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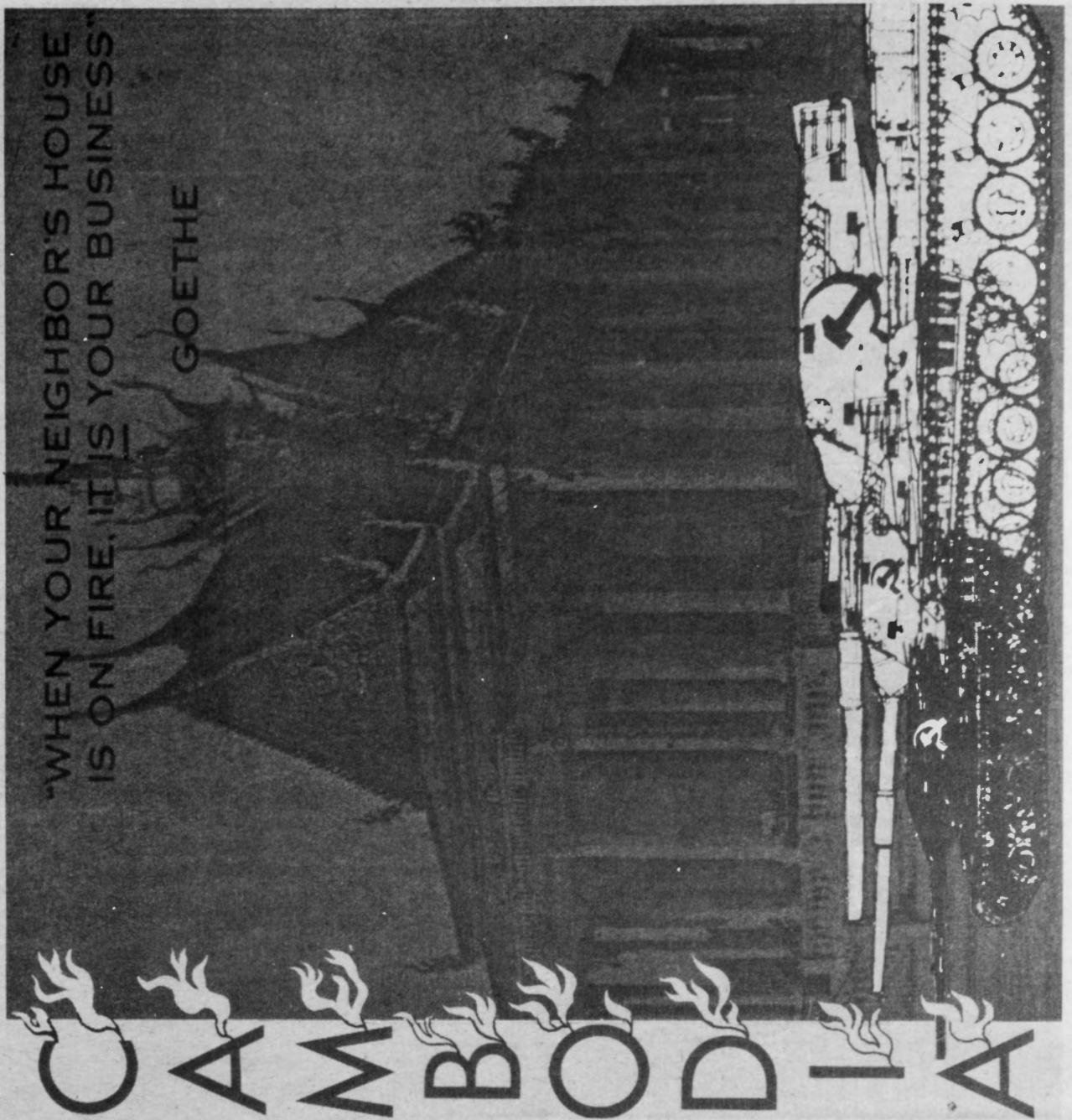
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# The Rising Tide

Volume Three, Number Fifteen

July 30, 1973



The Rising Tide  
P.O. Box 678 Ben Franklin Station  
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## Vladimir Maximov Expelled From Writers' Union

Vladimir E. Maximov, 41, is one of the most talented living Soviet writers — second only, perhaps, to Solzhenitsyn. He is less known in the West than the Nobel prize laureate and author of the *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. Yet many consider him to be just as courageous, just as forceful, honest and sincere as the man whom many people in the Soviet Union call the "Conscience of Russia."

Maximov is the author of a number of brilliantly written stories published in the USSR, but his claim to fame is his novel *Seven Days of Creation*, first published in Russian by the Publishing House POSSEV, Frankfurt-on-the-Main, West Germany. The German, French, Italian, and Spanish versions of the book are already on sale. The English translation is scheduled to be put out in the near future by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, to be followed by a release in Japanese. Quite recently POSSEV has put out Maximov's second novel *Quarantine*. Both novels were condemned by official Soviet censors and are now being circulated in Russia by Samizdat.

In speaking of his writing in a recent radio interview, he stated: "In the literary milieu of my generation I — from the very beginning — became an outcast, a pariah. Little, indeed, was I concerned with the problems which then occupied my colleagues among the writers: cases of mismanagement in agriculture, the drama of the domestic breed of beatniks, the cult of personality. Hence their manifest and complete inability to understand me, and frequent outspoken derision, particularly of my religious searchings. I

strove to get directly 'to the very essence of things,' to probe the sources of the process which was tearing the society apart, to expose for myself its historic perspective. Let the reader be the judge of whether I have succeeded or failed in this endeavor."

On May 25, 1973, the Moscow Chapter of the Union of Soviet Writers had staged a "discussion" of the *Seven Days of Creation*, which was marked by vituperous attacks and threats directed against the author. Motions were moved to expel Maximov from the Writers Union. And now, in July, the axe has fallen. Maximov is reported to have been expelled from the union and faces certain grave difficulties.

According to the information received from Moscow, Vladimir Maximov was recently summoned to appear for "psychiatric re-examination." In the course of 1972 he was subjected several times to this kind of harassment by psychiatrists under KGB orders. Soviet dissident writers have on numerous occasions been confined for compulsory "treatment" to KGB-run mental institutions of a "special type." Fully conscious of what may happen to him, Maximov has written a letter to the Writers Union, reproduced by Samizdat in Russia and recently smuggled to the West. The full text of the letter, first published in English, appears on page two of the *Rising Tide* along with a review of *Seven Days of Creation* by Constantin Boldyreff.

FLF has been sending copies of the letter to Congressmen and members of the press; *Tide* readers are urged to circulate the letter, sending it to local papers, etc.



## The Struggle To Preserve A Nation

*The Rising Tide is pleased to focus this issue on Cambodia (the Khmer Republic) at this critical time in its history. We were honored to be granted an interview with His Excellency Um Sim, newly appointed Ambassador from The Khmer Republic, which appears on pages 4 and 5 of this issue. The following article is a good summary of the Khmer situation by Mr. Gaffar Paeng - Meth, information officer and Second Secretary of the Embassy of the Khmer Republic.*

by Gaffar Paeng-Meth

More than 3 years have passed since the Khmer country was first drawn into a war imposed on its people by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese armed forces. Despite countless Khmer efforts to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict, an intense war rages on in the Khmer Republic.

