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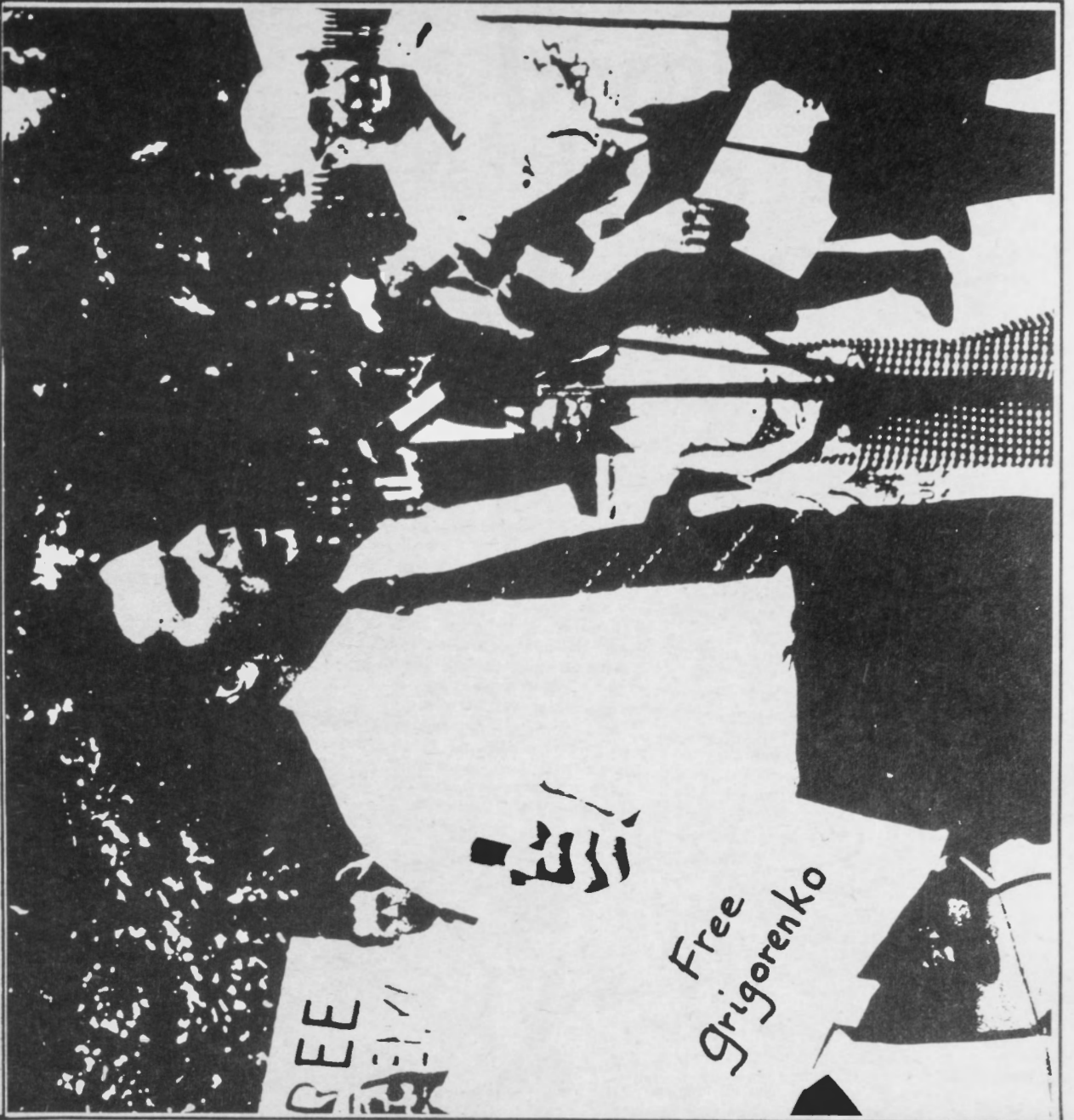
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# The Rising Tide

Volume Three, Number Twelve

June 18, 1973



(Continued from P. 3)

showed that 13 military targets had been struck and that there had been five cases of accidental damage, none of them very extensive. These were part of the Cuban Chancery compound, part of the Bach Mai Hospital, a small part of the Hanoi textile plant and two small residential areas. All of these were near military targets.

Speaking of one of the residential areas struck, Kham Tien, which had become a favorite showplace to demonstrate the damage done by the bombing, Arbuckle said it looked as if about 60 houses had been destroyed and another 20 damaged. About 215 people were killed there.

The aerial photos show that Bach Mai Hospital, about which so much has been written, to consist of five large buildings, two of which were partially damaged. The reports that the hospital was completely destroyed are false. Similarly with the Cuban Chancery compound, where it appears that two out of a dozen buildings were damaged.

Perhaps Vercors, the author of the wild emotional article from *Le Monde* that *The Times* printed on January 5, made the most fitting comment back in 1968, when he wrote:

The real victim, as I see it, is again the same: the Truth. I know, I know: truth is relative; facts are too complex to look at from one side only. Sure, big boy, you are right, and anyone who thinks otherwise is naive. But one thing does, objectively, exist, and the subtlest sophisms cannot cover it up: the Lie....The Lie repeated a thousand times become the Truth.

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# Mr. Brezhnev and his Doctrine

by Ray Mas

On the eve week of Mr. Brezhnev's arrival here, it would do well to remember the meaning of Soviet justice and legality. We are constantly reminded of its meaning by the voices of individuals in the Russian underground, but have we forgotten the voice of a dying nation in August 1968? It was in that year when the true face of "different roads to socialism" and the Brezhnev doctrine came to light. In reality, all roads led to the Kremlin and the barrel of a gun. Yet the world's memory is short. Just as that small nation was sold for the price of peace in Munich in 1939, an indifferent world watched their T.V. sets play out a drama that seemed to them to be more of a Hollywood epic than the struggle of a dying nation and a very brave people. Yet a few days later the curtain would fall on one of the most tragic chapters of European history since the end of World War II.

### "Safeguarding" the Movement

This was an example of the Brezhnev doctrine in action. The question we must now ask is whether the Czech invasion was a momentary act of insanity on the part of the Soviet Union or whether it was in keeping with premeditated ideological "justice." The fact is, according to Soviet law and justice, the rape of a nation is just if it is to safeguard "the interest of world socialism and the world revolutionary movement," in Pravda words.

### "Higher" law

In the 1930's it was Maxim Litvinov, then Soviet Foreign Minister, who disclosed the existence of specifically "socialist" international law and a "bourgeois" or "capitalist" international law. He went on to characterize national sovereignty as "an abstract legal concept." This aspect of Soviet law has thus given Soviets free rein to construct or reconstruct laws however they please, feeling confident that they are conforming to a "higher" law. That "higher" law is a law to preserve

and protect the "cause of socialism."

This understanding has led many in the West to view ideology as just a tool of the political aspirations of Communist states. The prime axiom of "truth" that Marxism presents validates any action to "build socialism." Thus, capitalist law is used in any way possible, even if in one instance a Marxist will say and do one thing and in the next the opposite. This was very evident, when on August 3, 1968, Czechoslovakia and five of its Warsaw Pact allies, led by the Soviet Union, joined in a communique at Bratislava, stating "their firm resolve to do everything in their power for deepening all-round cooperation of their countries on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and national independence (and) territorial integrity."

