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The Rising Tide

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"WHAT THE MIDDLE CLASS PRODUCES ABOVE ALL
ARE ITS OWN GRAVE DIGGERS. ITS FALL & THE
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INEVITABLE"

"NOT ONLY WILL THE MIDDLE CLASS COUNTRIES
HANG THEMSELVES, BUT, THEY WILL SUPPLY
THE ROPE"

"THE SOVIET UNION HARBORS NO ILLUSION AS TO
THE POSSIBILITY OF A DURABLE PEACE --- WARS
OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AGAINST WORLD
CAPITALISM ARE INEVITABLE ----"

"WE WILL BURY YOU!"

AND NOW-



Peaceful Coexistence

(Continued from page 6)

necessary. "The policy of peaceful coexistence," states the main Document adopted at the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, 'helps to promote the class struggle against imperialism on a national and world-wide scale.'

However, peaceful coexistence applies only to relations among states and does not include the ideological struggle between the two systems, the class struggle in the capitalist states or the national liberation movement of the oppressed people."

Although Moscow has been promoting the "peaceful coexistence" line in regards to solely diplomatic relations, as enunciated above by Molchanov, Soviet Communist Party Chief, Leonid I. Brezhnev again stated his goal: On June 28, 1972, he said: "We soberly and realistically assess the present situation. Despite the successes in easing international tension, a bitter struggle still has to be waged against the enemies of peace and of national social liberation."

Bitter Struggle

Recent changes in the Kremlin's hierarchy have, despite erroneous Western news reports to the contrary, made the Soviet leadership more aggressive, more determined to pursue their goals of world conquest, and more devious. Major changes in the Soviet military command have made the Soviet Union armed forces shift towards "a more offensive strategy" according to a newly released report by the prestigious Hudson Institute. Also the planned meeting in Moscow this coming October to launch a "would peace offensive" similar to the campaigns of 1949-50 and the early 1960's, means that Moscow has ordered an all-out "ideological campaign" against the Free World. Since the Communists have ruled out any "peaceful coexistence" in the area of ideology, their movements make a great deal of sense even though many American congressmen and intellectuals have failed to see this.

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FLF Joins United States Youth Council

The Freedom Leadership Foundation was voted into the membership of the United States Youth Council at the Council's annual meeting on June 23. The Youth Council is composed of representatives from a variety of moderate youth-oriented organizations, including the youth clubs of the Republican and Democratic parties and of the NAACP, the National Catholic Youth Organization Federation, Encampment for Citizenship, Lisle Fellowship, ARROW, the North American Student Cooperative Organization, Operation Crossroads Africa, World University Service, Young People's Socialist League, and Youth for Federal Union. The stated purposes of the Youth Council are: "To represent the interests and concerns of the youth of the United States to those of other nations through participation in international affairs and membership in the World Assembly of Youth...To serve as a medium through which the views of the member organizations on national and international issues of concern to youth may be jointly formulated and communicated nationally and internationally and...To provide channels for the exchange of information and for cooperation on policies and programs among member organizations."

Along with FLF, the North American Jewish Youth Council was accepted as a member organization. David Dorn, Encampment for Citizenship, was re-elected President; Joseph Farmer, Young Democrats, became the Executive Vice-President; William Tucker, Young Republicans, was elected the International Affairs Vice-President; James Brown, NAACP, became National Affairs Vice-President, and Ken Orduna, Young People's Socialist League, is the Governmental Affairs Vice-President. FLF President Neil Salonen was elected to the Selections Committee, which is responsible for choosing delegates to represent United States youth in international programs.

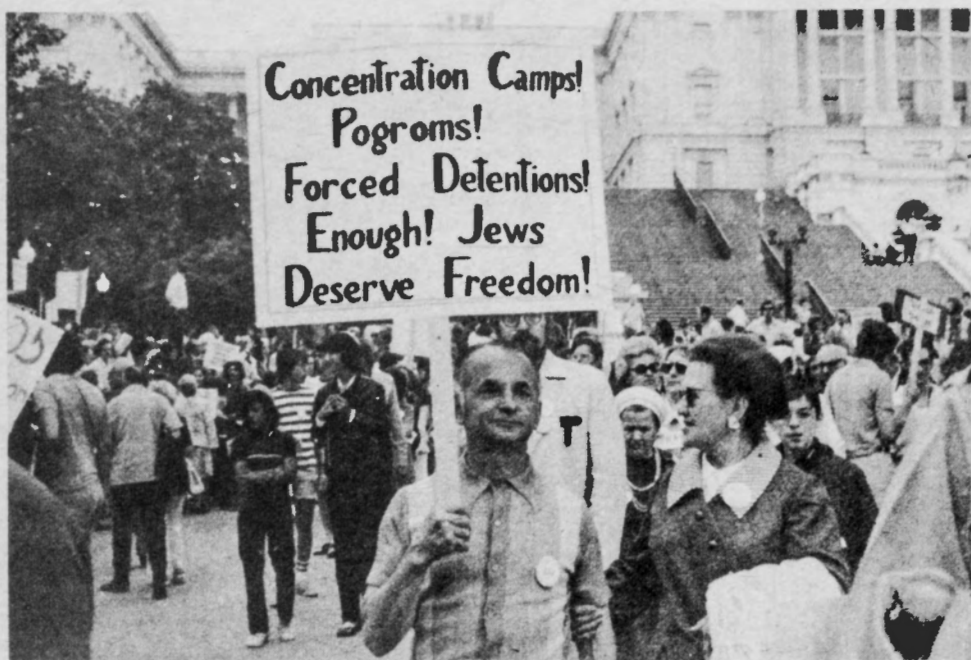
At the outset of the meeting, Youth Council President David Dorn highlighted the Council's

current concerns, including its role in voter registration programs and its technical assistance to West Africa. Mr. Dorn stressed the importance of U.S.-European affairs, stating that we are seeing the most significant realignment in Europe since World War II and pointing out the need for greater education among young people about the upcoming MBFR and SALT talks.

A recent delegation to Vietnam, India, Indonesia, and Bangladesh opened the meeting of the International Affairs Commission with reports and recommendations concerning possible Youth Council projects in East Asia. According to the delegates, prospects for programs were most promising in Indonesia; they will draw up a proposal for programs there. Also discussed at length was the Council's technical assistance program to West Africa. With the help of the African-American Labor Center, the Council is coordinating a five-year work-study program with several West Africa countries. The Council has been providing skilled agriculturalists, medical workers and journalists on a volunteer basis from several months up to a year.

Also discussed were the possibilities of an exchange program in South America and a series of seminars, given nationally, on international affairs. In the plans for 1973-74 are a seminar and tour in the U.S. for delegates of the German Youth Council and a U.S. study program to Europe. The study program, to be sponsored by Youth for Federal Union, will focus on U.S.-European-Soviet relations and youth organizations in Europe.

The United States Youth Council was founded in 1946, then becoming a vehicle for introducing German youth to democratic techniques. It is anti-totalitarian, encouraging young people to participate in democratic institutions. FLF is anticipating active participation in the Council. A further report on the Council and its members will appear in a forthcoming issue.



Thousands Speak for Freedom

"We want the soul of our people. Are you listening, Mr. Brezhnev? Let the Russian people go to their true home..." Theodore Bikel to the Freedom Assembly for Soviet Jews, June 17, 1973.

They came from New York and Georgia, Wisconsin, and even Colorado. They were from the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry or from the suburbs of Silver Spring, Maryland. They filled the steps, sidewalks, and lawn surrounding the Capitol. And they kept coming--one by one, in families, in groups, in busloads. They carried signs and banners proclaiming who they were and why they were there. Dotted the landscape were simple white paper flags with a red star of David, the Russian word for freedom, and a message explaining why 15,000 had gathered on the eve of Brezhnev's arrival:

"This is the liberation flag of the Soviet Jews. The red Magen David represents the Jews of the Soviet Union, recognized as a nationality by the Soviet Union; their Soviet identity cards identifying them as Jews by nationality but denying them the rights of nationality guaranteed by the Soviet constitution.

