."

The National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, desiring to implement their above objective, convened the Second National Interreligious Consultation on Soviet Jewry in Washington, D.C. on May 14-15. The sessions included briefings on the current situation of Soviet Jews and the Jackson Amendment by field experts and government officials, and visits to Senators and Congressmen. A highlight was an interfaith service where Mark Yampolsky spoke (*The Rising Tide*, April 9, 1973) followed by a candle light march to the Soviet Embassy.

R. Sargent Shriver, honorary chairman of the Committee, opened the session with an appeal to commitment to human rights. "We are here not only because we are interested in the problems of Jews but because we are interested in the problems of human beings...People have a right to leave a country. Why? Because they're human beings...That's not a very big right--the right to get out." Mr. Shriver concluded: "We must get back to focus on the rights of men and women, individual dignity comes from God and not from some political power. It is true that the bell is tolling. It is tolling for thousands in the Soviet Union. Let us remember the people in prison, especially in the gigantic prison of the Soviet Union."

Underground Frustration

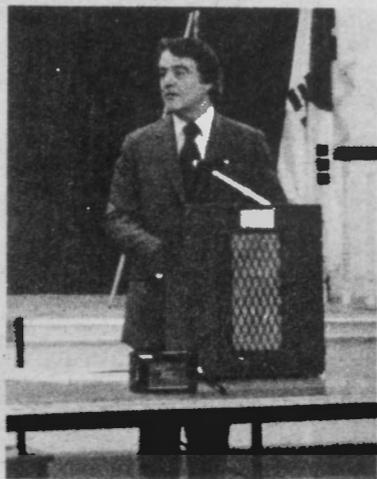
Dr. Isaac Franck, Executive Vice-President of the Jewish Community Council, recollected his experiences with young Jews during a recent visit to the Soviet Union. "They showered me with a Niagara of questions about Jews in the United States. I could feel the underground force of frustration. And

I could feel that this frustration is going to erupt into a renewed self-assertion. It is miraculous that these young Jews, deliberately Sovietized, began looking and finding ways for renewed self-identification. The miracle is that it has surfaced. They have had the courage to apply for visas and demonstrate."

"What we do in connection with Brezhnev's visit may turn out to be of critical importance," he concluded. "Let him hear us--let him see and hear first-hand while in this country..."

Mr. Richard Maass, Chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, closed the opening session with an updating on the impending trials of Soviet Jews and the progress of the Jackson Amendment. "We are not opposed to trade and increased cooperation," he said. "But the bounty of the United States should not be granted while the Soviet Union is exercising an extreme degree of repression."

The National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry was founded in Chicago in March, 1972, and is directed by Sister Ann Gillen. The Committee is composed of leaders from a variety of religious organizations. Representatives of the Committee recently tried to visit Moscow; their visas were denied.



R. Sargent Shriver

Ex-POW Honored



Lieutenant Commander John S. McCain III, the subject of an extensive interview in the May 14 *U.S. News and World Report* was honored at a luncheon sponsored by a group of conservative Congressional aides on May 23. Also with him was his wife Carol and his father Admiral John S. McCain, Jr., commander of the U.S. forces in the Pacific at the time his son was a POW.

Commander McCain's remarks touched on his experiences as a POW, concentrating rallies on the situation in Southeast Asia today.

At the beginning of his speech McCain emphasized: "We were average pilots who happened to get shot down. Any others would have done the same." Regarding the improvement of treatment after 1969, he said that it was not due to any kindness on the part of the North Vietnamese, but to "the efforts of the people of the United States on our behalf. Without these, many men

would not have been among those returning."

Right to Dissent

According to McCain, the North Vietnamese did not create much of their own propaganda; they used, rather, statements from the U.S. sources condemning the war. "I did not like these statements but the right to dissent was the reason we were up there. If we didn't fight for this, we would be in the same position as our captors."

Hard-core Stalinists

Concerning the situation in Asia, McCain explained that he had learned many things from the North Vietnamese. "The North Vietnamese did not deny the domino theory," said McCain. South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, and Burma were regarded as revolutionary targets. "According to them, it is the duty of all good Socialists to overthrow the U.S. Imperialist Aggressors. The North Vietnamese are not changing. They are hard-core Stalinists who will not give in except when forced.

But they do respond to force, indicated McCain. Their Spring offensive was devastating to them, he said, because it gave President Nixon justification to re-initiate firm measures against them. "North Vietnam could not take that kind of punishment," he said.

McCain was concerned about the future of the agreement, indicating that we have to give the President enough latitude to carry out the ceasefire agreement. "I hope our sacrifice was for a worthwhile cause," he concluded. "My fondest hope is that my son will not have to go through the same trials."