Seventeen days later, a twist of "bourgeois laws" brought tanks into Prague. Pravda defended the action by stating:

"Those who speak of the 'illegality' of the allied socialist countries' actions in Czechoslovakia forget that in a class society there is and can be no such thing as nonclass law. Laws and the norms of law are subordinated to the laws of the class struggle and the laws of social development..."

The class approach to the matter cannot be discarded in the name of legalistic considerations. Whoever does so forfeits the only correct, class-oriented criterion for evaluating legal norms and begins to measure events with the yardstick of bourgeois law.

### Yardstick of Bourgeois Law

Time and time again the West tries to use the yardstick of "bourgeois" law. And time and time again the West seems baffled by the actions of the Communists.

When Mr. Nixon meets Brezhnev this coming week, what yardstick will he use? What "laws" will be used as guidelines? Let us pray that he will keep in mind the death of free Czechoslovakia and the true meaning of Soviet legality.

(Also see articles on pp 2 & 7)



## Free Grigorenko!

"We are gathered here today because we want to make our presence felt at the White House," stated FLF President Neil Salonen to sixty demonstrators and many onlookers in front of the White House on Friday, June 8. Mr. Salonen, also Secretary pro tem of the Free Grigorenko Committee, was the initial speaker of the Free Grigorenko rally. The rally was held in behalf of General Pyotr Grigorenko, a prominent Soviet dissident sentenced indefinitely to a psychiatric hospital, where he lingers near death. "We want to really work to save one man's life," he continued, "General Grigorenko, because that man is a symbol of the right to dissent in a free society and a symbol of the many differences which separate us from the Soviet Union and other nations of the same ideological strain."

Wilson C. Luom, Ludmilla Thorne, and C. Dickerman Williams, plus many more.

All day long the rally participants - about 40 FLF'ers plus a number of Russian and other interested people, distributed pamphlets about the repression of intellectuals, religions, and minorities in the Soviet Union and collected signatures on a petition. The petition, which many hundreds of people signed, reads in part: "General Grigorenko has long been a courageous defender of human rights. This has been the only crime for which he now unjustly suffers. Mr. President, we earnestly beseech you to intercede on behalf of General Grigorenko in your upcoming talks with Leonid Brezhnev and help save his life before it is too late!"

Other rally speakers included: Mr. and Mrs. Yuriy Stein, close friends of the Grigorenko's and active supporters of the dissident movement; Alexander Yesenin-Volpin, Soviet mathematician who has endured four terms of psychiatric imprisonment, and Victor Kabachnik, now with Radio Liberty, who has served a five-year sentence in a Siberian labor camp. Mr. Kabachnik had called Mrs. Grigorenko to tell her about the demonstration; his remarks included excerpts from the conversation.

After the closing question-and-answer session, one of the members of the crowd asked to participate. Chairman of the Washington Committee on Soviet Jewry, Moshe Brodetsky, closed the rally by reciting the prayer he says every day across from the Soviet Embassy: "Our brethren, Jew and non-Jew, who are handed over to the stress and captivity on sea or on land, may God have mercy upon them and grant them relief, bringing them from darkness to light, from servitude to liberty, speedily and very soon. And let us say Amen." (Texts of statements given at rally appear on pages 4-5).

Cover: FLF President Neil Salonen addressing Free Grigorenko rally.



Passerby signing petition of FLF'er Jean Immel

The rally preceded the presentation of the open letter to President Nixon to the White House. The open letter, using General Grigorenko as an example, expresses concern over the use of psychiatry as a tool of political repression and asks President Nixon to bring up this issue in his upcoming talks with Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev. "We feverently pray that the forthcoming meeting will truly serve the cause of peace and the larger cause of humanity," says the letter. 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." The open letter was signed by Congressmen Phillip Crane, Benjamin Gilman, Barry Goldwater, Jr., James R. Grover, Jr., Robert P. Hanrahan, Richard H. Ichord, Jack F. Kemp, Earl F. Landgrebe, Floyd Spence, Anthony Won Pat; and Dr. Edward Teller, Eldridge Durbrow, Christopher T. Emmet, John Fisher, Admiral Daniel V. Gallery, Natalie Douglas-Hamilton, Dr. Sidney Hook,



Moshe Brodetsky



Enforcing the Doctrine

# Considerations on U.S. -- Soviet Trade

Allan Brownfeld

WASHINGTON -- There is a widespread feeling in our own country and elsewhere in the Western world that the Soviet Union has altered its goal of world domination and that, since this is the case, the previous barriers to East-West trade should be removed.

The reasoning seems to be logically consistent. If the Soviet Union is no longer an enemy and is no longer ambitious in its design to Communize the world, then the opposition to trade with the Soviet Union, based upon a different assessment of its goals, should also change.

This administration has, in recent days, acted upon that assumption. On the basis of figures supplied by the House Agriculture Subcommittee, we discover that the total cost of the recent wheat deal with the Soviet Union and Communist China to the American consumer over the nine months following the transaction in increased prices for bread and other flour-based products was estimated at \$290 million.

In addition, because large quantities of corn and other grains fed to cattle were included in the Soviet deal, the American consumer felt the inflationary effects at the

equality with our own Polaris-Poseidon fleet.

Beyond this, Soviet activity in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean provides no indication of any change in policy. In addition, the Soviet Union continues to provide over 80 per cent of military and other supplies to North Vietnam and is, as a result, a major contributor to the continued conflict in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

Discussing Soviet goals in today's world, Joseph Gwyer, a former senior research specialist in industrial engineering with the Library of Congress and one of the foremost experts on Soviet technology and East-West trade, notes that, "It is obvious that the Soviet Union seeks to attain at any price such goals as scientific and technological as well as military superiority, improved socio-political cohesion and organizational efficiency, and higher rates of economic growth, while encouraging and seeking to control the revolutionary process of the world."

At the very moment when Soviet military strength is surpassing our own, we are considering East-West trade proposals

*"The Soviets use trade as  
a weapon of political  
as well as economic warfare."*

meat counter as well. The cost of feed grains plays a large role in determining the price of meat, and people in the feed grain, cattle and hog-raising businesses now estimate that it will cost the American consumer \$1.2 billion over the next nine months to eat the amount of meat that he has been consuming. This figures doesn't include expected rises in the price of poultry, eggs and dairy products.

#### Trade

The Nixon administration, with very little opposition, sold the Soviet Union and Communist China wheat at a low subsidized price with the difference being made up by American taxpayers.

#### Other Side

Unfortunately, those who advance the view that the Soviet Union has changed and now merits Most Favored Nation treatment in trade relations, can provide little evidence to support their thesis. The evidence is largely on the other side.

During the past five years, for example, the U.S. has not increased the number of land-based missiles and missile-carrying submarines, while we cut back on the number of our strategic aircraft. The Soviet Union on the other hand, increased her arsenal of land-based missiles to numbers 50 per cent greater than our own. Her missile-launching submarine fleet is nearly

in the area of the most sophisticated machine tools, chemical processing and electronics. These, notes Mr. Gwyer, "should be carefully scrutinized, since our conflict with Communism is economic as well as political. We have little if anything to gain in this struggle by helping the Soviet Union to fill gaps in her technology."

To provide the Soviet Union with the sophisticated technology it needs to surpass us, while not demanding any concessions in return, is a one-sided policy designed solely to our own detriment. Mr. Gwyer points out that "...the Soviets use trade as a weapon of political as well as economic warfare. The Soviets clamor for trade with the West and then they campaign to disrupt the world markets. They use the innocent bait of commerce to entice unsuspecting or perhaps naive nations into their political web."