"FREEDOM! Promised by the Soviet constitution but denied by the Soviet government.

"FREEDOM! To maintain a culture, schools, a language.

"FREEDOM! To return to one's homeland!... In the face of cruel oppression they have now raised their cry for freedom! Join them!"

Richard Maass, Chairman of the National Committee on Soviet Jewry, was more explicit: "We have urged this Administration, supported by Congress, to bring to the attention of Soviet officials the following issues:

1. The standardization of continuing emigration for a significant number of Soviet Jews, without arbitrary or bureaucratic abuses.
2. The release of the Jewish Prisoners of Conscience whose crime was a fervent desire to go to Israel.

3. Ending harassment by the secret police of Jewish activists and would-be emigrants.

4. Cessation of periodic arrests, searches and threats against Jewry activists and applicants for emigration.

"There must be a positive response to the Bill of Particulars before the American people will be willing to extend full friendship, and grant the Soviet Union economic concessions. Mr. Brezhnev has the solution. An affirmative reply would truly illustrate the moral basis for detente. We demand nothing more. We will accept nothing less."

Senator Jackson put the issue of Soviet treatment of Jews into a broad context of human rights: "Today, 30 years after Buchenwald, Auschwitz and the Warsaw Ghetto, is it too much to ask that this time we respond now instead of sending our regrets later? Today, 25 years after the unanimous passage of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is it too much to ask that Moscow implement a fundamental right recognized in that document--the right to leave? Today, 10 years after Richard Nixon said that we should underwrite deals for Communist nations only if they "adopt policies which will

allow people to leave if they desire to do so, is it too much to ask that we begin to implement that promise?"

Representing the Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, Sister Margaret Traxler began: "I ask God to comfort the Soviet Jews in prison and in the larger prison of the Soviet Union...their struggle is a struggle for all men, Jews and Christians, believers and non-believers."

At no point was a sense of order lost, not even during the massive march to the Ellipse, perhaps due to the seriousness and sense of purpose prevailing in the atmosphere. The Jewish Defense League created a flurry of excitement as they carried a platform with an ex-Soviet prisoner seated atop it through the crowds, heralded by their banner "Never Again."

Mikhail Shepshelovich, former prisoner in the Soviet Union, addressed the assembly at the Ellipse: "At present, the Soviet Union cannot afford mass repression. However, it imprisons scores of people and carries out arrests, sending people to labor camps in order to strike terror in the hearts of other Soviet Jews...Today they are broken down quietly and gradually, without any reactions in the outside press. The undersirables must be destroyed, or leave the camps as physical or mental cripples achieved through physical starvation and nervous strain. The Soviets know exactly how much their stubborn captives can bear. Severe willness and exhaustion are inevitable..."

Will the demonstration have any effect? Shepshelovich addressed himself to that question: "I have often been asked, 'What are the results of outside support for the prisoners?' Your commitment is absolutely necessary and has helped us tremendously in the past. It is only through your commitment that sentences were reduced. Your support is our only hope that political trials will be stopped."

The question remaining is--what about the response of all those who should be concerned but who are not yet? Persecution of Soviet Jews is not an isolated phenomenon; a government which systematically violates any basic human right endangers all of them. Louise Berry



USYC President David Dorn discussing upcoming programs

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Cover by Alexius Burgess

USSR: Most Favored by Whom?

Now that Brezhnev has come and gone, many will hurrah the agreements that were signed as a significant step in the relaxation of tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, bringing greater benefits to both countries. Agreements on cooperation in technical, scientific, and agricultural fields, economic agreements, and nuclear arms limitation pacts were supposedly great evidence to the American people that "detente" is really good for everyone, and the new "wave of the future."

Distinctly to be noticed, however, is the convenient way ideological differences were completely overlooked--as if to indicate that there weren't any. "Mankind has outgrown the rigid 'Cold War' armor," Brezhnev stated, pretty much everyone believed or at least wants to believe it's true. However, for Westerners to assert that the ideological war is over is both terribly naive and immoral. The Brezhnev-Nixon summit may have been a victory for businessmen in the U.S. and for Communist Party economic planners, but it was a great loss for the moral conscience of Americans and the subjugated victims of persecution behind the Iron Curtain.

Even the hope that Congress might show some resistance to Brezhnev's diplomatic offensive seemed somewhat dashed when the two Senate leaders Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott were asked about giving most-favored-nation status to the Soviets. Mansfield replied, "We want him to get it, don't we, Hugh?" Scott replied: "We certainly do."

Could Congressional leaders be so interested in trade with the Soviets that they would completely ignore the suffering of millions who are subjected to imprisonment, intimidation and fear merely because they have different points of view or want to emigrate to a different country?

Sadly enough, only the West is naive enough to believe that the ideological war is over. The Communists, however, have not made the same mistake, and are struggling in this battle of ideas and values more strongly than ever before. Girding themselves for this conflict, the Soviets have taken every precaution to fight against "decadent foreign ideas" and the resultant deviations within the Communist ranks at home.

It was reported that at the end of May a meeting of East European "Communist intellectuals" and ideologists was held in Warsaw. One of Brezhnev's men, Konstantin F. Katushev, told the party academics and editors of party journals that only *stronger party leadership and tighter controls by police* could keep scientific and technical revolution, encouraged by U.S.-Soviet deals, from becoming *political revolution against Communism*.

These statements, plus the growing repression of the Communist party against intellectuals, Christians, Jews and national minorities -- more austere now than at any time under Khrushchev -- indicate the extreme fear of Soviet totalitarians towards any ideas of democratic freedom.

Simply all we will accomplish by giving the Soviets favorable trade status will be to strengthen the totalitarian grip they already hold over their own people -- making it increasingly difficult for the development of true human rights and freedom.

President Nixon had, in one sense, a great opportunity to advance the cause of freedom behind the Iron Curtain; yet he may have let that possibility disappear in the clinking of champagne glasses. In exchange for the economic deals handed



U.S., Soviet, and District of Columbia flags on display near the White House

to the Soviets we gained what? A friend? A friend who is and will always be a Marxist-Leninist. Too quickly we forget the fact that those men in the Kremlin believe in the inevitable success of their cause, no matter how long it takes to accomplish.

These same people, in the name of a morally bankrupt ideology, perpetrate the most severe and inhuman campaign of repression witnessed in the past 20 years. And it is getting worse, not better.

With all their economic difficulties at home, the Soviets might eventually have to make more concessions in allowing greater economic and political freedom. This would be to our strong advantage, if the West were ideologically committed to a strong clear goal.

Unlike the good Samaritan, we were in too much of a hurry to land a business deal than to stop and help those battered and oppressed people strung along the roadside of the "great socialist revolution." Too afraid to act as our brother's keeper, we've become instead their oppressor's financier--obviously an unfortunate thing for which to be responsible. The challenge is before us to restore the cause of human freedom. It will certainly be more difficult than ever before.

by
Neil Salonen
President,
Freedom
Leadership
Foundation



Kosygin and Nixon in Moscow

SALT II

Allan Brownfeld

WASHINGTON - When the first round of SALT talks began in late 1969, the United States had 1,054 land-based ICBMs and 41 Polaris-type submarines. The Soviets then had about 1,050 land-based ICBMs and no Polaris-type submarines.

When the interim agreement expires on July 1, 1977, we will still have our 1,054 ICBMs and our 41 Polaris submarines. But the Soviet Union, depending upon how it exercises its options, will have from 1,400 to 1,618 ICBMs and 62 Polaris type submarines.

