

"...America's fastest growing
freedom newspaper"

The Rising Tide

Vol. 3, No. 18

September 10, 1973



The Soviet Embassy is the scene of FLF's daily Monday vigil. Louis Fournier, right, is a regular participant.

FLF Launches Human Rights Vigil

Monday, August 27, 1973 at 12:00 p.m. saw the initiation of the new Human Rights Vigil of the Freedom Leadership Foundation at the Embassy of the USSR on 16th Street. At that time FLF Secretary-General, Gary L. Jarmin carried literature on Soviet dissidents, emphasizing the imminent threat against writer Vladimir Maximov, to the Soviet Embassy and distributed it there to kick off the new campaign. That same day a news release and press statement by Mr. Jarmin were simultaneously released to officially announce the Vigil's start and its purpose. Jarmin said in his disclosure "Each Monday through Friday from 12:00 to 1:00 p.m., two members of FLF will walk in front of the Embassy and silently distribute literature on the topic of Soviet repression of intellectual and religious dissidents

"...we're determined..."

"It's our hope to apply public pressure on the Soviet regime to lessen its repressive tactics against voices in protest behind the Iron Curtain. We see it as more than just a political maneuver; we're determined to bring to the public's eye the flagrant Soviet trappings of common human rights. Russian government critics like Dr. Andrei Sakharov and writer Vladimir Maximov find themselves increasingly threatened by the KGB Soviet Police. We cannot be distracted from our primary moral responsibility to the integrity of international human freedoms that lie beyond the bounds of political restriction. We feel that the Communists must relax their stranglehold on free speech, free religious expression, and all other basic rights.

"The Human Rights Vigil will continue indefinitely, at least until we are certain of a response by the Soviet government favorable to our demands.

"The two Foundation members in the Vigil are the legal limit allowed in front of the Embassy in accordance with U.S. District Court 1183-73 decision of 18 June 1973."

The Secretary-General's statement follows:

For immediate release Monday, August 27, 1973:

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION: GARY L. JARMIN

"The Freedom Leadership Foundation has consistently supported any move to insure the preservation of human rights wherever we find them threatened; most notably we see the need for a constant vigilance on the repressive activities of the Communist bloc against intellectual, political, religious and social voices of dissidence. Particularly in an ever-increasing atmosphere of detente, there exists the danger of Soviet opportunism to manipulate international easing of tensions into a position of Western support for Communist policy. Time and again the Soviet government has blatantly stated its intention to continue and strengthen its campaign of ideological warfare, within its domestic domain and without. The goal of a Soviet world-wide empire has not, its leaders have clearly pointed out, been forsaken; it has only adopted new trappings and moved into the sphere of conquest-by-thought. The Freedom Leadership Foundation has long recognized this overt Communist strategy and dedicated itself to educational programs aimed at ideological victory.

"Obviously, a major threat to the goal of the Communist totalitarians is the growing dissident movement in the Soviet Union. The public outcries of people like Amalrik and Sakharov are not an indication to the world of a society of contented Marxists; the Russian secret police, the KGB, has unleashed a campaign of repression against protesters unequalled since the Stalin regime. We feel it is our task to support and encourage the democratization of Soviet society until every basic human right is freely allowed. We cannot be distracted from our primary moral responsibility to the integrity of international human

freedoms that lie beyond the bounds of political restriction. We feel the Communists must relax their stranglehold on free speech, free religious expression, and all other basic rights. It is our intention to promote Western awareness of the Soviet dissident movement, as well as basic totalitarian strategy employed by the Russians, through our Human Rights Vigil and our many educational programs.

"Our efforts at maintaining the moral stance of the Free World against the suppression of the human birthright of freedom, common to all men, will continue until we see a free and humanitarian system of politics flourishing behind the Iron Curtain."

Reaction

Maintaining and participating regularly in the vigil is new FLF Program Coordinator Louis Fournier. Speaking of his experiences in the first week of the Vigil, Fournier said, "The response has been tremendous already. Many people stop and talk with us about what we're doing, and we can tell the Embassy officials are taking note. Many of the Soviet employees have gotten our flyers and a few have talked to me about them. One came up to me after reading one of our Maximov flyers and angrily declared,

"Nobody knows of such a writer, anyway. Of course that's exactly why we're there to make sure people do know. The Soviets are sensitive about public opinion and concerned about its influence on detente. Our 'Free Grigorenko' rally in front of the White House in June was in no small way partly responsible for General Grigorenko's subsequent release from his prison hospital to a regular psychiatric hospital; we're determined to achieve the same kind of results with our Human Rights Vigil."

FLF is also sponsoring in conjunction with its Human Rights Vigil a Petition of Solidarity for Soviet dissidents in the U.S.S.R. to be sent to Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin. Fournier

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Unabashed Aggression

by
Gaffar Peang-Meth

On January 27, 1973 the Paris Peace Agreements were signed with the purpose of ending the war in Vietnam. In Article 20 the United States and North Vietnam, two principal participants of the Paris Peace Conference, agreed to "observe strictly the 1954 Geneva Agreements" as they applied to the Khmer Republic and recognize and respect the fundamental rights of the Khmer people, their independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and neutrality. Article 20 furthermore stipulates:

Foreign countries shall put an end to all military activities in Cambodia and Laos, totally withdraw from and refrain from reintroducing into these two countries troops, military advisers 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 influence. . . .

On March 5, 1973, the Paris Peace Conference produced a final act in which the parties to the Agreements, namely, the United States, France, the Vietcong, Hungary, Indonesia, Poland, North Vietnam, Britain, South Vietnam, the Soviet Union, Canada and the People's Republic of China affirmed their respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, and their abstention from activities not in conformity with the Agreements. The final act of the Conference signed in the presence of the Secretary-General of the United Nations states:

Article 8.- With a view to contributing to and guaranteeing peace in Indochina, the Parties to this Act acknowledge the commitment of the parties to the Agreement to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, and neutrality of Cambodia and Laos as stipulated in the Agreement, agree also to respect them and to refrain from any action at variance with them, and call on

other countries to do the same.

Also, the Joint Communiqué issued at the conclusion of meetings between Dr. Henry Kissinger, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Le Duc Tho, Representative of North Vietnam, on June 13, states:

Point 13.- Article 20 of the Agreement, regarding Cambodia and Laos, shall be scrupulously implemented.

Khmer Position

On the day the Agreements were signed, in the Khmer Republic President Lon Nol declared the Nation's satisfaction with the accords which called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Khmer territory. President Lon Nol spoke of the Khmer people's hope that the Agreements would bring a new era of cooperation beneficial to all countries in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Thus, the Khmer President ordered a halt to all offensive operations of the Khmer National

Armed Forces -- a unilateral ceasefire -- beginning in the morning of January 29. He further ordered a halt to all bombing to allow the North Vietnamese and Vietcong time to withdraw peacefully from Cambodia.

Violation of Accords by NVN/VC

Even before the ink of the Paris Peace Agreements could dry, the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong violated them. Not only was there no evidence of NVN/VC withdrawal from the Khmer Republic, but they intensified their warfare against Khmer government forces. In February 1973, North Vietnam infiltrated new troops and war materiel into Khmer territory from lower Laos, through the Ho Chi Minh trail. By March, the estimated 26,000 NVN/VC troops on Khmer soil at the time of the Peace Agreements were increased to about 45,000. In fact, from the date of the Khmer unilateral ceasefire on January 29 to May 8, the

(Continued on page 8)



The author, right, talking with North Vietnamese in Phnom Penh Central Prison.

Yes, It's Bigger!

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A Greek Tragedy Ends-- When Will The Others?



After six and a half years of maintaining his military dictatorship over Greece, George Papadopoulos, the first elected president of his newly formed republic, has finally begun a slow but encouraging process of democratization.

In his inaugural address Papadopoulos offered an amnesty to over 300 political prisoners in Greek jails and instituted broad reforms restoring individual rights, press freedom, constitutional rule; he finally lifted martial law in Athens which he imposed since his military coup d'etat in 1967.

Over the years, FLF has been asked why we haven't filled our newspaper with articles denouncing the Greek colonels and taken a stand against the mistreatment of political prisoners in Greece. Indeed, we have always defended the cause of human rights, no matter where they are being violated. However, we knew that there was always the possibility that the military dictatorship in Greece would eventually restore basic human rights and political freedoms, as has just taken place in Argentina, for example.

There are things that take place in such dictatorships every day which we find abhorrent. The mass media, politicians, artists, and educators usually do quite a sufficient job in exposing violations of human freedoms in places like Greece, South America or Vietnam. For us to add our protest would be hardly a drop in the

bucket. Today the most severe mistreatment of human rights is in Communist nations; it is this problem, often ignored by the mass media, which we have devoted our energy to expose.

It has always been tempting to lump the assorted dictatorships in the same bucket along with totalitarian Communism. Although outwardly there may be many similarities, there are equally big differences which make it possible for dictatorships of a non-Marxist nature to evolve in time, into relatively democratic societies, like Argentina, Greece, etc.

However, not since the establishment of Communism have we seen even one case in which a Communist regime peacefully evolved into a more open and free society. On the contrary, what we find today is an increase in the repression of human rights, abuse of psychiatry for purposes of political persecution, death sentences for so-called "economic crimes", and the arrest of thousands for practicing their religion or merely wanting to emigrate to another country.

Dictatorships are usually only interested in political power and could care less what people believe in. They have no ideological rationalization for their dictatorship and are not usually interested in brainwashing or transforming people into anything other than what they are. Because they have no ideological justification or goal, dictatorships usually fall apart and are replaced by other

dictatorships or some form of democratic government.

Communism on the other hand is just the opposite. The Communists are Marxist-Leninists. They have a definite view of man and ultimately want to transform man's nature. Because of their Marxist philosophy, Communists are convinced they can only accomplish this goal through changes in altering the production relations in society. They believe that Marxism is the only truth and the only guideline to building a better society. For these reasons Communists fear any ideas contrary to their own and ruthlessly suppress them. The source of their totalitarianism is rooted in their view of man. Until such a philosophy is overcome ideologically there will be little hope for Communist societies to gradually liberalize.

The recent developments in Greece are no justification for euphoric thinking that everything is now "okay." The Papadopoulos government still has a long way to go, but at least it deserves the credit of beginning to shed its past dictatorial policies. With our support and encouragement it can certainly do better.