Mao And Christ: Comrades?

Outrageous as it may seem, the Vatican is apparently attempting to create some illusory reconciliation with the Communist Chinese by asserting the thoughts of Mao tse-Tung "reflect also Christian values."

The statement was issued by the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of the Peoples (SCEP) in its bulletin, *International Fides Correspondence*, reflecting some attempt by the Vatican to ease tensions and establish closer relations with the Communist regime in China.

There is certainly nothing wrong in opening lines of communication with the Chinese Communist regime *per se*. What is so shocking is that the SCEP claims Communist ideology contains "some directives that are in keeping with the great moral principles of the millenary Chinese civilization and that find authentic and complete expression in modern Christian teachings."

SCEP countries by describing the present day Chinese ethic as one "devoted to a mystique of disinterested work for others, the inspiration of justice, the exaltation of the simple and frugal life, the rehabilitation of the rural masses, and the mixing of social classes." The article stated that Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul had both expressed similar social values in their encyclicals, *Pacem in terris* and *Populorum progressio*.

Statements like these display either inexcusable naivete, borderline moral relativism, or pitiful ignorance. How can highly respected religious leaders assert such similarities between the teachings of Christ and Mao? It testifies to the incredible lack of knowledge about the reality of life under the Chinese Communist regime and the irreconcilable differences between Marxist and Christian doctrine.

The two great ethical obligations which are considered to be the heart of Christian teachings, 1) to love God and 2) to love our fellow man, are both completely contradicted by Marxist doctrine.

First of all, Marxism is rooted in materialism and totally denies the existence of a transcendent God. Consequently, Communists, especially in China, have gone to extreme lengths to eliminate any trace of religion.

The testimony of survivors of Chinese Communism, like Father Raymond de Jaegher, reveal that the Chinese Communists slaughtered thousands of Christians after their takeover on the mainland. Today hundreds of thousands of Christians, Moslems and Buddhists are imprisoned in various Communist nations--their only crime being that they desire to freely worship God. How quickly Vatican spokesmen have forgotten these facts!

Secondly, Marxism's view of human nature contradicts basic Christian principles. Whereas Christ taught that men are of equal value and that they should love one another, including their enemies, Marxism claims that men differ in their value and nature according to *class background*. As one Chinese Communist professor remarked, "I realized there is no such thing as human nature, there is only class nature."

Therefore, Chinese Communists believe they are morally justified in eliminating so-called "enemies of the people" because of their class background. Estimates range from 34 million to 63 million "reactionaries" were killed after the Communist takeover on mainland China. This blatant disregard for human life, plus the intentional teaching of class hatred by the Communists is fundamentally incompatible with Christian teachings.

Can the SCEP seriously believe Mao's doctrine reflects "the inspiration for justice" when people are murdered, imprisoned, denied the right to education, and stripped of their basic human rights merely because of their religious or social background? Can the banishment of intellectuals, students, professors, and artists to forced slave labor camps be seriously considered "the rehabilitation of the rural masses, and the mixing of social values?" Does the SCEP honestly believe China's ideology contains "some directives that are in keeping with the great moral principles of the millenary Chinese civilization" when in just two short years during the Cultural Revolution over 5,000 years of Chinese civilization was virtually destroyed by rampaging Red Guards under Mao's directive?

We must not be deceived by superficial observation that professed standards and values in today's Communist China reflect or parallel true Christian inner values. What the Communists have created through mass execution, slave labor camps, repression, intimidation and fear can never be compared to the voluntary communalism of God's love among Christian believers.

Today more than ever before a deep understanding of the fallacies of Marxist ideology is needed. Without this standard to guide our actions and help to formulate our policy, the clouds of moral confusion will paralyze those who would act for freedom--ultimately with tragic results.

by Neil Salonen

President,
Freedom Leadership
Foundation



Europe -- Hopes for Security and Cooperation

An Appeal for Peace And Security in Europe

Following is an appeal to the upcoming Conference on Security and Cooperation for freedom of movement, freedom of information, and disarmament. It has been signed by Antoine Pinay, former French Premier; Gaston Mannerville, former President of the French Senate; and other respected Frenchmen. Originally appearing in the French quarterly *Le Monde Moderne*, it was unanimously endorsed by the European Academy of Political Science. Its recommendations are valuable and noteworthy, although perhaps too optimistic. For further information, contact Florimond Damman, *Academie Europeene de Sciences Politiques, rue DuLombard, 68, B-1000 Bruxelles, Belgium.*

The European Security Conference - hopefully awaited by some, distrustfully greeted by others - is no longer a vague aspiration; it is an impending reality. There is nothing further to be gained by debating its merits or reacting negatively towards it. It could on the contrary, prove to be a positive event and a milestone in the history of post-war Europe if properly prepared and conducted.