The SALT I agreement confers upon the Soviet Union a 3-to-2 advantage in numbers of land and seabased launchers and a 4-to-1 advantage in throw weight. Sen. Henry Jackson, D.-Wash., points out that, "In less than ten years, the worlds strategic balance will shift dramatically; this shift is what has been codified in the SALT I accords."

The United States is rapidly falling behind the Soviet Union and may soon find itself in the position of not being able to provide a realistic self-defense. Gen. Lewis Walt, former Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps, recently declared that, "The U.S.S.R. is decisively surpassing the U.S. in virtually all aspects of military strength. Four years ago Russia had 550 ICBMs - today they have over 1600. Our Nation or our Armed Forces are not prepared...to defend our freedom. Apathy, wishful thinking, and downright carelessness have put our Nation in the most precarious position of its existence."

The Congress expressed its concern over the terms of the SALT I accords when, in the Fall of 1972, it approved the Jackson amendment to the resolution authorizing the interim agreement. The amendment demands equality in SALT II, an equality based on numbers and payload capacity of intercontinental strategic forces. Passing the Senate 50-35, the House 307-4, and signed into law by the President, the amendment means that both Congress and the President agree that the SALT I agreement is not acceptable as a permanent arrangement.

No Doctrine

The problem with our negotiating strategy - a strategy which led to the devastating results of SALT I - is, according to Senator Jackson, that, "The U.S. still lacks a coherent strategic doctrine against which we can measure our proposals and Soviet proposals. The Executive Branch must define the basic strategic policy which allow us to fit SALT into a larger national purpose."

American negotiators at SALT I were clearly taken advantage of by their Soviet counterparts. Discussing this unfortunate situation, Dr. William

Van Cleave, a member of the faculty of the University of Southern California and an advisor to the U.S. SALT delegation, makes the following point:

"...It is clear that there are very significant differences in the approaches of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to negotiation and to arms control. Compared to the U.S.S.R. - the U.S. has a politically naive approach to both. And judging from SALT, the more urgent the particular negotiations seem to us to be the more naive we tend to be. Our driving assumption has been that arms control negotiations are a uniquely cooperative process, wherein compromise is a mutual objective and negotiation a non-zero sum game where both sides stand to gain mutually and equally...The Soviet Union, however, seems clearly to have regarded SALT as another competitive endeavor, where the object is unilateral advantage and where one can gain at the expense of the other."

Less Leverage

Dr. Van Cleave points out that, "The Soviet approach clearly recognized that arms control is a form of competition, an arena of political contest, just as the Soviets - in contrast to the U.S. - have seen the strategic force balance as an expression of political power. While we have dealt heavily - almost exclusively - in the analytical problems and technical details of specific arms limitations, the Soviets de-emphasized those aspects and emphasized a broader, more general approach that was insistent, repetitious over a long period of time, and heavy with political overtones."

The second round of the SALT talks are ominous, and few American recognize the fact that their country is on the threshold of permanent military inferiority. Dr. Van Cleave notes that at the present time "We have less leverage...than we did before, and there should be less incentive for the Soviets to agree to something than they had before. I think that we have built a record giving the Soviet Union every expectation that it can take further advantage in the next phase of SALT. On both counts I have to be very pessimistic."

During the political campaign of 1972 Republicans stated repeatedly that vote for the Democratic candidate was a vote for "weakness" while a vote for the Republicans was a vote for "strength." How ironic that under an administration pledged to "strength" we now face the prospect of military inferiority. There is, however, still time to reverse this trend. A different negotiating posture at the SALT II talks will provide an opportunity for such a reversal.

Zinaida Grigorenko's Protest

--Recently Smuggled Letters Reveal Injustice--

For some weeks now the SAMIZDAT underground in the Soviet Union has been circulating copies of two letters written by Zinaida Grigorenko, wife of General Pyotr Grigorenko, protesting against the arbitrary decision of the court to keep her husband confined in the Chernyakhovsk Psychiatric Prison - in defiance of the recommendation of an official psychiatric commission appointed by the hospital administration - and protesting in addition against the court's failure to notify her of the hearing, so that her husband could be represented by legal counsel, as is required under Soviet law.

On June 8, the Freedom Leadership Foundation held a demonstration on behalf of General Grigorenko, who is a leading dissident victimized by the Soviet use of psychiatry as a tool of political repression. (See *The Rising Tide*, numbers 11 and 12.)

The text of the letters, smuggled out of the Soviet Union, reached the United States only in recent days. They were printed in this country for the first time on Monday, June 18, by the New York Russian language daily, *NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO*, and submitted to the *RISING TIDE* by Mr. Constantin Boldyreff. Following is the first English publication of these revealing documents.

To the Chernyakhovsk City People's Court, from citizen Zinaida Mikhailovna Grigorenko, residing in the city of Moscow, Komsomol'skii prospekt 14/1, apt. 96, authorized legal representative of Pyotr Grigorenko.

Regarding the extension of the elapsed time period for submitting a private complaint.

On 29 Jan. 1973 your court reached a determination, under Article 412 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the RSFSR, declining to accept a recommendation made by the administration of the Chernyakhovsk Psychiatric Hospital (Special Category), to modify the compulsory medical treatment administered to my husband, Pyotr Grigor'evich Grigorenko. Contrary to articles 368 and 407 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, I was not informed by the Court of the hearing of the case; furthermore, the Hospital's administration, whose representative participated in the consideration of the case, concealed the date of the session from me, and, employing deception, concealed for a long period of time the fact that the case had already been considered and that a decision had been reached. Thus, by a memorandum of 30 Jan. 1973, no. g-3, the (Hospital) administration officially informed (me) that 'the questions regarding changes in the medical treatment and the release of patient Grigorenko will be decided by the Court in the very near future.' Following this, in response to my repeated telegraph and telephone inquiries, and trips undertaken by (my) son Andrei on 26 Mar. 1973, and by me to see P.G. Grigorenko, the head of the Hospital, Belokopytov, and a physician, Bobylev, kept telling me right up until April 25 that there had been no court action, and they promised to inform me when such court action would take place.

Because of the violations (of law) committed by the Court (I had not been informed of the action of the Court) and of the obvious deception on the part of the hospital administration, I was deprived of the possibility of meeting the deadline for appealing the court's decision, i.e., to make use of the right guaranteed to me by article 22, 331 and 411 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure.

In view of the above, I request that, in accordance with Article 329 and Part III of Article 331 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, the deadline set for submitting private complaints, which I failed to meet through no fault of my own, be extended, and that the case be submitted to the Kaliningrad oblast (province) court for an examination of my complaint in accordance with established procedure. I request that I be informed in a timely manner both of your decision and of the date set for the reconsideration of the case in the (Kaliningrad) oblast court so that I will be able to engage a counselor to participate in the proceedings.

Z.M. Grigorenko

Letter No. 2

"To the Panel of Judges for Criminal Cases of the Kaliningrad Oblast (Province) Court, from citizen Zinaida Mikhailovna Grigorenko, city of Moscow, G-21, Komsomol'skii prospekt 14/1, apt. 96, empowered legal representative of Pyotr Grigor'evich Grigorenko,



regarding the 29 January 1973 decision of the Chernyakhovsk City People's Court, denying permission for the modification of compulsory regime of medical treatment being administered (to Grigorenko).