It is time for those who have described the Communists as being no worse than the Greek government to open their eyes to reality. And in particular to the reality of labor camps, psychiatric persecution, and repression of artists and religious devotees being perpetrated by Communist regimes.



by
Neil Salonen
President
Freedom
Leadership
Foundation

Prospectus for Vietnam — Reflections of President Thieu

Following is President Nguyen Van Thieu's assessment of Communist strategy in South Vietnam, as told to the editor of VIETNAM REPORT.

Although fearing nothing more than an election, the Communists still want to realize a longstanding objective, namely the annexation of South Vietnam, either through a military campaign or through the formation of a government of coalition or through a combination of these two methods.

At one point in the past, they sought to do this by dispatching countless military formations from the North. After the Tet attacks, however, they found out they had failed in this undertaking. They then began talking of a coalition government but this apparently has failed too. The people of the South having rejected the coalition idea in an unmistakable manner, the Communists launched their general offensive of last year.

If we had lost at the time a substantial portion of the national territory and a good segment of the population, it can be safely assumed that we would have to accept the coalition formula. The Communists would then be in a position to annex South Vietnam sooner or later. Unfortunately for Hanoi, their general offensive of 1972 ended in failure and they had to sign the Paris agreements, which is basically a peace formula based on a ceasefire and a general election. The Paris treaty must be viewed as a big defeat for Hanoi for two reasons: in the first place, the ceasefire articles limit their freedom of action to a great extent and in the second place the election provisions make it impossible for them to win a political victory. In the situation they found themselves in last Fall, they had no choice but to sign the Paris treaty, but it has always been their intention to cheat on it. The question, therefore, must be asked what the Communists will do to cheat.

In summary, it can be said Hanoi's failure to achieve a military victory was instrumental in their demand for a coalition government. When it failed to be adopted, they tried to impose it through a big military campaign. It can be assumed that this effort, if successful, would have resulted in the formation of a government of coalition with neutralist tendencies allowing them greater freedom of action in the ensuing political struggle. But they again failed for they were militarily defeated on all fronts.

Indeed, with the insignificant por-

tions of land and segments of population they gained during their general offensive of last year, they were not in a position to impose a coalition formula. Still, being what they are they have not given up their ambitions of yesteryears, which is the creation of a Communist government with the South, reunification with the North, and formation of a unique administration for North and South. In addition, they also want that government to have a preponderant role in Laos and Cambodia, the other two countries of Indochina. That is what they call their one-staged policy.

The Communists, of course, have alternative policies, calling them the two-staged and three-staged policies.

The former would provide for the imposition of a government leaning on the left, which some time later would seek reunification with the North. If that should be the case, Vietnam would be reunified under the Communist banner, as everybody knows a Viet Cong-dominated administration in the South would be composed of members of the Communist Party of North Vietnam sent South by the Hanoi leaders themselves. Reunification would then be like a family affair with "small brothers" returning to "big brothers."

In the framework of the three-staged policy, they would seek the formation of a government said of coalition, which would rule the South during a period of transition, in the course of which the National Liberation Front (NLF) would penetrate it and convert it into a leftist organization. The latter would then seek full association with Hanoi in the third stage of the plan.

Whatever their plan—which might be a one-staged, two-staged, or three-staged scheme—their objective remains unchanged. As things are now, it can be said the one-staged approach has proven impractical after they failed in their many military attempts in the past to have South Vietnamese covered with red flags. Hanoi's two-staged approach, namely the formation of a pre-Communist government which will seek reunification with the North, has also proven impossible to realize. There, thus, remains only the three-staged plan, which visualizes the existence of two separate governments for the South. These two would at some future date merge into one and open negotiations with Hanoi for the formation of a government for all of Vietnam.

The Viet Cong are presently

trying to turn areas under their control into a state endowed with a government which they could claim to be the second such institution in the South. They probably also hope that when this government has achieved a degree of international recognition, international opinion will force the two administrations to merge into a coalition government. If that were to happen, they would only agree to a pinkish government of coalition, which then will try to enter negotiation with Hanoi easily.

It can, thus, be stated that the Viet Cong are doing their best to work in the direction of the formation of a coalition government. To seek fulfillment of this objective, they will resort to political agitation or military pressure or to a campaign combining the two. This is how I see things in the coming years. The Communists will lie low for a time while trying to subvert us from within and sabotage our economic potential. If they should achieve a situation of great political and economic difficulties for us, there is bound to be a coup d'etat probably to be staged by a group of military commanders bought off by them. From this coup, will emerge a pro-Communist administration, which will seek to coalesce with the Viet Cong in a unique government for the South. The latter will then enter negotiation with Hanoi as I said earlier.

But if we are to prove weak, politically and economically, permitting them to subvert and sabotage us on a large scale, they would try a big military campaign that would ultimately result in a reunified Vietnam under the Communist banner.

For this reason, I am convinced that they will not accept a general election, which necessarily will be conducive to a political rout for them and the annihilation of everything they have achieved through so many years of hard labor in the South.

QUESTION: What, then, should we do?

ANSWER: Two things. In the first place, we have to do our best so that the NLF cannot build itself into a state, a second state within the South. In the second place, we have to strengthen ourselves to the point of being immune to any Communist political plot, economic sabotage scheme, or military conquest plan.

From Vietnam Report,
July 15, 1973

*There's something uneasy in
The air this June midnight.
And beyond the railway's din
I hear cries of pain and fright.*

*There's something dead in the gaze
Of the joyful, rustling tree.
The whole world's lost in a maze
Of anguished obscurity.*

*No one knows what's to come
The answer's not to be found.
All breathes and smells of a storm
But there are no clouds, no wind.*

*Down by the Volga fens we strolled
Over the wide land that July
Along the bank, across the field
Nonchalantly, my friend and I.*

*And from the river of a sudden
Behind the haystacks' darkening bulk
A woman whom the mist had hidden
Came with a bucket of warm milk.
Sweet with the freshness of new hay
Her kindly fingers from our shirts
Flicked all the dust and grime away
Fastened the collars of our coats.
Russia, it seemed to us, was meant
To be this woman and not she
Who seeks a travel document
And proof of one's identity....*

Untitled underground poetry by Ivan Kharebarov. Originally in Syntax 1 and Phoenix 1, they were published by POSSEY and are now in RUSSIA'S UNDERGROUND POETS (Praeger), available at the Rising Tide Bookstore.

Human Rights Movement In Danger !

TODAY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF INTELLECTUALS, CHRISTIANS, JEWS, NATIONAL MINORITIES AND OTHERS ARE BEING FORCEFULLY INCARCERATED IN LABOR CAMPS AND PSYCHIATRIC PRISON HOSPITALS IN THE SOVIET UNION.

While we hear much about detente with the Soviet regime, a growing campaign of repression and persecution is being waged against dissident elements in the USSR. As long as this continues, true detente can never exist. The Soviet government desperately needs U.S. wheat and Western technology. Is it right for us to help the Communist government with its material needs while advocates of human rights are languishing in mental asylums and prison camps? World peace and brotherhood are ideals to which we all aspire, but this cannot be realized while human dignity is being deliberately eroded in totalitarian societies. The issue of human rights transcends political boundaries and is crucial to the moral welfare of all men. WE URGE YOU TO SPEAK OUT ON BEHALF OF THE COURAGEOUS STANDS FOR HUMAN FREEDOM BEING TAKEN BY BOLD DISSIDENT FIGURES IN SOVIET SOCIETY WHOSE LIVES AND LIVINGS ARE IN CONSTANT PERIL FROM THE INTOLERANT COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT!

THE MEN: *Alexander Solzhenitsyn*, celebrated Nobel Prize-winning novelist, whose earliest book, *One Day In the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1962), was heralded by the Khrushchev regime as a masterpiece of anti-Stalinist culture. With the re-Stalinization of Russia in recent years, the Soviet government has changed its official standing, condemning Solzhenitsyn's later works, which are now banned from the country. His books, *The First Circle*, *Cancer Ward*, and *August 1914* continue to find a wide audience after being smuggled into the West as well as in their underground *Samizdat* form in the Soviet Union. Communist authorities have increased their campaign to silence Solzhenitsyn's outspoken opinions "contrary to Soviet interests." A proclaimed Christian, the renowned author recently revealed that he and his family have been receiving blunt threats against their lives from the KGB, the Soviet secret police, and told the world that if his death were announced, it could be concluded that he had been murdered with the approval of or by the KGB. Solzhenitsyn's wife lives in Moscow; the Soviet authorities have denied him a residence permit to join his family in that city as part of their mounting efforts to intimidate him. The writer continues to express his solidarity with other Soviet dissidents, particularly *Dr. Andrei D. Sakharov*.

Dr. Sakharov is probably the best-known scientist in the Soviet Union. Noted for his work on the Soviet hydrogen bomb,

this leading physicist has long been an outspoken champion of human rights in the USSR. In June 1968 he authored the now-famous *Progress, Co-existence, and Intellectual Freedom*, which vehemently denounced the Soviet trend to re-Stalinization with its bureaucratic and dogmatic manifestations. He was an early leader of the liberal scientific resistance to Communist arbitrariness in dictating scientific doctrine; he fought strongly to oppose and finally eliminated the state-supported policy of geneticist, T.D. Lysenko, whose backward beliefs rejected every modern discovery in the field of genetics because of their incompatibility with Marxist-Leninist ideology. Sakharov became noted for his demands for greater cooperation between East and West based on liberalization and democratization of the Communist political system. Early in 1970 he sent a letter directly to Brezhnev, Kosygin and Soviet president Podgorny calling for a wide-sweeping reformation, free speech, free press, the judiciary system, education and diversity of political office candidacies. He took an active role in protesting the incarcerations of such notable dissident figures as Vail and Pimenov, Medvedev, Marchenko and Grigorenko. In November 1970, Sakharov and two other leading physicists established the Moscow-based Committee for Human Rights in the Soviet Union, which was subsequently joined by Solzhenitsyn and others. Despite increasing pressure by the Communist regime against him and his family, he has expressed his dissatisfaction in even greater tones of defiance and determination.

Vladimir Maximov, 41, stands in the views of many world-wide critics as rising rapidly in the footsteps of Solzhenitsyn. His major novel, *Seven Days of Creation*, chronicles the experiences of a Russian family adjusting to the Communist takeover of that country. A powerful, incisive story, it was the cause of his recent expulsion from the Soviet Writers' Union. He was brought in for "psychiatric examination" by the KGB, declared "mentally unsound" and taken into custody in a psychiatric prison hospital. He was later released, but efforts are mounting by the KGB to recommit him. Massive slander campaigns are aimed at dragging Maximov's name and image into national disgrace. Solzhenitsyn has staunchly defended Maximov, saying, "Vladimir Maximov is an honest, courageous writer who in a disinterested and sacrificial manner is dedicated to truth and has already been very successful in the search for truth. Therefore his expulsion from the lying Writers' Union is completely normal."