A.P. Chevyakov, a Soviet authority on foreign trade, makes this clear. He declared that "...due to the basic antagonism between communism and capitalism, trade between the East and West will always be influenced, if not dominated by political considerations and motivations. The USSR's foreign trade policy is an integral part of its foreign policy..."

Hopefully, President Nixon and Mr. Kissinger will keep this fact in mind during the up coming summit meeting in Washington.



## A Casualty of "Detente"

Andrei Amalrik, long an outspoken critic of the Soviet regime, was due to be released on May 21, 1973 when his three year prison-camp term expired. However, true to current form, Amalrik was NOT released; instead, new charges were brought against him for violating Article 190 of the Soviet legal code outlawing "the spreading of deliberate fabrications that defame the Soviet state and public order." All this really means, of course, is that Amalrik was bold enough to speak the truth about his society while confined in a prison camp. During his trial in 1970 Amalrik responded to similar charges brought against him by his prosecutors, saying: "To sentence ideas to criminal punishment, whether they be true or false, seems to me to be a crime in itself."

There was at first great expectation that Amalrik might have been released since he has been invited to lecture at Harvard and George Washington Universities. Other dissidents like Valery Chalidze and Zhores Medvedev have been allowed study abroad. This, however, has usually been a pretext for Soviet officials to get rid of intellectuals critical of the regime. Once they leave the country their passports are revoked and they are unable to return home.

Amalrik has been one who has found more necessary to remain at home to continue the fight for human rights. He always felt the important thing was to achieve greater "inner freedom" at home rather than to escape to the West. "This is the country in which I was born," he once remarked in an interview. "Perhaps if I had a choice beforehand, I might have preferred to be born elsewhere. But all that remains to me now is to hope and strive for changes that will make this country a better one."

Certainly Amalrik is right. The "voluntary" exile of those who might otherwise be able to speak out against the totalitarian nature of Communism will not be the salvation of Russia. More people must be willing to stand fast and oppose the Soviet regime from within if human rights are to ever be restored.

According to Amalrik, no one is free from his duty to oppose the regime, for all are collectively responsible for it. He believes that "No rule by force can exist without people who are ready to submit to that rule. If we want to change it we must fight it. It is a bad system. It makes me physically ill to my stomach. But no one living under it is absolved of blame for its being bad."

Amalrik's rearrest can be understood in this context because the Soviets greatly fear the spread of such ideas. Consequently, the regime has begun an unprecedented wave of repression against intellectuals, Christians, Jews or anyone who poses a threat to the continued existence of Communism. For the Soviets "detente" means the one way exchange of their propaganda into our society while destroying any attempt towards adopting "decadent western ideas," like democracy, at home.

When Brezhnev arrives in the U.S., handshakes, smiles, toasts, and trade agreements can be expected. The Cold War will again be declared over at last, the dawn of a new "generation of peace" will be supposedly at hand, and most will applaud the new "friendship" with our best wheat consumer. It may appear to some as if much has been accomplished but if all this transpires while the issue of human rights is embarrassingly passed over, the conscience of America will have been lost. Amalrik and thousands of others will have been betrayed for a few pieces of silver from Communist tyrants who long ago sacrificed their values upon the altar of Marxist materialism. "The spirit of Munich has by no means retreated into the past," remarked Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Nobel Prize winner. "The timid civilized world," he said, "has found nothing to oppose the onslaught of a sudden bareface barbarity, other than concessions and smiles."

However, there may be hope that Amalrik might be released and allowed to emigrate to another country. This will depend greatly on the attitude of political leaders here in the U.S. towards "detente." If we have moral integrity at all, we cannot accept the conditions of detente as they now exist. It is time we aligned ourselves with the power of virtue, not of politics. Otherwise, good men will die and all their valiant struggle may be in vain.

by  
Neil Salonen  
President,  
Freedom  
Leadership  
Foundation



# "Viva Puerto Rico! Viva America!"

by John F. Lewis  
Staff member, office of Congressman  
Richard Ichord (D. - Mo.)



At a time when many of us have deep concerns about the state of our nation and the quality of its leadership, any experience which renews the spirit and strengthens one's resolve is worth sharing. I had such an experience while visiting in New York over the weekend of June 1-3. June 3 was Puerto Rican Day and time for a full-scale parade up Fifth Avenue from Rockefeller to Spanish Harlem.

A bright, clear Sunday noon hour and the sounds of jubilation rising from the street level 19 stories to my hotel window invited my attention and participation. I soon found myself working my way through the tumult and revelry of thousands upon thousands of families from New York's Puerto Rican community as they teemed along both sides of the Avenue, waving the Puerto Rican flag (a single star adaptation of the American flag) laughing, singing, cheering, picnicking, hawking and gawking with the excitement and animation of a Mardi Gras.

Then came the parade and the din of "Vivas" block after block after block as the units passed by. Following the advance cars and bands came the detachments of Puerto Ricans in the New York Police and Fire Departments. For them were the wildest, most enthusiastic cheers I had ever heard. The pride in the happy, sometimes tear-stained faces of these vibrant, emotional Puerto Ricans citizens who, just five, ten or twenty years ago had come as veritable immigrants from the poverty-mired farms, plantations and mountain villages of their home island was a sight never to be

forgotten. It was truly a joyous occasion in which alternating shouts of "Viva America," "Viva Puerto Rico" and "Viva Puertorriquenos" were completely harmonious. Puerto Ricans units of the VFW and American Legion also received roaring approval. The American flag was constantly being applauded and cheered. It was great to be a Puerto Rican, but it appeared to be even greater to be a Puerto-Rican American citizen.

Two hours later the mood was reversed. The militants had demanded a place in the parade. The Puerto Rican Socialist and Communist Parties, the P.R. Liberation Army, the P.R. Prisoners Solidarity Committee, the Youth Against War and Fascism, the P.R. Hospital Workers Struggle Committee—perhaps 2,500 of them all told, with revolu-

tionary banners flying—marched with clenched fists and loudspeakers blaring slogans and diatribes against the United States, etc., etc. Non-violently, the vast multitude of spectators showed their displeasure. The motley and generally unkempt horde of revolutionary types were booed, jeered, given the thumbs-down gesture or greeted with grim silence as they marched by. The crowd became tense, but when the militants moved on to be followed by a contingent of the New York PD's mounted police, the cheers that went up were deafening. To a non-Puerto Rican American, the crowd left no doubts about where the loyalties of the overwhelming masses of Puerto Ricans in New York City belong.

An observer could conclude that, like the Irish, the Jews, the East Europeans,

the Italians and all the others who came out of misery and fear to find a new life in New York and America, the Puerto Ricans on June 3, 1973, now knew that they, too, had "arrived" in the sense of achieving status as citizens of America. Tired though their vocal chords were from cheering those of their number who marched as uniformed policemen, firemen and war veterans, they still managed their greatest explosion of voiced approval for the Grand Marshal. After all he was the first Puerto Rican-born Member of Congress and now he was a candidate for Mayor of New York. He was the symbol of success for every Puerto Rican parent and child in that throng of new Americans. He was Herman Badillo. And for this one day on the eve of New York mayoralty primary he was king of Fifth Avenue and his people owned the street—not as interlopers but as Americans.

