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The Rising Tide

Volume Three, Number Seventeen

August 27, 1973



**"COMMUNISM
IS
THE
DEATH
OF
THE
SOUL"**

ADLAI STEVENSON

Alienation

(Continued from page 6)

him to find satisfaction in the actual creation of it. As a welder, machinist, or carpenter, one can feel fulfillment and satisfaction in the act of producing without necessarily owning the ship, tool, or house produced. Marx (who never worked) made a narrow and unfounded claim that all people were alienated from labor activity. Furthermore, man has the spiritual capacity to overcome situations where his process of self-actualization--fulfillment of creative abilities -- is supposed. We might refer to this as being the capacity of self-transcendancy. There are many cases where people have been subjected to great spiritual and physical punishment, under abnormal or repressive circumstances and yet were able to realize great spiritual achievements. Dr. Viktor Frankel, Rev. Richard Wurmbrand, and Helen Keller are just a few. If *existence* based on labor activity was solely responsible for determining *consciousness*, then we should never be able to find such outstanding people after their having experienced such great hardships and persecution.

There are undoubtedly additional fallacies to the Marxist theory of alienation, but space does not allow further critique at this point. Additional evaluation of the theory of alienation, including a counterproposal explanation based on the Unification Ideology will be given in a future article.

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Five Years Ago.....



21.8.1968

August 21 marked the fifth anniversary of the "Day of Shame." Commemorations of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia took place in major cities throughout the United States and Europe.

In Washington a 20-car motorcade carried banners and flags through downtown streets on Saturday, August 18. Mrs. Anna Faltus, area chairman of the Czechoslovak National Council of the United States, commented: "We had police escort and full cooperation of the police and Executive Protective Service....The motorcade was...very effective."

In conjunction with the anniversary the Czechoslovak National Council issued the following statement:

"On this sad occasion of the Fifth anniversary of the brutal Soviet-led invasion and occupation of peaceful and freedom-loving Czechoslovakia, we American citizens of Czech, Slovak and Subcarpatho-Ruthenian descent, again remind the entire world of this Soviet violation of key principles of international law incorporated into the Charter of the United Nations.

"The continued Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia is another crime against the right of a small country to determine its own destiny and aspirations. The invasion was an intervention by the forces of reactionary communism to prevent the Czechs and Slovaks from establishing their own social order that did not endanger anyone and sought to contribute to the building of bridges across the discords of

a divided world and to lend aid to a better understanding and cooperation among all nations on the basis of true progress and humanity.

"The people of Czechoslovakia have not resigned themselves to these aggressive plans of Moscow. The day of August 21, is being commemorated in Czechoslovakia as a *Day of Soviet Shame* in a mighty and disciplined resistance against Soviet pressure. We are joining our friends in Czechoslovakia in asking the entire civilized world to support the people of Czechoslovakia in their effort to achieve the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia."

And the Washington Star-News remembered Czechoslovakia on its editorial page:

"Despite all our Water-gate-spawned protestations to the contrary, principle is not really in style anymore. If it were, there would be a public outpouring of indignation against the Soviet Union on Monday, the fifth anniversary of the rape of Czechoslovakia....

"Detente is now in fashion. This means selling wheat to the Russians at cut-rate prices. It means relegation of the United States by treaty to a situation of nuclear inferiority. It means Secretary of State Rogers paying an official visit to Prague. It does not mean, apparently, the rehabilitation of Alexander Dubcek. It does not mean the release from prison of Jiri Mueller.

"Kafka, the Prague-born surrealist author who was Czechoslovakia's greatest writer, would have understood completely."



Cambodia Goes To The People

At a well-attended press conference on August 21, newly-appointed Cambodian Ambassador Um Sim presented his country's hope for sustained United States aid by making public an Open Letter "to the Congress and People of the United States from the Government of the Khmer Republic." Present at the conference were representatives from the major networks, newspapers, and wire services.

The major purpose of the conference was the presentation of the following:

"The Congress has expressed its will that American tactical air support for our country should cease today. President Nixon has complied with the expression of that will, and issued orders for American military operations there to cease.

"The Khmer Republic maintains friendly relations with all countries without discrimination of ideology or system of government. Khmer friendship is founded on the principle of reciprocity and Khmer foreign policy guided by the ideals of peace, independence, sovereignty and neutrality.

"Unfortunately, during the last years of his power, Prince Sihanouk betrayed the Khmer people by authorizing the North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops to use our country as a staging ground for attacking South Vietnam.

"In March 1970, through popular demonstrations, the Khmer people firmly expressed their sovereign will to see their country free of all North Vietnamese and Vietcong foreign aggressors, who not only invaded their land with the complicity of Prince Sihanouk, but continued to use their territory for aggression against South Vietnam, thus violating their independence and neutrality as well.

"After the legal deposal of Prince Sihanouk by the Khmer Parliament, with a small army of some 30,000 men we might still have acquiesced in Communist North Vietnamese wishes and allowed large portions of our territory to be used once again by their troops as a staging ground for aggression against South Vietnam.

"Our country did not do this, and in the process has suffered a savage aggression. Thus we chose to struggle to have our independence, our sovereignty, our territorial integrity and our neutrality respected. We then appealed to all nations to come to our aid to liberate our territory from the foreign invasion. We are grateful that the United States has, in firm manner, replied favorably to our appeal.

"By our participation in the struggle against the North Vietnamese and Vietcong aggression forces, we have occupied the attention of many of their troops. As such, we believe we have enormously lessened the burden on American and South Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam and contributed to saving the lives of many American soldiers.

"We believed that the United States would recognize its moral obligation toward us for having case our lot with you, even though there does not exist any formal treaty commitment between our two countries. We believed that, as President Kennedy said in his inaugural address of 1961, the United States would "bear any bur-

den" to help us in the defense of our liberties. We believed we could count upon the United States.

"Now the United States has taken its most direct and effective support from us. We are confident that our people will continue to fight for the independence of our nation. The American Congress and people should remember that it took many years to properly train and equip the South Vietnamese to fight for their independence. The people of Cambodia, now struggling for their survival, ask only for more time so that they too can one day stand on their own. We do, indeed, appreciate very much the help already given and the assistance promised to us. We need continued military, economic, political and humanitarian assistance from the United States. If the Khmer Republic is conquered, its fall will have far-ranging repercussions for Southeast Asia, America and the entire world.

"After the halt of American tactical air support, the Khmer people will always remain determined to multiply their efforts in their struggle against the North Vietnamese and Vietcong invaders to safeguard their independence, liberty and national sovereignty. Through this courageous fight, they will contribute to the reestablishment of peace in Southeast Asia.

"We ask, then, for ongoing assistance from you, the Congress and People of the United States. For if the United States grows weary of aiding its friends and abandons them, even though they are willing to fight and to continue fighting as long as humanly possible in the defense of their freedom and the freedom of the world, your great country will someday find itself alone."