To be such an event, however, this Conference must genuinely serve the cause of detente and peace; it must not disappoint the vast hopes and expectations which the peoples of Europe have been led to place in it; above all, it must produce concrete benefits which even the most sceptically inclined will be unable to belittle. For should this unique occasion pass, it might never return - with fateful consequences for the future peace and welfare of the continent.

In Europe a fragile peace has, paradoxically enough, been maintained hitherto by a competition in ar-

maments. But this competition has not and could not eliminate a basic source of conflict - a climate of suspicion and distrust which has kept the peoples of the continent divided into hostile blocs.

For this Conference to be of true and lasting benefit to all, it is essential that it should contribute to dispelling this distrust.

Suspicion, scorn and ignorance must give way to mutual trust, knowledge, and esteem, born of the widest possible entente between the various peoples of Europe.

Such an entente cannot thrive in a climate of artificially contrived ignorance. Only in an atmosphere of freedom can it blossom. There must be freedom to appreciate, freedom to judge, freedom to communicate, freedom to exchange ideas.

Without freedom of social intercourse there is no chance of mutual understanding; without mutual understanding there is no hope for reciprocal esteem. The success or failure of the European Security Conference is summed up in these few words.

This being a matter of ordinary common sense, the peoples of Western Europe ask their governments to sponsor a series of practical measures aimed at promoting -

A Peaceful, Friendly and Open Europe

We must work to build a Europe undivided by ideological antagonisms, national animosities and stunting partitions.

To further this fundamental aim, every effort should be made in the West to

develop a practical knowledge of the languages, traditions, and cultures of the people of Eastern Europe by expanding the possibilities of information and travel. Only by removing all artificial barriers, only by opening up all closed frontiers can workers and students, businessmen and farmers, teachers and secretaries, administrators and employees, writers, members of the press, artists, poets, musicians and intellectuals of all categories truly participate in this effort.

The peoples of the West ask for nothing more than what they themselves offer - in a spirit of loyal amity and concord.

By thus encouraging greater communication between all social sections of the people - and not simply between political leaders at the top - we shall be able to achieve a true understanding of what differentiates us, but also and above all of what more deeply unites us.

To be sure, not all conflicts and controversies will vanish once ideas and human beings are permitted to circulate freely; but the most serious source of conflict - ignorance of one another - will at last have disappeared.

A new climate of mutual esteem and confidence will gradually be established, in which a crippling anxiety about problems of security and defence will no longer poison the well-springs of European life.

Once these contracts have been extended and deepened - democratically on a people-to-people and person-to-person basis - the problems which now plague the relations between Eastern and Western European states can be solved in a frank and open spirit that is acceptable to all.

As long as people are not free to become acquainted with each other, the prevailing distrust will linger on. But let the barriers be lowered, the doors flung open, let everyone breathe the sweet air of liberty, and the clouds darkening our future will be

miraculously dispelled. Disarmament will cease to be an insoluble dilemma. It will yield to a genuine state of peace, ensuring the birth of an authentic community spirit, of a sense of continental kinship throughout Europe.

The first and fundamental aim of the European Security Conference should therefore be:

The conclusion of practical agreements; for we must no longer be distracted by hollow words and slogans.

The same freedom of travel and communication which exists between the different countries of the West should be extended to the relations between countries of East and West, and given concrete guarantees in written conventions.

This is a wish shared by all the peoples of Europe. This is the beckoning future towards which they instinctively aspire. This is the brighter tomorrow which must be offered to them if this conference is not to be a snare and a delusion.

Specific Proposals

Here, then are certain practical suggestions for improving relations between East and West:

1. Freedom of movement for human beings to promote mutual knowledge.

-Elimination of passport visas and special travel permits along with lines of what has been accomplished between Western countries.

-Freedom of movement from one part of a country to another, and from one country to the next.

-Freedom of individual contacts, freedom for offering and receiving hospitality (invitations and visits to private homes, etc.)

-Freedom to choose one's place of residence.

-Freedom to marry the person of one's choice, regardless of nationality or place of residence.

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Hungarians Protest Exclusion

This statement of the Hungarian Freedom Fighter's Federation was issued in response to recent news that, due to Soviet pressure, Hungary will not be granted full status at the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks in Vienna, remaining merely an observer. The MBFR talks are prerequisite to the European Security Conference.