Former General *Pyotr Grigorenko*, for years perhaps the most inspiring leader of the dissident movement, nears death in

his lonely quarters at a psychiatric hospital; he was only recently removed from his stern prison environment after great public pressure on the Soviet government from protesting elements in the West forced a Communist compromise. The names could continue on and on.

The Issues: The Freedom Leadership Foundation is not engaged in a sensationalist campaign of anti-Sovietism. It is the stance of this organization to support and defend every endeavor that will bring world peace. However, we cannot, at the same time, abandon the battle for the preservation of human rights whenever they are endangered. If we support a policy of unconditional easing of international tensions without the easing of the suppression of human rights, then we deny our own faith and belief in the articles of our constitution which guarantee these freedoms--freedoms formed in universal, spiritual truths, freedoms endowed from beyond the theories of political science, freedoms inherently demanded within man's own internal character. This is the key issue that when man's basic human rights, which lie outside the bounds of political restriction, stand under efforts of repression aimed squarely at the total suspension, then man's basic integrity and dignity as a free and spiritual entity is at grave risk. We cannot allow any transgressions of these rights; it is our moral responsibility to aid the legal and peaceful steps being taken to end any such suppressions. Any steps toward detente must be accompanied by the increase of democratization in every totalitarian social environment.

The Human Rights Vigil of the Freedom Leadership Foundation is directed at applying public pressure on the Soviet government to relinquish its stranglehold on human rights in that country, to end its repression of dissident intellectuals, Christians, Jews, scientists, artists, and various minority groups. In addition we feel the need to make it known to the dissident elements in the Soviet Union they are supported and encouraged in the West.

PLEASE JOIN US IN OUR EFFORTS TO FREE ALL MEN FROM ARBITRARY POLITICAL RESTRICTION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. WRITE TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN OR THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR, DEMANDING FREE EXPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE POLICY OF DETENTE-WITH-DEMOCRATIZATION. DECLARE YOUR SYMPATHY WITH SOLZHENITSYN AND SAKHAROV BY SIGNING OUT PETITION OF SOLIDARITY TO BE SENT TO AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN. THANK YOU.



Dissidents Roy Medvedev, Levitin, Bukorsky, Amalrik, and Zhores Medvedev.

Petition Of Solidarity

To the Honorable Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, Ambassador of the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Ambassador:

The purpose of this petition is to make known to the Soviet government and people that we support a policy of democratization of the totalitarian regime in the U.S.S.R. We cannot support flagrant repression by the Soviet government of dissident figures whose aim is to legally and peacefully express their hopes for a freer, more humanitarian attitude on basic human rights. We cannot encourage the growing campaign of intimidation against such famed spokesmen as Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov. As long as the Communist regime maintains its efforts at suppression of any voices that it finds incompatible with Marxist-Leninist ideology, true detente cannot exist. We urge the government and people of the Soviet Union to relinquish the intolerant arbitrariness and repression of intellectual, religious and ethnic dissidents in the Soviet Union. Allow free expression of basic human rights to flourish in your nation!



Sakharov



Solzhenitsyn

NAME	ADDRESS
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
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Czechs Cite Violations

On August 28 the Czechoslovak National Council of America sent to the Secretary of State a detailed list of current Czech violations of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Included was the following enumerations of specific breaches of Czechoslovakia's own constitution.

Article 1 All human beings are born free and equal in dignity.
In Czechoslovakia this humanistic principle exists only on paper. In practice, the future of children is governed by a pure apartheid. Children of ordinary citizens are not equal to those born to members of the Communist Party.

Article 2 Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Freedoms of opinion, expression, religion and assembly, revived during the Prague Spring 1968, were abolished following the Soviet-led invasion of August 1968.

Article 3 Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

There are no exact figures available to us of political arrests made after the invasion of Czechoslovakia; however, according to underground sources about 10,000 persons were arrested for political reasons in violation of article 3.

Article 4 No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery is prohibited in all its forms.

In Czechoslovakia even a mild criticism of the Party regime may result in the loss of employment or relocation to a menial job. This places the great majority of the population in a condition of servitude to the regime. The whole country is held in slavery by the occupation forces of the Soviet Union.

Article 5 No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

The cruel and inhuman treatment of those opposing communism has been well documented in many books and articles.

Article 6 Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

True, but in Czechoslovakia the Communist Party is the accuser, the judge and the jury.

Articles 7 & 8 All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law.

Refer to comment under article 6.

Article 9 No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

In violation of this article arbitrary arrests and detentions are practiced throughout Czechoslovakia. Some of those arrested have been handed over to

the Soviet NKVD and exiled to Siberia. However, as far as exile to a Western country is concerned, the regime strictly complies with Article 9. Too many citizens would volunteer for such "punishment."

Articles 10 & 11 Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal and everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty.

In Czechoslovakia the political doctrine and instructions of the Communist Party are above the law. Judges must interpret the law to suit the purposes of the Party.

Article 12 No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence and reputation.

Censorship of mail to and from foreign countries, mainly western democracies, and the tapping of telephones has been reintroduced in Czechoslovakia after the Soviet-led invasion and occupation of the country. A full confession must be submitted by all applicants for employment, higher education, passports, etc. The questionnaire must list all activities, details on family life, friendships, any contacts with foreigners, religious and political opinions, etc.

Article 13 Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state; everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

In Czechoslovakia the right to freedom of movement within the country is restricted. The right to emigrate is denied to those of "working age" and to those subject

to military duty. Permission to emigrate was granted in some instances to pensioners who were forced to forfeit their pension as a price for emigration. The right to visit friends or relatives in a western country is strictly limited, mostly to older persons. Visits of relatives who fled Czechoslovakia after the Soviet-led invasion of 1968 are now forbidden. By this decision the regime wants to force a greater number of exiles to return to Czechoslovakia under the 1973 amnesty law. The Czechoslovak government thus arbitrarily decides for the people concerned where they should live. It made no provisions for the reunification of families in the country of their choice.

Article 15 Everyone has the right to a nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Everything has its price in today's materialistic Czechoslovakia, even nationality. Some refugees were given to understand that they could "legalize" their stay abroad by paying the regime up to \$5,000 as "reimbursement for educational costs." Such payment theoretically entitles them to have their status changed from "non-persons" to "persons," with the right to visit Czechoslovakia or have relatives visit them.

Article 16 Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and found a family.

Marriages to foreigners are subject to limitations. A permit issued by the Ministry of Interior is required and granted only when special conditions are met.

Article 17 Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Following the Communist takeover in 1948 the Czechoslovak government nationalized, without compensation, ownership of land and of all means of production and distribution. Private ownership of property is limited to a two-family house. One family unit may consist only of two rooms and a bathroom. Building of private homes has been severely restricted. There is no private enterprise and opposition to the regime may result in the loss of any remaining private property.

Article 18 Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

The "Prague Spring" (1968) released the people of Czechoslovakia from the rigid Stalinist rule and gave everybody a chance to express his thoughts freely and practice his religion without fear. The Soviet-led invasion of August 1968 stopped this return to basic freedoms.

Article 19 Everyone has the freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

This right is being violated by the regime through censorship of mail, books, magazines, newspapers and films. Only Party approved publications are sold to the general public. Radio programs of foreign stations are jammed, the public is restricted to controlled TV and radio programs, and receives information only to the extent permitted by the regime.

Article 20 Everyone has the right to freedom of assembly and association. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

The right to freedom of assembly and association does not exist in Czechoslovakia. Everything is dictated by the Party, even membership in various professional, trade or youth organizations. There is only one Labor Union and its leaders are not elected but nominated by the Party. Attendance at meetings is obligatory. Non-membership or non-attendance may result in the loss of employment or of the opportunity to pursue higher education.

Article 21 Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

There are no free elections in Czechoslovakia. The electorate is presented with only one slate of

(Continued on page 8)



Statue of Saint Wenceslas during Prague Spring



Growing Up in

notations. It makes one think

The Church

Even today the Church is still an instrument of social integration and this works in her favour, also among the young. It is curious that the force of national sentiment is as powerful in socialist countries as elsewhere, and that this ethnic identity can prop up the Church with her beliefs and practices among the youngsters wherever she has kept her function as an instrument of social integration, i.e. wherever the people assert their identity by using the Church as their spokesman. This is a phenomenon which the socialist State inevitably cannot afford to ignore.

Alcoholism

The State and the Church seem to be powerless here, as in the Nordic countries where legislation is far more severe. In 1955 every inhabitant of Czechoslovakia drank an average of 122 litres of milk and 79 litres of beer. In 1965 the proportion was almost reversed and with the increase in the consumption of beer, the Czechs held the world record. The number of alcoholics is put at 200,000. In 1955 each Hungarian drank an average of 18.80 litres of wine and 24 litres of beer. In 1970 they managed 39.40 litres of wine and 54.50 litres of beer. There are at least 70,000 chronic alcoholics, two-thirds of whom are under 40. Alcoholism is seen as the cause of 75% of the murders, 70% of the risings against public authority and 60% of juvenile delinquency.

In these two countries alcoholism is constantly discussed in the press and in youth clubs although nobody seems to have found a satisfactory solution to the problem.

Crime

The kind of crime that is most widespread in the socialist countries of Central Europe is by no means a speciality of the young, even though

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Ideological Indifference

Many pupils, faced with these two kinds (Communist and Christian) of teaching, feel no urge to choose between the two and become simply indifferent. Yet, this does not answer the question whether this indifference is due to this double teaching, the one religious in the family and the parish, the other Marxist-Leninist at school. For in Western Europe the young are aware of a similar drift towards indifference without being always subjected to different teachings, and certainly not to the same degree. The Marxist can hardly see this development as a success story. And so it is frequently blamed on the young being too susceptible to the glamour of the capitalist West and the doubtful prestige of an easy life. But it also shows that the Communist convictions which inspired the socialist State at the beginning have failed to maintain the inspiration. The early Communists are getting old and, in spite of the monopoly of the schools, there is neither great enthusiasm nor a convinced commitment to take their place. On this point, even the sons and daughters of high party officials cannot always be helped up as examples. In any case, it is typical that, while the popular use of the word "Marxist" in the West usually implies commitment, or at least conviction, it often has an almost opposite implication in socialist countries. To be called a Marxist there comes close to being thought of as an opportunist, always ready to support the stronger side when it suits one's interests. It is true that in certain regions of the West the word "catholic" can imply similar con-

Originally published as "Will Gierk Make It?" in NATIONAL REVIEW, February 16, 1973. Used by permission of the author.