Private Complaint

"The Court's determination of 29 January 1973, which denied the recommendation made by the administration of the Chernyakhovsk Psychiatric Hospital that my husband, Pyotr Grigor'evich Grigorenko, be transferred for further treatment to a psychiatric hospital of the general type in the area of his family's residence, is wrong, in my opinion, and should be annulled for the following reasons:

1. The case was examined in gross violation of standard procedure and of the right to defense (by counsel). The fact that I, the wife of P.G. Grigorenko, am empowered to act as his legal representative is not subject to any challenge (specifically, it is supported by the fact that I was permitted to participate in the Tashkent City Court hearing of the case involving the compulsory medical treatment of my husband). In as much as my husband, because of his status as a patient, was not invited to attend the court proceedings, the Court, in accordance with articles 369, 407, and 412 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, was under obligation to have me, his authorized representative, attend the court proceedings and allow me to participate in the case. However, in violation of the law, I was not only not invited to attend the court proceedings, but I was not even informed by the Court of the (fact of the) hearing and I was thereby deprived of the possibility of engaging counsel to defend my husband's legal interests in court during the consideration of his case.

In accordance with articles 49 and 405 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, the participation of defense counsel in this case was mandatory. I do not know whether any (defense) counsel participated in the consideration of the case, but it is quite evident that my right to engage a counsel of my own choice was violated.

The violations (of law) committed by the Court were further aggravated by the fact that the administration of the Chernyakhovsk Psychiatric Hospital (Special Type), where my husband is confined, engaged in obvious deception in order to conceal from me not only the date of the court proceeding, but also the decision reached by the People's Court (see my statement regarding the extension of the time limit for submitting my private complaint). The Court did not send me a copy of its decision. Because he was not infor-

med of the Court's January 29, 1973 decision, my husband, who was already in very bad shape physically, was subjected for a period of three months to great strain.

2. The Court's January 29 determination is essentially wrong. According to the Tashkent City Court's determination of 27 Feb. 73, P.G. Grigorenko had been at the Chernyakhovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital since 26 May 1970, i.e., 3 years. (However) Before that, from 7 May 1969, he was in solitary confinement at the Tashkent KGB isolator (building containing solitary confinement cells) of the Serbski Institute. Thus, my husband has been separated from his family for 4 years. Visits are difficult and therefore rare. On 15 Jan 73, an expert medical commission, composed of Dr. Ilyinskii, a representative of the Serbski Institute, Dr. Bychkov, head physician of the Hospital, and Dr. Bobylev, (my husband's) attending physician - a commission whose authority is recognized by the Court - stated that because of the condition of his health there was no longer any necessity for P.G. Grigorenko's confinement in a special psychiatric hospital.

In accordance with articles 11, 59 and 60 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure, the actual mental condition of a person who has committed acts considered socially dangerous by the Court is the (valid) basis on which the court can consider the question of sanity or insanity decide whether compulsory medical treatment is called for, and determine the specific measures to be applied in a given case (articles 409 and 410 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure). From this it follows that the Court may deny the recommendation made by the hospital administration concerning changes in the mode of treatment, based on the medical commission's conclusions, only if it finds the medical commission's conclusions to be either erroneous or false. In the given case, as is evident from the wording of the decision, the Court did not question the conclusion arrived at by the medical commission, but did deny the commission's recommendation, justifying this decision with the statement that 'P.G. Grigorenko, after his first release (in 1965) continued to engage in the same activities.'

The illegality and lack of any justification of this argument is evident. Employing such reasoning, it is possible to keep a person compulsorily confined to a special hospital for life.

This decision by the Court perverts the very essence of the institution of compulsory medical treatment and transforms compulsory treatment into unlawful, unlimited deprivation of freedom.

The foregoing justifies my insistence on the annulment of the Court's determination of 29 Jan. 1973.

Taking into account the tremendous importance of my husband's condition (old, sick and without one eye), I request that the decision of the Chernyakhovsk City People's Court be revised in accordance with the law.

I request that I be informed in time of the date of the hearing of the case so that I may engage counsel to participate in the court consideration of this complaint."

Z.M. Grigorenko

Is Free Emigration Too Much To Ask?

from remarks by Senator Henry Jackson, Freedom Assembly, June 17, 1973

I am honored to join with you today in this great demonstration in support of the rights of man.

Like the great civil rights gatherings of the past, this assembly is eloquent proof that the spirit of America is still strong and that the compassion of America is still deep.

I needn't remind you that our inspiration here today is the courage of those Soviet men and women who have been speaking out in their own behalf, who have galvanized men of conscience throughout the world by their refusal to be intimidated by repression.

Freedom imposes great obligations on those fortunate enough to have it.

If we care only for ourselves, what are we?

If we not speak for freedom, who will?

And if not now, when?

We meet here today, 50 years after Lenin promised the Soviet people bread and freedom. If American farmers provide the bread, is it too much to ask that Soviet leaders provide their own people a measure of freedom?

Is it too much to ask that, if the White House provides guaranteed credits, the Kremlin provide guaranteed free emigration?

Is it too much to ask that if American industry provides the technology and investments to develop Soviet natural resources, Moscow provide the visas for the saving of human resources?

Today, 30 years after Buchenwald, Auschwitz and the Warsaw Ghetto, is it too much to ask that this time we respond now instead of sending our regrets later?

Today, 25 years after the unanimous passage of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is it too much to ask that Moscow implement a fundamental right recognized in that document - the right of leave?

Today, 10 years after Richard Nixon said that we should underwrite deals for communist nations only if they "adopt policies which will allow people to leave if they desire to do so," is it too much to ask that we begin to implement that promise?

Today, in 1973, the Soviets are desperate to increase trade with us. Is it too much to ask that as part of the bargain Moscow civilize its emigration policies? Is it too much to demand an end to the trials, the denials, the arrests and imprisonment, the brutal mistreatment of innocent people?



It is a fact of history that, in their despair, thousands of people who wish only to leave have appealed to us for help. They have placed their hope and their trust in our response. And the American people and the American Congress have accepted that trust.

We Americans are a nation of immigrants. For nearly 200 years, we have stood before the world as the symbol of free men, holding forth the promise of individual liberty.

We will keep that promise.

Now Mr. Brezhnev has said that some of his best friends are Jewish. Well, I would hope that Mr. Brezhnev would permit his friends - Jewish and Gentile - who are also mine and who are also yours, to come to the West: we are waiting for Lerner and Levich and Azbel and Slepak and Siroka. We are waiting for Zalmanson and Shkolnik and Grigorenko and Simas Kudirka, who are behind bars only because they sought freedom. We are waiting for our friends.

I'm not against trade with the Soviet Union. Long before President Nixon went to Moscow, I cosponsored the East-West Trade Relations Act to promote trade with the Soviet Union and other Communist nations. But I believe that such trade should serve larger interests - not just Soviet economic interests.

So when we talk of free trade, let us also talk of free people.

And let us not just talk, let us act. (Senator Jackson briefly discussed his impending amendment.)

Without an increasing measure of individual liberty in the Communist world, there can be no genuine detente; there can be no real progress toward peace. And we will know detente is genuine only when people from the East can freely visit the West, only when ideas can move freely, only when reading the Western press and listening to Western broadcasts no longer lead to prosecution for treason, only when families can be reunited, only when emigration is free...



We must have a genuine detente between peoples, not some cynical formula between governments for capitulation on the requirement for human rights. If a detente is not founded on human rights, it will not only betray our most solemn promises, it will, in the long run, fail to produce peace...

That is why the Congress is going to pass our amendment.

We are going to add a new law to our statute books, and a new life in a new land for those brave men and women who have stood up for freedom.

The Soviets can allow free emigration without changing any of their laws. There is no Soviet statute which prohibits freedom of emigration and, in fact, Moscow is a signatory to international agreements specifying the right to emigrate. The Soviet government can change its administrative policies overnight. And it does so, whenever a policy becomes more trouble than it's worth.

The Soviet government can easily live with the Jackson-Mills-Vanik amendment. Soviet Jewry will find it very difficult to live without it.