The nations of NATO and the Warsaw Pact are participating in negotiations to explore the possibility of reducing military forces in Central Europe. An Associated Press report, dated May 19, 1973, confirmed the previously spread rumors concerning the break in the procedural impasse causing the deadlock of the preparatory talks in Vienna. The impasse was resulted by the dispute over the status of Hungary. The Soviet demand submitted in early February that Hungary be limited to observer status was resisted by the western participants for 14 weeks.

A concession on this issue by the NATO powers - forced and forged by the United States - cleared the way for the resumption of substantive talks. Despite long, heated protest by Britain and other allies, the United States insisted that the West yield to Moscow's demand that delegates of Hungary be reduced to observer status and her territory be excluded from the area of projected troop cuts.

The Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation deprecates this action of the United States Government. The Federation voices its opinion that the denial of full membership to Hungary in the MBFR talks held in Vienna is gravely affecting the fate of Central Europe and the hoped for reestablishment of Hungarian sovereignty.

The effects of the western concession which was coined by the thrust of the Nixon Administration - will be comparable to the historic and

regretful results of diplomatic inaction on the part of the United States in 1956 during and after the Hungarian Revolution. Mr. Nixon's decision to unilaterally abandon his own goal to "conduct a credible diplomacy to negotiate a mutual reduction of forces" was made free from the pressures of an unexpected bloody revolution, and of an opportunistic war waged concurrently by old friends of the United States against a country with strategic and economic importance to the United States, free from the assumed possibility of a nuclear holocaust in case of intervention.

The decision to concede to Soviet demands was reached after three months of calculating deliberation, and in the full knowledge of the consequences. For these reasons the decision is inexcusable.

The results of the fateful, paradoxical verdict, delivered by the President of the United States over Hungary and her people, are incomprehensible. The President by his action robbed from the Hungarians the only treasure that they still could call as their own: the hope for freedom, for life without foreign occupation and exploitation.

The presidential decision is deplorable not only because it sanctions and finalizes the occupation of Hungary and prepares her for the fate of the Baltic States, but because it does not serve the best interests of the United States either. In a time when the very fabric of our national integrity, honesty, the soundness of our Government are tested at home, opportunistic deals on the field of foreign policy cannot and will not restore the lost prestige either of our government or of our President.

Therefore, the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation - representing and



The Soviet Union arrives - 1956

expressing the true and basic interests of the silenced, oppressed Hungarian nation, and on behalf of Americans concerned with the fundamental American interests in Central Europe - calls upon the President of the United States to reverse his position and instruct the representatives of the United States in Vienna to energetically pursue the reinstatement of Hungary to full membership status in the preparatory talks and to assure that her territory be included in the area of projected troop cuts.

II.

The Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation recognizes the fact that the negotiations aimed at military force reduction to Central Europe hitherto called Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks - are necessary and in the framework of currently acting domestic and international pressures are inevitable. These negotiations, however, should try to positively foster the free political development of Central Europe and contain inherent assurances that

they do not inadvertently serve an expansive and aggressive Soviet policy in Europe.

The concessions made by the NATO powers at Vienna concerning Hungary's status proves the West short on both of these accounts.

The original aim of the MBFR talks was as President Nixon announced on November 4, 1972 in his address on nationwide radio to conduct "negotiations on mutual and balanced force reduction of armed forces in Central Europe." The concession of the Western powers, manufactured by the United States, is the paradox of this presidential statement.

The unrestricted use of Hungary by the Red Army of the Soviet Union, sanctioned by American eagerness to please the red rulers in the name of detente, provides a beachhead for Communist imperialism in the strategically located crossroads of Central Europe. The unrestrained access to Yugoslavia - the potential trouble spot of the next decade in Europe - wets the appetite of the rulers of the Kremlin to implement the Brezhnev Doctrine there also in order to gain a direct overland access to the Mediterranean. Reduction of armed forces in Czechoslovakia is meaningless without a similar action in Hungary. Forces of geography are supplying the indisputable argument to support this statement.

Therefore, the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation in the name of Americans of Hungarian descent calls upon all Americans to support the Federation's request, submitted to the President, urging him to reverse the position of the United States regarding Hungary's status in the Vienna force reduction talks.

There is no attempt to influence the totalitarian regimes to observe national and human rights and there are no assurances at hand to curb the appetite of Communist Soviet colonialism.