Phnom Penh
 August 15, 1973

For release 11:00 AM, Tuesday, August 21

After reading the letter, the Ambassador handled a broad range of questions from the press, stressing the moral issues at stake. He diffused opposition by his candor and by making clear that Cambodia was not asking for resumption of bombing or expansion of aid. And he convincingly emphasized the Cambodians' ignorance of the secret U.S. bombings of enemy-held territory.

"You can imagine what would have happened in 1970 without our cooperation," stated the Ambassador "in emphasizing the moral obligation of the United States to Cambodia. When asked how military aid could be given on moral grounds, Um Sim responded: "If you talk of morals, you must ask why the other side maintains troops in Cambodia."

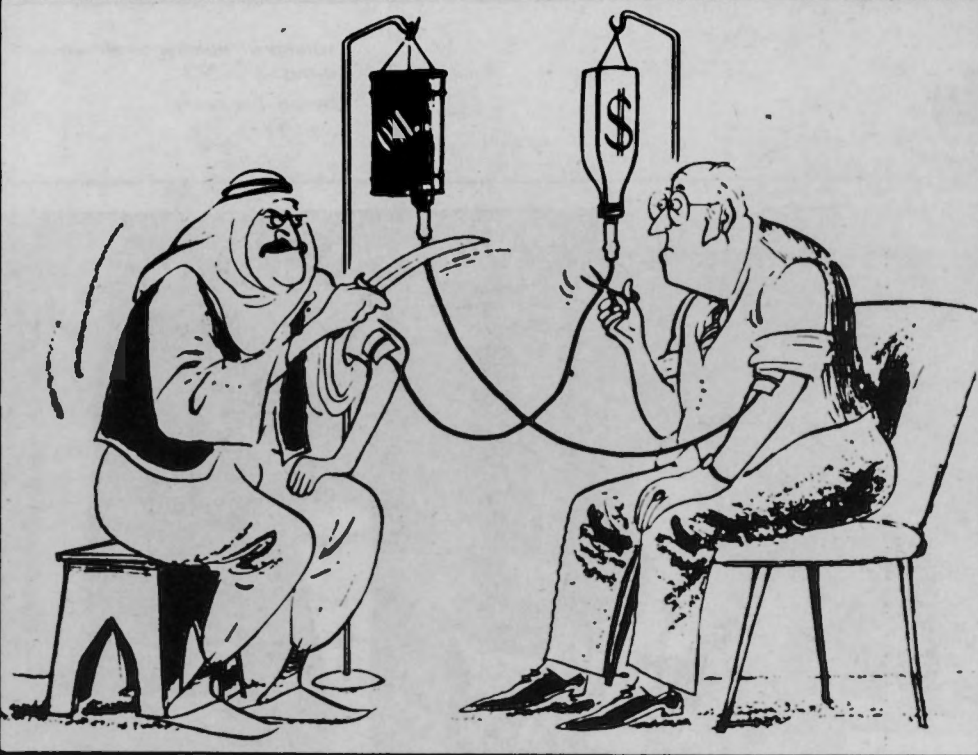
Do you feel the U.S. is selling you out? asked a newsmen. "To an extent, yes," replied the Ambassador. "Not betrayed, but abandoned. We are a small country and have cast our fate with the U.S." How would he advise other nations contemplating the same course? "Why is that necessary, when they can see with their own eyes.... what is happening to Cambodia? Cambodia, who cooperated so closely, is in danger of being abandoned. There is no need for comment."

In This Issue:

The theme of Communism as the death of the soul relates well to its repression - especially evident in the Soviet Union -- of creative thinking. Related articles are:

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Cover by Alexis Burgess



Behrendt—Het Parool, Amsterdam

Mixing Oil And Politics

On July 26 O.N. Miller, Chairman of the Board of the Standard Oil Company of California, sent to over 300,000 members and stockholders a letter taking a markedly pro-Arab stance growing out of its oil interests. The letter said in part:

"Since 1960, the Nation's volume of petroleum imports has increased more than three-fold, and now amounts to more than 35% of our domestic requirements. The foreign oil we will need could rise to 45-50% by the end of the 1970's.

"A key question certainly is, 'From where is all this oil to come?' Obviously, we must look to all parts of the world, but primarily to the prolific oil fields of the Arab/Persian Gulf area which contain almost two-thirds of the Free World's oil reserves.

"During 40 and more years, we have maintained a continuous and cordial relationship with the Arab people. The development of their oil fields has been a story of mutual cooperation and benefit, reinforcing bonds of friendship between our two peoples that were forged decades before.

"There now is a growing feeling in much of the Arab world that the United States has turned its back on the Arab people. Many are said to feel that Americans do not hold in proper regard the national interests of the Arab states, their long history of important contributions to civilization, their efforts to achieve political stability and to develop sound and modern economic structures.

"It is highly important at this time that the United States should work more closely with the Arab governments to build up and enhance our relations with the Arab people. We as Americans have a long history of friendship and cooperation with Arabs. It goes back more than 100 years, long before the first oil operations, and involves cultural relationships which encompass education and religion, as well as commercial trading.

"During this time, much good will has been established which must be enhanced. There must be understanding on our part of the aspirations of the Arab people, and more positive support of their efforts toward peace in the Middle East.

"It is in the best interest of all of us who are citizens of the United States to urge our Government to work toward conditions of peace and stability. We must acknowledge the legitimate interests of all the people of the Middle East and help them to achieve security and a dependable economic future."

The American-Israel Political Affairs Committee, in rebutting, brought up two key points!

"There is utterly no basis for the claim that we have favored Israel over the Arab states and that the United States 'has turned its back on the Arab people.' All AID records testify to the contrary and at this moment our government is proposing to grant more funds to Jordan than to Israel, as in the past, and is prepared even to make Phantom jets available to Saudi Arabia despite that country's frenetic hostility to Israel and the Jewish people.

"We do not accept SOCAL'S alarmist view that the Arab states 'represent the only major source to which the United States can look for any substantial increase in its crude oil imports to meet our needs.'"

"Oil from the Persian Gulf and Arab sources accounts for only seven percent of current total U.S. crude consumption and this figure need not increase substantially if our country can develop alternate sources of supply and eliminate wasteful consumption patterns.

A recent response was issued by the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East, a group working for direct negotiations between Arabs and Israelis. According to the Youth Committee:

"The fact is that the oil concerns in the Middle East--SOCAL included--care little about the plight of the Arab masses -- the overwhelming majority of whom are still silenced by authoritarian governments-- and most about maintaining good relations with the governments to guarantee the survival of oil-company investments and earnings. Yet SOCAL would have us believe that the two--the oppressive governments and their abused people--are one and the same.

"To understand why SOCAL seeks to have us accept this fallacious reasoning one need only look at how deeply the oil companies are involved in the Middle East. For instance, in 1971 25% of all the earnings of the five major oil companies (Exxon, Texaco, SOCAL, Mobil, and Gulf) came from their Middle East operations. Last year SOCAL earned a record-breaking \$547 million in profits with roughly a third coming from the Middle East. In the last twelve months, the oil companies have sunk over \$700 million in Saudi Arabia alone.