The greatest mistake of the Western world was the failure of Britain and France and America to heed the warnings of Winston Churchill and stand, firm and early, for the defense of individual liberty. We must never again be indifferent while innocent human beings are denied basic human rights.

In 1949, President Harry S. Truman, freedom's great captain, stood here at the Capitol and said these words: "Events have brought our American democracy to new influence and new responsibilities. They will test our courage, our devotion to duty, and our concept of liberty. Steadfast in our faith in the Almighty, we will advance toward a world where man's freedom is secure. To that end we will devote our strength, our resources, and our firmness of resolve."

Today America's influence and responsibilities remain great; our courage and concept of liberty are again tested. As we join here today, let us rededicate our strength, our resources, and, above all, our firmness of resolve so that we may indeed advance "toward a world where man's freedom is secure."



Room At The Top?

Ray Mas

Since the ouster of Nikita Khrushchev in 1964, the Soviet Union has been ostensibly ruled by a collective leadership, an oligarchy of Soviet leaders. This was viewed by most Western observers to signal the death knell to the personality cult politics which reached its height in the mid 30's with Stalin. At last, it was thought in many circles in the West, we could begin to deal with the Soviets on more common terms. To many people this is still the case; the sweet sounding seductive word of "detente" has been used to support this claim today. Nevertheless, the fact is that in the Soviet Union we are still dealing with a totalitarian regime. It is a regime which is, contrary to popular belief, growing rather than diminishing in its oppressive nature. The increasing persecution of religious and intellectual dissidents is a prime example, one which we have tried to illustrate in the *Tide*.

Yet, behind this oppression is a concerted effort to reconsolidate power in the Soviet Union. The deepest Kremlin fear of losing control and party hegemony has brought to the forefront a man who is promising and delivering a modern version of Stalinist "law and order", Leonid Brezhnev.

In 1964, Brezhnev became Party Secretary and Kosygin became Premier, ruling over the governmental apparatus. Nineteen sixty-six showed the beginning of Brezhnev intentions. In that year his title was changed from First Secretary to General Secretary, a title previously held only by Stalin. The effects of Brezhnev's consolidation of power were first dramatically felt in the late 1971 when the party's Politburo released the new five-year plan entirely on its own authority. Observed a Kremlinologist in *Time* (Nov. 1, 1971): "This reversal of roles is not new in Soviet history. When Stalin defeated his rivals, he took over their economic policies, and Khrushchev did the same thing when he defeated Malenkov." Thus, Soviet economic policy in 1971 reflected the beginning dominance of Brezhnev over Kosygin and the first major step towards supreme power.

Consolidation

In the meantime Brezhnev had been packing the Party Secretariat with his supporters in an attempt to raise it to a position co-equal with the Politburo. Following the steps of his predecessors, he had been gaining control of the Party as the key political institution. According to the distribution of Soviet power, this is a feasible process. The General Secretary derives his power from his responsibility for supervising the party apparatus throughout the country and from his ability to appoint and remove provincial party secretaries (witness

the ouster of Pyotr Shelest, Ukrainian Party Secretary in May of 1972 after he was believed to have opposed President Nixon's visit to Moscow). In turn, the Provincial Secretaries control the selection of delegates to the all-Union Party Congress. Since the Congress ratifies the members of the Central Committee, to which both the Politburo and Secretariat are responsible, the power ends back in the hands of the General Secretary by a circular flow.

The smoothness of the flow, of course, depends upon the General Secretary's control of the Secretariat and the Politburo. Brezhnev managed to gain considerable control in the Secretariat. However, the Politburo was a bottleneck to his predominance.

Packing the Politburo

Realizing this, Brezhnev has been pouring most of his energy in the past several years into gaining that control. In March of 1971, as a result of the 24th Party Congress, the Politburo was increased from 11 to 15 members when Brezhnev added four proteges without firing anyone. However, he still lacked the necessary number for control until early last month. Then two rivals were ousted and four powerful allies were added, bringing the total to 22. Of the 15 with full voting rights, seven owe their position to Brezhnev, thus making it extremely difficult for any possible remaining rivals to out-vote him.

If this were not alarming enough, an examination of Brezhnev's appointees shows a dramatic shift towards increased oppression, not towards a more "liberal" atmosphere. Marshall Andrei Grechko, Defense Minister, is the first soldier to be appointed to the Politburo since 1957. It is possible that such an appointment was necessary to calm its wariness of "detente" - one of Khrushchev's principal weaknesses leading to his downfall was his lack of military support.

But even more disturbing, especially concerning the Soviet domestic scene, was the appointment of Yuri Andropov, KGB chief, to the Politburo. Few could observe this as being anything less than a marked threat to the future of the dissident movement and the struggle for human rights.

When one faces these facts, the conclusion seems inevitable. Mr. Nixon has been dealing with a two-sided coin. On the one side is the attractive imprint of "cooperation" and "detente." And on the other is the picture of a party boss who has systematically consolidated his power and brought the most ruthless political oppression in the Soviet Union since Stalin. Which side of the coin did Mr. Nixon speak with? The answer should be soon in coming.

Greetings for Mr. Brezhnev

Who Is Brezhnev?

Leonid Brezhnev is the boss of the Russian-Communist Party, but he is not an elected prime minister, president or head of State. He has unlimited and absolute power and controls each and every segment of social, cultural and political life in the Soviet Union.

Together with Khrushchev he was responsible for the mass starvation and hunger in 1946 in Ukraine and other republics. He ordered and participated in the executions of thousands of members and sympathizers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 1942-1952. At the end of World War II, Brezhnev was instrumental in destroying the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Brezhnev ordered 7000 Ukrainian students expelled from universities in 1968 for "ideological deviations." In 1972 over 100 Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested and sentenced to long terms in concentration camps, prisons, and insane asylums - supervised by the KGB. Their only "crime" was their love for their own people and their own country, and defense of their national culture.

Today Brezhnev speaks of peace but his actions prove the opposite. He makes peaceful proposals towards West Germany while directing military forces, tanks, etc. closer to their borders. When Brezhnev decided to crush Dub-check's liberalization moves in Czechoslovakia, was it an act of peace on the part of the mighty Russian leader?

If he means peace why does he put Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian, Estonian and other intellectuals into psychiatric asylums and prisons? If his intentions are as peaceful as he leads the West to believe, why does he forbid Jews and Ukrainians such as Moroz and Shuchevych to leave Russia?

Why Is Brezhnev Coming Here?

Brezhnev is in grave trouble, both politically and economically. Communism in Russia was instituted to change the economic status of the people. In applying its collectivization policies the Moscow dictators created a massive artificial famine in 1932-33 which murdered 7,000,000 Ukrainian men, women and children through star-

vation.

After 50 years of operation, the Communist economic system has failed to improve the living standards. The Party Chief has chosen to come to the U.S. and beg President Nixon for aid rather than change his own policies at home in the hope of creating an alliance against Red China.

Russian leaders and their mass media often boast of being the most technically advanced and economically self-sufficient country, even surpassing the United States. How can this be if the USSR's highest official is coming to beg the American people and their government for assistance? What could the U.S. possibly gain? Nothing. Above all, the captive nations of enslaved people would lose all faith in the United States as a defender of freedom throughout the world. Does the United States want this on its conscience?

Ukrainian Liberation Front, USA



Part of Mosaic done by Ukrainian artist at Kier University.



OPEN LETTER TO MR. LEONID I. BREZHNEV

Mr. Secretary,

The terror imposed upon the nations of East-Central Europe by the ideology, the political power and military might of Soviet oppression repudiates and negates almost every article in the Declaration of Human Rights.

It denies that men are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that all should act in the spirit of brotherhood.

It denies the right of life, liberty, and security of person.