### Khmer attempts for Peace

In fact, the Khmer Government under Lon Nol approached a Vietcong leader, Huynh Tan Phat during the latter's official visit to Cambodia (June 30-July 5, 1969), regarding the peaceful withdrawal of some 60,000 Vietcong/North Vietnamese troops from Khmer soil. Again, when then Premier Lon Nol visited the People's Republic of China (September 27-October 3, 1969), he five times brought into discussion with Chinese leader Chou En-lai and Vietcong leader Nguyen Hun Tho the issue of the Vietcong/North Vietnamese occupation of Khmer territory.

Following popular demonstrations in March 1970 against the foreign presence on Khmer soil, the Khmer Government once again proposed to the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese to engage in talks in order to remove peacefully their troops from Khmer territory.

Instead of accepting the Khmer gesture toward peace, the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese — who had already blatantly violated the 1954 Geneva Accords, calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Khmer soil and prohibiting the use of Cambodia as a stage for attack on a third country, and the Communist Vietnamese official statement in 1967 pledging respect for Khmer independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality — decided to put into effect the "Campaign X" plan: the invasion of Cambodia.

The Vietcong/North Vietnamese military advance which reached the gates of Phnom Penh elicited Khmer appeals to all countries in the world, including the United States, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, for aid and assistance in conformity with the charter of the United Nations, the Geneva Accords of 1954, the principles of Khmer neutrality, and international law and principles. Additionally, the Khmers continued to appeal for the reactivation of the International Control Commission to bring peace to Cambodia.

The Khmers have always left the door open for peaceful settlement of the conflict. So, when the Paris Accords were signed on January 27,

1973 calling for a cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, the Khmer Government welcomed the Agreements.

Article 20 of the Paris Accords stipulates that "the parties participating in the Paris Agreement on Vietnam shall strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Cambodia..." and calls on all foreign countries to "... put an end to all military activities in Cambodia and Laos, totally withdraw from and refrain from reintroducing into these countries troops, military advisors and military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material... The internal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of these countries without foreign interference..."

As evidence of the Khmers' good will, President Lon Nol ordered a halt to all offensive operations of the Khmer armed forces — a unilateral cease-fire beginning January 29, 1973 — and ordered all bombing stopped to allow the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese time to withdraw peacefully from the Khmer Republic. The Khmer Government reconfirmed its acceptance of the 1954 Geneva Accords and doubled its constant efforts to obtain the reactivation of the I.C.C. in conformity with paragraph 8 of Article 20 of the Paris Accords.

Then, on July 6, 1973, the Khmer Government put forward its six-point peace proposal calling, among other things, for "an immediate cease-fire" among contending forces and offering to meet with the Khmers of "the other side" to bring "a cessation of hostilities and national reconciliation." This was not the first time that the Khmer Government offered to talk with the Khmers of "the other side" as certain foreign press reports have claimed it was. In fact, the Khmer policy has always been and remains the advocacy of free contact among Khmers to settle their internal differences without foreign interference. But the existence of Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces on Khmer territory presents a barrier to peace.

### Vietcong/North Vietnamese Aggression

The attempts by North Vietnam to dominate its neighbors have a long history. In 1939, the North Vietnamese created the Indochinese Communist Party. It was later officially dissolved because of the strong national sentiments of the Khmer and Lao people, but in its place the North Vietnamese created the Cambodian Communist party and the Pathet Lao and sent their Communist cadres, mainly Chinese and North Vietnamese, into Cambodia and Laos to build a Vietnamese Communist infrastructure to help in implementing Ho Chi Minh's dream of an Indochinese Communist Federation. The Viet Minh forces infiltrated

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Cover by Alexis Burgess

## Honoring Captive Nations Week

July 16-23

# Maximov Addresses the Writers' Union

To the Secretariat of the Moscow Organization of the RSFSR Writers' Union.

from V. E. Maximov

It has come to my knowledge that the Secretariat of the Moscow Chapter of the RSFSR Writers' Union, in cooperation with its Prose Section Bureau, is scheduling a discussion of my novel *Seven Days of Creation* with all the administrative consequences ensuing therefrom. I am, therefore, writing this letter in anticipation of the proposed discussion, since I know in advance the character of your accusations and the quality of your arguments. There is no need for me to apologize to you for anything, nor do I have anything to regret. As a son and grandson of hereditary proletarians — a product of the working-class myself — I have written a book about the final development phase of a cause for which my father, my grandfather, and most of the members of the two families from which I stem, have sacrificed their lives. For me this book is a result of many years of thoughtful consideration of the oppressive, and now irreversible, phenomena of our times and of my personal agonizing experiences. If — while remaining alone with your conscience — courageously and without prejudice you will look into the eyes of reality, there will — I am sure — arise in your minds many of the very same "whys" which have relentlessly haunted me as I was working on my novel.

Why is it that in the country of victorious Socialism, drunkenness has developed into a national tragedy? Why is it that our nation — having entered into the second half-century of its existence — is being torn apart by a kind of pathological nationalism? Why is it that indifference, corruption and larceny threaten to become a normal occurrence of our day-to-day life? Where should the source of all this be



sought, what is the primary reason of such a state of affairs? Such basically were the questions which I was asking myself as I began to work on my book. I do not know whether I have succeeded in providing a sufficiently convincing answer even to one of these questions, but you have no reason to doubt the sincerity of my intentions. All my senior predecessors from Dudinsev to Solzhenytsin — each according to his abilities and talent — were guided by the same desire to help their country and their people to understand the negative phenomena of our times so that — freeing itself from the errors of the past — the nation could fearlessly move forward. Unfortunately, those who had the power to turn these books into effective instruments of progress, have not only remained deaf to the voices that clamored for the truth, but have instead launched a violent attack against the authors. It is hard for me to judge

who was interested — and why — in driving the disease even deeper into the system, but I have no doubt about the lamentable outcome of that kind of treatment: the consequences cannot be evaluated, the calamities are incalculable. If our society fails to recognize this fact today, tomorrow it may be already too late.

I am not in a position at the present time to indulge in defiant bravado. It is with a feeling of bitterness and loss that I shall quit the organization where I remained as a member for almost a decade. The men from whom I've learned how to live and to work belonged to this organization, and some of them still do. The Writers' Union, and particularly its Moscow Chapter, is gradually being turned into the undivided property of the petty political marauders and travelling literary salesmen: all those mednikovs, pilyars, and yevtushenkos — the sundry demons of spiritual parasitism that they are.

I realize very well what awaits me after my expulsion from the Union. But at the end of my road I am heartened by the conviction that in the vast expanses of my native land, sitting under the electric chandeliers of the latest type, perched by kerosene lamps or sooty lanterns are boys who follow in our footsteps. They sit there, and write, wrinkling their Socratic foreheads. They write! Perhaps, it won't be their lot to change the sorrowful face of reality (this, incidentally, had never been the goal of literature) but there is one thing I do not doubt in the least — they will not permit their country to be buried secretly, no matter what the spiritual undertakers of all colors and shades try to do to achieve this end.

Assuming full responsibility, I am

(signed) V. Maximov.

May 15, 1973.

## Review: *Seven Days of Creation*

by Constantin Boldyreff

Possev-Verlag,  
Frankfurt/Main, 1971

The novel *Seven Days of Creation* is a chronicle reflecting not only the lives of the many characters described therein and the profound moral and spiritual problems of these people but also the fate of Russia herself. The book covers the period from the Civil War (1918-20) to the mid-Sixties. All seven parts of this monumental work (about 200,000 words) are interconnected and unified by the saga of the Lashkov family members — "hereditary proletarians" as is the author himself.