"In data recently compiled by the Overseas Development Council, *Fortune* magazine, and other sources comparing the gross annual sales of world corporations with the gross national products of countries have confirmed that oil companies wield more financial clout than any countries. For example, SOCAL's gross annual sales are larger than the GNP of oil-rich Saudi Arabia! And the combined gross annual sales of the five big American oil concerns in the middle east -- Exxon (Standard Oil of New Jersey), Gulf, Texaco, Mobil and SOCAL -- top the GNPs of Libya, Algeria, Turkey and Israel combined.

"We maintain that the road to peace in the Middle East does not involve the interference of foreign powers, of the meddling of gigantic corporations in an attempt to dictate the terms of a settlement. Furthermore, we believe the cessation of hostilities can free resources in Israel and the Arab states which are needed to increase the livelihood and well-being of the people of the area. Peace might herald an exchange of national experience between Israel and her neighbors, and exchange which might very well threaten the nature of the Arab dictatorships. In that event, however, the possible democratic aspirations of the Arab people might also challenge the power of the oil companies--something that they certainly want to avoid."

Beginnings Of Soviet Dissent

by Ray Mas

"A great writer," Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote in *The First Circle*, "is, so to speak, something like a second government. That is why no regime, anywhere, has ever loved its great writers, only its minor ones." For Russians, literature has been the chief form of expressing discontent with their regime of prerevolutionary Russia or the Communist regime of the present day. Indeed, during the past two centuries, Russia has probably produced more good writers than any other country.

The Soviets have not been blind to the power of the Russian pen. Rather, they have attempted to harness its power for their own ends. This they have succeeded in doing, but at the expense of the most brilliant writers that Russia has produced in the 20th century. In short, if we are to understand the forces of dissent in the Soviet Union today, we must understand the position of the artist, especially the writer, in Russia.

To many artists of revolutionary Russia, the October Revolution seemed to be a heroic affirmation of the human spirit in the face of the repression of Imperial Russia. Indeed it was, for a very short while. The period following the October Revolution saw a brief flourishing of freedom. It was in that period that Maxim Gorky wrote the *Lower Depths*, a play which since then Russians have never seen in an uncensored form. Gorky was typical of the dozens of great writers who first welcomed but then became disillusioned with Soviet power.

"Counter revolutionaries"

Ivan Bunin, the first Russian to win the Nobel Prize, emigrated to France in 1920. Alexander Blok, the leading Russian symbolist poet, had originally welcomed the Bolshevik Revolution, but by 1921 had become one of its chief critics. Sergei Yesenin (father of Alexander Yesenin-Volpin, one of today's leading dissidents), gathered all his hopes and dreams of a peasant paradise and put them into the new regime, only to commit suicide in 1925, a disillusioned man. Vladimir Mayahovsky, the futurist, killed himself 5 years later, thoroughly disenchanted with the Communist Party.

The list of those who were victims of the purges of the 30's grows sickeningly long: Boris Pilnyak, Isaac Babel, Mikhail Kholtsov and Ossip Mandel'shtam, all took involuntary journeys to labor camps, never to return. These are perhaps the saddest cases, for none of these men had yet given the world the greatest expression of their genius. We have only a taste to remind us of the tragedy.

Socialist Realism

The post-war years saw the

silencing of Anna Akhmatova, Mikail Zoshchenko, Lev Kasil and countless others. Without exception, it seemed as if the Russian pen had been silenced forever, in favor of what the Soviet liked to call "Socialist Realism," which only meant ideological uniformity with the Kremlin. It is a testimony to the resilience of the human spirit that it was not.

Ironically, it was the Soviets themselves who reopened "Pandora's Box," and they have not been able to close it since then. The death of Stalin in 1953 threw the Soviet leadership into near total confusion. It was obvious as well as desirable that no single man could once again wield the power of Stalin. In time, the rise of Khrushchev's "Collective Leadership" would grant somewhat of a solution, but that was yet to come. Until 1958, when Khrushchev effectively consolidated his power, the dissidents took great advantage of the confusion, until in that year, when a resolute clamp was made. It was in that year when Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago* brought down hard the heels of the regime upon the dissident movement.

A New Beginning...

Then, dramatically, the stage was set for what has now become an irreversible process. It was at that time when Khrushchev rose to consolidate his power and at the same time, completely discredit Stalin. At the XXII CPSU Congress, in 1961, Khrushchev lashed out at Stalin using this as a tactic to both free himself from the past as well as to connect his enemies with Stalin.

One of the earliest works in this era was Yevtushenko's "The Heirs of Stalin." Unfortunately, for Khrushchev, Yevtushenko's poem was to have some unexpected effects. Essentially, "The Heirs of Stalin" sought to irrevocably connect the Soviet regime with Stalin barring none from exemption, including Khrushchev. It was upon this foundation that the deep questioning spirit of today's dissident movement in the U.S.S.R. began. It is in this same spirit that it continues to grow out of the control of the Soviet authorities today.

(To be continued)



Yevtushenko

Stratis Times

Two Who Spoke Out

There are many little-known heroes in Soviet concentration camps - Anatoly Krasnov-Levitin and Vladimir Borisov are but two. Krasnov-Levitin, a leader of the Christian democratic movement, has just been released from his fourth term in prison; Borisov, an electrician, was incarcerated in a mental hospital for possessing and distributing Samizdat literature.

A Christian Scholar

Anatoly Krasnov - Levitin, according to the *Chronicle of Current Events*, spent seven years--1949-56--in Stalin's camps. He was later rehabilitated. Levitin's deep religious convictions, and his activities as an Orthodox writer, led in 1958 to this talented teacher and literary scholar being deprived of the right to teach in schools.

"A. Krasnov is the author of a number of articles in the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*. Apart from this, he is the author of a three-volume history of the Living Church. "Since 1959 Krasnov-Levitin has written a large number of works, in which he has spoken out in particular against violations of religious freedom in the Soviet Union: *Struggling for Light and Truth*, *The Brassy Clatter*, *The Fiery Chalice*, *The Drawn Bow-string*, *On Monasticism*, *The Free Church*, and others. In recent years he has written two important philosophical works: *Stromati and Christ and the Master* on which the *Chronicle* reported in No. 5. The journal *Science and Religion* has twice written about Levitin-Krasnov.

"Soon after Levitin's arrest, in 1969, a letter began to circulate in samizdat, entitled 'To Public Opinion in the Soviet Union and Abroad,' signed by thirty-two Soviet citizens, including six former political prisoners (Leonid Vasilev, Zinaida Grigorenko, Alexander Yesenin-Volpin, Victor Krasin, Vadim Shavron and Pyotr Yakir). The letter says that A.E. Levitin 'was becoming more and more worried by problems of civil freedom, since freedom is indivisible and there can be no religious person in our country in the post-Stalin years to affirm this truth and to raise his voice in defence of civil rights and of those who have fallen victims in the fight for civil freedoms.'"