It denies the principle that no one shall be subjected to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment.

It denies that no person shall be arbitrarily arrested, detained or exiled.

It denies that all are equal before the law and entitled to its equal protection.

It denies the right to fair and public hearings by an independent and impartial tribunal.

It denies the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.

It denies the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

It denies the right to freedom of peaceful assembly.

It denies that the individual may not be held in slavery or servitude.

It denies that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government.

That these human rights are so flagrantly repudiated in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and even in your own country is cause for our concern.

1956 in Hungary and Poland, 1968 in Czechoslovakia and 1970 in Poland again have shown clearly the eternal unquenchability of man's desire to be free, whatever the odds against success, whatever the sacrifice required.

Americans of Polish, Hungarian, Czech or Slovak descent will never recognize the Soviet domination of East-Central Europe. We cannot condone in words or even in our minds any summit meeting, treaty declaration or tacit understanding which promotes or acknowledges the subjugation of our sisters and brothers.

The claim of the nations of East-Central Europe to independence and liberty is not based on sentiment or politics. It is deeply rooted in history, in culture and in law. No matter what sort of puppet government they may maintain we do not mean to see that claim abandoned.

The fulfillment of the political, economic and ideological aspirations of the peoples of East-Central Europe is blocked by the occupation of their territory by the Red Army, by the unscrupulous economic exploitation by the Soviet Union, and by the brutal control exerted by the arms of the Soviet Secret Police. Giving testimony to the sincerity of your stated principles of non-interference in internal affairs, recognition of the right of every state to sovereignty and of promotion of unbreakable peace, behooves you to:

Assure the right to emigrate to those Soviet citizens, residents and political prisoners who desire to leave the Soviet Union and find a new life in their chosen land.

Stop the economic exploitation of the peoples of East-Central Europe and cease to use the products of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland to support the spread of Communist doctrine and Soviet influence throughout the World.

Remove all Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

Guided by the traditions, convictions and principles expressed above we call upon you, Mr. Secretary, that in order to accomplish your own stated goal of "unbreakable peace in which alone is possible a true cooperation of sovereign European States with equal rights," during your visit with our President hasten by every honorable and reasonable means the arrival of the day when the men and women of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland will stand again free from Soviet military and ideological domination, in liberty and justice.

Czechoslovak National Council of America, Prof. V. Busck, President
Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations in North America,
Istvan B. Gereben, Executive Secretary
Polish American Congress Inc., Aloysius A. Mazewski, President

Labor's View on Aid to the Soviets

The following is excerpted from an AFL-CIO background paper on East-West trade appearing in the May 1973 AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News.

One of the main objectives which the Soviet Union pursues, under the cover of detente, is the expansion of trade with the industrial nations of the free world and the receipt of credits and technical know-how at favorable terms. The Kremlin rulers are especially interested in receiving such help from the United States which has the strongest and most advanced economy.

Recent years have seen a deterioration of the situation in regard to the food supply and the production of many other consumer goods. As a whole, the Plan targets were not reached in 1972 either in heavy or light industry, in food production or in agriculture. The new targets for 1973 abandon even the modest priority for consumer goods envisaged in the original 5-Year Plan. Heavy industry continues to be favored.

The reasons for these failures are obvious and not new. Collectivization rather than inclement weather is responsible for the debacle in agriculture. Today, collectivization is loathed by the peasants as much as it was four decades ago when it was ruthlessly imposed upon them by Stalin. The serious shortcomings in industry have been caused by the strait-jacket of centralized bureaucratic planning and control, the suppression of individual initiative and responsibility, the enforcement of rigorous labor discipline, the lack of material incen-

tives like decent wages, and the prohibition of bona fide trade unions.

Soviet technology is backward except in the realm of sophisticated weaponry and spacecraft, largely because Russian scientists are not allowed to have continuous contacts with their Western counterparts for a free exchange of ideas. Indeed, it is the continuous preference given to military projects which has led to the persistent neglect of the people's needs.

The USSR could improve its economic situation if its rulers would loosen their iron grip on the people and apply the principles of a free economy. But they continue to reject real liberalization and increase their restrictive measures at home while stepping up their military build-up. At the Helsinki talks in preparation for the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Soviet representatives have been fighting tooth and nail against all Western proposals for a free exchange of ideas and information. This overall retrogressive trend was dramatized by the recent promotion of Yuri Andropov (Chief of the Secret Police) and Defense Minister Andrei Grechko (who suppressed the June 17, 1953 revolt in East Berlin and led the Warsaw Pact armies in occupying Czechoslovakia) to full CPSU Politburo membership.

The Soviet leaders seek to overcome the crisis of their economy by getting concessions from the Western democracies without making any concessions in return. What is more, Moscow seeks to utilize Western aid

not so much for improving the living conditions of the Russian people as for expanding and modernizing Soviet industry in order to further the Kremlin's ambitious plans abroad and increase its influence and power in the world arena.

The Russians are stalling in Vienna talks on mutual and balanced troop reductions. They seek to utilize the coming European Security Conference for the purpose of undermining NATO and the American presence in Europe. In the Middle East, they continue to support the most warlike Arab regimes. In Vietnam, they do nothing to stop Hanoi's flagrant violations of the peace agreement. Clearly, these Soviet actions do not make for the relaxation of international tensions and detente.

If the Western nations would grant the Soviet government the economic concessions it seeks, they would not be serving the interests of the Russian people, but rather the aims and designs of their oppressors and exploiters. It certainly is not in the interest of the Western nations to strengthen those who seek to destroy their freedom, independence and democratic way of life.

American businessmen would be well-advised to guard against various pitfalls in their chase for trade with the Soviet Union. They should not forget that they are dealing with a government which controls the entire economy as well as exports and imports. Moreover, they are dealing with a government that

is notorious for breaking its diplomatic accords and treaties.

Experience has shown that, once the Soviets have gotten what they want, they will shut their market to foreign traders and abruptly terminate their agreements with foreign investors—for reasons of domestic or foreign policy. Furthermore, they will not hesitate to use the know-how they have acquired for dumping their goods on the world market and undercutting American manufacturers. Finally, any reliance by Western countries on the import of Soviet raw materials (natural gas)—won and marketed with Western technical and financial help—may one day expose them to Moscow's economic and political blackmail.

Trade with Communist governments is not "business as usual." It is a highly political affair. It should be governed by the principle that it must serve the national interest of our country and the interests of the free world as a whole. Otherwise, it will only rescue the Communist regimes from the consequences of their own folly and the deserved wrath of their people. This would only encourage and equip them for more subversion and aggression.

The West should not grant the Soviet Union any economic concessions without receiving in return political concessions like halting support of Hanoi's aggressions in Indochina and Arab war preparations and guerrilla activities against Israel; dismantling the wall of Shame of Berlin; and granting the German people the right of self-determination.



Ideology

"Peaceful Coexistence" in the Ideological Struggle

John Carter

In the April 9, 1973 issue of *The Rising Tide*, James Cowin wrote a very interesting article entitled "Soviet Ideology Encounters 'Western Propaganda'". In it Mr. Cowin explains the Soviet view of "information" and "propaganda" as it applies to controlling public behavior in the U.S. by "the bourgeois ruling class." Also the article gives some information on how the Communists view and use their own "propaganda" on the international "ideological" level.

The year 1973 will mark "the beginning of the end" of world freedom for the non-Communist world if the Moscow-directed "world peace offensive" meets with major success. Originally announced in the text of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the 24th Congress of the Party in April, 1972, the "peace drive" concepts and activities have recently been given widespread publication in the *Daily World*, the official paper of the Communist Party, USA as recent as May 8th. Two major articles dealing with the Russian view of international relations, present and future, appeared in the Moscow monthly, "International Affairs," December 1972. "Ideological Confrontation of the Two Systems," by V. Kudinov and V. Pletnikov, and "Soviet Foreign Policy as a Factor Promoting the Revolutionary Transformation of the World" by Y. Molchanov. The former article goes into great detail about the present Soviet strategy against 'imperialism' of which the 'world peace offensive,' via increased psychological warfare, is a major component.