The main personage of the novel, Pyotr Vassilyevich Lashkov — an old Bolshevik, a Red Army hero, and later a provincial party boss — appears in all the parts of the book. (Each part is entitled after a day of the week.) Each part, in fact, is a separate entity — the life story of one of the other principal characters: Pyotr's two brothers — Vassily Vassilyevich Lashkov, a bemedalled Red Army invalid and veteran of the Civil War who winds up as a superintendent of a Moscow communal apartment house ("Wednesday"), Andrey Vassilyevich Lashkov, a forestry engineer — and Pyotr's son, daughter and her husband.

The book presents a vivid panorama of more than four decades of Soviet life. For example, in "Wednesday," apart from Vassily's own gloomy life story, the reader gets a fascinating view of the lives of a dozen families in this overpopulated three-story former Moscow mansion — subdivided into a dozen or so "dwelling units" — which houses a motley collection of people; in fact, a cross-section of the country's population. There you find a former Czarist colonel turned into a "military specialist" later shot by the NKVD; a village carpenter, an easy-go-lucky fellow who drowns his restlessness and sorrow in booze because nobody seems to appreciate real craftsmanship anymore; a minor KGB boss; a bewildered Jewish dentist, his wife and talented son; a burly blacksmith with his two bandit-

sons engaged in crime and blackmarketeering, driving their meek young sister to support them by selling her body as a prostitute; a professor's widow; her sickly artist son, an Austrian Communist who in the 20's immigrated to the Soviet Union and could never return to his homeland since, and so on. The drama of these people unravels before the reader, who gets a glimpse of various periods of their lives cleverly presented by the author in dialogues, reminiscences, and episodes deftly injected amidst the developing events.

The book leads the reader from a provincial Soviet city to Moscow to a concentration camp to the construction site of an industrial plant in the sandy desert of Central Asia; from the Civil War to the horrid years of collectivization and the era of Stalin's back-breaking industrialization. During the years of World War II the reader follows the heroes to the Caucasus, back to Moscow, and again to the provinces. The author parades three generations. They march, they fall. Some rise up again, others don't. A masterful picture is created of contemporary Russia. And again the reader gets a glimpse of villages and cities, factories, camps, and the boundless sea of Russia's forests.

The book is a masterpiece. Once you open it, you cannot close it until you've reached the final part, "Sunday" — which consists only of one sentence: "And the Seventh day dawned — the day of Hope and Resurrection..."

By the end of the novel, Pyotr, the old Bolshevik, realizes that all his ideals were false, all sacrifices useless, all crimes unpardonable. He hasn't found God yet, but his lifetime friend and enemy — a deeply religious worker who, while rejecting Communism, succeeded in building around himself a small, but happy little world of his own — no longer instills that mixed feeling of wrath, suspicion, and envy. No longer is he Pyotr's enemy; now he is just a friend — a deeply respected friend.

*Seven Days of Creation* is written in a rich and brilliant prose in the best tradition of

Russia's classical literature. The story is dramatic and sad, though leavened in places by sparks of magnificent humor. This is a heartrending tragic saga. Yet, on turning the last page, one strikingly doesn't feel depressed. Deep in the heart there somehow arises a warm undercurrent of hope and faith in the human race: an overwhelming realization that love, truth, and decency — yes, common decency — will triumph, all the horrors of the present notwithstanding.



Will this be Maximov's fate?

# The Struggle To Preserve a Nation

(Continued from page 1)

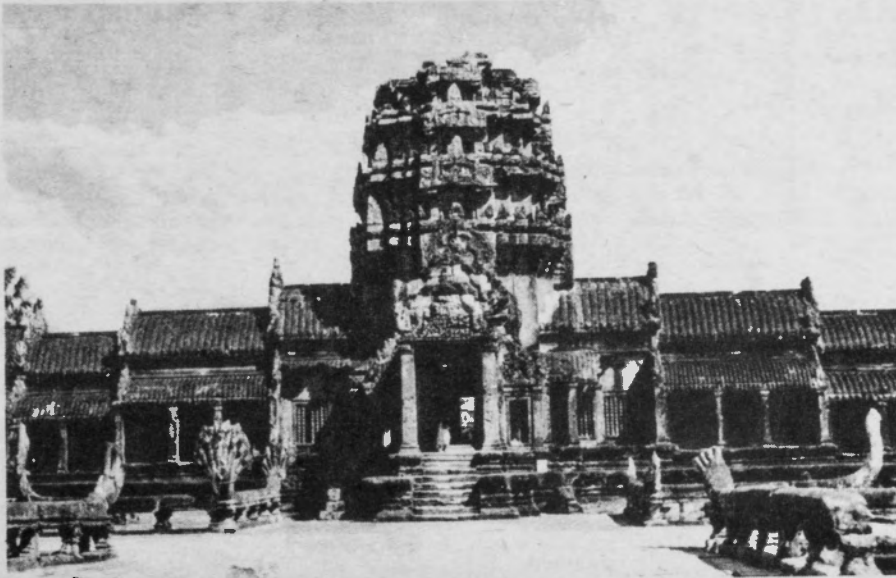
Khmer territory as well, introducing their arms caches and agents.

In fact North Vietnamese Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap told Sihanouk during the latter's visit to North Vietnam in 1971 that the Vietnamese Communist Lao Dong had taken some 6 to 8,000 Khmers to Hanoi in 1954 where they attended the Son Tay Military Academy (infantry training school) and the Nguyen Ai Quoc political school. In the Sixties, the Lao Dong led the local Khmers in northeast Cambodia in a rebellion against Phnom Penh. By the late Sixties, the North Vietnamese had forced Sihanouk into a misstep, causing him to lose his balancing act by allowing some 60,000 Vietcong/North Vietnamese troops to be installed on Khmer territory. In a recent interview with Henry Kamm in Romania (*New York Times*, July 4, 1973), Sihanouk confessed that he "made" his officers "transport for the Viet Cong," arms, ammunitions and military equipment.

ming an army. Many problems emerged.

To understand the Khmer situation better, it might help American readers to recall that some of these problems occurred in the Union Army in the American Civil War. Corruption was not unknown as the Union Army at first relied on volunteers and had a small officer corps.

In fact, the General Accounting Office (Appendix 1, pp. 3-4) has acknowledged measures made by the Khmers to improve their armed forces: A central and regional structure was established by the Khmer National Armed Forces to supervise and control the armed forces' pay operations; unit level verification committees were formed to review payrolls and observe pay procedures for validity; national committees were created to accompany unit commanders and observe their payment of troops. The GAO acknowledged that in 1973, 195 largely understrength and untrained battalions were dissolved, the headquarters of 29 infantry brigades, all regiments, and certain brigade



Angkor Wat - now in enemy hands

So, by 1970, a *de facto* annexation of Khmer territory by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese was in full force: they collected taxes, appointed new officials, denied Khmer officials access to the controlled areas, issued safe-conduct passes to the population, imposed a system of collectivization and communization, and took Khmer foodstuffs for their use in their military effort to dominate Indochina. This brought about popular demonstrations against the foreign occupiers. As Sihanouk's complicity with the invaders became increasingly detrimental to Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and neutrality and his economic policy led the Khmer state to a point of near collapse, the Khmer Parliament voted unanimously to depose the Prince from office in conformity with Article 122 of the Khmer Constitution then in force -- it was legal and an internal affair of the Khmers.