Poland: Two Years Later

by Dennis Prager

Mr. Prager, instructor at Brooklyn College, is founder of the Tze Ulmad Institute and national spokesman for Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry.

It is now two years since the worker riots over food price increases in Gdansk, Gdynia, and Szczecin led to the overthrow of Wladislaw Gomulka. The current mood in Poland, one of wait-and-see, is typified by the remark of one young Pole: "We're giving Gierk a chance to prove himself."

Thus far, there has been some basis for popular contentment with the new regime. Economically speaking, Poland has experienced its finest year under Communist rule. Agricultural incomes, accounting for a third of the population, were raised 40 per cent (that is, the government now pays 40 per cent more, the net gain being in fact only 20 per cent, as farmers used to earn 20 per cent more than the government paid them through black-market sales), and teachers, journalists, health and railway workers have also received a 25 per cent raise in salary. Most significant, Poland has reached its projected economic goals for 1975 by fulfilling three years of production plans in one year.

As impressive as these statistics appear, however, a deeper look reveals several disquieting signs both for the people — because the eco-

nomics bases of this miniboom are fragile — and for the regime — because a high ideological price has had to be paid for the attainment of this greater productivity.

The government has had the funds to increase payments to farmers and to the workers thanks to favorable foreign-credit terms, hard-currency income from the worldwide seller's market in coal (Poland's major export), and increased worker efficiency. Yet foreign credits are diminishing, the coal market is in flux, and worker efficiency is directly related to material incentive.

The regime has had to abandon further ideology in order to insure this greater farm productivity. Gierk has abolished compulsory delivery of farm goods; farmers now negotiate voluntary contracts for the sale of their products to the government. This exercise in free enterprise has dramatically improved the quality and quantity of Polish farm produce, and is one important reason for increasing reference to Gierk as the "Polish Kadar." Both Janos Kadar, the Hungarian leader, and Edward Gierk play eloquent lip service to Marxism-Leninism, hail Soviet *druzba* (friendship), and obediently follow Soviet foreign-policy directives. Quietly, however, each presses on with economic and occasional political reforms.

Religion continues to have the strongest pull on the Pole, and Communism strengthens this pull in that the church is viewed as the major source of opposition to Communist rule. A popular joke in Po-

land is about the man who goes to church but remains standing while all others kneel. A worshiper asks him why he isn't praying. "Who's here to pray?" says the man, "I'm here to protest against the regime."

The regime is well aware of the unpopularity of Communism — especially among the youth (my major source of information and jokes) — and it attempts to instill Communist fervor whenever possible. As a sort of consolation prize to those who lose in the national lottery, for instance, the government offers free Marxist-Leninist literature in return for five losing tickets. It's like "rubbing salt into your wounds," said the young woman who told me this.

Culturally the country remains the wasteland it has been since the student riots of March 1968. The Philosophy Department at Warsaw University is still closed. Few teachers are "reliable" enough to teach such a sensitive subject, and some of the Department's finest minds, such as Leszek Kolakowski (now at Oxford), are in exile. The Political Science Department has been reopened, but students and faculty are handicapped; many students who participated in the 1968 demonstrations for cultural and academic freedom have not been permitted to resume their studies.

For the majority of Poles life continues as before: hard work, hard drink, poor wages, crowded housing, omnipresent lines, and consumer products and services of primitive quality. The average Pole earns 2,300 zlotys a month (about

\$100 at the official rate of exchange, about \$23 at the black-market rate), which means that a child's school dress costs approximately ten days' salary, a short-wave radio (an extremely popular item) about ten months' salary, and the cheapest Polish-made car about three years' salary. Rent is cheap, but where can one find an apartment?

The repression and depression of the later years of the Gomulka era are not so keenly felt today. The new government has tried, with some success, to clean up the rigidly authoritarian Ministry of the Interior. Gierk has also embarked on some new foreign-policy initiatives. In the past year, Nixon and Castro visited Warsaw, and the Polish foreign minister has been to Vienna, Oslo, Bonn, Brussels, and Rome. Gierk visited Paris in October and, it is said, is planning to go to Bonn.

The real test for Gierk will come soon: informed circles believe food prices will be increased early this year. As popular dissatisfaction in Poland, whether cultural, political, or economic, can be expressed in only one way, there could be new waves of riots.

A New Envoy - A New Opportunity

The United States has recently appointed Richard F. Pedersen to be Ambassador to Hungary. The Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation took the opportunity to advise him about the following current issues

The nations and peoples of East-Central Europe, long subjugated by the Soviet Union, are still looking at the United States as the citadel of human freedom and for leadership. Therefore the arrival of a new U.S. Ambassador to Hungary is an important event for the people of Hungary. He should manifest by his words and deeds, the fact that the people of the United States share the aspirations of the Hungarian people for the recovery of their lost freedom and independence.

The Hungarian-American community is deeply concerned about our developing relationship with the Soviet-dominated area in general and with Hungary in particular. The recent diplomatic achievements in developing better relationship between East and West is appreciated by us. But we cannot and shall not fail the people of Hungary by muting our expressions of concern and solidarity as elements of an overall "bargain of convenience" with the Soviet Union. "Normalization" must not be allowed to mean acquiescence in the perpetual denial of human freedom in one half of an artificially divided Europe.

In this spirit, we ask you, Mr. Ambassador, to take into consideration our short remarks and recommendations on certain points of interest for Americans of Hungarian descent who are deeply interested in forming and executing U.S. policies toward Hungary. We realize and understand that these policies are and can be only a part of an overall policy toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Still, we feel that the U.S. Ambassador to Hungary should be acquainted with the views of the Hungarian-American community in general and of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation in particular. This memorandum intends to convey our views on the major issues of American-Hungarian relations. It may help you in performing your complicated and arduous task in Budapest, but it also assist us in presenting our opinion to the authorities of our Government.

Neutralization of Hungary

Although there is a stiff Russian resistance to this idea demanded by the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, we suggest that the road to accomplish of lasting stability in East Central Europe

has to lead through guaranteed neutralization of the states of that area. Thus, this would create actually three Europes: the Western powers, the buffer-zone of East-Central Europe and the East European super-power: the Soviet Union. In the near future this kind of development seems to be the only way to achieve relative freedom, economic and political independence in the Central European area.

The Holy Crown of Saint Stephen

In the course of recent diplomatic negotiations, it has become apparent that a possibility exists of releasing the Holy Crown into the hands of the Communist government of Hungary in an effort to promote American-Hungarian relations. We strongly oppose this possibility.

The Crown was entrusted to the US for safekeeping until such time as Hungary became free again.

Unfortunately, Hungary is still occupied by Russian troops. The government is kept in power by Soviet bayonettes only. The "improvements" in Hungary are superficial and not substantive. We strongly feel that outstanding issues between the two governments should be solved by an American policy which does not require the abandonment of the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen.

Negotiations on reduction of military forces in Central Europe

We strongly believe that even a procedural agreement which results in excluding the possibility of placing the problem of Soviet troop stationing in Hungary on the agenda of the forthcoming MBFR conference in Vienna is a great mistake which would effect the fate of Central Europe and the hoped-for re-establishment of Hungarian sovereignty. We respectfully urge you, Mr. Ambassador, to use your influence to reverse the present position of the U.S. in the forthcoming substantive negotiations regarding the status of Soviet troops in Hungary.

The effect of tensions in Yugoslavia

The unrestricted use of Hungarian territory by Soviet troops provides an ideal beachhead for Soviet imperialism in the strategically located

crossroads of Central Europe and a direct overland access to the Mediterranean.

We Americans of Hungarian descent are afraid that, in the case of a Yugoslav upheaval following the death of Tito, Hungary will be used by the Soviet Army to invade neighboring Yugoslavia as Nazi Germany used her in April 1941. This possibility and also the possibility of a permanent Soviet presence at the shores of the Adriatic Sea should be kept in mind at the MBFR conference by our Government.

The most-favored-nation status

We are not opposed to extending Hungary this special treatment if the Budapest Government is willing to make meaningful concessions to the people of Hungary by granting them more personal, economic and political freedom.

There are scores of violations concerning basic human rights in Hungary today. Ridiculous censorship, the undeniable persecution of the Church and the religious, denial of free movement for many citizens, the extortionate duty taxes on gift parcels sent by Americans to Hungary - just to mention a few out of too many - provide sufficient cause for denial of the Most Favored Nation status at this time. In this context we support our President's view-point expressed in his State of the World Message to Congress, 1973, which emphasizes the point of linking "the expansion of economic relations with improved political relations."

Cultural exchange

Cultural exchange became a propaganda tool in the hands of skilled agents of the Budapest Government. There are continuous efforts of the Communist Hungarian authorities to discredit American Hungarians in the United States prominent in public life and to infiltrate Hungarian-American churches, associations and other cultural, educational and political organizations. Such activities have greatly increased in the recent past.

We suggest a U.S. policy which does not curb the free flow of information and people between the two countries, but widens it to allow two-way traffic on this effective way to understanding. Right now it is traveled only in one direction, from East to West.

from Hungary to America.

We are convinced that cultural, scientific and intellectual exchanges and the flow of information between the peoples of the two countries should be expanded. This can be done only by broadening relations to encompass a more representative cross-section of interests and of the interested. Inevitably this requires a vigorous policy to promote uncontrolled and unimpeded people to people exchanges arranged outside of government channels.

We sincerely hope, Mr. Ambassador, that you will pursue the implementation of such a policy.

Trade

The recently concluded Claims Agreement between the United States and Hungary opened the door for large-scale trade opportunities.

We endorse any attempts which would promote economic interdependence with the West and lessen the neo-colonial dependence of Hungary on the Soviet Union both as a supplier and as customer. We cannot however, support a trade policy which inadvertently discourages opposition forces of freedom within Hungary.

We should also never forget in our economic dealings with Hungary that trade involves fundamental issues of national security, human rights and freedom. We hope that you will act positively on this knowledge on behalf of American national and of Hungarian human interests.

Mr. Ambassador we members of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation believe that if we are to accomplish any degree of respect for human rights in Hungary through negotiations, we must not ourselves be afraid to communicate. We also believe, however, that if we do not, publicly and frequently, accentuate the differences between freedom and Communism, so wonderfully performed by the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, then any negotiations will be empty and fruitless.

We are clear-sighted enough to recognize the bitter realities of dealing with Communist Hungary. But let us recognize also that no amount of economic, trade, cultural and scientific exchange can accomplish true peace unless we are unafraid to speak up for what we stand for.

HUNGARIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS' FEDERATION INC.

the
adaptive
relations
of
Europe

Alexis Burgess

Eastern Europe

they share in it. This kind of crime is the theft of public property. This behaviour has become so common that many no longer consider it theft, on the grounds that what is public belongs to everybody. In this field the bad education of the young is the result of the bad example of the grown-ups, and particularly the parents. Here one can see one of the saddest failures of a socialist society, which neither the youth organizations, nor the school, nor religious education are able to check.

To this must be added that in these countries with their penetrating bureaucratic organization the art of living consists partly in the art of getting around rules and regulations. Already at a very early age the children become aware, so to speak, of two kinds of delinquency. There is the real kind of delinquency, and there is the other which everybody indulges in and which allows people to counter too arbitrary bureaucratic measures with some human tactics (particularly by taking out their income with illegal jobs when the pinch is felt at the end of the month).

Political Indifference

The fact remains, that vast numbers of young people show an apparently boundless lack of interest in politics, and that the party in power is aware of its failure to stir political support in depth. To enroll the young in various movements is clearly not enough to develop their political conviction where the school has not succeeded either. A recent inquiry has shown, for example, that in several secondary schools of Belgrade 62% of the pupils knew nothing of the essential changes brought about by socialism in society; that 67% did not know when and where the Communist Party of their country was founded, and that 70% could not name the main founders of Marxism. Is there any other explanation for such ignorance than indifference?

A more detailed inquiry conducted recently in Hungary in the

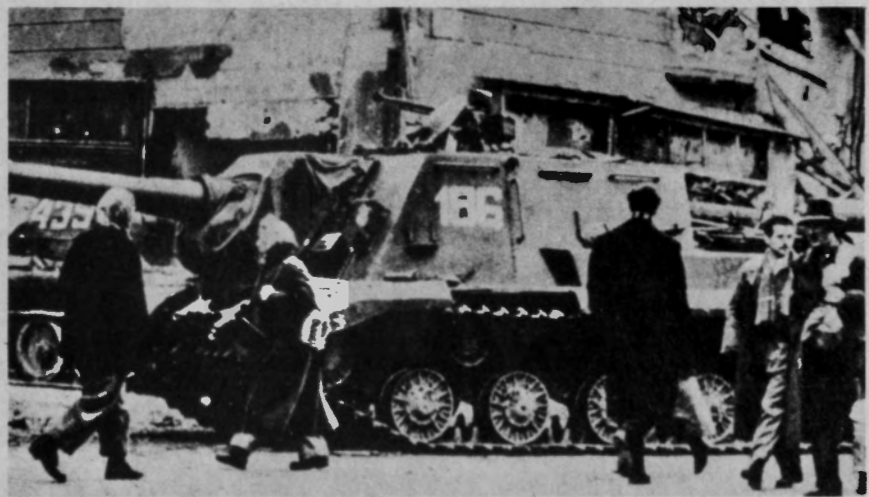
opinions of 669 young people belonging to 28 youth clubs has shown that, from the political point of view, 28% could be considered as having a "correct" attitude, 11% showed signs of opposition, but 61% were indifferent, uncommitted, and at least convinced that, whether one was interested or not, "nothing could be done about it." The results of another inquiry among 1,000 workers, published in February 1972, showed that those under 25 were the least interested in politics.

Prospectus

When we compare the situation of the young with regard to political power with that of their relation with the ecclesiastical power, we do not mean to say that this is a complete picture and still less that the two powers are the same. We simply think that this comparison leads to a useful analysis.

In Central Europe the young give the impression of a youth whose growth is arrested. The authorities put before them an ideal which demands them to conform to a model which is neither inspiring nor convincing. Since there is no satisfactory alternative, all they can do is withdraw into a passive indifference which sometimes amounts to an interior emigration. This goes hand-in-hand with a show of impatience at the slightest opportunity, even if this impatience remains rather inarticulate because it can never be vented in public.

There is no point in trying to predict the future political developments of countries where the young are frustrated in this way, nor in suggesting remedies to halt the decline of an authoritarian socialism which seems incapable of stimulating the creative participation of the younger generation. These youngsters cannot escape from their country by emigrating, as they can in Ireland or Portugal. In Yugoslavia they have been obliged to let them go and half a million have left, but is leaving a solution? (Continued on page 8)



Eastern Europe - A Political Perspective

The years since the fateful Prague spring of 1968 have done much to shatter many Western preconceptions about Eastern Europe, but not all of them. Before then, it seemed as if Khrushchev's different "Paths to Socialism" was the accepted doctrine and the era of "peaceful coexistence" was dawning. The world was rudely awakened by Soviet tanks in Prague. But was this enough to initiate new thinking, much less, moral outrage? In some cases, yes, but for the most part, the West has preferred to let the issue die in favor of the lure of "detente" and "peaceful coexistence." Yet it has been plainly evident that boundaries of "peaceful coexistence" stop at the borders of Eastern Europe. The very essence of the "Brezhnev Doctrine" is inextricably opposed to such a relationship. According to Brezhnev, it is the "Duty of the Soviet Union and of all Communist states to assure the irreversibility of Socialist revolutions and

regimes and to resist Western efforts to export counter-revolution to Communist countries." It is not the objective of this article to detail the Soviet version of "peaceful coexistence" but, in the face of President Nixon's attempts at an "era of good feeling" between the U.S.A. and Russia, it would be wise to examine the present relationships between the East European states and their big brother, the Soviet Union.

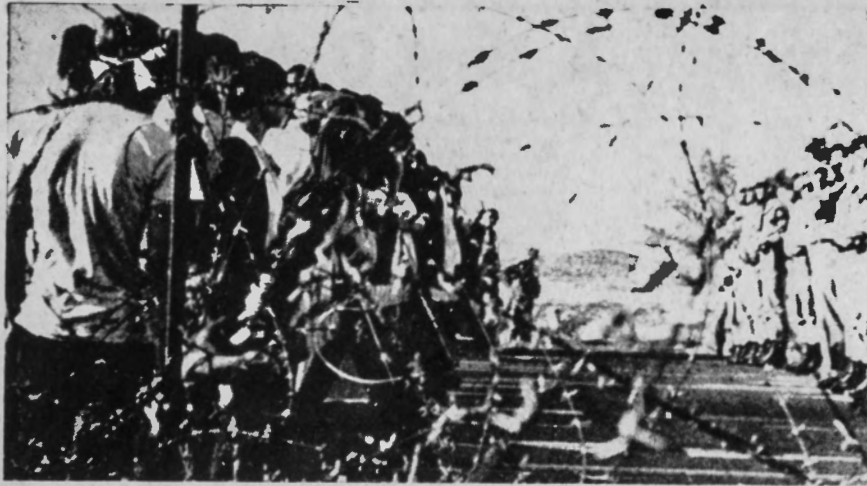
To begin with, it might be worthwhile to discuss a little elementary political geography of Eastern Europe. Essentially, Eastern Europe is divided into two "tiers". The northern tier consists of East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The southern tier consists of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania, and Bulgaria.

Historically speaking, the northern tier nations have always associated more with the West, while the southern tier countries have mostly been tied to their slav

brother to the East, Russia. To understand this geographical concept is to grasp one of the basic underlying conflicts between Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Essentially it is this: the deep cultural and political ties that the Northern tier-countries have with Western Europe has caused deep problems for the Soviet Union. At the same time, these nations, notably Czechoslovakia, have proven themselves to be more industrially efficient and technically refined than the Soviets. In short, what this has done is to create a technology gap which has further pushed these nations towards the West. It can be argued that Rumania, of the southern tier is in the same position, but this, as a future article will bear out, is largely false. Although Rumania has been a chiefly economic renegade, it has close cultural and ideological ties with the Soviets. Why would Rumania take such a stand? Essentially, it is a question of technology. The extremely inferior prospects of the

Soviet Union hold little attraction as a prospect for trade to Rumania and the Northern tier nations. It seems much more profitable and sensible to trade for the more advanced products of the West. Thus, combined with a strict adherence to the Soviet ideological line in Rumania has been the growing degree of trade between Rumania and the West. There is little doubt that Eastern Europe is undergoing great strains in her relations with the Soviet Union.

There is also little doubt that the Soviet Union is prepared to take whatever measures necessary to keep Eastern Europe in line. Yet the gnawing fear that a tide of anti-Russian sentiment will sweep Eastern Europe is occupying the minds of many in the Kremlin. The fear that one renegade will lead all is not as imaginary as one may think. The subject of ensuing articles will be the examination of some of these would-be Eastern European renegades.



Ideology

The Moral Society

by Gary Jarmin

The peace, harmony, freedom and happiness of any political or economic system ultimately depends on its moral basis. The goal of any society should be to create the environment where man can fully realize his creative and spiritual desires. Only good men can make a moral society and only a society based on morality and the pursuit of goodness will be everlasting.

The Roman Empire fell because it became morally weak and corrupt. Likewise, the French Revolution ended with anarchy and finally the establishment of a military dictatorship under Napoleon because it was inspired by atheist materialist philosophies which destroyed much of the moral basis of French society. On the other hand, we can see that the American Revolution was successful because it reaffirmed those basic morals and values "endowed by our Creator."

External not enough

The primary problem throughout history and especially in this century is that man has been seeking to structure a peaceful and free society by depending too greatly on external methods or ideals. Two of the most graphic examples of this, although very far apart in their nature, are totalitarian Communism and political democracy.

Communism has failed dramatically to create a society of true peace, freedom and happiness not only because of its economic and political totalitarianism but also because it is downright immoral in its essence.

Great "Immoral" Society

Communism is rooted in materialism, setting forth that

economic determinism is the sole guiding force in history. Communism does not concern itself with moral or spiritual values but believes that man's "human essence" is formed by economic (materialistic) conditions. Consequently, Communism has sought to create a "new man" by imposing external materialistic controls while denying any underlying spiritual or moral principles. Thus, it has created the great "immoral" society.

Political democracy, although mainly external in form and ideal, did have at least a moral foundation to a certain degree. Largely due to our forefathers' religious belief that man's conscience is sacred and transcendent of any government or religious control, the idea of individual freedom was strengthened.

This belief in innate individual rights and the Rousseauian theory that the "general will" of the people was absolute and would never work against its own interest became, to a large extent, the philosophical foundation for democratic society.

Shortcomings of Political Democracy

Democratic society has developed as the champion protectorate of the "open society," assuring expression of all views and assuming external subjugation of falsehood "where reason is left free to combat it." Unfortunately the open democratic society, as a structural end in itself, lacks a unifying moral goal capable of realizing true peace, freedom and social justice.

