

U.S. Psychiatry Investigates Soviet Abuse



Dr. Alfred Freedman, President of the American Psychiatric Association, reporting on his recent trip to Moscow's Serbsky Institute.

On November 2, Dr. Alfred Freedman, President of the American Psychiatric Association, disclosed details of an historic examination of the notorious Serbsky Institute, reputedly the site of psychiatric examinations and confinement of Soviet political dissidents, by an international team of psychiatrists.

The stimulus for the visit was an international symposium on "Aspects of Schizophrenia" in Moscow. On September 9-10, in discussing the then up-coming meeting, the American Psychiatric Association decided to send Soviet psychiatrists a statement of their concern about psychiatric abuse and a request for meeting with Soviet psychiatrists, stating also that they would be willing to discuss any psychiatric abuse in the U.S. and other countries.

Initiative taken accordingly, Dr. Freedman cabled Professor A.V. Snezhnevsky of the Institute of Psychiatry of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R.: "The American Psychiatric Association has for several years been concerned about the alleged involuntary confinement of political dissidents in psychiatric facilities. Several individual members of this association have made inquiries of Soviet colleagues about this matter and have reported to us that they have received no answers. Repeated charges that involuntary psychiatric confinement has been used unjustly and without regard to human rights, including the suppression of political dissent, cannot be ignored.

"Therefore, the American Psychiatric Association calls on Soviet colleagues to meet with a

delegation of distinguished United States psychiatrists, in an appropriate professional setting that will assure medical confidentiality, to discuss involuntary psychiatric confinement and specific cases where abuse has been alleged and recognizing that it may be necessary to consider individual patients.

"The growing suspicion the world over that the profession of psychiatry lends itself to abuses of this genre is cause for alarm by psychiatrists everywhere. If such abuses exist, they should be publicly exposed and corrected with all possible dispatch. We very much hope that Soviet colleagues will join us in this effort, especially in the light of the joint agreements between our nations on scientific cooperation."

Shortly thereafter he received an affirmative reply. Dr. Freedman was later informed that the meeting was organized in response to his cablegram. "The cablegram," he said, "had caused concern in Moscow and one official told me, 'You gave us a big headache.'"

A Breakthrough

Dr. Freedman discussed his feelings at the outset of the meeting. "The response represented an important breakthrough, since it was the first time our Soviet colleagues agreed to frank discussions of the allegations. Nevertheless, I doubted that very much could be achieved in one meeting without preparation of a select group who could inform themselves concerning the background of the allegations. I also felt such a group should in-

clude experts in forensic psychiatry, including some members who could speak Russian. I wished to carry out the intent of the APA message, to arrange a preliminary meeting. In discussion with my colleagues, I found that several other non-Soviet psychiatrists were equally concerned about what might appear to be a white-wash. On the other hand, we felt that even though the meeting was not organized as we had proposed, this response from the Soviet psychiatrists could not be casually turned aside. For the first time, we would have an opportunity to gain first-hand information."

The meeting consisted of a brief lecture on Soviet forensic psychiatry, a presentation of six case histories of patients known in the West to be political dissidents, and a demonstration of a commission interviewing a patient.

Grigorenko

At the beginning of the meeting the possibility of visiting General Grigorenko in a distant hospital was raised. Four psychiatrists, two American, and two Soviet, went to see him. But he refused to speak to them without using his own interpreter, his wife.

What should be done

Dr. Freedman emphasized the limiting circumstances of the recent meeting. "The Serbsky meeting," he said, "confirmed what I had anticipated. To reach meaningful conclusions, it would

be necessary to organize a carefully selected group with experience and expertise in forensic psychiatry, including a lawyer or a judge with special experience and facility in this field. Also, the presence of Russian-speaking psychiatrists would be invaluable.

This group would have to prepare itself very carefully by studying the Russian system of justice and Soviet psychiatric practice, as well as forensic psychiatry. There would have to be opportunity for full discussion with appropriate Soviet individuals, private examination of patients and private discussions with various staff personnel. In other words, we would have to organize as we would in this country if we were asked to make a site visit to an institution in which allegations of abuses of one sort or another were made. I raised this proposal with our Soviet colleagues. While they did not reject it outright, they took a dim view of its feasibility. Finally they said that it was a decision that would have to be made by the Ministry of Health, if I wished to pursue it. However, they looked upon this request as an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. It was often stated that "We don't criticize you for the events which occurred at Tuskegee (where the syphilis experiment took place) and, therefore, it is unwarranted for you to criticize us."