Fifteen years ago, when this reporter first began visiting and touring the island of Puerto Rico and spent enough time there over the next six years of vacations to get well acquainted with the people, I was often reminded by my colleagues, friends and acquaintances back here on the mainland of the Puerto Rican "problem" in the U.S. "Those people" who were then flooding into New York on cut rate flights from Puerto Rico were just adding to our crime statistics and welfare rolls. I readily acknowledged that any time a host of poor are dumped into the cauldron of New York, crime and welfare costs go up. But I insisted that someday the new Americans from Puerto Rico would make a contribution that would make us proud. This view was vindicated, at least in part, for, those non-Puerto Ricans fortunate enough to see this year's Puerto Rican Day parade.

## The Lie that Became the Truth

by Reed J. Irvine

Accuracy In Media Bulletin May, 1973

After a halt of nearly two months, President Nixon ordered the resumption of full-scale bombing against North Vietnam on December 18, 1972, including the bombing of military targets in the Hanoi-Haiphong area not previously bombed. Administration officials said that the President had taken this action as part of a concerted political, diplomatic and military campaign to force North Vietnam into a more conciliatory position at the bargaining table. It was clear that President Nixon wanted to bring maximum pressure to bear on the North Vietnamese to get them to agree to an early end to the fighting and to the return of the American prisoners of war.

This move was highly successful. The bombing of Hanoi lasted only 11 days. The North Vietnamese resumed peace talks at the technical level in Paris on January 2, and on January 8, Dr. Kissinger and Le Duc Tho began the serious negotiations that produced the cease-fire agreement that went into effect on January 27, just 40 days after the bombing was resumed. Two months later all the American POWs were safely out of Hanoi.

Major Norman A. McDaniel expressed the sentiments of the returned POWs when he said he was "very happy" to see the bombing resumed "because I felt that it was by far one of the major steps to be taken in order to secure the release of myself and my fellow prisoners." Major McDaniel said the reason the POWs had praised President Nixon so much was "because we feel that he was instrumental in putting enough pressure on the enemy to gain our release."

It may come as a shock to the returned POWs to learn that very important elements of the American news media did their best to force the President to halt the pressure on Hanoi that brought them their freedom. This was done by trying to convince the American public in news stories, editorials and columns that the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong was uncivilized, inhumane terror bombing of civilians. Strong demands were made by influential newspapers and commentators that it be halted at once. News stories emphasized the number of American planes shot

down, the allegedly heavy civilian casualties, and the strong criticism of the bombing in foreign countries. Repeated insistence of the Defense Department that the United States was not engaged in terror bombing of the civilian population, but was hitting legitimate military targets made little impression on the news media. These assertions were reported, but they were drowned out by reports from Communist and other sources of "carpet-bombing" of populated areas.

The *New York Times* headlined the reported attack on the POW camp on page one. In its story on December 22, *The Times* did not tell its readers that the Defense Department had denied targeting the area of the camp. The Pentagon was quoted only as saying "that if these statements were correct, then Hanoi was admitting that it was violating the Geneva Convention by keeping prisoners of war in areas particularly exposed to the dangers of war."

Had the news media waited a few hours to get confirmation of the story from the visiting Americans, they would have learned that the "damage" to the camp was at most a few cracks in the walls and ceilings of some of the rooms. That was revealed by the Washington Star-News in its December 22 edition. Much needless worry was caused the families of the POWs by the haste with which the news media carried the false Communist propaganda charge.

Great emotions were aroused about a story that the Bach Mai hospital had been completely destroyed. On December 28, *The New York Times* again repeated in a front page story that the B-52's "lay down a carpet of bombs a mile and a half long and a half a mile wide." It said that there were reports that several diplomatic missions, including those of India, Cuba and Egypt, had been damaged by the bombing. *The Times* reported a North Vietnamese statement that the bombing had caused thousands of deaths. It asked an editorial: "Can anyone believe that carpet bombing of this magnitude does not take a terrible civilian toll in such a densely peopled region?"

On December 29, *The Times* reported on page 3 that Hanoi had protested "terror bombings unprecedented in history," and it passed on, without com-

ment, the Hanoi assertion that the U.S. had mobilized "close to 10,000 tactical aircraft" for this assault.

NBC's nightly TV news program on the same day put on Indian diplomats fresh out of Hanoi who asserted that the Bkh Mai Hospital had been completely destroyed and who charged that the bombing was indiscriminate. The wife of one said that the bombing had destroyed everything but the life of the people, and that too was being taken now.

The campaign by the media against the bombing had its affect. On December 29, both CBS and NBC had Senator Saxbe saying that President Nixon must have taken leave of his senses. CBS warned that the planned meeting between Nixon and Brezhnev might be called off. They quoted Chou En-lai as saying that the bombing could adversely affect U.S. - China relations, and they cited unnamed administration officials who were having second thoughts about the bombings because of the heavy losses (a total of 27 planes). NBC reported that the Chicago City Council had condemned the bombing, as had Italy, Holland and Sweden.

On December 30 it was announced that peace talks would be resumed in Paris and that the bombing north of the 20th Parallel would be halted. It took the *New York Times*, however, a couple of weeks to unwind.



*The Times* ran another vicious attack on the United States from *Le Monde* on January 5 which compared the bombing to the atrocities of Hitler. Accusing the American government of being drunk with power, the author, Vercors, said: "For the moment they are content with transposing an entire land into a lunar landscape and an entire people into deadmen from out of the Stone Age."

The same edition of *The Times* carried an AP dispatch on page one which said that a preliminary survey by North Vietnam showed that 1,318 persons were killed and 1,261 wounded by the bombing raids. There was no editorial comment on the discovery that the supposed "carpet bombing" in a densely peopled area that was said to have been "unprecedented in history" had killed fewer than half the number of people that had died at Pearl Harbor and less than one per cent of the number that died at Dresden.

The mystery of the contradiction between the low casualties and the reported indiscriminate, massive carpet bombing was cleared up in April 1973. It turned out that there had been no massive, indiscriminate carpet bombing. The atrocity that had so outraged *The New York Times*, the Nobel laureates, and the *Chicago City Council* to name but a few, had never happened.

This was first revealed by Tammy Arbuckle, correspondent for the Washington-Star-News, who visited Hanoi at the end of March. In a dispatch printed in the Star-News on April 1, he said:

"United States air strikes against legitimate military targets in Hanoi seem to have been carried out with almost surgical precision. The impression after nine hours spent in the city is that Hanoi's people, contrary to some reports, seem to have had an easier war than some... Pictures and some press reports had given a visitor the impression Hanoi had suffered badly in the war—but in fact the city is hardly touched. This compares with South Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao towns that are completely razed."

Mr. Arbuckle's eyewitness observations were confirmed on April 6, when Adm. Thomas Moorer released reconnaissance aerial photos of Hanoi that showed that the city was virtually intact. The photos

(Continued on P. 8)

## "We Want To Save One Man's Life"



Neil Salonen

We are gathered here today because we want to make our presence felt in the White House. We want to really work to save one man's life, General Grigorenko, because that man is a symbol of far more than just one life but a symbol of the right to dissent in a free society and a symbol of the very differences which separate us from the Soviet Union and other nations of the same ideological strain.

We know that in a little more than a week

Leonid Brezhnev is coming here for discussions with President Nixon. Many of the things that they will discuss will be aimed at fostering closer working relationships between our two countries and our two systems. We applaud any efforts toward real detente or world peace—any cooperative efforts which can be worked out between the leaders of these two nations. But we must not fail to point out the fundamental differences that separate our two systems or pretend they don't exist or compromise away the very principles upon which this nation was built and the hopes upon which the freedom of the world rests.