Ideology

Communist Views of Peace Prospects

by James Cowin

This article was originally written as a paper in a graduate course on "Social Psychology of Communism" given at George Washington University. It describes how Communists view the possibilities of peace versus war in international relations, according to Marxist-Leninist doctrine. To a Communist, the world is in a transition between capitalist and socialist society. The transition can be "peaceful"; that is, involving little or no destruction to Communist nations. According to this theory, all violence will occur in capitalist countries as the left overcomes the right in one last spasm. Or the transition can be a "violent" one in which the world may be engulfed in a nuclear war. This the Communists are concerned about, since the resulting conflagration may well bring their destruction along with that of the rest of the world.

(Reminder—the arguments below are written in the way Communists would present them.)

The Optimist

We have so influenced history that capitalism will collapse without any more major wars. We have provided such a clearly superior system that the capitalists are not strong enough to prevent the world from being attracted to us.

Under our socialist economy workers receive the benefits of their labor; they therefore show more dedication than their American counterparts. Communist leaders are both honest and capable, as opposed to the corrupt capitalist tycoons who exploit labor for their own profit. In a manner of time the Russian army should surpass that of the United States.

Third World countries are especially drawn to Communism. As under-developed nations, they suffer from the same problems as did agrarian Tsarist Russia. They have been inspired by the industrial progress made by the Soviet Union and wish to adopt Communist methods. They realize that because of progress in industrial technology they can bypass the capitalist stage and jump from feudalism to socialism. Finally, all Third World countries are bitter about exploitation by colonialist nations and do not wish to beg help from the capitalists.

The superiority of Marxism-Leninism has manifested itself in several tangible advantages over the capitalists. Although the U.S. tries to buy good will with its foreign aid, we lead the people away from its imperialist trap, showing the advantages of Communism over the outmoded, reactionary capitalist system. Third World peoples have demonstrated their support for Communism in such actions as the admittance of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations.

Marxist-Leninist discipline has also provided superior military organization. At present, wars of national liberation remain unbeatable; their continued occurrence insures the eventual downfall of the capitalists. Thanks to the struggles of the Soviet people to build an industrial base, Soviet naval power now challenges U.S. imperialist all over the globe.

Communist advantages are buttressed by the floundering of the capitalist states. Capitalists self-righteousness is mocked by its deeds. After My Lai the capitalists stood shamefaced before the world. Every American knows about the oppression of the Blacks and the Indians.

The decline of capitalist morality has created additional serious problems of the West. Capitalists, especially Americans, have no values; they are reduced to using popularity as a gauge of their worth. Hence, they are ready to conform to someone else's value system.

Finally, the entire American population has been reacting against bourgeois hypocrisy. Workers and students, enraged at being used as cannon-fodder for capitalist adventures, repeatedly condemned the Vietnam War. Racial minorities have become extremely militant. Left

ist groups, weary of refusal of just demands, have turned to underground activities, including terrorism. The people's faith in the government has been shaken by the Watergate scandal, the worsening capitalist economic crisis has angered even "Middle America." Capitalist society appears to be on its last legs and should collapse through internal struggles.

The Pessimist

But in our opinion, capitalists, desperate at their economic and political situation, may deliberately create wars to destroy socialist states. The U.S. may decide to "bomb Hanoi to the ground" against over disputes in the Indochina cease-fire. The Israeli imperialists, reportedly with U.S. help, are on the offensive against peaceful Arab nations. The Sino-Soviet split provides an excellent opportunity for the U.S. to try to play one socialist state against the other so that it can win by default.

This dangerous situation illustrates the need for socialist military might. In their attempt to save their collapsing puppets and dying system, the U.S. may rely even more on a policy of military aggression. This must be dealt with most severely, creating the greatest chance of war.

Besides, mankind suffers from an historical tendency toward violence. Human nature is brutal, and those who have weapons tend to use them. The science of dialectics reveals that progress comes through struggle, and struggle includes wars. Despite the terror of nuclear weapons, the arms race continues. It is ideological, and cannot end until ideological differences end.

Throughout history proponents of opposing ideologies have repeatedly tried to suddenly tip the balance of power in their favor. Wars have resulted. Such a thing may occur today if a major weapons breakthrough occurs.

Then there is the attachment to sacred tradition. Some religious or cultural tries are hundreds or even thousands of years old. No political or economic system could change them. The Israelis have not knuckled under because of a couple of thousand casualties a year or because of U.S. threats economic or political pressure. The Cambodians, despite the seeming hopelessness of their situation, haven't surrendered to the North Vietnamese and Khmer Rouge.

Our pressure, instead of causing collapse, has only stiffened their resolve of threatened nations and inspired the drastic measures necessary to win the struggle. The South Vietnamese government had redistributed half of the landlords' estates using the peasants under the land to the Tiller Program by the time the North Vietnamese invaded in 1972. The Israelis muted their squabbles among sects and races to unite and wipe out Arab military capacity in the Six Day War. The South Korean government has mobilized the people several times in anticipation of a Northern invasion.