"There was serious doubt expressed on their side that our concern was based upon humanitarian considerations for individual freedom and the desire to keep psychiatry around the world from

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North Vietnam Steps Up Preparations For Attack

by Louis Fournier

Open Approach

Whatever remote hopes still lingered among even those who were most prepared to give the Communists the benefit of the doubt (including some Communists themselves), events in the sadly besieged Republic of Vietnam have borne out the most common viewpoint: the Vietnam cease-fire agreement is a forsaken, forgotten piece of fantasy. Speculation is freely rampant in the Pentagon on the timing of the long-expected new Communist offensive: one source in intelligence emphasized, "It's not a matter of if. It's only a matter of when." Some see the date at its earliest as this month, and others count on it coming no later than three or four months.

But all concerned parties know that the North Vietnamese have no intention of relenting their ultimate aim of a complete Communist takeover of the South; indeed, if they can get them, Cambodia and Laos as well. They themselves, while of course maintaining the expected diplomatic "I-don't-know-a-thing-about-it" stand, are militarily keeping no secrets about their plans. South Vietnamese government sources say the Communists are dispensing with the small-time concealed infiltration tactics; "They're barreling down wide, well-built all weather roads, like an American freeway, deep into the South," one Washington embassy official said.

On November 4, two major government posts were overrun by Communist forces after fierce day-long battles involving full-scale conventional war maneuvers. The Viet Cong delegation in Saigon willingly made public an order to Viet Cong troops in the same area to escalate the fighting with the proclaimed aim of seizing ground which it said that the government had taken since the cease-fire, despite the fact that Saigon has legal jurisdiction over those grounds. More recent reports include the major Communist shelling of Bienhoa airfield a scant fifteen miles from Saigon and massive drives against South Vietnamese positions along the Cambodian border. Saigon later announced that it had conducted a large air strike of over fifty fighter-bombers against the Viet Cong-held town of Loc-ninh 75 miles north of the capital in retaliation for continuous Communist cease-fire violations. (Loc-ninh is of major strategic significance in that it is expected to be both the southern terminus of the all-weather Communist supply route being built from the DMZ and also to be designated the capital of the Viet Cong's imaginary "Provisional Revolutionary Government.") In-

telligence sources indicate that the Communist forces amassed in the South are the strongest they have been in the last decade; the short-range strategy is clearly seen to be stepped-up pressure on government troops and increased local flare-ups.

A New Awareness

What is of special significance in this bleak scenario is the crucial fact that the Communist plan is very overtly laid out, and everyone recognizes it for what it is. Even the diplomatic delicacy of letter is largely by-passed in the exchange of very plain references to very well-realized battlefield facts. The Hanoi regime is taking no pains to remotely disguise their efforts; more amazingly, all the world is coming to readily acknowledge its awareness of the Communist lust for land. Particularly startling are the voices that are reiterating the theme, "Oh, yes, we know the Communists still aim to take South Vietnam." Canada disgustingly withdrew from its participation in the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) of the Vietnam cease-fire because of its view that the Com-

munist were not about to observe the terms of the Paris agreement.

But there were protestations from even more revealing quarters. Neils Laugesen, a Danish correspondent covering the ICCS activities in Vietnam, held a remarkable interview with an officer of the Polish delegation to the ICCS who requested to remain anonymous.

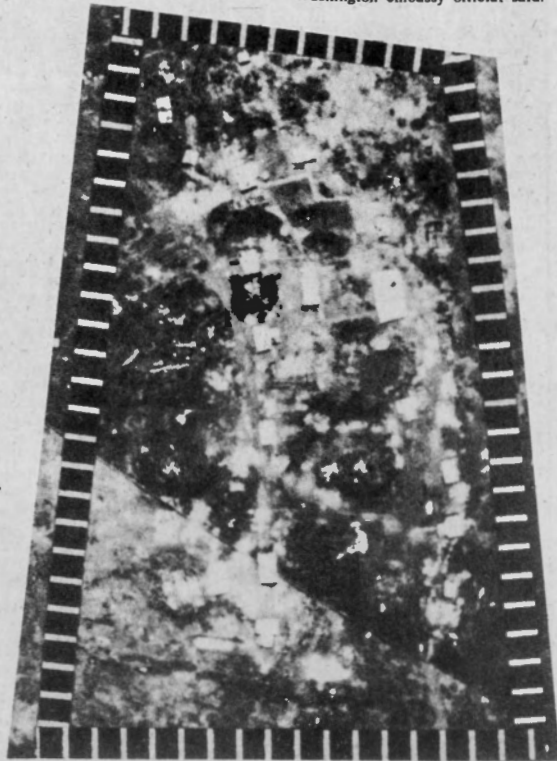
Laugesen: What is your estimate of the cease-fire agreement?