So we are having this demonstration so that President Nixon could be persuaded to include in his conversations with Mr. Brezhnev the question of those dissidents in the Soviet Union who, because the Soviets dare not bring them to trial because they have no case against them, are instead imprisoned in psychiatric institutions and given mind-altering drugs so that their very human body is desecrated by their torturers and their imprisoners. We want him to ask these questions of the Soviet leaders: Why, if their society is so willing to have dialogue with us are they unwilling to have dialogue in their own country? Why, if they're so interested in bringing about peace and freedom of expression in the world, are some of their most intellectually superior citizens silent, unable to have their works published in their country and unable to discuss or debate even among themselves the positions and the ideas that they have for the betterment of their society?

Mr. Salonen then read the open letter to President Nixon, printed in the last *Rising Tide* and excerpted on page one.

## "Could We Ever Forget These Facts?"



Yuriy Stein

STATEMENT BY YURIY STEIN, Member of the Action Group for the Defense of Civil Rights in the USSR.

Pyotr Grigorenko was not only one of the members of the Civil Rights movement in the USSR. He was its moving spirit, its very soul.

A distinguished warrior at the pinnacle of a brilliant military and scientific career, well provided for, with all the good things of life at his reach, he sacrificed all this in order to help those who have become the victims of injustice and judicial arbitrariness: In his so-called "anti-soviet activities" he had never, not on a single occasion, trespassed against the Soviet laws. This, then, is the reason why the executors of Soviet justice had never dared to bring him to an open trial. Instead they have railroaded the bemedalled 62 year old veteran into a cell of a psychiatric prison where he is doomed to end his days from disease and sheer physical exhaustion.

We all, without exception, bear the responsibility for his fate.

During World War II he fought gallantly against the Nazi aggressors. Twice he was wounded and suffered a severe concussion in battle. He had shed his blood not only to defend the borders of his native land. He also fought in the defense of the vital interests of the Allies, including those of the United States. And in his battle for Civil Rights in the Soviet Union over the past decade he has also been defending the vital interests of all free men and of civilization as such.

Could we, should we ever forget these facts! Could we, should we abandon this gallant man!

## "Demand the Liberation of Grigorenko!"

The situation of spiritually independent individuals in the Soviet Union continues to be exceptionally difficult. For example:

Pyotr Grigorovich Grigorenko, now 65 years old, spoke out and wrote in defense of the Crimean Tatars who are prohibited by the authorities from residing in the Crimea. In May 1969 he traveled to Tashkent at the invitation of 2,000 Tatars to defend 11 Tatars who were accused and tried for *anti-Soviet libel*. It is important to understand that everyone in the Soviet Union who criticizes the actions of the authorities is threatened by such accusations. The punishment is usually many years of imprisonment, but in those cases when the accused is capable of defending himself ably and of creating difficulties for the judges in convicting him, the authorities often prefer if the accused is declared not responsible. This makes possible under Soviet law the exclusion of the accused from court participation in his case and permits the court to order compulsory treatment for an indefinite period of time. By order of the court, the treatment is carried out in a special psychiatric hospital where prison severity is combined with confinement in the midst of lunatics and psychiatric hypocrisy. The usual condition for release is recognition by the patient of the "correctness" of the measures taken in his case and the "mistakenness" of his "former" views.

Patients in a special psychiatric hospital are usually deprived of writing materials. This prevents them from communicating to people the conditions of their confinement. Usually only close relatives are permitted to visit patients, and then no more than three times a month and under the strict supervision of the psychiatrists responsible for their "treatment" and of the administration.

I confirm these circumstances from my personal experience.

I return now to the case of Grigorenko. He was arrested May 7, 1969, having just arrived in Tashkent, where the authorities were faced with the problem whether to permit him to speak in behalf of the 11 Tatars on trial. The authorities preferred to arrest him. In the manner described above, he was sent for compulsory treatment to the special psychiatric hospital in Chernyakhovsk and is now in his fourth year of confinement there.

Two questions are important: Can Grigorenko recognize the "correctness" of this measure without thereby recognizing the "correctness" of the conviction of the Tatars, as well as many other innocent individuals? Have psychiatrists the right to force the moral capitulation of their patients by violence?

Let people of all countries consider these questions and state their conclusions openly.

Alexander Yesenin-Volpin

# Free Grigorenko Raise the Issue June 8



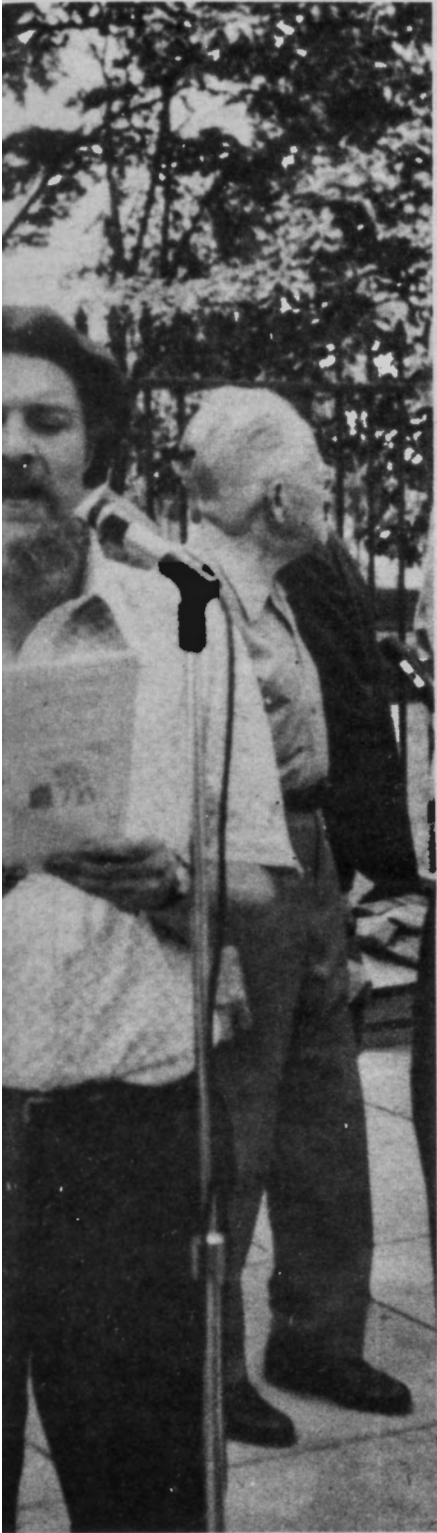
Alexander Yesenin-Volpin speaks at a public gathering.

## Freedom

About 60 persons demonstrated outside the White House yesterday, asking President Nixon in his forthcoming talks with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to raise the issue of freeing retired Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko from a Soviet prison.

The demonstrators, organized by the Freedom Leadership Foundation, 1365

# Grigorenko ly 1973



Protest in behalf of Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko

## Protest

Connecticut Ave. N.W., said Grigorenko had been imprisoned since 1969 for his "ardent defense of persecuted Soviet minorities . . . and his criticism of the invasion of Czechoslovakia."

Neil Albert Salonen, president of the foundation, read an open letter to the President asking him to seek the release of Grigorenko, whom he said is dying.

Washington Post June 9, 1973

## "Where Will This Lead Us To?"

As we were leaving Russia, slightly more than a year ago, we realized that we were going away most probably forever. And it was not until the very last day before our departure that we had gathered to take leave of our closest friends, one of whom was Zinaida Grigorenko.

She had just returned home from a hospital and was still very weak. She looked at us with hope: "Tell them, tell them all the truth when you get there. Help us!" she pleaded.