Anatoly
Krasnov-Levitin
... four times
imprisoned



Levitin described his 1969 arrest "In May, the trial of the Crimean Tartars in Tashkent was to take place. In May the epic of General Grigorenko and Gabay began with their arrest.

"Meanwhile the clouds thickened: in June, B. Talantov, a talented and original sixty-five year old religious writer was arrested in Vyatka (Kirov), then my friends began coming under attack, rumors began circulating about my arrest, and people began warning me that I may be arrested in autumn....

"And then on the twelfth of September (1969) at five o'clock in the afternoon, the bell rang, sharply and persistently--I immediately understood what was the matter, for nobody ever rang my bell that way. I opened the door. An officer in police uniform, and behind him--a tangle of people. The police officer quickly disappears. Several civilians enter. A little middle aged woman jokes prettily:

"So many guests at one time! --and shoves a little book under my nose. The book has her photograph, family name, and profession: 'Akimova.

Senior investigator of the Moscow procurature'. I say:--I've heard about you.

Somewhat surprised: Really?

So it happened! I'm again in jail. This is already the third time."

And at the jail: "I was wearing a cross. A cross is usually taken off the prisoner, entered in the register, and returned when the prisoner is transferred to another prison or released. This time the cocky young girl who took away my cross announced:

--We won't enter it in the register--we'll throw it away. And she repeated once again:--We'll throw it away.

In response I kicked up a row. The girls became embarrassed. One of them began arguing with me:

--Do you think the cross will help you get out of here any sooner? Another one said:

--Well I just don't know. How can we enter a cross into the register? I just don't think that's possible. Speak to the head of the prison. As a matter of fact he is here right now.

A giant of a major came up to me. The following conversation took place between us:

--What do you want? What do you need the cross for? (Using the familiar Russian "thou", as with an inferior--Translator's note).

--First of all, don't "thou" me. You are talking to someone who is older than you.

--How do you know? (Still using the familiar "thou"). Maybe I am older. (He wasn't even forty.)

--Not judging by your intellect. You've got the mind of a five-year old child. The cross belongs to me, and like all personal belongings should be entered in the register.

--Not for you, but for the priest (?--A.K.) Don't register the cross--throw it away.

So that's how I lost my cross."

After describing the prison, Levitin comments:

"However, above described conditions are a real paradise compared to the trips from Armavir to Sochi for the hearings. After an exhausting trip in a "Stolypin" car, which I already described, one is brought to Sochi to the local police station (on the main street of the town) because there is no prison in Sochi. Here a "room for those awaiting trial" (KPZ) greets you--a tiny room about ten meters, in which seven to eight fully clothed people lie side-by-side on the bare floor. At times the place is so crowded.

"Any comments are probably extraneous. I won't even go into it. I only want to bring attention to the following. Sochi is a beautiful resort town, to which people from all over the world flock for cures, rest, and amusement. There are dozens of sumptuous hotels, restaurants and cafes. And right there in their midst people are subjected to such dreadful conditions. People! What can those people who permit the above say in their justification?"

"Nothing".

Grani, 72

from "U.S.S.R. Labor Camps", Senate Judiciary Committee, February, 1973.

A Concerned Citizen

Vladimir Yevgenyevich Borisov is an electrician by profession. He was born in 1943.

From 1964 to 1968 he was incarcerated in the Leningrad psychiatric hospital prison, charged under Art. 70 of the Soviet Criminal Code--

Agitation or propaganda carried out for the purpose of subverting or weakening Soviet power or of committing dangerous crimes against the State. Here Borisov became acquainted with General Grigorenko, who left a very deep impression on the young man.

In the spring of 1969 Borisov joined the newly formed *Action Group for the Defense of Civil Rights in the USSR*. Along with other members of this group he signed an appeal to the United Nations and a letter in defense of General Grigorenko. Although in all of its activities the group has always meticulously observed all Soviet laws, it soon became the object of KGB persecution. Seven of its members were arrested. One of them was Vladimir Borisov.

He was taken into custody on June 12, 1969. An ambulance with two doctors from the out-patient psychiatric clinic appeared at Borisov's place of work. He was escorted into the ambulance and driven to the clinic. The *Samizdat* materials he was carrying were confiscated without any explanation. Once at the clinic, one of the doctors stepped up to him and said: "Listen Borisov, you're a normal fellow and I am sure you don't want to be sent to a madhouse. Why don't you change your views?"

Vladimir
Borisov
... in mental
hospital



On June 23rd Borisov was called to the office of the Chief Physician of the Leningrad Hospital No. 4, where a top-level psychiatric commission was in attendance. Again he was questioned about his past confinement, and told that he had been brought to the hospital because of the *Samizdat* materials and the protest letters he had signed. The latter, in the opinion of the commission, could only be regarded as evidence of mental disorder or hooliganism.

In the meantime, criminal proceedings were instituted against

Borisov, this time under Art. 190, clause 1 of the Criminal Code (Systematic dissemination of deliberate fabrications discrediting the Soviet political and social systems). At the trial, which took place on November 19, 1969, Vladimir Borisov was declared insane and the court decreed that he should undergo compulsory treatment in a psychiatric hospital of special type, i.e. a prison hospital.

He was sent to the Leningrad Mental Hospital.

Borisov wrote of his experiences: "Who says I don't believe in the concept of 'soul'? In that case, what do I believe in, generally speaking? My own soul is hurting me (it's not for nothing that I am described as "mentally ill", or "soulsick"). My soul is being split up in sections (that's real schizophrenia for you!), and a considerable section of it is in Rostavl. I have faith, a very strong faith: I believe in men, in the future, in the soul, in the world, and in the stars...I believe indeed! For that very reason they have imprisoned me....

"....Really! What kind of amnesty can be applied to someone sentenced under my sort of article of the law? (There hasn't been such a case ever, though there have been quite a few amnesties.) And is it possible to grant a man an amnesty from illness?--Because that is what my legal position is. Consequently, there can be no argument about any term of confinement. If one talks of the term of forced labor, it begins from the moment the sentence is pronounced, but until my case was brought before the Court, I was regarded simply as a sick person, on general grounds. My "term" of confinement begins from the moment of my admission here. Until my case came before the Court, I was kept here on no kind of grounds, simply on the verbal orders of the prosecutor given by telephone."

from "Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Repression in the Soviet Union", Senate Judiciary Committee, September, 1972.

A Slow Death

Often FLF has stressed the fact that the world is engaged in an ideological war between Communism and the free world. Because of the nature of this struggle the outcome will ultimately be decided by the side which represents the highest truth and recognizes man as a unique spiritual being possessing innate value. Since a state of co-existence or stalemate cannot exist forever, the final outcome of this struggle must end with the total victory of one side over the other.