Polish Officer: The Polish and Hungarian members arrived here filled with propaganda about the cease-fire being a great victory for the Vietcong. Therefore we were very surprised to see that the South Vietnamese army was so strong. And the soldiers' morale has improved, the many desertions formerly heard about have been brought to an end, and one notices an increasing national feeling.

Laugesen: The Paris Agreements provide that elections are to be held "as soon as possible" to settle South Vietnam's political future. When do you think they will be held?

Polish Officer: It is obvious that both parties now want to consolidate their power and create a strong ad-

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Recent structures built by North Vietnamese at Loc Ninh airfield in South Vietnam.

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How Detente Satisfies Soviet Hardliners

by Neil Salonen, President,
Freedom Leadership Foundation

All the myths of "detente" must by now have been completely shattered after witnessing such events like the recent Mid-East War, renewal of Soviet military build up in strategic weapons, and the stepped-up repression of dissidents within the Soviet Union. The Soviets themselves have helped to dispell the myth of "detente" in recent statements criticizing "leftist" theorists who felt that detente was a sell-out to the goal of world Communist revolution.

Isvestia on September 10 carried an article which helped to clarify that "peaceful coexistence" in no way means turning away from the Soviet goal of establishing worldwide Communism. Those who ignore this reality, the newspaper said, quoting Lenin, "simply deserve to be put in a cage and exhibited alongside the Australian kangaroo."

Peaceful co-existence Equals Class Struggle

The article written by A. Bovin, one of the official Soviet government organ's political observers,

emphasized that fears of "leftist" theorists are unjustified in view of the close conjunction between peaceful coexistence and class struggle. Simply put, this means that progress in the field of peaceful coexistence means progress in the field of class struggle. Bovin wrote: "The more deeply the principles of peaceful coexistence are implemented, the more confidently the people fighting for a ... radical change of the sociopolitical conditions in the world can act."

One of the most important points which Bovin made, which Dr. Henry Kissinger should read, indicated that bourgeois ideologists, are mistaken if they believe that cooperation with the socialist states "will open new horizons for capitalism and make it possible to strengthen the mechanism of its functioning"! In essence, Bovin is saying the mutual advantages in cooperation between Socialist and capitalist countries is solely for the purpose of luring capitalists on to their destruction. Bovin, although he made clear that war between states was undesirable, said there are other means of changing

sociopolitical conditions through "civil and national liberation wars, uprisings and mass revolutionary movements." Obviously the Middle-East war, which the Soviets found advantageous to support to the hilt--even to the point they began to introduce troops in the conflict, could conveniently fall into this category.

Bovin restrained himself from advocating exportation of revolution or counter-revolution. However, he says, "when a people has arisen against its oppressors or when the forces of progress are fighting against the forces of reaction, then helping this struggle is the sacred right and duty of those who take seriously words about democracy and progress, social justice and national freedom." Of course it is obvious what the Soviets mean when they talk of democracy, social justice or national freedom--namely the establishment of a Communist state--is what they have in mind. In addition, Bovin continued to claim the Soviet Union had the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. However, the Com-

munists naturally consider it a violation of the principle of peaceful coexistence for the West to act similarly.

In such a rare and frank article on the intentions of the Soviets in pursuing "detente" it leaves little question to the fact that their goals for promoting Communist revolution are as firm as ever.

Soviet interpretation of detente

In addition to the Soviet moral, political, and military support for the Arabs during the Middle-East conflict, they have also broken the spirit of the SALT agreements by developing their MIRV capacity, thus projecting the USSR into an assured nuclear superiority over the U.S. In fact, the Soviets couldn't have done a better job in shattering the myths of "detente" than if they had acted with that objective in mind.

Had the U.S. approached detente with a clear understanding of the nature of the ideological struggle between Communism and the Free World, particularly exhibiting an understanding of Communism itself, then we would not have led ourselves to foolishly believe that genuine, peaceful relations with the Soviets were permanent, nor that the Communists were giving up their aim of worldwide Communist revolution.