How this fragile woman could withstand all the ordeals that befell her in life is something I could never understand. Her first husband and all her relatives were shot during the purge in 1937. Her son fell gravely ill, having contracted an incurable chronic disease. Alone, unprotected, and unassisted, she pulled him through and up to this day continues to take good care of him.

Her second marriage did not make her life easier. During the last 12 years she was doomed to go through new ordeals: the first arrest of Pyotr Grigorenko in 1964, then his commitment to the Leningrad special psychiatric prison, then the arrest and short imprisonment of her younger son, who at the time was barely 17. Deliberately the family was reduced to utter misery. The demoted general had to work as a porter in a store. Their son, Andrey, had contracted duodenal ulcers...

But the latest events—General Grigorenko's second arrest in 1969, the subsequent psychiatric examination as a result of which this perfectly healthy man was pronounced insane, and his indefinite confinement in the dismal psychiatric prison in far away Chernyakhovsk—all this has finally sapped and undermined Zinaida's forces. And yet somehow she still manages to travel to Chernyakhovsk to struggle for a chance to see her husband. Visits with the General are not always granted. But when they are, a supervisor is constantly there to listen in and watch.

She haunts the thresholds of various KGB officials in Moscow. She writes protests, letters, complaints, petitions...all in vain! It has become now absolutely clear—awful as this may sound—that on the behest of the highest authorities the KGB cold-bloodedly, deliberately strives to bring the "matter" to a fatal end. They have apparently decided to do away with these two stubborn individuals who cannot be bent, who staunchly refuse to renounce their humane principles and convictions.

In order to speed up the desired end, the KGB deals blow after shattering blow on their tormented victims by raising their hopes only to make the subsequent shock of disappointment even more debilitating, more crushing and harder to take.

Yet, I know, I am convinced that energetic intercession on the part of responsible officials in the West could save the lives of Pyotr and Zinaida Grigorenko and the lives of many other people who rot in Soviet concentration camps

## "In the Realm of Your Possibility"

Dear Friends!

In May of 1969 General Grigorenko was arrested in the city of Tashkent. I will not go into the details of this act which cries out the lawlessness of the Soviet authorities. The entire world knows that Pyotr Grigorenko did not commit any crime; all of his public activities were carried out within the framework of Soviet law and were directed in the defense of these individuals who were swept up by the arbitrariness of the Soviet regime. Even the authorities themselves recognized Grigorenko's innocence indirectly by refusing to try him and by applying to him a technique which, unfortunately, has been used by the regime to combat any sort of dissent. Namely, General Grigorenko was pronounced insane and was placed in a psychiatric hospital. Grigorenko's wife, Zinaida Mikhailovna, turned to all people of good will with the appeal: "Freedom loving people of the world—help save my husband!"

Since that time, four years have passed. General Grigorenko continues to languish in an isolation cell of a former Prussian prison in Chernyakhovsk, which has now been converted into a psychiatric prison of "the first Socialist state in the world."

General Grigorenko, now 65 years old, who has suffered two heart attacks, who has developed high blood pressure and a severe urinary ailment during his imprisonment, who is suffering from an old leg wound acquired during the war, is now near death. Recently, during a telephone conversation with his wife, I was told that General Grigorenko has gone totally blind in one eye and may lose his sight completely. And not long ago, the world learned that contrary to all expectations, contrary to the recommendation of psychiatrists and common sense, the court has ruled that Grigorenko should remain in the psychiatric prison for an indefinite period of time. The court ruling was made in the



Mrs. Turkina-Stein

and dungeons because of their decency, because of their common sense and self-respect. Unfortunately Western officials usually say that they cannot interfere with the internal affairs of other states. In this case, this is a state with which they strive to improve economic and cultural relations. So they are reluctant to dispute the "right" of this country's leaders to keep people for years on end in prisons—and, mind you, these are not just prisons like here in America—and eventually destroy them even though they are innocent by any legal standard, even under the Soviet law.

In our personal lives we refuse to shake the hand of a dishonest man who conspires against us behind our backs. We abhor violators and murderers. Why, then, should the same standard not apply on a state-to-state level? Why can't we insist that our partner in the big game who, incidentally, desperately requires American wheat, American technology, and American credits—should also have a human face; that he should truly represent his people, and not just a small ruling caste? If this is too much to ask, then it seems to me, as a recent arrival in the Free World from the totalitarian world of the Soviets, that the very least we should ask of the regime is that it cease its inhuman persecution of its best and most decent citizens.

If considerations of diplomacy and politics should overshadow the basic responsibility of man towards his neighbor, if we forsake each other in trouble, where will this finally lead us to? What kind of creatures shall we turn out to be?

Three years ago, in utter despair, Zinaida Grigorenko appealed to humanity at large, to me and to you: "People! Help save my husband! The freedom of each individual is the freedom of all!"

And here, today, I can only repeat her words: "HELP SAVE GENERAL GRIGORENKO!"

end of January of this year but until mid-April Grigorenko's wife was given the hope that the General would be released almost any day.

Mrs. Grigorenko learned of the court decision only after visiting her husband at the psychiatric prison. Words cannot describe the blow inflicted by the court ruling on her, on General Grigorenko's relatives and on those close to him.

A few days ago, on May 30th, I again spoke with Mrs. Grigorenko. This woman, who herself is quite ill, told me: "I don't know how many more days I shall live...I can interpret the court's decision regarding my husband only as a sentencing to life imprisonment..." In answer to my question whether she would like to make any statement, she said that she has lost faith in "people of good will," and considers any such action as useless. She also stated: "Act according to the dictates of your conscience." And following my conscience, I appeal to President Nixon and to the American people—help save General Pyotr Grigorenko while it is not too late. In the name of human rights, liberty and humanness—help, for this is within the realm of your possibility!

Viktor Kabachnik





# Ideology

## Ethics versus Economics

Gary Jarmin

The following article is a critical analysis of a critique on "ethical socialism" by two Communist philosophers from Poland, J. Borgosz and M. Michalik. The argument between the "ethical socialists" and the "scientific socialists" focuses on whether values and ethics versus progress in economic forces primarily contribute to the creation of a truly "humanized socialist state." Both points of view contain either misconceptions of what is actually Marxism or basic inherent fallacies of the doctrine itself.

Borgosz and Michalik are both concerned with their opponents who "are intensifying their attacks of Marxist-Leninist theory, on the existing socialism (U.S.S.R., Poland, etc.) from the abstract ethical and humanitarian angle."

### Shift to Spiritual Area

The authors are particularly critical of "petty-bourgeois ideologists" who argue that "scientific-technical progress in developed capitalist countries has solved the 'material' problem, forging conditions for man's material existence without altering the property relationships, and implying thereby that the objectives of a 'genuine' socialist revolution have shifted completely to the spiritual, moral, and social psychological area."

One such representative of "ethical socialist" thinking they attack is Theodor Adorno of the Frankfurt-on-Main Social Research Institute.

*"...ethical and spiritual values are primary in determining the humane character of a society."*

### Altering Social Consciousness

Adorno is a socialist who sees most socialist societies today emphasizing too greatly the "abolition of private property, economic development, and the drive to overtake the labor productivity of capitalist countries." This, he maintains, is a false approach, which strips the socialist revolution of its ethical substance, turning it into a variety of "post-capitalism." According to Adorno, it is most important to alter the social consciousness, eliminate the old demands deep-rooted in the human psyche, mold new ones, oriented exclusively on spiritual values.