The struggle for greater human rights being urged by intellectuals, religious and national groupings against Communist totalitarianism represents the front line in this ideological war. The courageous men and women, many of whom have given their lives for this cause, certainly deserve great tribute for the tremendous work they have done. These people are the real heroes that stand out in world full of complacency, compromise, and moral relativism. Most important, their struggle represents the vanguard effort to ideologically overcome the Marxist myth that daily attempts to dilute, twist and finally strangle their souls. The inevitability of the victory of Communism and its continued existence is a false vision. Nevertheless, even though the repressive nature of its rule inspires people to challenge it, many still prostrate themselves before Soviet authority. Worse still is that "scientific socialism" has created a boring, drab, and colorless society torn asunder by drunkenness, corruption, and national division.

The most unfortunate victims are really the Communists themselves, who having committed themselves to an immoral, materialistic ideology, have become insensitive to human suffering, dignity and conscience. They become people, as Solzhenitzen described, "who can no longer think for themselves," always living on a moral pendulum--ready to swing in whatever direction the party dictates.

In *Message From Moscow* (Alfred Knopf) a young abstract painter speaking of Soviet authorities commented: "Only narrow-minded, chauvinistic, anti-enlightenment types can get to the top. Coarse and stupid men, third rate minds of a degenerate ruling caste...and besides, they are afraid. They must bring the whole country down to their level in order to rule it. Even if some of the Party apparatchiks are a cut above that, they've given control of law and order to the KGB...and they are made in the classical gangster mould with the classical gangster mentality."

Communism bases the unity among men on materialistic functions, like production relation and labor. It is a spiritually empty philosophy which creates in men grayness of values of spirit equivalent to the dull reality of Soviet life. The true words which bring men together--love, virtue, compassion, service, etc., are replaced instead with 5-year quotas, forced labor and indoctrination sessions. In addition, fear, intimidation and uncertainty add to the submissiveness of people to the regime--creating a spiritual paralysis in their creative or moralistic expression and even a sense of guilt for avoiding taking the risks to criticize Soviet injustices. "Everyone's having a grand time," remarked a graduate student in Russia, "yes--but don't let that fool you. Inside we're all sick, full of hate and disgust. We hate those at the top, those Brezhnevs, those Suslovs. Hate them with all our might. And hate ourselves too. A handful of martyrs are brave enough to protest openly--and we don't even lift a finger to help them--we stand by while they're sent to camps. That's what's inside us, behind this merry facade: pain and disgust and hate. Inside all of us, every moment, every day."

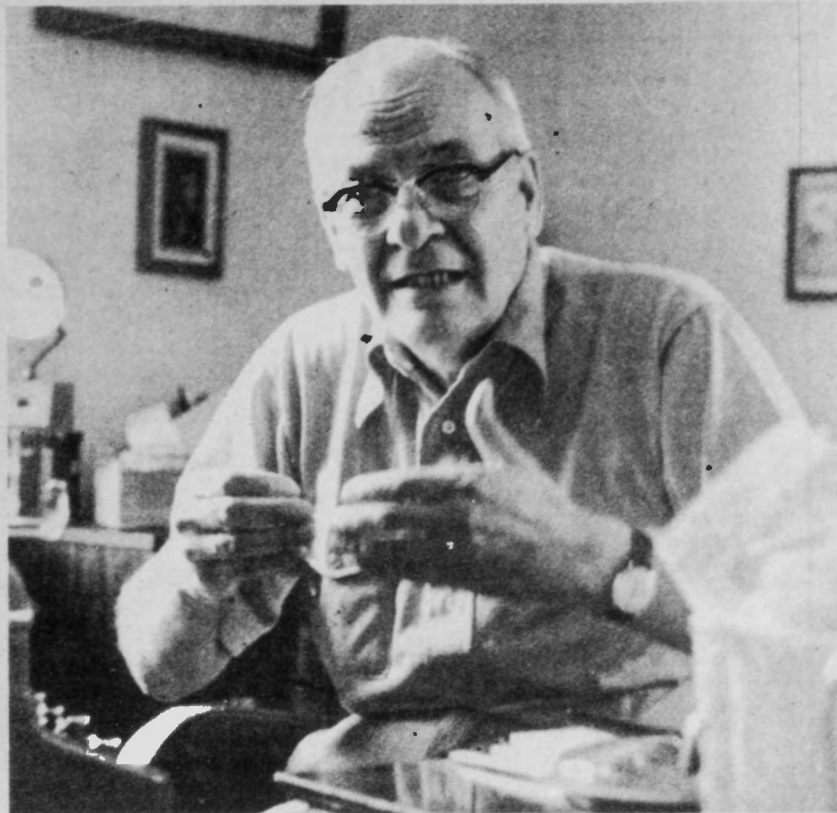
Even though many Soviet citizens cower and act in immoral ways out of fear of the regime's repressiveness, we in the West can hardly stand in judgment of them. Most Americans don't even feel a sense of guilt for not speaking out on behalf of those sacrificing themselves daily for the cause of freedom and justice. On the contrary, we have foolishly led ourselves to believe that the Soviets have given up their designs for the worldwide establishment of Communism.

In a recent speech at Alma Ata in Soviet central Asia, Brezhnev clarified again the importance of the ideological struggle.

"We are confident of the correctness of our Marxist-Leninist ideology," Brezhnev said. He added that detente would further promote "the propagation of the truth about socialism, winning more and more supporters for the ideas of scientific socialism."

Unlike the West, the Soviets are confident of the success of their goal. And until the free world can clarify and unite around an ideology capable of prevailing over Communism, then not just Russian dissenters but we ourselves may be the next victims.

by
Neil Salonen
President
Freedom
Leadership
Foundation



Mr. Constantin Boldyreff, a native of Russia, came to the United States after escaping from a Nazi prison camp. He is founder and past director of the Russian department of the Institute of Languages and Linguistics at Georgetown University. In 1930 he helped form the Russian underground resistance organization NTS and is its United States representative.

"It is a common belief that opposition to the Soviet regime in Russia actually began only after de-Stalinization. This is not true. Dissatisfaction with the regime is deep-seated and began to develop almost immediately after the establishment of the system by Lenin," said Mr. Constantin Boldyreff as he outlined the current of the Soviet dissident movement. "Very soon in the early 'twenties, the ugly face of Communism became obvious to the people and opposition flared up -- it was dynamic. Revolts broke out in various parts of the country. Gradually they were all quenched in blood. Finally in the early 'thirties Stalin succeeded in breaking the backbone of resistance. Yet the embers of opposition continued to smoulder.

According to Mr. Boldyreff, manifestations of dissent and opposition to the regime are widespread and varied in Russia today. Opposition develops along various lines: religious, ethnic and/or national, economic, sociopolitical, and in the field of struggle for all forms of free creative endeavor. "After the Bolshevik revolution, having declared war on the church, the government, under various pretexts, began to arrest its ministers. In 1922 they poisoned Patriarch Tikhon, the greatest thorn in the side of the regime. Their next strategy was to attempt to corrupt the church. They created the so-called 'Living Church,' which retained the ritual and the dogma of the Russian-Orthodox Church but became totally subservient to the government on the grounds that all power comes from God. The 'Living Church' was effectively supported by the regime, but not by believers, who either remained loyal to the remnant of the real church, or went underground to form a catacomb church.