Samuel A. Adams, a war critic, wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* of July 5, 1973: "... the Vietcong high command dusted off contingency plans, including one called 'Campaign X' - the invasion of Cambodia. Campaign X kicked off a few days later. By April, thousands of Vietcong troops were pouring over the border, putting to flight Phnom Penh's feeble army.

"The shallow foray by U.S. Troops across the Cambodian frontier in May and June was a sideshow to the main event. The center ring was in the Cambodian interior, where bands of Vietcong soldiers accompanied by Khmer interpreters touting Sihanouk marched through the bewildered countryside...

"The Vietcong flood poured into Cambodia for the rest of 1970. Almost the entire Vietnamese Communist Main Force... left the southern half of southern Vietnam for service next door. So did thousands of political cadres from Vietnam's southern delta. Training schools in thatched huts sprang up throughout Cambodia: some for soldiers, others for policemen, administrators, even midwives."

## Khmer Problems

To meet the challenge of Vietcong and North Vietnamese aggression, the small Khmer army -- a ceremonial force of 28,000 to 30,000 ill-trained and ill-equipped men -- was rapidly expanded to include more than 200,000 volunteers. The Khmers can produce only about 150 officers per year; an army of this size should be directed by at least 7,000 officers. Thus, the Khmers were obliged to select both civilians and military whom they considered capable of run-

groups were disbanded and their personnel were transferred to other understrength army units. It must be added that more than 27,000 troops for whom pay was drawn have been eliminated and certain army officers have been punished according to law.

Today the Khmers are facing battle-ried Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops of no less than 45,000 men (figure given in June 1973). These invading forces systematically destroy all things -- lives, properties, schools, hospitals, bridges, roads, pagodas, all social and economic infrastructures -- and are using toxic gas, heavy weapons such as 122mm rockets, 130mm cannons, Russian-made tanks, and heat-seeking missiles in the Khmer country against the Khmers. They have created much more suffering of the people and produced more refugees than any bombing by U.S. or Khmer aircraft. When the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese pour rockets on population centers and shoot at Khmer supply convoys, it is the Khmer people who suffer most.

These foreign invaders have not only executed systematically Khmer soldiers and officers but have shot and killed journalists, observers and missionaries. Tragically, the aggressors refuse to release journalists whom they have kidnapped on Khmer soil. The Khmers have made every effort to exchange North Vietnamese prisoners for captured journalists, but the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese remain unresponsive to Khmer offers.

## Sihanouk

It is also a tragedy that the foreign press has made much of the residual popularity of Prince Sihanouk. The Khmer Marxist cadres who fought Sihanouk before Geneva, the Hanoi-trained Khmer rebels who were and remain vehemently anti-Sihanouk, the Khmer Reds who took to the hills to fight the Sihanouk regime in the Sixties, and the handful of Khmers in Peking and abroad who have various viewpoints toward the Prince are not followers of Sihanouk. The Khmers of the republic, too, have rejected the Prince's despotism and have legally deposed him from power. As such, it is very doubtful that he can ever return to power. But if the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese and the local Khmer insurgents need to use his name repeatedly, it is because they need to exploit his name in certain international circles to get new recruits and-

(Continued on page 7)

## Quotations from Prince Sihanouk

### On the Communists:

"Concerning the Communists, dear companions, we say that we trust the Chinese and Vietnamese. But when the moment comes what will happen between us and the Vietnamese?"

"I must tell you that the Vietnamese Communists and the Viet Cong negotiated with us three or four times but that absolutely nothing comes out of the negotiations. They did not sign a pledge of respect for our present frontiers. That is the first problem. The second problem is the fact that the pro-Viet Minh Khmer (Cambodians) have had the habit of permitting the Viet Minh to come into our country. Formerly, after I had expelled the French and after the French troops left Cambodia, the Viet Minh remained in our country in order to conquer it. How can we have confidence in the Viet Minh? Will we be able to escape falling into their hands once we turn Communist?"

"...If we side with the Viet Minh, we will lose our independence..."

May 9, 1967

"Sihanouk said he will again offer his sympathy and paternal and brotherly feelings to the Khmer Red leaders -- such as Hou Youn, Kieu Samphan and Hu Nim -- whenever the latter change their attitude and again become nationalist, royalist, Buddhist, or socialist Buddhist. He said that as long as they remain enemies of the nation, he is obliged to counterattack them."

(September 24, 1969 -- Sihanouk Speech -- Radio Phnom Penh)

"Sihanouk commented: Here are the three men (Kieu Samphan, Hu Nim and Hou Youn) who according to Lon Nol's propaganda have been shot by Sihanouk...It is they who are leading today's Cambodia and it is they inevitably who will lead the Cambodia of tomorrow."

(April 13, 1973 -- Sihanouk Filming Conference -- AFP Peking)

### On his future role:

"But if I go on as chief of state after victory, I run the risk of being pushed out the window by the Communists, like Masaryk, or I might be imprisoned for revisionism or deviationism..."

(Interview with Tribune De Geneva, December 10, 1971)

### On the Communist presence in Cambodia:

"Sihanouk -- admitting accusations made by the United States while he was in power and always denied by him and ridiculed by the anti-war movement throughout the world -- said that the Cambodian army provided the transport on a road built by the United States AID program, from the port to the Communist sanctuaries."

"There was two-thirds for the Viet Cong and one third for my army," the prince said. "That way I didn't have to provide in my budget for military equipment arms and ammunition."

(Sihanouk Interview with James Pringle -- Peking -- Reuters -- Washington Post -- July 18, 1973)



Casualties of enemy attack near Phnom Penh

### On bombing:

"Asked about his own forces rocket attack on Phnom Penh's Pochentong airport earlier this week, in which a number of civilians living in makeshift homes were killed or injured, Prince Sihanouk said: 'That's war.'"

(Interview with Reuters in Peking, April 28, 1973)

# Getting The Facts Straight

The summary and recommendations released in Senator Edward Brooke's recent report on his fact-finding tour to Southeast Asia have gone too easily unchallenged by many politicians, press, and other public figures. It appears that no one really seems to care anymore about the fate of Cambodia except for a handful of people whose concern even then is limited to civilian casualties allegedly caused by American bombing. Unfortunately there are also a few who take an interest in Cambodia, but for reasons of concern to the Communist side.

Senator Brooke's findings are full of many oversights and half-truths, which is particularly unfortunate, since many crucial decisions related to Cambodia's survival will be based on such information.

First of all, the Senator's report accuses the Government of the Khmer Republic (GKR) of having "a narrow base of popular support." Yet it admits this base of support has been broadening — by having the power shared equally among Sirik Matak, In Tam, and Cheng Heng, for example. On the other hand, the report admits that the Khmer insurgents are badly divided between the Khmer Communists, Sihanouk Loyalists, and the Khmer Rouge which range from brigands to non-Communist nationalists. "There was undisputed agreement," the report continued, "that Sihanouk could never again be powerful on his own merits." Sihanouk himself said on July 18, "I wash my hands of the state of affairs after Phnom Penh is liberated. Let the Khmer Rouge take over the running of the country."

Despite the great unlikelihood that Sihanouk could ever be a unifying, central figure to remain in power, the report nevertheless recommends that the GKR "negotiate with the insurgent forces on the basis of the possible return of Prince Sihanouk to a position of political power in Cambodia."