Here the split between the two contradictory socialist theories is quite apparent. On the one hand, and quite correctly, the "ethical socialists" (Adorno) view ethical and spiritual values as being primary in determining the humane character of a society. To them the form of society (economics) is less important than the extent to which ethical values are emphasized.

This, of course, is a more correct view than that of the "scientific socialists," whose morality is rooted in materialism, which is contradictorily a non-moral base. The primary fault of most "ethical socialists" is that they attempt to justify their views according to Marxist ideology, indicating that Marx had a concept, as

Erich Fromm discussed, "which was essentially a religious and moral one." Unfortunately the "ethical socialists" have grossly misinterpreted Marxist ideology.

Borgosz and Michalik hit their opponents particularly on this interpretation of Marxist doctrine, which is, in this view, "advocating socialism on the basis of moral principles alone, divorced from real-life natural and historical processes and the laws of development of the mode of production and the class struggle."

### Abolition of Class Exploitation

As was cited above, Marxist doctrine roots all consciousness and morality in the process of production power based on class struggle. Borgosz and Michalik attach, true to Marxist doctrine, "tremendous importance to the advanced morality that promotes the struggle for ultimate abolition of classes and class exploitation."

According to this statement, then, what is the Communist standard of morality? To us, Lenin stressed, "Morality is subordinated to the interests of the proletariat's class struggle...We say: morality is what serves to destroy the old exploitory society...."

Marx believed that only by controlling his material conditions could man free himself from being an exploited commodity and come, once and for all, in conscious control of his "life activity" (act of labor) and realize his true

human essence. The primary point to be made is that Marx emphasized change in material conditions, not ethics, as the most important factor in social progress.

Borgosz and Michalik similarly assert that the "improvement of the material conditions of life is associated with perfection of the personality...It makes him (man) the master of social relations and, on the basis of highly developed material production, creates the conditions for elevating his spiritual and moral requirements and for the blossoming of all his creative forces and abilities."

### Morality

Consequently, Lenin could only correctly believe that "morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society," even if it means killing millions and abusing human rights because, after all, "the end justifies the means."

Communism is morally abusive because Marxism is ethically bankrupt; it has no true value base and emphasizes material conditions over ethical relationships in man's social development. The great error of "ethical socialists" is that they attribute to Marx their ideological premises. The fault with "scientific socialists" is that they believe matter is the basis of morality—something that never was nor never will be.

## Youth-Target of Ideology

John Boland

Several hundred young Americans will fly to East Berlin this summer to participate in one of international Communism's most important propaganda events, the World Youth Festival. The "youth" heading the United States' delegation will be black Communist Angela Davis, approaching 30 years of age and the Party's prime fund raiser and recruiter. Applications are being processed from names of youth being submitted by campus student government and "peace" organizations around the nation. "Scholarships" are available for young people who cannot afford the sum of \$350 for a complete European excursion including air fare, meals and all accommodations.

The World Youth Festival is heavily subsidized by the Soviet Union and other Communist countries under the auspices of the World Federation of Democratic Youth founded in 1945 and expelled from its Paris headquarters in 1951 for blatant pro-Communist activities. The Federation, now headquartered in Budapest, claims a total membership of more than 100 million youth from all over the world. This year's will be the 10th Festival; others have been held in Prague, Budapest, Bucharest, Warsaw, Moscow, Vienna, Helsinki, and Sofia.

The Polish Communist Party newspaper, TRYBUNA LUDA, stated bluntly back in May 28, 1955, the purpose of World Youth Festivals: "It must be realized that the festival is not only for song and amusement; it is, above all, a political event on a world-wide scale."

U.S. Festival Committee spokesmen this year have likewise admitted to the propaganda purpose of the coming July 28 to August 5 East Berlin youth gathering: "...under the slogan of 'anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship'...the U.S. delegation will join tens of thousands of youth and students from more than 100 countries in 'a unanimous expression of international solidarity with the heroic struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and with the struggle of youth of the Arab countries, the Palestinian people, the people of the Portuguese colonies of Africa, Latin America and Asia.'"

A Communist-sponsored World Youth Festival serves two purposes. First, gathering young people under a banner of "peace and friendship" commands the admiration of citizens around the world, especially in supposedly neutral nations. Thousands of feet of motion picture film catching every aspect of the

Festival—musical events, national pageants, sports competition—are taken and carefully edited into a beautiful propaganda documentary prepared for worldwide release to student organizations.

Second, the Youth Festival exposes young people from Latin America, Africa and Asia to the glories of Communism and the supposed failures of the Western world. Many of these young people will be the leaders of their nations tomorrow. Exposing them to "evidence" of Western "imperialism, militarism and colonialism" as compared to "peace and friendship" offered by the Communists imprints an important image in their minds.

Lenin, in his speech, "Tasks of the Youth League," stressed the importance of influencing the thoughts and opinions of the young: "The whole object of training and educating the youth today should be to imbue them with Communist Ethics." (Collected Works, Volume 31). The World Youth Festival is part of this task being carried out so expertly by today's Communist Leaders.

### Communism vs. Freedom

In 1963, Don Ingles and Duane C. Hill, two young Minnesota delegates to the 8th World Youth Festival, paused to reflect on their own experiences in a small but important booklet entitled *Holiday for Hate*. "There is a titanic battle raging at this very moment," Ingles and Hill wrote. "The battlefield is in the minds of men. International Communism has trained its heaviest artillery on the minds of the world's youth."

"Here in the United States," they continued, "there seems to be a void in the training of young minds in firm political ideals...we tend to shy away from inculcating the philosophy of competitive free enterprise and democracy into the minds of our youth. To let them find out for themselves, or—worse still—assuming that the American Dream is somehow self-evident and will 'automatically' formulate itself into every youth's philosophy appears to be our plan for perpetuating the reality of our Founding Fathers' gift of freedom under God."

World Communist leaders, on the other hand, recognize the need for influencing the minds of young people who will be guiding the destiny of their countries in the future. Youth is their target; the World Youth Festival in East Berlin this summer is another ideological battlefield in the total war for Communist world domination.

Red Line  
Cardinal Mindszenty  
Foundation

# David and Goliath

by Tom Milstein  
Crossroads

"Russia opposes Israel because she has taken the side of the Arabs in order to increase her influence in the Middle East."

Most people would probably give that answer, or something like it, if asked to explain the Soviet Union's aggressively anti-Israel policies of the past few years. And they would be in large part correct. To a considerable extent, Soviet hostility to Israel is dictated by an ancient Russian aim that goes all the way back to the Czars; imperialist seizure of the Middle East, both for its own sake and as a means of dominating Europe.

But there is another factor in Soviet hostility to Israel, nowhere nearly as widely known, which many experts think may be at least as important as traditional Russian imperialism. It emerged as a consequence of Israel's remarkable military victory in the 1967 war and it accounts for the strangely hysterical and paranoid character of Russia's behavior since then. After all, why should a vast super power like the Soviet Union show such irrational rage -- and down right fear -- in its conduct toward a tiny country like Israel? Israel may be an obstacle to Russia's imperialist ambitions in the Middle East, but what possible danger can little Israel pose to mighty Russia itself? And yet the Russians speak of "the Zionist menace" as though it threatened the very existence of the Soviet Union, reserving their vilest and most slanderous invective for its description and lately blaming many of their most embarrassing and difficult internal problems on its mysterious machinations - much as their Czarist predecessors blamed their problems on a mythical "conspiracy of the Elders of Zion."