Selected quotes from "Ideological Confrontation of the Two Systems" will give the reader a good insight into contemporary Soviet thinking and planning.

"The consolidation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence in present-day international relations constitutes a great moral and political victory for the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. Now practically all large capitalist states have recognized this principle and are compelled to establish wide, multifaceted and long-range relations with the socialist world..."

"Peaceful Coexistence"

"The Communist Party and the Soviet Government, in applying the line of developing cooperation with capitalist countries, among them the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Japan, on the basis of peaceful coexistence, naturally clearly views the permissible limits of such a policy as determined by the class struggle. Peaceful coexistence is a form of the class struggle, and imperialist states in respect to their nature as well as ultimate aims, remain irreconcilably hostile towards socialism and progress..."

"The ideological struggle is becoming ever sharper in the conditions of the emerging detente. 'Working for the consolidation of the peaceful coexistence principle,' L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stated at a reception given in honor of Fidel Castro on June 27, 1972, 'we are aware that successes in this important matter in no way signify the possibility of relaxing the ideological struggle. On the contrary, we must be prepared for the struggle becoming more intense and assuming an ever sharper form of confrontation between the two social systems.'

"The ideological struggle relentlessly and steadily grows sharper because it reflects the incessant deepening of the irreconcilable class contradictions between the working people and the exploiters...."

"In conditions of a detente and an improvement of the political climate in relations between socialist and capitalist countries, the ideological struggle of the two systems, far from diminishing, on the contrary, grows sharper...."

"Recent years have witnessed notable successes in our ideological offensive. The world-wide celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the centenary of the birth of Lenin the sesquicentennials of the births of Marx and Engels and the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the USSR have further enhanced the power of attraction of Marxism-Leninism and rallied around its banners fresh contingents of working people in all continents.

"In ideology, just as in the otherspheres of our relations with the capitalist world,' L. I. Brezhnev noted, 'socialism is on the historical offensive and capitalism is on the defensive. The ideological influence of socialism, the impact of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and our achievements in building the new society on the minds of the masses in capitalist countries, are tremendous. And it is mounting with every day, undermining the mainstays of capitalism from within.'

Determined Struggle

"Thus, notwithstanding the unquestionable deepening of the crisis in bourgeois ideology and the depletion of the ideological resources of anti-communism, it would be wrong to fail to recognize the means contemporary capitalism still possesses to wage a struggle for the minds of people. M.A. Suslov, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stated in his speech to the 6th Congress of Znanie Society that we must never forget the need to wage a determined struggle against bourgeois ideology, to foster in Soviet people irreconcilability towards any of its manifestations. The main thing the CPSU Central Committee draws attention to is an increase in attacking force and militancy of our propaganda and enhancement of its effectiveness."

These statements leave no doubt in anyone's mind that the Soviet communists still regard themselves at war with the United States. They couch this "state of war" in such terms as "the struggle for international proletarianism," "the world-wide class struggle," "the struggle against imperialism and reactionary forces, etc." The article by Y. Molchanov, "Soviet Foreign Policy as a Factor Promoting the Revolutionary Transformation of the World," said this very clearly: "For more than half a century Soviet foreign policy has consistently abided by the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism. The long history of the international revolutionary movement (international communism) demonstrates that peoples' struggles for national and social liberation have always received full, disinterested support and assistance from the Soviet Union.

Molchanov also said the following: "The reactionary, anti-popular essence, hopelessness and doom of imperialism are becoming increasingly obvious. At the same time, the strength, influence and prestige of world socialism and of the international working-class and national liberation movements are steadily growing and favorable objective conditions are maturing making it possible to inflict further defeats on imperialism and advance the world liberation process."

Promoting Class Struggle

He continues to explain the Communist concept of "peaceful coexistence" in such perfectly clear terms that further explanation is un-

(Continued on page 8)

Give and Take Versus Negation

Gary Jarmin

A previous article contrasted Karl Marx' theory of the Law of Opposites to the Principle of Polarity as propounded by the Unification Ideology. In this article an analysis and contrast of the Marxist law of negation with the Unification Ideology's law of give and take will be presented.

As was stated in a previous article, Marx believed that all things exist in a state of opposition to one another, containing contradictory elements which clash with one another. Through the conflict between these two contradictions a new synthesis emerges or a new creation comes forth.

Negation

When a thing, because of the opposition of an antagonistic element within it, is transformed into that antagonistic element, the opposing action is called negation. Therefore, negation in the dialectic method is the concept used to explain the development of things. In this negation the original things are not abandoned. On the contrary, the previous state is sublated and its positive part maintained and embraced in the negation. Engels said, "Negation is negation in form only, and content is preserved." Such negation takes place in dialectic union. For instance, in its growth process, the seed on the one hand maintains union with the germ, which is the antagonistic element. But on the other hand, negated by the germ, it finally becomes a shoot. The shoot, which is the negation of the seed, does not abandon the seed completely; by absorbing the content of the seed it becomes a shoot. Thus dialectic negation is neither reconciliation nor abandonment. It is developmental negation combined with preservation and sublation.

It is important to recall that for the dialectical thinker, change and development is always accomplished through union and struggle of two opposing things. Therefore negation does not permit reconciliation or harmony at all. On the contrary, the Marxist would believe that things unite only in order to struggle, which is of course a contradiction in terms as well as in purpose. Things having two opposite purposes

cannot truly unite. These fallacies in the concept of negation can be better understood when analyzed in light of the Unification Ideology.

Transmission of Energy

The Unification Ideology sees that all things of creation exist in complementary pairs of male and female, subject and object, or positive and negative (as in electricity) which have a transmission of energy between them. This action is called give and take.

Through this giving and taking of energy things are united, bringing forth creation. For example, through the give and take of positive and negative charges, electricity is produced; through that of protons and electrons, atoms are formed; and that between anion and cation creates molecules. No trace of conflict or struggle occurs in any of these examples. Rather we find in them perfect examples of unity and harmony.

Let us again examine the seed. Is the emergence of a shoot from a seed truly the result of negation? The seed coat does not exist to be negated by an antagonistic thing. It exists totally for the growth of the germ. Until the germ becomes a shoot, the function of the seed coat is to foster its growth and protect it. When the germ grows and fills the seed coat, the seed coat need no longer exist, becoming thin and dying away. On the other hand, the germ does not exist to negate the seed coat; it becomes a shoot with the help of the seed coat. The germ does not become a shoot through the opposition and negation of the seed coat but rather with its affirmation, reconciliation, and cooperation.

It is evident that at least as far as natural phenomena are concerned, Marx' law of negation is certainly not an objective natural law. Marx made a futile attempt to apply Hegel's theories of contradiction and negation to the material world only so he could then justify the need for a violent revolution. Rather than producing a philosophy to clarify truth, Marx was at best only able to develop a theory rationalizing the necessity for class conflict and revolution.

Book Review

Communist Agriculture

Or, why they need our wheat

Stephen Osofsky

excerpted from *Problems of Communism*, May-June, 1973

ROY D. and BETTY A. LAIRD: *Soviet Communism and Agrarian Revolution*. Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1970.

ARTHUR E. and JAN S. ADAMS: *Men vs. Systems - Agriculture in the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia*. New York, Free Press, 1971.

JAMES R. MILLAR, Ed.: *The Soviet Rural Community*. Urbana, Ill. and London, University of Illinois Press, 1971.