"Then, during the war," Mr. Boldyreff continued, "in a frantic effort to win the support of the people Stalin appealed to its patriotic feelings. He abolished the 'Living Church' and reinstated the true one. This led to a considerable revival. After the war the attack on religion was resumed, particularly by Khrushchev, despite his 'liberalism.' In 1952 there were 24,000 open Orthodox Churches in Russia (as compared to more than 90,000 in 1913) today only 7,500 are still functioning. And the regime again began its old tactics. This time they gradually pushed subservient people to the leading positions in the hierarchy. But the result was the same

again. The leadership lost its influence. Most of the believers follow the parish priests -- the majority of whom are men of faith -- others have seceded to form the underground movement of the 'True Christians.' The same applies to the Baptists and other religious groups. The most encouraging, however, is the fact that interest for religion is growing among the young people."

How did the now famous intellectual dissident movement begin? "The 1964 trial of writers Sinyavsky and Daniel was the trumpet call for the political-ideological protest movement," Mr. Boldyreff carefully traced its origins before then and its path since. "In the 'thirties people were locked in themselves; they were especially afraid to discuss politics. The fear of KGB was all-pervasive. People were acting like automatons. They clapped their hands, expressed their 'enthusiasm' automatically whenever necessary, hiding their feelings deep in their hearts. Then came the war, which has shown how superficial was the people's 'loyalty' to Stalin. In this context, de-Stalinization is easy



Trial by Sinyavsky and Daniel

to understand. If Stalin had been so loved, why would he have been removed from his pedestal in such a hurry? The people in power did so to save their own skins, knowing the true feelings of the people.

"This created a very propitious atmosphere in which the new opposition movement was born. By that time there was a younger generation. This generation was reared during the war years when the government tried to ingratiate itself with the people to win their support, and was forced to relax its grip. The young generation had never been exposed to the cruel purges of the 'thirties -- they were not afraid, they had not been mesmerized by fear as had been their parents. They refused to sacrifice themselves for the sake of some distant utopia. They demanded a better life, a greater choice and they were becoming impatient.

.The existence of this kind of opposition is far more threatening to the regime than all of its economic difficulties."

A discussion with Mr. Constantin Boldyreff on the Soviet dissident movement.

the late 'fifties students in Moscow spontaneously began to organize themselves into literary clubs demanding freedom of creation. They gathered in the Mayakovsky square where they read their poems and voiced opposition to the pressures of 'realist realism.' The KGB tried to control them, but failed. One by one they began to arrest the leaders, imposing two-three years sentences. So it happened that those who were clamored for freedom of expression and innocent in political resistance, the seasoned leaders of the political opposition in the 'school' of punitive institutions — people like Galanskov, Ginzburg and Bukov-

what the trial of Sinyavsky and Danil and that of Galanskov and Ginzburg did was to join together a dissident movement uniting, now, representatives of both the older and younger generations — the very young joined hands with some of the experienced and established. We see, for example, Dr. Sakharov standing in the defense of Bukovsky and



and Daniel. UPI

trik, and young people protesting the incarceration of General Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. Artistic protest became political and ideological. This combination had a great deal of influence, causing the movement to broaden to include names such as Marchenko, Dremov, and Gershuni. The movement began to snowball. Similar groups were forming in Leningrad, Kharkov, Novosibirsk and many other cities. And the West helped by serving as an echo. Western radio stations recorded the activities of the opposition in Russia and the movement spread rapidly and expanded.

But now, after establishment of 'friendly relations' with Brezhnev, we see the Western world are in danger of stamping out the opposition. Yet, the existence of this kind of opposition is far more threatening to the regime than all of its economic difficulties. And what do we observe

today? In exchange for a 'detente' — whatever this may mean in the long run — the West appears to be willing to bail out the Soviets economically while turning its back on its true friends in Russia. Dr. Sakharov and writer Vladimir Maximov, risking the vengeance of the regime, openly warn us of the dangers inherent in such a policy. In the meantime the KGB continues to stifle the opposition. Even Sakharov was threatened by reprisals. So far he and Solzhenitsyn were protected by their fame. The question is for how long, if the present policies persist?"

In discussing the future of the dissident movement, Mr. Boldyreff emphasized that there is still hope for the open opposition to continue its struggle, constantly demanding the Soviet government to act according to its own constitution and laws. "It is important, therefore, that people like Sakharov be given as much support from the West as possible."

What are the prospects for dissident movements, both open and underground? Mr. Boldyreff stressed a recent and fundamental change in the philosophy of the open dissident community. "People are now seriously questioning if it is possible to cause the Soviet government to change its spots. Many had, or used as their shield, the faith that the government could become more democratic. But now that faith is gone. As a result people have done a lot of ideological thinking. This is a very important factor because it has produced something more dangerous to the regime. As the hope of reform began to vanish, new alternatives to Communism have been developed. There are at least a dozen of such programs circulating in the *Samizdat* today, some are very interesting and constructive, others less so. The open opposition movement always represented the smaller visible part of the "iceberg." The strangulation of the open part of the movement will, needs must, increase the volume of the submerged part. It was not difficult for the regime to cope with the open dissidents; it is far more difficult to deal with the underground, and the impact of the underground movements is far greater. The open dissidents must confine their efforts to protests against specific cases of injustice trying to remain within the narrow limits of the Soviet laws, while the underground groups, operating outside of such restraints, are much sharper in their criticism. And what is more important, they take up general issues, thus gradually creating a new climate in the country.

"In the final analysis," concluded Mr. Boldyreff, "all these groups are seeders sowing fertile earth. Galanskov and thousands like him have risked their lives in the search for a better future, and as long as the human race exists thousands more will challenge dictators. History will be the real test."

Echoes of the Past

by Allan Brownfeld

WASHINGTON — At a time when the Soviet Union is pursuing a policy of "detente" toward the United States and Western Europe, life is becoming increasingly harsh and repressive for the Russian people.

It is ironic that many in the West take the Soviet Union's assurances of peaceful intentions at face value while ignoring the real evidence which leads to a far different conclusion.

Consider, for example, the rehabilitation of dictator Josef Stalin. More than two decades after his death on March 5, 1953, Stalin enjoys a more favorable public reputation than Nikita Khrushchev, the man who denounced him for his political purges and "cult of personality."

Roy Medvedev, a dissident who chronicled the Stalinist purges in his major work, "Let History Judge," observed that not only is Stalin's official image refurbished but that "some party officials openly and proudly call themselves Stalinists, without risking expulsion from the party."

Shortly after Khrushchev's famous "secret speech" at the 20th Communist Party Congress in 1956, thousands of Stalin's victims were freed from prison camps and cleared of charges. Hundreds of towns, streets, and sites bearing Stalin's name were renamed, including Stalingrad, where the battle the Russians consider the turning point of the war was fought. The city became Volgograd and the battle became the Battle on the Volga.

After Khrushchev was ousted in 1964, his successors reversed the trend. They signaled the end of de-Stalinization in May 1965, during celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the allied victory over Germany. Stalin appeared for the first time on television screens as a wartime leader and father figure for the Soviet people. The battle of Stalingrad regained its original name.