Regarding American bombing, the report acknowledges that tactical air support has been helpful, whereas B-52 bombing is looked upon as being merely a "deterrent signal to North Vietnam." Nevertheless the report recommends that all bombing be stopped immediately. Why stop all bombing, especially that which enables the Cambodians to hold off a possible Communist takeover?

Part of the reason, according to the report, is that as far as the bombing relates to negotiations... "it cannot substantially improve the GKR position." If that were true, then why has Sihanouk now refused to negotiate with the GKR? Primarily because he knows that when the American bombing is stopped then the negotiating strength for the insurgent forces will be greatly enhanced. To put any time limit on the bombing while negotiations are close at hand is incredibly foolish. Thus, the only real bargaining leverage which effectively brought the North Vietnamese to negotiate seriously will now be removed after August 15 unless permission is granted by Congress to continue the bombing.

The GKR's 200,000 troops are also accused of being "poorly led, trained and equipped." There is no doubt that this may be true. But the question is why. At the time of the outbreak of the war in 1970 Cambodia had only 35,000 poorly trained soldiers. Since that time it has received no help in the form of military advisors necessary to train officers and men in tactics and use of modern weapons. In addition arms from the U.S. have always been in short supply and spare parts for repairs are scarce. On the other hand the insurgents are well armed and led by North Vietnamese Communists, who have more than 30 years' experience in guerrilla warfare. The Khmer insurgents, as they were before March 1970, would be nothing without massive support from the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong. On the other hand, the U.S., due to the Cooper-Church Amendment, has been unable to give our Cambodian allies any equivalent assistance.

Perhaps one final reason Senator Brooke feels we should end our military effort is because of the mounting refugee problem caused "at least partially by U.S. bombing." The facts are, however, that American bombing has been a relatively small factor in causing refugees. In August, 1970, there were already 200,000 refugees at a time when American bombing was very insignificant. In contrast, whole cities and villages have been virtually wiped out in fighting caused directly by the Communist insurgents. Interestingly enough, the report did not give any estimates as to actually how many casualties or refugees have actually been caused by the bombing.

Unfortunately Senator Brooke's report leaves many questions unanswered and gives no convincing reasons as to why American bombing is more inhumane than the continued NVN Communists acts of aggression, nor why a coalition government with Sihanouk as a figurehead would be more representative and stable than the existing government. The report and its conclusions cannot be accepted in view of the counter-indications we see in the present struggle. Rather than seeking to rationalize a quick end to any responsibility in Cambodia, which the report seems to do — our task is to generate a new awareness in this country of the continuing need for vigilance in defending the cause of freedom throughout the world.

by  
Neil Salonen  
President,  
Freedom  
Leadership  
Foundation



"The question is how to end the war, not how to start it!"

— An interview with the Ambassador of the Khmer Republic, Um Sim —

On Tuesday, July 17, His Excellency Um Sim, Ambassador of the Khmer Republic, met with FLF Secretary-General Gary Jarmin and *Rising Tide* editor Louise Berry. Also attending was Gaffar Paeng-Meth, Information Officer of the Embassy of the Khmer Republic. Of primary concern to the Ambassador is presenting the plight of the Cambodian people to the United States in these crucial days before August 15.

Mr. Um Sim was appointed to his post about two months ago; he has, in this short time, met with a considerable number of Congressmen and members of the press. Most recently, Mr. Um Sim was First Deputy Secretary-General of the Social Republican Party and Cabinet Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was a member of the Cambodian delegation to the United Nations in 1970 and in 1972. Coming from a background in electrical engineering, he began his government career in the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications, becoming its director in 1970.

The foremost issue, of course, is Cambodian survival after the projected cessation of bombing on August 15. Mr. Um Sim expressed his concern about the implementation of Article 20 of the January 27 agreement — he wishes to see the United States use all the means at our disposal to force the North Vietnamese and Vietcong to abide by the agreement they contracted.

Mr. Um Sim mentioned that, in the event the bombing ceases, other means of helping the Cambodians should be considered; for example: "military, economic, and humanitarian aid. We need food to feed our growing number of refugees, which are now numbering around two million." Mr. Um Sim emphasized: "This is not to get us victory. We need a negotiated settlement to bring an end to the suffering which the Cambodian people have endured since the beginning of the war." He described in detail the worsening situation in the countryside: "The North Vietnamese are using new tactics: they are forcing people out of villages, burning down houses, and carrying on executions as examples to terrorize the villagers. The people have nothing to rely on; they must depend on the insurgents for food."

And what are the prospects for negotiations? Mr. Um Sim outlined a history of one-sided peace overtures. "The Khmer Rouge have not put down their conditions. We have offered them almost everything short of capitulation," he said. "On January 27, 1973, was the immediate cessation of offensive activities; the U.S. stopped air activities over Cambodia. We announced that we were ready to cooperate so that the North Vietnamese troop withdrawal could be in order. But the North Vietnamese took advantage of this and attacked much

heavier. In little more than ten days we had to ask for a resumption of the bombing. At the same time we issued an appeal for all fighting to stop. We set the following conditions: troops could reincorporate anywhere and enjoy all political freedom. Any political party could be formed to participate in future elections. If the sovereignty of Cambodia were to be respected, a coalition government could be envisaged. North Vietnamese troops would also have to be withdrawn — at that time we accepted discussion on a time-table for this withdrawal. It was recently announced by the Phnom Penh government that Cambodia is ready to talk with anyone named by the other side at any place. It all depends on North Vietnam, who maintains effective control over the insurgents."

In commenting on recent statements by the news media that Lon Nol is now ready to negotiate with Sihanouk, Mr. Um Sim emphasized the continual conciliatory stance of the Cambodian government towards the Khmer Rouge and the North Vietnamese. "CBS said that this is the first time Lon Nol has accepted negotiations with the other side. This is an error I wish would be corrected. This is not the first time. But he has gone one step further by letting the negotiations be open to whosoever is named."

According to Mr. Um Sim, the prospects of Prince Norodom Sihanouk returning as the permanent leader of Cambodia are quite dim. "Possibly there are three scenarios. The first is that he won't come back because he is not wanted. The second is that he will come back and will have a temporary role. The third is that he will have a permanent role. Since the need for Sihanouk is not permanent, even within the Khmer Rouge there are many factions, most of which are against Sihanouk. Of these there are the Viet Minh cadres existing since 1954, Cambodians trained in Vietnam, local insurgents (Khmer Rouge) who were against Sihanouk in the 1960's and Marxists living outside of Cambodia. The pro-Sihanouk faction has existed only since 1970: it is small, and its lack of experience is well-known. As head of state he has no support. He has no military backing and no political organization — all of his ministers are in exile. With a government like that, how do you think he can have a grip on the population? Even in the area held by insurgents his name is associated with treason. There are no few sentiments that Sihanouk is an enemy. Also, by his own statement he admitted that his association with the Communists has not been good — it was not a love marriage, but one of convenience."

Mr. Um Sim is concerned that much publicity has been given to the negative aspects of the present regime with little attempt to empathize or

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said Mr. Sim. "The bombing  
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this deadline — what can be done? In fact, the question is how to end the war, not how to start it. So much depends on negotiation. If there is no bombing deadline, the other side will be more likely to negotiate. If they know the bombing will end soon, why should they hurry?"