Our major error in dealing with the Soviets is that we have forgotten that the men in the Kremlin are devout Marxists-Leninists who will never give up the goal of establishing Communism throughout the world. Those who don't believe it perhaps should "be put in a cage and exhibited alongside the Australian kangaroo."



Soviet tanks in the Mideast.

Keep The Cause Alive!

World attention is a fickle phenomenon, and the world press is no less so. Two months ago the illustrious bastions of the liberal establishment, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* were running countless articles relating the plight of Soviet dissidents; most centrally, Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov. Citizens groups were signing petitions and carrying anti-Soviet placards in an unprecedented public outcry against the Soviet regime. Two months later the headlines, the petitions, the placards have dwindled--another "cause" has passed the American public by.

Yet the plight persists, and indeed, it worsens. For men like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, their well-being depends upon publicity, upon world opinion. It is world opinion which the Soviets are constantly concerned about. It is world

opinion which they will bend to. Yet, can it be that we Americans have become so callous as to so easily forget? We hope to never be accused of that in this newspaper. For it is not only a reflection of an international attitude but a national one as well. We cannot pretend to be morally conscious and concerned at home while oblivious to moral questions abroad or vice-versa.

A Grim Event

The case of Andrei Sakharov is an urgent reminder of the necessity for such moral concern. On October 13, after over a month of silence in the face of world opinion, the Communist Party press journal *Kommunist* led a scathing ideological attack upon Sakharov, denouncing his now famous paper, *Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom*. Calling it "sheer slan-

der" and denouncing him as a tool of "enemies of socialism," the Soviets began their vilification campaign anew, confident that Watergate and the Mid-East crisis would drown their words out. They were right. A week later, on October 20, after Sakharov had defended Israel against the Arabs and denounced Soviet prodding of the Arab attack, his life was threatened. Ostensibly, two Arabs who described themselves as member of the Black September Organization gave Sakharov what can only be described as a clear threat to his life. Interestingly enough, one of them spoke fluent Russian and claimed to be a graduate of Patrice Lumumba University, well known as a Soviet school for terrorists. It also seems indeed strange that the KGB, which must so closely monitor Sakharov, would disappear into thin air. All these are, of course, only coincidental, yet it would seem quite handy if someone besides the KGB could be held responsible for silencing Sakharov, perhaps permanently.

Attacks Continue

On October 21, a day after the Arab threat, the anti-Sakharov campaign continued. In this case, they were attacks leveled towards the American Academy of Sciences, 40 of whose members had, on September 9, signed a petition which read in part: "The harassment or detention of Sakharov will have severe effects upon relationship between the scientific communities of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and could violate our recent efforts toward scientific organization."

Calling the petition "poorly concealed blackmail," the Soviets seemed to be reiterating that Sakharov's dissent would not be tolerated. Another coincidence of timing with the Arab threat, one must suppose.

The Defenders

Once again, the press is silent. Ironically, the only recent American statement came from a group of seven "peace delegates" to the Soviet-run World Peace Congress last week. The delegation, with such leftist notables as David Dellinger and Noam Chomsky, denounced the Soviets by calling their efforts a "campaign to silence not only our intellectuals, but any Soviet citizens who seek to express their rights." It added: "It is intolerable--absolutely intolerable--for anyone to set the limits of free speech or of the freedom to write and openly distribute and discuss what has been written."

It is a sad situation indeed when it is only from such quarters that American public outcry is heard.

Where are the placards, the speeches, the petitions? We of FLF will continue the fight but we cannot carry it alone, we need your help.

The public cry cannot stop and our conscience cannot be allowed to deaden for the sake of Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, 210 million Soviet people, and ourselves.

New Coalition Fights Extremes



Eugene Rostow speaking on the future of detente

On November 2 and 3, a new organization concerned with bringing the Democratic Party back to a centrist position represented by Henry Jackson and Hubert Humphrey, the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, sponsored a forum discussing the nature of the Presidency and the future of the detente. Coalition sponsor and program moderator Ben Wattenberg opened the meeting by saying that the Coalition was to provide a "force for the mainstream of American liberalism."