The kind of freedom which proclaims only "don't do unto each other" is a negative freedom. No interaction or unity among men is encouraged in this kind of

environment, which will eventually lead to the disintegration of the society itself.

An open democratic society is highly desirable in its outward form but has many weaknesses when not accompanied by a moral goal.

The open society often suffers from various maladies like cultural, historical, and moral relativism. Cultural relativism refrains from all judgment of any activity in a society having other than a Judeo-Christian, technological culture. Historical relativism views truths, morals, and values that were valid in the past as no longer relevant today. The most dangerous, however, is that of moral relativism, which is typified by saying, "Well, if those Vietnamese want to be ruled by Communism, that's their business, not mine."

Necessity of Moral Goal

The open or totalitarian society can prevent its own collapse only when it is centered around a common moral vision. Since Communism rejects man's innate spiritual existence and moral character, then its collapse is inevitable. Merely substituting a controlled society with an open one, however, will not produce a lasting result unless a moral goal is clarified and propagated.

To create a moral and open society, each man's common spiritual existence and purpose must be recognized on the individual and social levels.

All men are essentially spiritual beings, children of God, who reflect a divine nature. Man's nature is founded upon the polarity of spirit or heart (feeling) and mind (reason) which seek, respectively, love and truth. To become a whole being, one must realize the qualities of love and truth.

(Continued on page 8)

Determining Value

by Sang Hung Lee

Marx asserted that the value of commodities was determined by the quantity of labor necessary to create a product. The more labor expended, the more value it created. He only looked upon labor quantity as being the sole determining factor in creating the value of commodities to prove his theory of surplus value. He wanted to prove that the worker was being exploited and not receiving his full due for the products he created. However, the cornerstone of this theory is what determines value. Marx's assertion that labor quantity alone determined value was wrong. The following excerpt from Dr. Sang Hung Lee's book, COMMUNISM A CRITIQUE AND COUNTERPROPOSAL helps to shed light on this matter.

Let us now offer a counterproposal in order to overcome this false theory of labor value.

To begin with, what do we mean by the essence of commodity value? If Marx's theory that labor quantity is the essence of value is wrong, then what is the real essence of a commodity value? First, let us consider the relation between commodities and daily necessities. It is true that for things to be commodities they must be bought and sold, but even before exchange, they are daily necessities. Man has always sought the basic necessities such as food and clothing. His method of obtaining them has developed through the ages, however. In the ancient age of the so-called gathering economy, fruit, roots and tree bark were found in the fields and mountain areas. In the pastoral and farming age, living necessities were obtained through raising stock and agriculture.

What is a Necessity?

With the mass production of daily necessities, the monetary system developed, shaped by the modern industrial economy. Daily necessities then came to be regarded as

commodities. Thus commodities are actually the necessities of life. Therefore even though a commodity is bought and sold, its significance is that it is a necessity rather than an article of exchange. Basic necessities are those things necessary to satisfy daily human desire. As such, they must have been necessities before any exchange of commodities. Since they have the quality of satisfying human desire, they must have utility. Now, as in the past, buying and selling are only the methods of procuring basic necessities and fulfilling desire. These actions are not the ends in themselves. Buying and selling are directly comparable to bartering in the past. So we find that an article is a commodity because it is a necessity of life.

Anything which is not fulfilling the desire of man can never become a commodity. Some may contend that since antiques are collected by only a few people, they are only commodities. But such a way of thinking is not correct. Antique collecting itself stems from desire. Therefore, the collection of antiques satisfies a desire. This quality of satisfying a need is utility. The efficacy of antiques is that they appease a need. Man's needs are endless; he constantly seeks to improve his living conditions. As the culture progresses, this need becomes more complicated and intricate. So no matter how small a group are served by them, antiques are nevertheless necessities of life.

What is a Commodity?

As we have seen above, commodities are necessities of life which satisfy the needs of consumers, who buy the commodities because of their usefulness. These qualities are called "efficacy" in relation to customers. Yet an article does not become a commodity just because of its efficacy. Efficacy is only the quality that consumers relate to. Exchange is not made by the consumers alone but by both producers and consumers. Accordingly, a com-

modity should have qualities that are needed by both consumers and producers.

The quality that producers relate to is profitability. Profit is acquired by producers and entrepreneurs through the exchange of commodities. They make the articles only because of their desire to make the profit. Thus anything can only be a commodity when it has the twofold nature of efficacy and profitability. Without these two qualities, they cannot be called commodities. No matter how great is the efficacy of an article, without profitability, it cannot be a commodity. Free goods such as air and sunlight are good examples of this relationship. Efficacy and profitability are the results of the relationship between commodities and man. From the consumer's point of view, a commodity must have efficacy, while from a producer's point of view it must have profitability. That is to say, without producers, profitability does not exist. Thus, without both the consumer and producer the goods are mere articles with neither efficacy nor profitability. However, even though these two qualities are created by the relationship between a commodity and man, there must be an objective quality within the commodity. Without this, the commodity could produce neither efficacy nor profitability.

And Value?

Then what is value based on? It is nothing less than the utility of commodities, which is used by man to gratify his desires. Utility is objective and has nothing to do with the subjective point of view of the producers or consumers. Utility and efficacy are what gratify man's desire; they seem to be the same, but actually efficacy is the quality of a commodity seen from the consumer's point of view, thus being subjective. Efficacy differs according to person and time. For instance,

(Continued on page 8)

\$\$\$\$\$ and Revolution

by Reed Irvine

The idea that poverty, or at least the poverty of the industrial proletariat, would inevitably generate violent revolution and usher in the age of Communism was popularized by Marx and Engels. Engels was very explicit in predicting revolution in England on the basis of this theory and his observations of poverty prevailing in the large English cities in the mid-19th century. He wrote:

...the English middle-class, especially the manufacturing class, which is enriched directly by means of the poverty of the workers, persists in ignoring this poverty...hence, the absurd freedom from anxiety, with which the middle-class dwells upon a soil that is honey-combed, and may any day collapse, the speedy collapse of which is as certain as a mathematical or mechanical demonstration...hence, also the deep wrath of the whole working class from Glasgow to London, against the rich, by whom they are systematically plundered and mercilessly left to their fate, a wrath which before too long a time goes by, a time almost within the power of man to predict, must break out into a revolution in comparison with which the French Revolution, and the year 1794, will prove to have been child's play.

The fact that the British working class, in spite of their undoubted poverty, disappointed Engels' dire predictions, for which he was so rash as to claim mathematical certainty, ought to have brought some discredit upon his basic hypothesis. Either poverty was not the spur to revolution that he imagined it to be, or the English workers were not poor.

Since Engels was able to write a thick book detailing their poverty in 1844 and Marx repeated the performance 20 years later, it was clearly not the absence of poverty that confounded Engels' prophecy. This clearly suggested that the assumption that poverty would necessarily set off a bloody revolution was wrong. However, this assumption was absolutely essential to the Marxian interpretation of the historical process with its inevitable collapse of capitalism. It was too much to expect the founders of "scientific" socialism to reexamine one of their basic premises simply because it did not square with observed facts. They persisted in their faith. Nearly 50 years later, an older but no wiser Engels was still predicting a dark economic future for England which would usher in a socialist revolution.

It is fascinating that the assumption whose fallaciousness destroyed Engels' credibility as a prophet in the 19th century, should have become widely accepted doctrine a hundred years later. Had there been some startling changes that had forced a reappraisal of the validity of the basic assumption?

Contrary to the expectations and predictions of Marx and Engels, capitalism produced a steady and in many cases a spectacular amelioration in living conditions of the working classes in Europe and the United States. This did not mean that poverty was eliminated. In not a single one of the great industrial countries has there been either a successful or an unsuccessful attempt at revolution on the part of the impoverished segment of the population since Engels last reiterated his gloomy prediction.

Nevertheless, the idea has persisted that misery and poverty must inevitably generate revolutions -- and, indeed, in recent years this has been expanded upon. It is widely

believed today that all, or nearly all, violence and revolutionary activity has its roots in conditions of poverty and misery.

Let's take a look at Cuba. The overthrow of Batista by Fidel Castro on January 1, 1959, was not effected by a mass uprising of the campesinos. Nor did the urban proletariat rise up and fling off their chains. Castro had an army of scarcely 1,000 that had been holed up in the rugged mountains of eastern Cuba. His attempt to arouse the people to revolt in 1958 failed because the great majority of the people of Cuba preferred to lock themselves in their homes. Batista was hated for his oppression and cruelty, but the opposition was mainly expressed by the university students, the writers and the artists -- not by the "downtrodden masses." When Castro marched to triumph in Havana, Batista's 20,000 man army offered only token resistance. The will to resist had been broken by the steady drumfire of propaganda playing upon the hatred of Batista and picturing Fidel as a great liberal, a modern-day Bolivar who was to restore liberty and constitutionalism to Cuba.

It was only after the event -- for some, long after -- that Castro's revolution was discovered to be destructive, negative and vengeful.

Over three-quarters of the Cuban population was illiterate, a high ratio for an underdeveloped country. Labor's right to organize was legally recognized, and, if anything, the government had erred on the side of giving in too easily to labor's demands. A variety of fringe benefits and social security provisions were provided. Conditions were sufficiently attractive in Cuba that workers in the poorer neighboring countries flocked in by the thousands to assist with the sugar harvest. Strict immigration controls were applied to make sure that they went

back to their own countries after the harvest season. In those days Cuba had to police her shores to keep people out -- not to keep them in.

Castro Capitalizes on Opposition to Batista

Politically, opposition to Batista had long been building up. Castro and his group were but a part of this. Castro's strategy was to dramatize himself as the chief opposition leader. He landed with 80 men, all but a dozen of whom were captured or killed. At this point he was obviously not a very formidable threat to Batista, and he had a serious problem. In the words of Herbert Matthews, then a correspondent for the *New York Times*:

"Before Fidel Castro could become the symbol and the leader of the rebellion he had to prove that he was still alive and just beginning to fight."

On February 24, 1957, when Castro had at most a dozen followers, the *New York Times* published the interview with him which Matthews had obtained in Sierra Maestra a week before. Overnight this obscure and impotent revolutionary achieved the status of an internationally known hero. But he was still only one out of many opponents of Batista.

How widespread the opposition to Batista was is also indicated by Matthews, who tells us:

"The lawyers, the doctors, the teachers, the Rotarians, the Lions, the Baptists, the women--almost every element of society, were in the struggle." It is significant that Matthews says nothing about the "impoverished masses" in his catalog of the supporters of the opposition to Batista. His only mention of labor alludes to the failure of Castro's efforts to call a general

strike to topple Batista. Matthews notes, "He also had the idea of a general strike, but the two attempts made later showed that the trade union workers around Havana could not be organized, inspired and led from the distant Sierra Madre."