Which position is more accurate?

In my opinion, the pessimistic Communist appears more accurate. Instead of submitting to a Communist takeover as a result of sheer exhaustion, many people would literally rather die. Every addition to Communist power should only increase the chances of war. Communist ideology violates basic human desires for love and creativity and automatically drives a wedge between the Communists and the people they wish to "liberate." For two hundred years many people have fought for the freedom to develop themselves as individuals, instead of being slaves to the wishes of a dictator. They would not readily submit to a Communist society and will fight to keep their freedom. This holds true regardless of any internal conflict in Western countries, making the inevitability of a "peaceful" transition to Communist "socialism," unlikely. The world will be in for several hard years during the next decade.

Compliment Versus

Contradiction

by Gary Jarmin

In the previous article on the Unification Ideology, brief explanations about the three basic laws of creation — polarity, give-and-take, and the three stages of growth—were presented. This article will contrast the concept of polarity with the Marxist law of opposites.

Marx borrowed his materialism from Feuerbach and the dialectic from Hegel. However, Marx's materialism differed from the humanist materialism of Feuerbach, who believed that change in human will and desire was the key to progress. Marx believed, on the contrary, that only change in the production relationship was the key to social development. Marx applied the dialectic of Hegel to the development of matter. It was this concept of the dialectic that Marx felt explained the reason for motion in matter.

What then, is the dialectic? According to Hegel, the dialectic is a process of *two contradictory ideas* clashing with each other, causing a *new idea* to emerge as the synthesis. There are three steps to this process: thesis, anti-thesis, and synthesis. The original idea or thesis is still imperfect and contains a contradiction within it. This contradiction negates itself, becoming the antithesis to the original thesis. From the clash between these two contradictions all ideas eventually progress towards the absolute idea.

Law of Opposites

From the clash between these two contradictory elements, thesis and antithesis, Marx derived the concept of the Law of Opposites. Marx said that all matter progresses through this dialectic clash. Consequently, Marx and Engels claimed that all things in creation exist in contradictory relationships, standing opposed to one another and developing through unity and struggle.

Lenin also tried to give similar examples of this opposing relationship; plus and minus in mathematics; action and reaction in dynamics; positive and negative charges in physics; combination and dissociation of atoms in chemistry; and class struggles in social science. With the exception of the last example, class struggle, union between the differentiated poles takes place *without struggle*.

Criticism of the Concept of Contradiction

It is true that when we observe social phenomena we can find many basic contradictions and conflicts. However, we cannot recognize this in nature, for there we find unity and harmony — not contradiction and

struggle. We can see examples of this in the case of positive and negative charges, which unite and are neutralized. In the case of the atom the proton and electron are mutually united and maintain a relationship of harmony. Particularly in the case of a seed, we find cooperation — not conflict — between the seed coat and the embryo. The seed coat serves to protect the embryo until it is ready to become a shoot, at which time the seed coat becomes thin, having fulfilled its purpose.

Polarities are Complimentary

The Unification Ideology correctly points out that all things of creation exist as complimentary polarities of subject and object — *not* as contradictory opposites, as Marx and Engels would have us believe.

Are a man and woman both contradictory opposites whose marriage can only progress through conflict and struggle? Do staminate and pistillate flowers struggle with each other in creating seeds? Is a molecule the result of an opposing anion and cation which struggle with one another? Of course one can see the futility of trying to explain these phenomena by the dialectic.

The Unification Ideology states that the reason polarities are complimentary and not contradictory is mutual purpose. Proton and electron unite because both have the mutual purpose of creating an atom. Rather than being repulsed, they are attracted. If they are opposites, as Marx states, then they must likewise have contradictory purposes. However, the purpose of proton and electron is mutual — not contradictory; because of this they work in harmony towards the goal of creating an atom. Their purposes can be fulfilled only in unity because proton and electron contain an aspect of the character of the atom.

Conflict in Values

It is obvious that Marx and Engels were pseudo-scientists only seeking to justify their belief in class conflict and revolution by trying to apply the dialectic to nature. It is true that conflicts exist between classes, races, ideologies, mates, parents and children, etc. However, each of these struggles is basically a conflict between values; it is not inherent, nor is it the result of struggles in production relationships. (More of this will be discussed in a later article). The important thing to remember is that the dialectical interpretation of nature is not valid. Through a deeper understanding of the laws of creation as they actually exist, we can achieve greater progress in human social relationships.