"Cambodia can be compared to Belgium," added Mr. Paeng-Meth, "Belgian neutrality was guaranteed, but it turned out to be a scrap of paper at the beginning of World War I. The North Vietnamese have treated us the same way. (In fact, Sihanouk himself participated in this violation of neutrality.) Can the Khmers, who are so determined to preserve their freedom, gain the respect of the United States? We have done everything short of capitulation. Now we deserve some kind of understanding from America, who has taken pride in her Revolution. We have ours. Can we take pride in it?"

"The road to peace is not a one-way street," continued the Ambassador. "We have always replied favorably. We have not been a platform for an attack on the U.S. When the United States wanted to put an end to the utilization of Cambodian territory as a stage for the North Vietnamese to launch attacks on American and South Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam, the Cambodian government extended active cooperation. We have tied down six divisions of North Vietnamese. In the offensive of March, 1972, the North Vietnamese came from three fronts: the DMZ, Lac Minh, and the tri-border area. If Cambodia had been available, there would have been two or three more fronts. What if we had been friendly to the North Vietnamese? We have actually helped speed up U.S. troop withdrawal by tying down North Vietnamese divisions. We have accepted all this as a sacrifice. For a small country, that's quite a lot."

Mr. Um Sim concluded: "I hope that the United States will feel at least morally obliged to help the Cambodian people bring peace to their land."

Latest reports are that fighting is taking place within five miles of Phnom Penh. It is tragic that within months of the settlement of the seemingly endless Vietnam War, Cambodia is on the brink of falling. While Americans may be rightfully concerned about previously undisclosed U.S. action in Cambodia and are concerned about avoiding future Vietnam-like involvements, they should take a fresh look at the present Cambodian situation because it need not be related to these problems. The case for Cambodian survival transcends the problems of the present Administration and deserves to be heard even, and especially, on humanitarian grounds.

Louise Berry

# The Prince and The People

by Tach Sarunh  
former editor,

*Bulletin of Cambodian Patriots in Europe*

In July, 1969, during the Sangkum Congress, the Chief of State, Prince Sihanouk, made a confession of "economic neglect" and accepted the investiture by the National Assembly of the "Government of National Salvation" which succeeded him and is presently in power. Sihanouk also called this government the "Government of the Last Chance."

While undergoing a rest cure at Calmette Hospital in Phnom Penh Sihanouk suddenly decided on 6 January, 1970 to leave that same evening for France on the first leg of a journey which would also take him to Prague, Moscow, and Peking. The prevailing view in diplomatic and political circles in the Khmer capital was that the Chief of State was fleeing before the storm.

Sihanouk no longer enjoyed the popularity of the past. He was accused of having taken too much personal credit for the results of manual work and financial efforts of rural and urban groups. When he visited provinces, the "donations" which he gave for this or that project did not usually come from his "own pocket," but from government supplied funds which he administered. Thus he sometimes substituted himself for the government, depriving it of its authority and of the resources which it should have controlled.

It was not only the lack of work that led young people to abandon Sihanouk. Like their professors, almost all were democrats, often socialists, some republicans. Although they agreed generally with the main option of Cambodian foreign policy, that is, neutrality and peaceful coexistence, they did not agree with the dictatorial power Sihanouk had exercised during the last four to five years. Once affable, modest, and accessible, the Prince had become a man completely sure of himself, distrustful of his advisors and intolerant of any opposition. Furthermore, he believed too readily those who, through personal interest or opportunism, confirmed his own ideas. In Cambodia, there was no longer any dialogue, and the younger generation was aware of it.

## The Communists

Sihanouk played a delicate game with the Vietnamese Communists in Cambodia — a game which could not have gone on much longer even if Sihanouk had stayed in power.

Sihanouk, self-proclaimed anti-imperialist and anti-American, had a secret indulgence for the North Vietnamese and NLF, who "bravely confronted the American colossus and its lackeys in Saigon."

In January, 1968, after a press conference, with the microphones turned off, Sihanouk revealed for the first time to some journalists the gravity of the situation. "I am going to share a secret with you," he said, "which I ask you not to tell: our country is literally invaded by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese. They are installed everywhere along the border and I don't think that it is possible to make them leave. It is a real tragedy and Cambodia is probably lost."

## Deposition

Several persons who accompanied Sihanouk to Paris said that he really intended to return to his country the day after the anti-Vietnamese demonstrations of 11 March. He had even dictated telegrams of regret to the Soviets and the Chinese, whom he had promised to visit. But certain advisors and members of his family warned him of a possible trap for his arrest upon his return.

As it was, Sihanouk changed his mind and decided to go to Moscow and Peking as planned, ostensibly to ask the leaders of these friendly nations to intervene and convince their North Vietnamese allies not to interfere in the internal affairs of Cambodia. Probably Sihanouk was playing for time, intending to sway the situation of

Phnom Penh in his favor. An intercepted telephone message to his brother-in-law, Col. Oum Mannorine, ordered the liquidation of a certain number of his enemies. When this news was divulged, the hostile politicians renounced all compromise and decided to act. March 18, when the Prince was taking leave of Soviet leaders and preparing to enplane en route to Peking, a telegram brought the news of his deposition.

The deposition was entirely in conformity with the constitution. Sihanouk was no longer king. He had received his mandate from Parliament and had neglected to ask for a renewal, as he should have at each new session. Undoubtedly he considered this a useless formality, since none had ever dared deny him whatever he asked for. In this, as in other matters, he did not respect the constitution.



Lon Nol saluting newly raised flag of the Khmer Republic, 1970

Sihanouk himself finally convinced them to join the new government when, in a broadcast from Peking, he called on his countrymen to mount an insurrection and announced that they must fight on the side of the Vietnamese and Laotian revolutionaries to chase the Americans out of Indochina. The Khmer Army was neither fascist nor putschist, but it had fought too often against the Vietcong to join their camp, even under orders of their chief.

## From Self-Criticism to Revenge

These last years, Sihanouk quite visibly feared the push of "Asian communism," which he called "the Other Imperialism." He had explained that he wished to see the Americans remain "in the area" (but not in Cambodia!) after their disengagement from Vietnam in order to act as a counterweight to communism and to permit the small nations to preserve their independence.

Sihanouk has always been fascinated and at the same time frightened by communism. Pragmatist that he is, he noticed the Communist military successes in Asia; and it seemed unthinkable to him that 7 million Cambodians could escape for long the pressure of Vietnamese and Chinese communism. At the same time he was calmed by the hope (and this explains his present attitude) that he might be chosen to preside over the destiny of a Socialist Khmer Republic. More recently he envisioned abandoning the functions of Chief of State to become solely President of the Sangkum, a function which would make him, he said, "a second Mao."

(Continued on page 7)



Belvedere - One World Crusade Headquarters

## FLF Launches Ongoing Training

by James Cowin

The purpose of the Freedom Leadership Foundation is ideological victory over Communism. FLF believes that people must be willing to speak out against Communism until Americans, Europeans and citizens of undeveloped nations know Communist ideology is wrong and refuse to rest until even the Communists abandon it. Then the Communists will hopefully abandon their desires for world domination, bringing world peace.

### Key is Education

The key to this process is education. Communist power is clearly increasing. Young people are accepting Communist ideology or are apathetic, and adults opposed to Communism lack unity. Most people are unwilling or unable to accept the truth. The U.S., to say nothing of weaker countries, may fall if nothing is done to change this trend.

FLF therefore initiated its World Freedom Institute seminar program in the summer of 1972 at the University of Maryland. Seminars were then held throughout the fall in Washington D.C. The FLF program, known as the program for Ideological Victory over Communism, exposed the two major erroneous theories Marxist thought: materialism and the dialectic, which justify violent revolution. The combination of these theories guarantees that any ideology or governmental system born out of them will mean trouble for the world.