Labor, as a matter of fact, was criticized by the Castroites as dilatory and lacking in revolutionary zeal. Some labor organizations had remained faithful to Batista until very late in the revolution. The revolutionaries felt that if labor had given them more support, they might have succeeded much sooner.

Basically, Batista's forces were demoralized by the remorseless criticism from home and abroad. His army was weakened by desertions, and it eventually gave up before the numerically insignificant force that marched on Havana under the leadership of Fidel Castro.

What Castro Promised

What did the people expect of Fidel Castro's revolution? Was his appeal the promise of correction of profound economic ills by the introduction of socialism enforced by the "dictatorship of the proletariat?" Castro convinced the world that he stood for the restoration of constitutional liberties, free elections and democracy. The official economic program of his Twenty-sixth of July Movement, which was first published in Mexico in 1957, emphasized the primacy of these political objectives, saying:

"It is necessary that our economy expand in order to provide work and a better standard of living to the Cuban people. This does not mean that the economic goals should prevail at the expense of political goals. Otherwise we should be satisfied with the present government of Batista. Cuba must recover its political

liberty, get rid of Malthusian government and establish a democratic government which plans and carries out its economic developments, the sooner the better. The longer we lack political liberty, the deeper become our ills."

This document emphasized that the program of the movement was to improve economic conditions not by trying to redistribute the nation's wealth, but by increasing production. It criticized previous Cuban governments for thinking too much in terms of correcting social injustice by a "fundamentally distributive economic policy," i.e., one which relied on increasing wages and fringe benefits.

In words that would soothe any capitalist, this document stated, "There is no economic development with magic solutions." Development was to be speeded up by encouraging industrialization through planning and protection, with the main reliance placed on private entrepreneurs and private investment, including foreign investment. It promised the creation of "an efficient and honest State which by its action stimulates, protects and supports private enterprise."

After an on-the-spot study in July 1959, Herbert Matthews wrote in the *New York Times* of July 15:

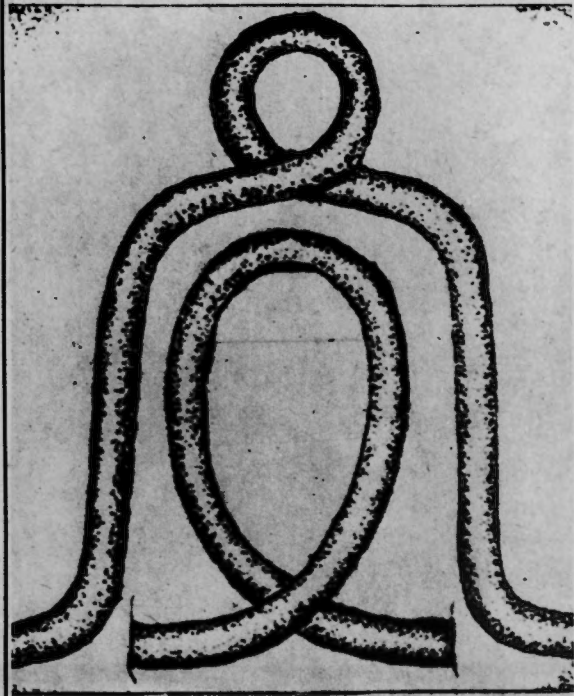
"This is not a Communist revolution in any sense of the word, there are no Communists in positions of control."

Eighteen months later Castro publicly boasted that he was himself a Marxist and had been one since his youth.

Cuba clearly did not fall prey to the Communists because the masses were depressed and despairing. It was cleverly plucked by what stands out as one of the most brazen frauds of the century.

The Odd Couple: Psi And Soviet Ideology

by Louis Fournier



Newly designed Soviet dowsing rod

It happened in the days of Soviet scientist T.D. Lysenko on a smaller scale: a scientific uproar swelled through the USSR for world-renowned physicists, biologists and geneticists against the ideological rigidity of the Communist government. The Kremlin was backing the views of geneticist Lysenko, who consistently thwarted the theory and practice of Mendelian genetics in Soviet science because of their threat to Marxist-Leninist thought. The state had decided that Mendelian genetics, the theory of relativity, and various expressions of quantum physics were hazardous to the mental hygiene of the Communist mind and therefore could not be valid. Against this flagrant arbitrariness of scientific policy, voices of famed scientists like Andrei Sakharov and Zhores Medvedev rose up, declaring their nation to be on the brink of intellectual disaster.

After heated controversy, the state conceded that, for the sake of its atomic weaponry and space programs, perhaps it had best allow certain areas of science to be true. Some rearranging of Marxist lives on science had to be done, causing some political inconvenience. The Soviets' first and foremost concern is always for their ideology, even to the point of arbitrary suspension of what might otherwise be considered universal truths.

The convinced Communist believes that the human "spirit," or consciousness, is derived from matter; as man improved labor tools and production facilities, his brain cells began to develop a certain degree of intangible awareness that became confused by religions to be an immortal soul. The spirit, the Communist contends, dies with the physical body because it originated from it and is inseparable from it. Therefore only the material exists; God and the concept of a spirit world where the undying souls of men live on through eternity are bourgeois fantasies, the Marxist will tell you. Consequently, Communist Party lines on any discoveries that lead in the direction of a new cosmogony--the perception of life in the universe--insist on materialist interpretation. This means of scientific determination obviously narrows the scope of the theoretically possible and infringes on philosophical (perhaps even

spiritual) speculation that may lead to a better understanding of man's place in the world. The Communist mind, it seems, is content--complacency supercedes flexibility.

The Rise of "Psychotronics"

Today Communism faces what may be its most severe internal scientific ideological testing: modern Soviet science has for many years been plumbing deep into psychic phenomena, a field of study commonly referred to as parapsychology in the West and "psychotronics" in Russia. Intrigued by the vast potential of psychic forces, the practical Communists are delving into the utilitarian properties of ESP-related areas, also known as psi (the twenty-third letter of the Greek alphabet, used as a general term for the whole field of the paranormal). As early as 1963, the Kremlin edicts proclaimed the biological sciences, which in the USSR include psi, the top priority research subject. In 1970, the Soviet government was spending up to 21 million dollars on psychic phenomena research and had some 20 or more such research centers across the Soviet Union. Why do they maintain such an ardent interest in such an apparently immaterial area? Here are some examples of psychic feasibilities already revealed across the Communist bloc.

Pragmatic Parapsychology

In 1967 the Russian magazine *Maritime News* reported that orbiting cosmonaut were shown to be able to communicate telepathically (by thought) more easily than people on earth. What's more, the magazine stated, a psi-training system had been incorporated into the cosmonaut training program; telepathic ability was thought to be useful in sensing and avoiding oncoming dangers.

Long-distance hypnosis by telepathy has long been regarded as the most perfected and investigated of all the Soviet psychic experiments. Leningrad and Moscow research centers are busily engaged in refining the hugely successful telepathic techniques already developed in controlling a person's consciousness with mental hypnosis. Dr. Milan Ryzl, a prominent Soviet psi investigator, stated that some years ago the Soviet government began a project to apply this kind of telepathy to indoctrinate and "re-educate" various "anti-social" dissident elements. The Kremlin, it appears

would like very much to have at its disposal a fool-proof system of long-distance hypnotic suggestion to "induce individuals with out their being aware of it, to adopt the officially desired political and social attitudes." Dr. Ryzl says.

Reliable sources claim to have seen official confidential Western reports on the development of a Soviet spy system based on clairvoyant psychic abilities.

Today in Czechoslovakia there is a Center for Scientific Astrology backed by the Communist government. Astrology, or, as they call it, cosmo-biology, is being examined for application in medicine and psychiatry, including birth control. In 1968, Dr. Eugen Ionas, sponsored by the Czech Ministry of Health, established the Astra Research Center for Planned Parenthood at Nitra, based on astrological findings.

In 1925, the Czech army issued a handbook on ESP for its troops entitled "Clairvoyance, Hypnotism, and Magnetism" by Karel Hejbalik, which served as a forerunner to contemporary military applications.

The Soviet army has conducted extensive research on dowsing rods and had great success with what they call radiesthesia--the ability to find underground caves, springs, pipes, tunnels, wires, etc., with a divining rod. (According to Sheila Ostrander and Lynn Schroeder, authors of *Psychic Discoveries Behind The Iron Curtain*, the first and third U.S. Marine Divisions' engineers were using divining rods in Vietnam to detect enemy bunkers and booby traps.)

The Soviets have discovered "eyeless sight," or skin photosensitivity, which they call biointrospection. According to their tests, human skin has the ability to actually "see" objects. Their experiments with blind persons have opened up a whole new field of perception for the blind.

Photographing the Spirit

Perhaps the most famous Soviet development in psychic research is Kirlian photography. Years ago a young Russian electronic technician named Kirlian made the discovery that if something were photographed in a high-frequency electrical field, it would show up on the plates as a swirling aura of radiant colors, vibrant contours of patterned lights -- a cloud of radiation billowing excitedly all over and around the photographed object. Kirlian spent over 25 years building and perfecting his enormous special camera before

enough scientific attention was brought to his efforts, and the Communist regime today subsidizes the technician's work with a comfortable income. Kirlian's astounding photographs aroused great conjecture and theory around the world and presented a scientific and philosophical problem of profound significance--the total impact of which may not be settled for some years.

Water of Life

The lust of the Slavik peoples for an expanded awareness of life--the legendary mystic soul--is a basic trait of their character. There is a spiritual drought on in Communist Eurasia that lays open the ugly wounds of materialist totalitarianism on the ruthlessly suppressed spirit of those lonely inhabitants. The inner desire to a fuller self-realization is almost instinctual--the man dying of thirst will surely, if he is of sound heart, struggle desperately to find the water that will bring him life. In the Iron Curtain countries, a cry goes out deeply from the spirit for a relief of consciousness, perhaps some expect to find it still in the forsaken hope of the Communist Utopia. Others are already aware that their search must turn elsewhere than external politics; forced at large from the overtly religious quest, the educated citizen of those lands finds the new trappings of his inner years in science.