The New Tsars and Their Victims

Ray Mas

"This is a book I once swore solemnly never to write. Just one more book on Russia, I felt, would not only be presumptuous, but would require considerable justification." So writes John Dornberg in the opening sentences to the preface of his book, *The New Tsars: Russia Under Stalin's Heirs*, (Doubleday, Garden City, New York, 1972). Dornberg, the former German-born chief of Newsweeks' Moscow bureau, has written what must be one of the most deeply disturbing accounts of the re-Stalinization of the Soviet regime. Dornberg came to the Soviet Union in early 1967. Almost immedi-

ately, he recognized that his conceptions of the Soviet Union were very inaccurate - that indeed, the West's conceptions of the true situation in the U.S.S.R. were based largely on myth. Instead of a growing conciliatory mood in the Soviet Russia there was one of re-Stalinization. Dornberg had found his justification for writing another book on Russia. And as he delved more deeply into the plight of those in Russia who are opposing the Communist regime, his justification grew.

Amalrik - "It's been worthwhile"

In his time there, Dornberg came to know intimately some

of the most influential leaders of this growing dissident movement. One of those men is Andrei Amalrik, writer of *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* Although his fame in the West has given him some protection, for Soviets fear that world condemnation would result if he were harmed-he has not by any means had it easy. (Note, according to the May 26 *Washington Post*, he faces an extension of his 3-year prison term.)

Amalrik once told Dornberg, "Even if and when they put me in jail, I hope to stay freer than millions of my and your countrymen (Dornberg being Ger-

man) who in freedom screamed, 'Hurray for Stalin and Hitler' and believed in the omnipotence created by those dictators."

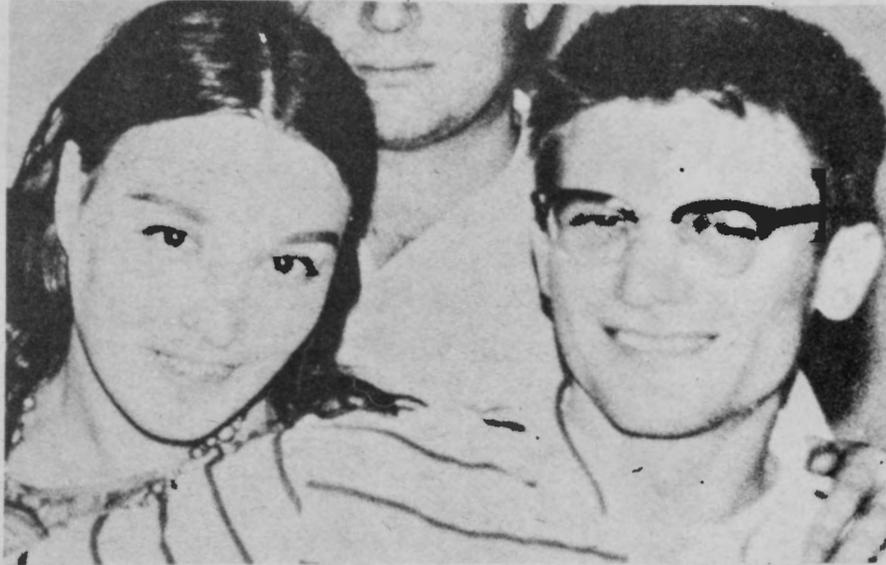
Just before his arrest in May 1970, Amalrik told Dornberg, "The KGB will arrest me when the fuss abroad has died down and interest in me has waned. They won't get me for my books, but will trump up some minor pretext. But now that my books are out and I have said what I want to say, I don't really care whether I go to prison or not. It's been worthwhile."

For Amalrik, a slight, frail and nearsighted man with a

various 'fads' such as miniskirts and long beards, but when fashion leads people to church, do we have a right to remain indifferent?"

Religion-Moral Mainstay and Threat

According to Dornberg, the idea that religion is the "mainstay of morality" appears to be widespread among the younger generation. Baptist prayer houses attract scores of youth. For one, the liturgy can be understood. But in addition, they are not tainted by the Orthodox Church's history of corruption and subservience which repels



Gysel and Andrei Amalrik.

(Observer/Transworld Feature)

"One word of truth hurled into Russia is like a spark landing on a powder keg."

congenital heart ailment, the Soviet prison experience is a tough one. But still he perseveres. For Dornberg it was a privilege to be called his friend.