It has been felt by FLF that if a sufficient number of students could be persuaded to speak out in the U.S. against Communism, the U.S. would be saved and world peace would be ultimately guaranteed. FLF officers have therefore devised programs to train student leaders as public speakers in the ideology for victory over Communism.

The major obstacle to this goal has been obtaining a qualified audience of dedicated students who would in turn, run WFI seminars throughout the nation. Although some students asked to sell the TIDE on campuses and to set up affiliated organizations, none could be the fulltime dedicated organizers who could outwork the Communists--the type sorely needed by the U.S.

### One World Crusade

In March, 1972, a solution was created. The One World Crusade, a youth organization founded by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon of Korea, was formed to work for world unity. Working in fields such as religion, culture, economics and politics, the Crusade sends out young people on bus teams to speak in cities and towns in all 50 states. Volunteers donate a full year's service.

Their political consciousness developed in May 1972, when the buses ran into a wave of left-wing student demonstrations following President Nixon's blockade of Haiphong. Often Crusade members held unity rallies next to the demonstrations. One rally, for example, was held on the steps of the city hall of Austin, Texas, where

several hundred radical students were also marching.

FLF was known to the One World Crusade and received several requests for training in political theory. Last month I was sent to the OWC International Training Center at the Belvedere Estate in Tarrytown, New York. My purpose was two fold: to lecture in theory for ideological victory over Communism and to help develop a study guide to be given to all OWC bus teams.

### Training at Belvedere

I work under the head political instructor at Belvedere, Mr. Takeshi Furuta, former Director of the International Affairs Department of the International Federation for Victory Over Communism, a world-wide movement dedicated to ideological victory over Communism, with whom FLF is affiliated. Mr. Furuta has a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations from Tokyo University, Japan's finest college.

Mr. Furuta and Mr. Cowin use notes from *Communism: a New Critique*, by Dr. San Hun Lee, Director of the Institute for the Research of Unification Thought in Seoul, Korea. Mr. Furuta translated the original Japanese text into a complete set of notes in English.

The international group of students from the U.S., Europe and Middle East has been attending the seminars. They listen to a lecture cycle which lasts for eight hours a day for four days, discussions and tests are included. The cycle is repeated every ten days in rotation with religious subjects. Approximately fifty to one hundred students attend each set of lectures.

The aim of the OWC is to train two thousand bus team members by the end of 1974. Approximately three hundred have been trained this year, with another several dozen up for training within a week and a half. Several hundred more are expected by the end of 1973.

### Reactions

Reactions from students have been very favorable. Many came from left-wing backgrounds, especially the Europeans. They were surprised at the apathy of Americans toward Communism because in Europe, especially in France, Italy and West Germany, Communists have a great deal of influence. Several remarked that speaking out publicly against Communism in Europe was impossible at this point, due to possible disruptions and bad publicity. Many asked questions about the American press and its views on Communism.

Europeans as well as Americans are being sent to work in the U.S. as a gesture of unity. It is hoped that, aimed with theory for the ideological victory over Communism, they can give American students a new perspective on the threat of Communism and the need to actively stand against it. Hopefully the youth of America will respond, rejuvenating our country. The the word "America" will again mean hope to the world.

# What You Will Find At Our Bookstore

by Ray Mas

When emotionally pitched political exposés seem to be the fashion—regardless of the truth on the matter—and publishers, thinking only of profit, are willing to market the most morally corrupt literature as long as it sells well, there comes a time to interject a breath of fresh air. This is the goal of the Rising Tide Bookstore.

### The Problem

We will stock what we feel to be the most reasoned and responsible literature on the subject of International Communism and its effects. Quite obviously, with the opening of the Rising Tide Bookstore, a new phase of FLF's work will be brought to the general public. No one can doubt the power of language and literature upon the human mind: it is overwhelming. We at FLF have long realized the great inadequacy of the mass media in reporting the ideological struggle today. This, of course, is the goal of *The Rising Tide*. But it is not only in the daily news media that there is such a lack. It is very plainly seen in the retail book trade as well. There are some authors we would rather not deal with. We do not consider this a muzzling of public information; rather, we want to present information too long and too much denied to the American public. Those authors whom we will not carry have their books readily available elsewhere.

### Our Goal

Nothing is as powerful as the truth. One does not have to use emotional hysterics to support it—it can stand alone. We are confident that with an intellectually sound and well reasoned selection of literature, the fallacies of Communism will become very plain.

An example of some of what we will carry is:

--*The Unperfect Society: Beyond the New Class* (By Milovan Djilas, the known and respected author of *The New Class*)

--*Uncensored Russia: Protest into Dissent in the Soviet Union*. (By Peter Redaway, of the London School of Economics)

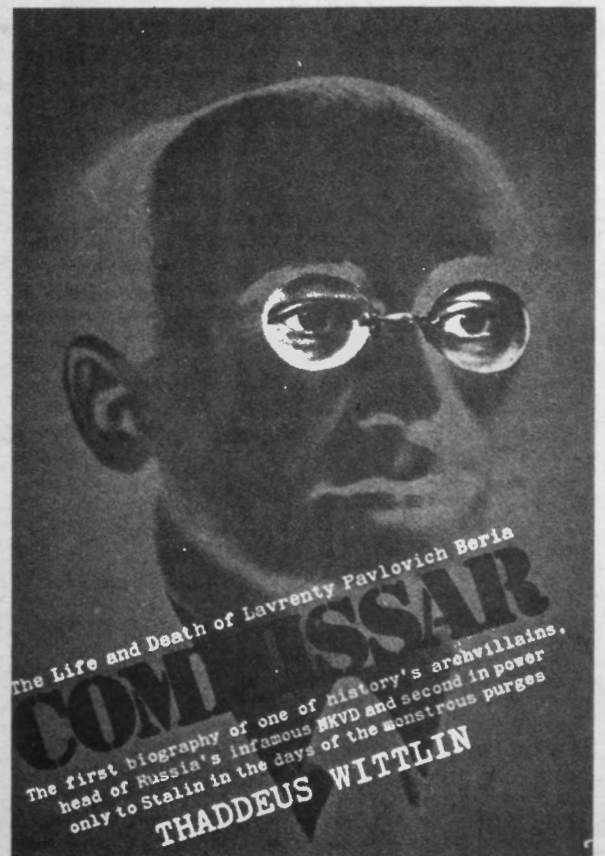
--*Elites in the Peoples' Republic of China* (By Robert A. Scalapino, Professor of Political Science at University of California at Berkeley, and a renowned Asian expert)

This is just a small sampling of what we will have. In addition, and perhaps most importantly, the Rising Tide Bookstore will stock all the Soviet underground literature that we are able to obtain. More than anything else, we feel these impassioned but reasoned pieces of literature speak to the minds and conscience of all men. We will also try to make it possible to get out-of-print literature.

In addition, in the near future we will have a rental library consisting of hard-to-get but valuable reference material for which a nominal daily fee will be required. This will especially serve those who are engaged in research in the local community: professors, students, etc.

Finally, we also plan to have on hand an array of good journals both domestic and foreign in the fields of international affairs and political science—for example: *Problems of Communism*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Orbis*.