The same compelling push for a higher fulfillment of life lies just below the surface of both religion and science, and the Communist society breeds that gnawing urge by its emphasis on science. The seeking researcher now looks to science for more than just an expansion of the material knowledge of the physical world; especially in the realm of psi research, hope springs up for a new understanding of the human and his significance, a new view of the self and its place in the cosmic scheme, a new comprehension of man's internal character and sensitivity. The Communist psychic researcher finds himself a blend of "pure" scientist, philosopher, artist, theorist, and--probably much to his amazement--speculative theologian. Many noted Soviet scientists are convinced that psychic study is the crossroads of all the disciplines--science, the humanities, history, etc. Because of the extraordinary discoveries made in psi, they are sure that it is involved, in the words of Soviet

(Continued on page 8)

THE RATIONALISTS

by Alexius Jerome Burgess



The Nobel Lecture by ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN



Translated by Alexis Klimoff

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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 judgment and expression can only give heart to the others around the world who are fighting to preserve their right to the kind of freedom 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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"Did Plato have a battery?
 Did Mozart have 220 volts?
 In candlelight, Uncle, your heart opens up."

CANDLE IN THE WIND

by ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

Translated by Keith Armes in association with Arthur G. Hudgins

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Czechs Cite Violations

(Continued from page 4)

candidates. There is no freedom of choice and very often not even freedom of privacy in a voting booth.

Article 23 Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

As has been stated in summary under Article 4 the Party controls the employment of the Czechoslovak people. Qualifications are recognized only when and if they are to the advantage of the Party. The economic life of the country is subject to Party's direction.

Article 25 Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age.

This article guarantees also provisions for old age, provisions to which the person, while employed, has been contributing his proper share. The Czechoslovak law does not provide for social security payments to persons who, after having lived abroad, decided to spend their old age in Czechoslovakia.

Articles 26 & 27 Everyone has the right to education and to participate in the cultural life of the community.

While basic education is provided, the right to higher education is denied. The applicant is not judged on merit but on the political standing of his parents, who are forced to approve of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. Views opposing the Party line deprive the applicant of higher education and participation in the cultural life of his community.

Article 28 Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

The Czechoslovak Communist regime does not recognize any social or international order that would benefit the individual. It ac-

cepts those orders only in such situations and instances where they benefit its own aspirations.

Value

(Continued from page 6)

when two people, A and B, buy bread, the efficacy of the bread will be different to each one: A may eat because he is hungry while B may use it as food for his dog. Also the taste of the first piece of bread one eats is different than the last piece. Such efficacy (effective value) is variable according to different people, time, and circumstances because it is subjective. Utility, on the other hand, is constant because it is an objective quality. That bread is useful as food is its utility. Since this is an objective quality, this utility is constant whether the bread is eaten by a dog or a man. There is nothing other than this utility in a commodity. When this utility is expressed in terms of value we call it use value, which is the only value of a commodity. Marx maintained that there is a two-fold nature of commodity value, but he saw the essence of commodity value as labor. We have already shown this to be erroneous. Based on the value of its utility, a commodity brings forth efficacy to consumers and profitability to producers. Although Marx did recognize the use value, namely utility, he didn't regard this as the cause of exchange value, but rather considered labor quantity alone the source of exchange value. This caused his economic theory to be full of errors and contradictions.

The Moral Society

(Continued from page 6)

To create good, love depends on truth. To know what is good, man needs truth. Without knowing truth man's love can be misdirected or become self-centered. A society of self-centered, uncaring men would lead to eventual disaster: in the long run, both the individual purpose and the purpose of an organized society would be jeopardized.

Man's desire for democratic freedom is only an outward reflection of his desire to know true spiritual freedom. Thus democratic society exists to complement this inward purpose. Mankind has been striving to realize his inward purpose through the world's great religions. This striving for spiritual truth should never be restricted: in fact, it should be socially encouraged.

This striving for moral selfhood, centered on a spiritual truth, can likewise serve as a common center for social unity. A proton and

electron unite to form an atom because each contains a common aspect of character which heads towards the purpose of constructing an atom.

Man can likewise be united because *mind* or *spirit* are common to every person. The quality of a moral society reflects the degree of unity among men centered on realizing fulfillment of their common spiritual essence. The most moral act is that which brings man closer to his spiritual fulfillment and unity with God, the source of love and truth.

Since this purpose is common among all men, then the standards of a moral existence should eventually be applied universally. Our goal as a people should be to create a moral and unified nation. That nation in turn should create moral and harmonious world. Only when such a people, nation, and world exist can the long cherished hope of a truly democratic world of peace and freedom be realized.

Growing Up in Eastern Europe

(Continued from page 5)

It is at ground level that believers must find out how Jesus Christ can be the way, the truth and the life for a human being living in their actual political, social and cultural environment. It is not, apparently, at all certain that this aim could be achieved by clinging, even heroically, to a traditional image of the Church as a hierarchical organization. The very fact that the party in power can so easily put up with this kind of image seems to prove that we are right in at least asking the question. What is to be saved is not the Church, but the young people. These young people are not an abstraction, but a vast number of living human beings that cannot be saved without their own cooperation.

On this point the political and religious leaders are more or less confronted with the same problem. They are aware of the fact that the scientific and technological changes of our days are in the hands of the best qualified workers, the technicians and the intellectuals, without whom all social life would be paralyzed. But they also realize that the young people who will take over in these key sectors of society, are, for a large part, beyond their reach. Yet, the new and necessary initiatives can only be worked out with them. Is this really impossible?

Aggression

(Continued from page 1)

NVN/VC provoked 2,842 incidents including 2,063 heavy armed attacks causing death and destruction to Khmer citizens and their property. Recently, some 3,000 North Vietnamese families were implanted on Khmer soil near the Cambodian-South Vietnamese borders in the Parrot's Beak region.

The violations of the Paris Peace Agreements by North Vietnam and the Vietcong are flagrant. The following are the identified NVN/VC units, each operating in its zone of action in the Khmer Republic as made public by the Khmer High Command on May 10:

1. In the zone of the Mekong, to the north of the Khmer-Vietnamese frontier, lie two heavy armed battalions, Z-10 and K5, two infantry regiments 207 and 272 of the NVN 6th and 9th Division; and a battalion of sappers 1/40.
2. Five autonomous battalions, 570, 512, 62, 511 and 32 are located between the Bassac and the Mekong Rivers.
3. To the north of Takhmau and Saang, in the southern part of the Khmer Republic, is the heavy armed battalion 1/30.
4. In Takeo are the Headquarters of the NVN 1st Division and its three regiments E-44, 101-D and 1/25.
5. In the eastern part of the country are located the heavy armed regiment 211 (north of Prey Veag), battalions D1, D5 and D3, regiments 570 and 271 (north and west of Svay Rieng).
6. In the provinces of Kompong Thom, Siem Reap, Kompong Chhnang and the Great Lakes lie the autonomous C-40 Division with its regiments 201, 203 and 204.
7. Other large units, including the Central Committee of National Liberation Front are implanted in Kratie and in the northern region of the Khmer Republic.

The number of the Vietnamese Communist troops on Khmer soil is no fewer than 45,000 strong, about 15,000 of whom are engaged in combat activities supporting the Khmer insurgents.

As the North Vietnamese and Vietcong continue their war of aggression against the Khmer Republic, they present a serious barrier to peace.

Nevertheless, on July 6, 1973, the Khmer Government issued a six-point declaration on peace negotiations, reaffirming the consistent Khmer policy of seeking peaceful settlement to the war. As it has always advocated, the Khmer Government

continues to advocate free contact among Khmers to settle their own internal affairs without foreign interference. We know very well that among the Khmer insurgents there are a good number who want to solve Khmer problems among Khmers. But the presence of NVN/VC troops on our territory represents a barrier to free contact among Khmers of all sides.

American bombing has stopped. For peace to return to the region North Vietnamese aggression must also cease. The Khmers and the Vietnamese are totally different people in origin, culture, tradition and way of life. What right do the North Vietnamese have to occupy our territory and impose a war of destruction on us?

The solution to the suffering and war does not lie in forbidding one side to continue all activities while leaving the other to apply its design of conquest without check. The Khmers soon would be dominated, then absorbed by the more aggressive North Vietnamese.

Rather, it is necessary for peace and justice-loving people in the world to demand that North Vietnam abide by the 1954 Geneva Agreements, its solemn declaration recognizing Khmer independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the 1973 Paris Peace Agreements.

The Khmer people have only one desire, that is, to live in peace in their own country, without foreign interference. Do they not have the right?

Human Rights Vigil

(Continued from page 1)

indicated that the petition was specially aimed at making known to leading Soviet dissidents, particularly Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, that they are heard and listened to in the West. "We feel they need to know that groups in the West concerned about human rights applaud their courageous efforts and are not inclined to accept the obvious attempts of the Communist authorities to belittle and demean their outspoken actions," Fournier said. "They must not think they are crying out to an uncaring world; this is also part of the aim of our Human Rights Vigil. We encourage everyone who shares our concern for the preservation of human rights to sign the petition and return it to FLF, whereupon we will send it to the Soviet Ambassador." (Background information and the petition appear on page 3.)

The Odd Couple

(Continued from page 7)

biologist Edward Naumov, "in the multiplicity of living experience Parapsychology is summoned to study the nature of man himself, and that includes all man's activities." He feels that the new view of man will be compiled by psi from "reports" from research in biology, medicine, geology, electronics, physiology, to name a few. Psi, he thinks, is an all-prevailing force that links man with every part and aspect of the universe. Soviet science, then, finds itself at an historic junction, dramatically illustrated in the provocative discovery of the "second body" of man in the remarkable Kirlian photographs.

Serious Business

The point immediately made is this: what does the discovery of this "second body" of colorful energy photographed around human, animal and plant life mean to the views of man reflected in world affairs today? Is this a sensationalist way of hyperbolic alarm? It isn't; the Communists are deep in a day-to-day struggle to pin their revolutionary psychic findings in line with their own ideology. In the early 1930's, Stalin sent out word that he wanted the "secret" of telepathy exposed as a proper, normal physical function; that decay established the basic Soviet perspective on the paranormal which continues to this day. Communist authorities are striving to prove that psychic happenings occur according to specific laws which can be discovered and worked out. The Marxist definition of "materialism" includes the laws of scientific occurrences and the political theorists are busily working to contain the awesome implications of psi to standard materialist science. What faces the Soviets is an uneasy sense akin to trying to prove the sun is green because that's how it looks if you see it through dark glasses. The Communists find themselves squaring off against far-reaching religious and metaphysical considerations as a result of their own scientific endeavors. They stand at a historic crossing point of science and religion, trying to hold both to a socialist, arbitrary application of a Pitandellan "right-you-are-if-you-think-you-are" whimsy. The specifics of this challenge will be examined in a forthcoming article.