More Praise

Beginning in 1966 his wartime leadership was increasingly praised. In 1967, a handbook for Communist Party officials called Stalin an economic leader in peacetime and asserted that he had "made a serious contribution to the development of the world Communist and liberation movement." In 1969, the leadership formally celebrated the 90th anniversary of Stalin's birth and in June 1970, a bust of Stalin was placed over what had been his virtually unmarked grave behind the Lenin Mausoleum. In 1972, the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union was commemorated on Stalin's birthday, December 21, rather than on the proper day — nine days later.

It is not only Stalin who has been rehabilitated. His policies of repression have also been brought back. A lengthy article in Pravda in June 1973 declared to the Russian people that only "naive people" could expect close economic relations with the U.S. to be associated with a relaxation of political controls in the Soviet Union.

The article, "A Turning Point to Stable, Peaceful Relations," by Daniel F. Kraminov, stated, "Only naive people could expect the recognition of the principles of peaceful co-existence by leaders of the greatest capitalist power to eliminate or weaken the basic conflict of our epoch, the conflict, between capitalism and socialism, or that ideological struggle between them will lose its significance in the international arena."

Mr. Kraminov wrote that expanded foreign trade with the U.S., such as the wheat deal, "will represent a promising way of raising the efficiency of the Soviet economy."

Secret Police

The Soviet secret police has been busy implementing the policies set forth in government pronouncements. An intensive 18-

month drive has virtually ended the Soviet civil rights movement's activities as an organized group. While a few of its most prominent members remain free, most are either in prison, under investigation and awaiting arrest, underground or simply have withdrawn.

The publications, including the Chronicle Of Current Events, that knit the dissidents into their loosely organized democratic movement have been suppressed. None has appeared for more than eight months. It was reported in May that arrests of members of the civil rights groups numbered more than 65 in the last year and that in the past 18 months, more than 160 persons have been arrested on charges of anti-Soviet nationalism in the Ukraine as part of a related crackdown on Ukrainian nationalists.



UPI

There has, in addition, been renewed repression of religion. In Siberia, a well known Buddhist scholar was sentenced to five years in prison on charges of running an illegal sect for criminal ends. At the other end of the country, in Byelorussia, four Baptists received undisclosed jail terms for giving children unauthorized religion lessons.

Elsewhere in the country, a Ukrainian secret policeman resurrected the old Stalinist charge that "bourgeois nationalists" who include leaders of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and "Zionists" are allied against Soviet interests. A Leningrad museum features both Charles Manson, the California cult leader and murderer, and the late Cardinal Francis Spellman in its exhibit on the evils of religious belief. In Turkmenistan, local Communist leaders called for an increase in anti-religious propaganda against Moslems and the introduction of more holidays and party ceremonies to make the official atheism more attractive.

Thus, while advocates of "detente" in the West tell us that Communism is changing, the only change which is observable in the Soviet Union itself is a change back to the policies of the Stalin era. It seems to be of little moral concern to such Westerners that the Communist regime is strengthened in its oppression by the trade and aid which is offered so eagerly by American and Western European businessmen.

This, of course, is one of the ironies of history which Lenin foresaw when he predicted that the capitalists would sell the Communists the weapons with which to destroy them. The Communists, it seems, have learned from history, while we have not.



Ideology

Man And His Work Alienation Labor Value

by Gary Jarmin

by Dr. Sang Hung Lee

Many people have converted to Marxism thinking that its theory of alienation clearly stated the cause and solution of the problem of alienation in society. However, the cause to alienation cannot be adequately explained by the origins narrowly described by Marx. The purpose of this article will be to present the Marxist view of alienation and to critique it.

Marx asserted that there were four basic aspects to man's alienation. Man was alienated from 1) the product of labor; 2) labor activity; 3) himself; and 4) from other men.

First Case: Marx stated that the worker becomes poorer with the more wealth he produced--he becomes a cheaper commodity as he creates more goods. In other words, the more surplus value a worker creates, the more exploited he becomes.

Through labor, a worker creates not only goods but himself. The goods this laborer produces stand opposed to him as an alien thing, as a power independent of the producer. This product is the embodiment of the labor which produced it -- the product is an objectification of labor. Consequently the more the worker produces, the more of his labor is appropriated by the object--the object stands against him--and is alienated from him.

Man Versus Product

The worker then falls under the domination of this product, of capital, and is an alien object to the product.

As the worker puts his life into the object, his life then belongs no longer to himself but to the object. Marx says, for example, that the more man appropriates to God the less belongs to him. Supposedly the more man appropriates love, wisdom and virtue to God, the less he has left for himself.

Important in this concept is the fact that nature supplies the worker in two ways:

First, it gives means of existence for the worker himself, i.e., his physical existence; second, it provides him with material for his labor.

Thus, the more the worker deprives himself of the external world as (1) an object belonging to his nature and (2) a means for his physical subsistence, the more he becomes a slave of the object as an object of work and as his means of subsistence.

Second Case: alienation of the labor process. If the worker is alienated from the product and if the product is the result of production activity, then production itself must be active alienation. Because he creates objects external and alienated from himself, then his work becomes external. It is imposed, forced labor. It becomes only a means for satisfying other needs.

Third Case: alienation of species being. Marx defines man as a "species being" because man, unlike animals, is conscious of his *human essence*. Man's basic life activity according to Marx is his productive life, i.e., that which creates his species-being is his "species life" or his true "life activity."

In the ideal situation man makes his life activity (the act of production) an object of his will. Man has a conscious life activity. It is only because man has

conscious life activity that he is a species being. Consequently, Marx asserts that man can have free activity when he is in conscious control of the act of production.

Control of Species-Life

However, alienated labor makes man's life activity, his being, only a means of existence. Whereas animals produce only under compulsion of direct physical need, man can truly produce only according to his conscious desire and will when he is freed from such need.

Because alienated labor takes away the object of production, it consequently takes away man's species life. It transforms it into a means of physical existence.

When man's species life becomes only a means of existence, the man is not in genuine control of his existence but is in fact alienated from it.

Fourth Case: this is fairly simple. Man becomes alienated from other men as a result of alienated labor. Why? Because what is true of man's relationship to his work, to the product of his work and to himself, is also true of his relationship to other men, to their labor and to the objects of their labor.

In other words, since man is alienated from his human life or his species being, all men are likewise alienated from each other.

If the worker does not control or own the product, then who does? It belongs to the capitalist, says Marx.

How then can the worker become freed from his alienation? By seizing control of production power, according to Marx. The worker will be able to consciously control his own life only when he is in control of the means of production.

Critique

This theory of alienation is false for many reasons. The most fundamental problem was Marx's assertion that only labor activity was the basic "life activity" of man, creating his consciousness and human essence.

Before man is a being of labor, he is an *ethical* being. Our lives, from birth, are centered around ethical relationships of love with our parents, brothers, sisters and friends. It is through these relationships that the attributes of what we call *human* are formed--love, beauty, goodness, conscience, etc.