## Israel a Threat

Clearly, something about Israel strikes terror into the hearts of the men who comprise the Soviet regime. In some very crucial way, they look upon Israel as a menace to their most vital interests - even to their survival - even though Israel itself harbors no overt desire to endanger the Soviet regime and certainly lacks the military wherewithal and political influence to carry out such a strategy if she did. Apparently, merely by existing, Israel in some way threatens the USSR - or at least, the Soviet regime thinks she does and acts on that belief.

In June 1967, the nation of Israel, comprising a scant 2,600,000 people defeated in battle a unified Arab bloc of nations comprising 51,000,000. The sheer arithmetic of that victory is a powerful inspiration to every small people faced with oppression or extermination at the hands of a larger and more massive enemy. The lesson of June 1967 was that a small people need not accept humiliation and degradation as the price of survival. If resourcefulness and self-discipline are combined with a willingness to fight against seemingly overwhelming odds, then even the traditionally weak and victimized peoples of the world can have realistic hope of liberation.

This elemental lesson the Six Day War simply by itself would be enough to arouse the anxieties of the Soviet regime which presides over what amounts to an empire of subjugated peoples. When the regime was headed by the Czars, Russia was known throughout the civilized world as the "prison-house of nationalities." It is a term which ought to be resurrected, for the scope and degree of national oppression visited by the current Russian regime on the peoples in and around the USSR far exceeds even the wildest dreams of the Czars.

## National Oppression

There is room here only for the briefest excursion into the contours of this system of national oppression. In Eastern and Central Europe, the Russians have colonized several entire nations, all with distinct national traditions and most with long histories of self-government, and all culturally and economically more developed than Russia itself. The people of these countries - Poles, Hungarians, Czechoslovaks, etc. - have had to endure the totalitarianization of their societies and the transformation of their governments into mere agents of Russian will. Not a single one of these governments would stay in power for ten minutes without the con-

stant intervention or threat of intervention of the Russian army.

On the rim of the USSR proper, there are whole nations which do not even possess the facade of nationhood granted to Russia's European satellites. Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia are examples of nations that were gobbled up and made into mere provinces of Russia. And in the heartland of the USSR there are a large variety of non-Russian peoples - they actually number a majority of the USSR's population - whose legitimate national aspirations are ruthlessly denied.

The Russian boot does not rest easily upon the necks of these nations and peoples in the calmest of times. They yearn for the same freedom and independence and the same rights of self-determination that Israel has won. But they are deterred from open struggles by the apparent futility of the odds which they face. The Russians are more numerous and powerful than any one of their subjugated peoples and have shown themselves willing time and again to resort to the bloodiest measures in order to



maintain their subjugation. Faced with a seemingly invincible oppressor, many of these peoples simply lose hope and surrender to despair and resignation.

That is why the mere arithmetic of Israel's stunning victory over the Arabs so frightens the Russians. That victory - apart from all other considerations - shines forth as a luminous demonstration that a small and despised people need not despair even against "hopeless" odds. Israel's example cannot help but stimulate and reawaken the hopes and aspirations of Russia's oppressed nationalities.

But there are other considerations which make Israel's example even more relevant. Israel's military victory was a crushing defeat of Russian arms and simultaneously a humiliating defeat of Russia's political clients, the Arabs. The latter inflicted a major diplomatic and strategic defeat on Russia in the Middle East, while the former severely discredited Russian military technology.

Finally, there are the Jews of Russia to whom Israel's victory was of course not only symbolic, but a matter of life and death as well. This is a subject whose importance requires separate treatment. But let it be remarked that every factor already noted as operating on Russia's victims operates with ten times the force on Soviet Jewry.

What conclusions can be drawn? First, it must be recognized that Russia's hatred of Israel goes far deeper than simple geo-political considerations would explain. Second, it must be acknowledged that there is a certain perverse wisdom, in Soviet paranoia toward Israel. Recently they have charged that "Zionist influences" were instrumental in bringing about the Dubcek reforms in Czechoslovakia, reforms which they so brutally smashed. "Zionist influences" had not a thing to do with the Prague spring except in this inescapable sense: that Israel's victory in the Six Day War was a powerful inspiration to the Czech people in their own struggle to gain some freedom from Russian domination. The Russians know this, which leads us to our third conclusion: that they cannot rest until they have -- at the very least -- humiliated Israel. It has become more than a matter of imperialist ambitions in the Middle East. It has become for them a necessity of struggle. Just to be left alone endangers the very survival of Soviet totalitarianism.

## Book Review

# A Fragile Blossom

Ray Mas

For the first time in a number of years we are beginning to see an onrush of studies critically examining Japan and her role in the world, especially in relation to the United States. For the most part, this is due to the tremendous impact of President Nixon's trip to mainland China. It is becoming very obvious that this trip ushered in a new period of American-Japanese relations -- one that not only affects the relations of these two nations but that of the entire global structure. One of the most recent studies published is quite unexpectedly by the noted Sovietologist Zbigniew Brzezinski, who comes to the field with a shallow background in Asian affairs, spent six months in Japan on a Ford Foundation grant. Why such a grant was given to a Sovietologist is anyone's guess. However, Mr. Brzezinski does apologize for his ignorance. He also does not claim to be an instant expert. At any rate, there is some value to Mr. Brzezinski's position. His approach has the potential of being fresh and unfettered by preconceptions. He also brings his wealth of knowledge in the field of Communism and European affairs into play.

To start with, Brzezinski's main premise is that Nixon's trip to China brought a major shift in Japan's internal as well as external affairs. In effect, the U.S. pulled the rug from underneath Prime Minister Sato, leaving him open to attack from the more leftist elements of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Japan's ruling party. Tanaka, now Prime Minister, is at present making overtures to Peking. Trade as well as other means of exchange are being seriously discussed. But, as Brzezinski points out, economic ties are too strong with Taiwan to permit an easy abandonment of Chiang Kai-shek's stronghold. At once, there is a strong cultural tie with China, which is luring the Japanese. There are also the practical economic forces of the Japanese relationship from Taiwan. Taiwan's economy is booming and the un-

certainties of a non-capitalist power ruling Taiwan might seriously endanger Japanese interests there.

Brzezinski wrote this book several months before Sato left and Tanaka came to power. But nonetheless, his perceptions are becoming even more valuable as time passes.

To Brzezinski, the Japanese political scene is becoming similar to that of Italy and France. That is, the splinter groups and the coalitions of center, and leftist parties are gaining influence. Thus, a long period of rock-hard stability has come to an end. It is for this reason that Brzezinski mistrusts Japan as an Asian power, viewing her direction as becoming increasingly erratic and unreliable in the face of shifting and changing governments.

Thus, to offset this, Brzezinski advocates closer economic and social ties between the U.S. and Japan. This he hopes will keep Japan a strong ally of the U.S. and prevent the dangerous alienation which is showing its initial signs now.

Unfortunately the author takes a condescending attitude towards Japan throughout the book. Brzezinski treats Japan somewhat as a pawn, to be manipulated to respond in the appropriate manner. It is precisely this attitude that alienates the Japanese and is being used increasingly as cannon fodder by the Japanese leftists. This is one of Brzezinski's chief failings.

Regarding Asia, Brzezinski too easily disregards Japan's role as the leading democratic country and its example to the rest of Asia. The key is to disarm the leftists in Japan and to create a strong democratic force, not to succumb to the inevitability of radical trends.

However, if one ignores these shortcomings, Brzezinski's book is a worthy contribution. What he does realize is that both America and Japan have an inevitable global responsibility together -- to uphold justice and freedom. Brzezinski's call for a more and not less morally committed America and Japan must not fall on deaf ears.

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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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