Democracy not Compatible with Communism

Amalrik is one of many whose names scarcely reach the West. They are the unnamed heroes of the dissident movement, and Dornberg does not ignore them, either. Like the student Dornberg quotes: "Why do you think we invaded Czechoslovakia? Because we were in danger of losing it. You see, it was becoming democratic. Democracy is not compatible with Communism... If I sound bitter, then it is because I am. At my age (21) it is a shame to be bitter. I consider my bitterness a reflection of the Soviet regime and its policies." This is a powerful reflection of the growing disenchantment of youth in the U.S.S.R.

Russia's Christian heritage, according to the author, is experiencing an unprecedented revival. Much of it is external; for instance, attention to church music and architecture. But its effects are never-the-less worrying the Kremlin. Said one Kremlin official about the youth: "One can accept or reject many young people."

But even in the established Church, long a simple tool of

the Soviets, younger people are rebelling. In 1966, 2 young Moscow priests (age 35) wrote letters to the Soviet government accusing the regime of suppressing religion and the Church hierarchy of complicity in suppression. They wrote about the antagonism between "Holy Russia, which continues to live in the believers," and the "other" Russia. Both priests were suspended.

Despite these signs of hope, Dornberg presents them in an air of despair. Those who are speaking out are few in number. Indeed, though, it is their quality that is unusual. They almost all came from the intelligentsia. And in Russia, intellectuals are revered and respected much more so than in the West. Whether they will succeed in winning freedom in Russia, Dornberg does not want to answer. But he does quote the Marquis de Cuilline, a Frenchman and traveller through Russia more than 130 years ago: "One word of truth hurled into Russia is like a spark landing on a powder keg." To Dornberg then words still have merit; perhaps even more so today than when they were written. It is up to those in the free world when that spark will ignite. Mr. Dornberg's book is a welcome call to conscience in the name of those who are suffering under Communism's yoke.

Capitol Report

Recognizing the Problem

by James Cowin



Those who think that conflict between the Free World and the Communists is the result only of "Mutual Misconceptions" and can be eliminated through increased communications should heed the recent experience of the *New York Times*. As described by representative Richard Ichord (D. Mississippi) in the May 21 *Congressional Record*. The *Times* made the mistake (in Communist Chinese eyes) of accepting anti-Mao advertising from the Republic of China and from Chinese-Americans. Peking promptly demanded that the *Times* forbid any more such ads. The demand was refused.

The *Times* was then informed that its desired Peking News Bureau would not be established unless this demand was carried out. The *Times* chose to remain a free newspaper. At this date the News Bureau still remains only a desire.

The *Times* is not a conservative newspaper. Indeed, it can be argued that it has shown more bias toward Communist nations than against them. It would seem more advantageous to Mao's government to allow the *Times* to open its bureau and to supply the *Times* with slanted news.

But to allow the bureau, the Communists would have to violate their own moral code. Communist China is a totalitarian regime; its people have no freedom of opinion. Any deviation from Marxist ideology is harshly punished. Also, the Communists wish to conquer all non-Communists. To allow the western press to carry ads condemning Mao's atrocities and proclaiming the opposition of the Chinese people to this regime is clearly contrary to their purpose. So Peking reacted.

This experience should provide an insight into the consequences of relations with the Communists. One must deal with them on their terms; that is, one loses more and more freedom as relations expand.

Such a pattern has been the norm in all dealing with the Communists. Our trade with the Soviets has strengthened their military-

industrial complex while Soviet-enforced western competition has left western companies somewhat exhausted. Cultural exchanges unfortunately have spread Communist lies. The public was misled into believing accounts of the benefits of life behind the iron curtain and about the Communist desire to "serve the people." This has been one cause behind America's failure to unite in driving the Communists from South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Also the United States is in definite danger of becoming a second-class power because of our lessened desire to spend funds for defense.

Negotiations with the Communists have resulted in the U.S. being less and less able to defend herself and other nations. SALT I gave the Soviets a three-to-two advantage in missiles, the MBFR talks in Vienna may leave Europe in a dangerously weakened state.

Even media contacts have their snares. Instead of being able to report the truth about Communist nations, the press can only bring the Communist view: half-truths or lies.

Americans have shown an incredible naivete in dealing with the Communists. We won't recognize the motives underneath Communist smiles, despite ample Communist literature expressing their dedication to world revolution and the breakdown of the free world.

American leaders must understand the nature of the governments with whom we are dealing in the critical years ahead. International terrorism, Communist arms buildup, the Soviet encroachment of the oil-rich Persian Gulf, Indochina fighting—all must be dealt with. But American response depends upon American understanding of the cause of the problem. If Communism is not recognized for what it is — the greatest threat to civilization and world peace — the U.S., as well as the world, will probably suffer to an extent never imagined.

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The Rising Tide is published 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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