In keeping with this approach, the panel discussions and audience responses reflected a rational and balanced approach to these issues. In discussing the Presidency, panel members Harry McPherson, John Roche, and Richard Bolling, looked beyond the personality of Richard Nixon to focus on the nature of the office itself and the roots of the present problem. McPherson, former special Counsel to Lyndon Johnson, cautioned against a reactionary circumscription of the power of the Presidential office. Both John Roche, columnist, and Richard Bolling, 25-year member of the House, pointed out that Congress must assume a considerable responsibility for present abuse of Presidential power.

In opening the program on detente, Sidney Podhoretz said that "the question of detente is moral--should we have it at any price? And analytic--is there, in fact a real detente? Before the

Middle-East, few doubted the reality of detente. Now the analytic question is being asked...Both questions are urgently present." Panelists included Eugene Rostow, former Undersecretary of State, Dimitri Simes of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Paul Warnake, formerly with the McGovern for President campaign. Rostow's and Simes' cautionary arguments outweighed Warnake's "let's take whatever we can get" approach. Rostow emphatically stated that there is no detente--"it takes two for detente." Most responsible for creating the illusion of detente was Richard Nixon--"His trips to China and the Soviet Union were allowed to be perceived as a change in world power rather than as a triumph of personal diplomacy." As the debate continued, it became apparent that a new definition of "detente" is in order.

The Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM) was formed after the 1972 election to rescue the Democratic Party from the New Politics movement. Citing misguided areas of the New Politics, CDM stated in its Manifesto: 1) The belief that the security of the United States depends upon a stable and progressive world community has been challenged by the idea that the United States must withdraw from its international responsibilities and effect a serious diminution of its own power; 2) the belief that America is a great nation seeking to correct

major inequities has been challenged by the idea that American society is sick and guilty, morally bankrupt and inherently corrupt; and 3) The belief that order is essential to justice has been diluted by a cavalier attitude toward the tens of millions of Americans who are genuinely and correctly concerned about public safety and respect for law.

"Accordingly, we founding sponsors of The Coalition for a Democratic Majority issue this call:

To all who believe this society must end all forms of discrimination against some without recourse to discrimination against others;

To all who believe in a pluralistic political process in which no single group or class enjoys a special moral status;

To all who believe that, regardless of past miscalculations or failures of policy, United States involvement in international affairs continues to be necessary to the establishment of a stable and viable international order;

To all who believe that while our society must be vastly improved, it has not failed.

In assessing CDM, the Wall Street Journal said: "The CDM speaks for a tradition with sound political instincts and long experience in running the country. It will do its best to keep the opposition party from the hands of a remarkably irresponsible movement, and that is a healthy development."



Recent demonstration by Young Peoples' Socialist League near the Soviet Embassy. The statement they distributed said in part:

"We agree with the recent statements of Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn and others, including the testimony of those who have just left the Soviet Union, that stepped up protests in the West are crucial for those who dare to defy the Soviet state. The Soviet authorities delayed the trial of dissident Pyotr Yakir for more than a year for fear of its embarrassing consequences in the West.

"We call on American youth to join in this effort to help the heroic Russian dissidents, and to contribute to the building of an international movement for human rights. Only in a world in which ideas and cultures can freely develop and where no one people live under totalitarian rule, can we expect real peace to survive."

Cambodia and the U.N.: Will Justice Prevail?

by Gaffar Poang-Meth

Of the 32 member states which invoked the "purposes and principles" of the United Nations Charter and requested the "restoration of the lawful rights" of the exiled government of deposed Prince Norodom Sihanouk based in Peking, a foreign capital, none belongs to Southeast Asia. With the exception of China, none are Asian states: Albania, Algeria, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo, Cuba, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guinea, Iraq, Lybia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Romania, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

U.N. Charter

For these predominantly African countries to pretend to recall "the purposes and principles" of the United Nations Charter to unseat the legal government of the Khmer Republic in the U.N. is to trample the very purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter themselves.

In fact, Article 2, paragraph 7 of the U.N. Charter stipulates: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter..."

Furthermore, Article 20 of the January 27, 1973 Paris Peace Agreements requires the strict observation by all parties concerned of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Cambodia. It states that "the inter-

nal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of these countries without foreign interference."

In the Final Act of the Paris Peace Conference signed on March 5, 1973 in the presence of the U.N. Secretary General, the USA, France, the Vietcong, Hungary, Indonesia, Poland, North Vietnam, Britain, South Vietnam, the USSR, Canada and the People's Republic of China acknowledged their "commitment" "to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and neutrality of Cambodia and Laos" and "to respect them and refrain from any action at variance with them." They called on other countries "to do the same."