In short, I think that the Rising Tide bookstore will prove to be an exciting and valuable part of our work. You are invited to stop in and browse over a cup of coffee, which will always be available. If you don't live near Washington but desire to find a certain book, drop us a line and we'll do our best to get it to you—it's only one more way of serving you as our reader and supporter, as well as helping the cause of freedom.



The Life and Death of Lavrenty Pavlovich Beria  
**COMMISSAR**  
The first biography of one of history's archvillains, head of Russia's infamous NKVD and second in power only to Stalin in the days of the monstrous purges  
**THADDEUS WITTLIN**

Available at the Rising Tide Bookstore

# The Prince & The People

(Continued from page 5)

Sihanouk was always aware that he would not obtain accord from Peking except by unconditionally aligning himself with the evident Chinese position of no compromise with U.S. imperialism, a fight to "final victory" against the Americans in Southeast Asia and against capitalism everywhere in the world. Now dependent entirely on the Chinese, he can no longer be the proud man saying "No" to anyone, whom many Cambodians admire. Above all, he can no longer maneuver with the North Vietnamese and NLF, who, if they had previously greeted him with all the respect of a Chief of State, now only see him as a card to play.

In order to be numbered among Asian Communists, Sihanouk became his own self-critic. He admitted that he had been "blind," that Lon Nol had tricked him. He admitted that he could not compromise between "real socialism" (Marxism) and capitalism. He did not deny his socio-economic failures, which he attributed to "reaction." He asked pardon for having been "unjust" toward the progressive youth whom he had persecuted and said he was sure of their forgiveness. Finally he proclaimed that he knew he was personally "finished" and that his only ambition was to pass the torch on to the true revolutionaries.

Why did he make this admission of failure, which certainly must have been the most painful event of his life? Everything points to the belief that he was motivated, not by a true political conversion, but by an almost pathologically wounded pride.

This desire for revenge has served in an unhelped-for fashion the revolutionary cause in Indochina. Above all, it has permitted the Vietcong and North Vietnamese, now allied with Sihanouk, to mount operations in the interior areas of Cambodia un-

der the pretext of "aiding the royal government" and the Cambodian people. Without Sihanouk on their side, the Hanoi and NLF troops, who now occupy several provincial capitals, would undoubtedly be considered aggressors by world opinion. Now many believe them to be liberators of a small nation which a CIA plot deprived of its legitimate ruler who maintained peace for 15 years.

It is not easy to fix the responsibility. One is tempted at first glance to believe that Sihanouk, whatever his faults, kept peace, and that Lon Nol and Sirik Matak, by demanding the retreat of the North Vietnamese, led the country into war. This reasoning is followed by those who believed in the fragile equilibrium under Sihanouk, scarcely bothered by the prolonged infiltration of several tens of thousands of Vietcong and North Vietnamese in Cambodia.

Sihanouk said, "We can do nothing, we do not have the means to get rid of the Vietnamese; be patient. At the future peace conference, if they haven't left voluntarily, we will open our dossier and we will not mince words." Lon Nol and Sirik Matak, supported by a large share of public opinion, responded, "If we let things go, in six months it will be too late, and we will no longer be masters in our own house. Protected by their soldiers, the Vietnamese colonizers will settle in large numbers in the outer regions and will push toward the Great Lake. We will be Vietnamized. It is now or never that they must be stopped."

In the end the problem, simplified to the extreme, is this: should a small, poor people, insufficiently armed, accept the occupation of their border provinces over the years by a more populous and more powerful neighbor who is deaf to all protest? Should a small Asian country tolerate that which a European nation would judge intolerable?



FLF members visit Cambodian refugees in 1970

# The Struggle To Preserve a Nation

(Continued from page 3)

new supplies. When he is no longer needed, Sihanouk will be discarded. If Sihanouk is so strong and popular, why were foreign journalists of the free and Communist press not invited to join him during his alleged trip to the Khmer Republic early this year? Why should "the other side" ruthlessly maintain secrecy?


The American people must understand that when the Khmers were brought into the war in 1970, they kept elements of the Sixth Vietcong and North Vietnamese divisions occupied -- troops which could otherwise have been thrown against United States forces in South Vietnam. The last American soldier who died in South Vietnam, Lieutenant-Colonel William B. Nolde, was killed by North Vietnamese forces who came from the Khmer Republic and were attempting to take over An Loc in 1972.

By their involvement in this cruel and devastating war, the Khmers have actually assisted the Americans to speed up their troop withdrawal from South Vietnam. The Khmers' suffering has been of some benefit to South Vietnam as well, as they have occupied the attention of Communist Vietnamese troops. Surely there is no formal treaty commitment for the United States to defend the Khmer Republic in this difficult period of Khmer history -- and the Khmers insist on their genuine desire to remain non-aligned and neutral. Does not the United States, under the circumstances outlined above, have a strong moral obligation to assist the Khmers who are forever determined to preserve themselves as a free and independent nation? The failure to continue support will not help the United States secure a free and independent South Vietnam and stability in the region. An easy victory by North Vietnam and the Communists in the Khmer Republic will serve, no doubt, as a spur to potentially profitable aggression by other "liberation" movements.

The Khmer Republic today is like the Belgium of World War I. Belgian neutrality was guaranteed by major powers. When Germany invaded France, she attached through Belgium: The German Chancellor regarded Belgian neutrality as "a mere scrap" of paper. The Vietcong and the North Vietnamese treat Khmer neutrality with this same contempt. Will the world remain indifferent to the Khmer people who reach out for help and assistance to preserve themselves as a nation? It is not the survival of the Lon Nol regime that is at stake, but the survival of the whole Khmer people, their culture, tradition and their thousand-year old civilization. Will the world which still mourns dead civilizations remain unmoved by the threat to the Khmers' immediate and long-range future? In their present situation, the Khmers need the understanding and support of the people of the world and the American people in particular.

*"But even this escape is not open to us. Once we have taken up the word, it is thereafter impossible to turn away; a writer is no detached judge of his countrymen and contemporaries; he is an accomplice to all the evil committed in his country or by his people. And if the tanks of his fatherland have bloodied the pavement of a foreign capital, then rust-colored stains have forever bespattered the writer's face."*

The Nobel Lecture  
by  
**ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN**



Translated by Alexis Klimoff

50 cents

# Solzhenitsyn SPEAKS

A new translation of the Nobel Lecture is now available in attractive pamphlet form.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's fight is our fight—the universal struggle for freedom of expression.

The decision by the Soviet government to bar Solzhenitsyn from accepting the 1970 Nobel Prize for Literature was crushing enough to the author and distressing enough to those who have been privileged to read his work and to be affected by its humane values. It is so much more crushing and distressing, then, when that denial is yet another event in the long campaign to harass and silence the artist.

Solzhenitsyn's courageous assertion of the right to free judgement and expression can only give heart to the others around the world who are fighting to preserve their right to the kind of freedoms Solzhenitsyn cherishes and is now striving— at great cost and in continuing peril—to uphold.

The Ad Hoc Committee for Intellectual Freedom is therefore honored to publish this important new translation of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's Nobel Lecture. The Committee has been established by a group of American intellectuals, trade unionists, civil rights activists, scholars, artists, and students who believe that Solzhenitsyn's message must be acknowledged and implemented. Through its activities and statements, the Committee seeks to call attention to the suppression of intellectual freedom in the U.S.S.R. and to broadcast Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's stirring message as widely as possible. We appeal for your help so that the echo of our words can be heard in the Soviet Union. For only then can Solzhenitsyn and his fellow dissidents take comfort in the fact that they are not alone.

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