W.A. DOUGLAS JACKSON, Ed.: *Agrarian Policies and Problems in Communist and Non-Communist Countries*. Seattle and London, Univ. of Washington Press, 1971.

THE ORGANIZATION of agriculture has long been one of the major problems facing Communist regimes - a reflection of the fact that the economies of most of the countries where communism has come to power have been predominantly rural in character. The four books under review address themselves to the manner in which a number of Communist regimes have dealt with this problem, examining the collectivized systems these regimes have adopted and assessing their effectiveness as compared with non-collectivized agriculture in other countries.

The Lairds' small volume explores the historical roots and present dimensions of agrarian problems in the Soviet Union, their diagnosis of these problems leading them to urge developing nations that are land-short and labor-rich to adopt a non-specialized and intensive type of private farming rather than the Soviet collectivized system of large, mechanized farms. Pointing out that the abundant use of labor can, under certain conditions, be more productive than heavily mechanized cultivation, they cite as an illustration the

small-scale, labor-intensive, and less mechanized farming of Western Europe, where yields are higher per acre than they are on the large-scale, mechanized farms of the US (though the latter make good sense in US conditions of abundant land and a national food surplus).

The Adams' study represents an attempt to develop some general conclusions about "Community agriculture" on the basis of observations made during an extended 1967 visit to the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The Millar volume, consisting of 15 papers originally presented at a 1969 symposium sponsored by the University of Illinois, represents a major contribution to the literature on the Soviet agricultural system. The quality of the individual papers is consistently high, especially those in Part III.

The Jackson study is also based on a symposium, this one sponsored by the University of Washington in 1967, and comprises papers presented by 16 scholars, mostly economists, together with the comments of various discussants.

The Jackson volume's papers and comments dealing with agriculture on the Chinese mainland generally support the conclusion that China's version of collectivization, though not as economically and socially disruptive in its early stages, nor as extractive in its application, as that of the Soviet Union, has nonetheless proven unsuccessful from the standpoint of raising agricultural productivity.

The consensus of opinion that emerges from the findings and views of the many scholars who participated in producing these four volumes is that the Soviet model of collectivized agriculture - both at home and in its adaptations elsewhere - has proven remarkably inefficient and that this

inefficiency has been due primarily to flaws that are inherent in the basic Soviet conception of agricultural organization. Marx and Engels, and after them Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev, were addicted to the notion that agricultural labor could be effectively organized along the same lines as labor in industry and, furthermore, that the same "economies of scale" attainable in industry could likewise be realized in agriculture - in other words, that farms should be as large as possible. What they failed to understand was that in agriculture intensity of cultivation is as important as the acreage of farms, and that the law of diminishing returns dictates a search for the optimal rather than the maximum possible size of farming units.

As these studies show, agricultural experience in Taiwan, Japan, Western Europe, and even in Communist Poland has shown that very small farms - by Soviet and Chinese standards - can produce efficiently by adopting intensive farming techniques and labor-saving technology. Yet dogmatic beliefs and a vested interest in perpetuating a system that has been all but enshrined in Soviet doctrine caused Khrushchev to continue enlarging the size of Soviet farms through kolkhoz amalgamations and the creation of bigger sovkhozes. In 1965 Brezhnev's admission that some farms were too large to be well-administered prompted the start of discussions in the Soviet press concerning the optimal size of farms, but as yet there has been no sign of any fundamental reconsideration of the system.

In part, the lack of success of the existing system stems from failure to recognize agriculture as a largely biological process. Successive Soviet regimes have tried to subject agriculture to

the same sort of controls exercised in industry, to replace the judgment of the field worker by an inflexible plan that cannot possibly anticipate the multiplicity of unpredictable natural problems that the farmer has to deal with. The result has been that Soviet farmers cannot react spontaneously to fast-changing field conditions, but must either await orders from above or risk being charged with insubordination. The system thus denies decision-making authority to those who are closest to production conditions and consequently best able to respond to unexpected situations.

Agricultural operations also differ from those in industry in that they are by nature diverse, multifunctional and idiosyncratic, and consequently do not lend themselves to fixed, clearly-defined work assignments or regular shifts. Moreover, the fact that agricultural work is characteristically performed over large areas instead of in one place as in the case of an industrial plant presents formidable problems for the official control network. Instead of incurring the tremendous costs of maintaining an army of control personnel, it would be far more efficient to activate the self-interest and personal initiative of the farmers by rewarding them for maximizing productivity.

It was, of course, Stalin who more than anyone else set the mold of the Soviet system of collectivized agriculture that still remains fundamentally unchanged today. His primary objectives in doing so were to gain control over the hitherto independent peasantry and over the terms of resource distribution between industry and agriculture. Once these objectives were attained, he proceeded to reduce the agricultural sector and the peasantry to a state of virtual servitude, depriving agriculture of capital investment and diverting from it resources to finance rapid industrialization. As a result of these policies, Soviet agriculture in 1953 was still burdened by a primitive transportation network and incredibly low levels of mechanization, electrification, and chemical fertilizer use. The incomes of collective farm

members remained extremely low, and the peasants had to rely on the sale of produce from their private plots for the bulk of their incomes. Long working hours, poor schools, and inadequate transportation facilities tended to perpetuate the semiliterate condition of the peasants, whose exodus from the countryside in search of a better life was curbed by an internal passport system.

In sum, the four studies under review generally concur that, if one posits maximization of production and minimization of cost per unit of output, together with a labor input consistent with an effective system of incentives, as the desired goals in agriculture, the collectivized, command-type farming systems, with their centrally planned and imposed production quotas, have proven themselves economically inefficient as well as administratively unwieldy and irrational. The Lairds, the Adamses, and German economist Werner Klatt (in Jackson, p. 465) go further and suggest that countries with Soviet-type agricultural systems would be well-advised to abandon them in favor of either genuine farm cooperatives or economically viable family farms. The Adamses (p. 254) express the view that adoption of a loose type of farm cooperative like the Polish agrarian circles, which make modern agricultural equipment and technology available to small farmers, could stimulate the modernization of small-scale agriculture in East European conditions. The Lairds, however, see little possibility that the Soviet Union will ever decollectivize agriculture, mainly because of political and ideological considerations: they argue that too much of the prestige of Marxism-Leninism is invested in the existing system, and also that "to abandon collectivization would be to undercut the Communists' most important argument for persuading national liberation movements in predominantly peasant, developing nations to accept the Soviet lead" (p. 61). Certainly, this reviewer would hardly consider the Soviet agricultural model the most effective weapon in Moscow's arsenal for persuading Third World countries to look to the USSR for leadership.

Coming Soon ... The Rising Tide Bookstore!



The Rising Tide Bookstore, on the street level of FLP's offices at 1365 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., received its first shipment of books last week from Praeger Press. Titles include: *Russia's Underground Poets*, *The New Class*, Milovan Djilas; *The New Face of Soviet Totalitarianism*, Adam Ulam; *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-Tung*, Stuart Schram; *A History of the Peoples Democracies*, Francois Fejto. According to manager Ray Mas, the store will open as soon as it has a good stock of books, which will probably be in mid-July.

Painting, renovating, building shelves, etc. goes on behind an eye-catching display

of books arranged around the background of a rising sun superimposed upon a muted collage of *Rising Tide* headlines. In fact, there is usually a small throng in front of the window. Every day Ray has had dozens of visitors, and even a few inquiries about employment. He has put a sign on the door: "Sorry, we're not open yet. See you sometime in July."

Ray Mas, bookstore manager, is studying international affairs/Russian studies. In addition to being a contributing writer for the *Tide*, he is temporarily filling in for James Cowin, who has undertaken a special lecturing assignment in New York.

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The Rising Tide

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