If we are to believe that only through *labor activity* is man's nature formed, then what of people who are not engaged in the direct aspect of production? What about religious leaders, intellectuals, artists, students, factory owners, housewives, children? Are we to assume that they are less than human--some undeveloped form of man because they are not engaged in *social labor*? A true Marxist would have to say yes. Precisely such a conclusion led Stalin and Mao to eliminate millions of such socially "useless" degenerates.

For man to express his creativity and to find fulfillment through the realization of certain abilities, it is for

(Continued on page 8)

Simple labor, complex labor, skilled labor, and unskilled labor are all different forms of abstract human labor. Loom weaving, working bellows, plowing and so on are examples of simple labor, whereas the technically complex labor of modern technical industry is skilled labor. Shoes are made with simple labor, but television manufacture requires skilled labor. Moreover, with the same kind of manufacture an experienced laborer produces skilled labor while an inexperienced laborer produces unskilled labor.

A commodity produced by skilled labor obviously will be of higher quality than the commodity produced by simple labor in the same number of hours. Suppose one factory produces fountain pens by simple labor using out dated equipment while another factory produces watches by skilled labor using advanced machinery. Even if a fountain pen and a watch are both produced in the same amount of time, the watches are certain to be more expensive than the pens.

According to Marx's theory of labor value, however, because both commodities take the same time, they should have the same exchange value and hence the same price. But we know that in reality the watch, which was made through skilled labor, has higher value. How can this be explained? According to Marx, the exchange value and price of a commodity produced by skilled labor is higher than that of a commodity produced by simple labor, even though they were produced during the same number of working hours, because the skilled labor requires more strength and dexterity than simple labor. In other words the watches have greater value than fountain pens because of the greater quantity of labor which they require.

Accordingly, skilled labor can be considered multiplied simple labor. It can be multiplied even ten times or more. A small quantity of skilled labor is equivalent to a large quantity of simple labor. Actually, Marx said this sort of conversion is frequently done. Consequently, since a good quality commodity contains more simple labor than a bad quality commodity, its exchange value is larger and its price higher. It follows, then, that when the prices of both simple and skilled labor commodities are equal, there are fewer working hours necessary for complex labor commodities. It sounds, so plausible! However, there is a great sophism here. As explained in the theory of labor value, Marx said that the exchange value is only measured by labor quantity, which is measured by the number of working hours (socially-needed average working hours). Accordingly, he said, "As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labour time."

By this dynamic, Marx was saying that two commodities produced in the same number of hours are equal, regardless of anything else. This was the foundational concept of value. But when he found it impossible to explain the differences in price between commodities produced by simple and skilled labor, he threw away the

working hours value and made up another value measure.

Asked how skilled labor was converted into simple labor, Marx said that it happened through exchange. Suppose simple labor produced a pair of shoes a day and skilled labor produced a radio set a day, and one hundred pairs of shoes were exchanged for one radio. This means that the skilled labor of the radio set is equal to 100 times the simple labor which made the shoes. Thus, when the commodities are exchanged at the market, conversion into simple average labor is made automatically.

Marx said that when the commodities are exchanged, different kinds of labor are converted into simple average labor. In other words, if a commodity which took a long time to make is sold at the same price as a commodity which took a short time to make, the skilled labor contained in the former commodity is converted into the simple labor contained in the latter commodity. But this is another deception: Why is it necessary to convert skilled labor into simple labor? It was to determine the true commodity value. If skilled labor is not converted into simple labor, it is difficult to know the value of a commodity produced by skilled labor. It is proper to convert this skilled labor into simple labor because, by the theory of labor value, the commodity value is determined by the labor quantity. But here we should question Marx's theory that the conversion takes place at the market. For the theory of labor value to hold true, the conversion should be made before the exchange. His theory is that the labor quantity is determined first and then exchange is performed, since the price is merely a monetary expression of that quantity. If the labor quantity is found during the exchange, then the labor quantity is determined by price.

In the labor theory of value, Marx says that price is determined by the labor quantity. Yet in the conversion of skilled labor, he maintained that labor quantity is determined by price. This is surely a paradox. Between the labor value theory and the theory of conversion of different labor Marx fell into circular reasoning.

Furthermore, even if we suppose that a conversion takes place at the market, this is not really warranted. For example, suppose that there are three different factories, each having different numbers of laborers and different technical facilities. And suppose the factories produce commodities A, B and C, valued at \$1.00, \$3.00 and \$3.00 respectively, in the same amount of time. Marx would say that the labor producing B and C is skilled, whereas that producing A is simple. Converting the labor, B and C are said to have three times as much quantity of simple labor as A. Nevertheless, we must consider that the conditions of each factory, such as facilities and number of laborers, are different. Therefore, it is hard to realistically consider their labor quantities as equal. It is conjecture to assume equality of labor quantity just on the basis of equal price. Thus we find that in all respects, Marx's theory of simplifying and converting complex labor is nothing but artful rhetoric.

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COMMUNISM a critique & counter proposal

Romanians Respond

The recent visit to the Vatican by Romania's Red Boss Nicolae Ceausescu — and the warm reception given him by Pope Paul VI has raised the hackles of exiles from Eastern Europe.

In an open letter to his Holiness, Professor Brutus Coste, a Romanian who now teaches international relations at the Fairleigh Dickinson University, expressed exile sentiments.

"It is bad enough that temporal rulers of the Western World have come to subsidize and bestow prestige upon the oppressors of the East European peoples — thus compounding their earlier guilt toward them. But that the head of the Catholic Church should follow the temporal rulers on a road that can only lead to moral suicide and ultimately to surrender — is beyond the capacity of the captive peoples, or their spokesmen in the free world, to comprehend," Professor Coste says.

"As one who, in a not too distant past, had repeatedly been elected to a leading position in the assembly of captive European nations, which for many years had widely been regarded as the representative voice of the silenced peoples of East Central Europe, and as a Romanian, I may perhaps qualify as one of such spokesmen and accordingly speak up with utmost frankness."

Coste reminded the Pope that the Romanian Reds have "brutally suppressed" the Catholics in Romania. Its five bishops, Coste says, "and hundreds of priests died the death of martyrs in Communist prisons without ever betraying their faith."

"In shaking the bloodstained hand of Nicolae Ceausescu, your Holiness has caused painful disappointment and deep discouragement to the overwhelming majority of the Romanian people..."

There can be no question of Christian forgiveness, says Coste, without "repentance and redeeming acts."

"These lines are written with a heavy heart," he told the Pope, "by one who, although not a Catholic, had hoped to see the Holy See boldly pointing the way to the statesmen of the West instead of eagerly competing with them in shortsighted expediency. They are written in protest but also in prayer. May the good Lord be merciful and guide your Holiness toward the task that cries for fulfillment: moral leadership in the battle for the rights of man and nations, and for the preservation of human freedom and decency, a battle we are, right now, losing."

The San Diego Union.



by

Dumitru

Danielopol

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