Khmer Internal Affair

The choice of political regime and system of government in Cambodia is *exclusively* a Khmer internal affair and falls *solely* under the domestic jurisdiction of the Khmer Republic. *No one else -- not the United Nations, nor a state or a group of states, aligned or non aligned -- can impose a choice on the Khmer people.*

That choice was made by the Khmer people sometime ago:

— On March 18, 1970, Prince Sihanouk was deposed from his functions as Chief of State by a unanimous decision of the Khmer Parliament, the representatives of the Khmer people;

— Following popular demonstrations throughout the country, the Khmer people demanded with great enthusiasm in the historical "March of National Concord" the

proclamation of the Khmer Republic on October 9, 1970;

— On April 30, 1972, the Khmer republican Constitution was adopted in a national referendum;

— On June 4, 1972, the first President of the Khmer Republic was elected by universal and direct suffrage;

— On September 3, 1973, the Khmer people elected their first National Assembly of the Republic;

— On September 17, 1973, the first republican Senate was elected.

Thus, the Khmer people made their choice: the monarchy was abolished, the republic was created and the United Nations has no right to force the Khmer people to disregard that choice.

Justice

Despite instigation by a group of non-Southeast Asian states to oust a Southeast Asian country from the U.N., the Khmer Republic has firm support from its Southeast Asian and Pacific friends. Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, New Zealand and Japan have acted in unity requesting the U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to allow the Khmer people the right to decide who should govern their country.

Unlike their African colleagues at the U.N. who pretend to know Southeast Asian problems better than the Southeast Asians themselves, the seven above mentioned countries told Mr. Waldheim that the Khmer problem is of "vital importance to the countries in the

region" hence the latter's viewpoints must be taken fully into consideration:

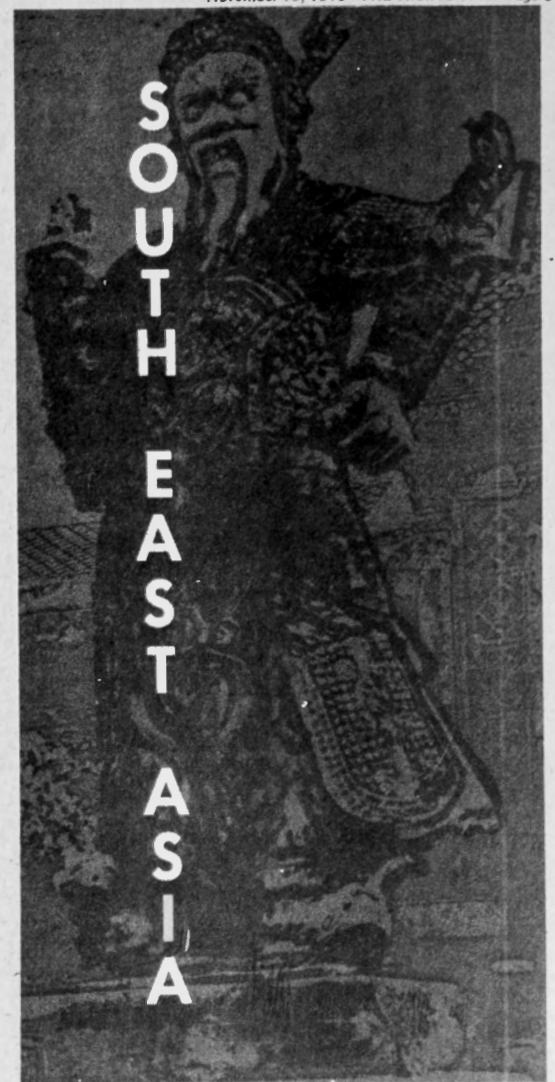
1) the Khmers themselves must be permitted to settle their own political problems outside of all foreign interference under any form;

2) such a political settlement must be realized by all local parties concerned;

3) the United Nations must not take any initiative which could prejudice the decision of the Khmers themselves and which could prolong the tragic ordeals and the loss of lives and properties in the Khmer Republic.

The President of the Khmer Press Association, Mr. Chhang Song summarized the problem well:

"Should the draft resolution by the 32 predominantly African states be adopted by the U.N. General Assembly, it would establish a dangerous precedent under which the U.N. could choose the government of a member state. Furthermore, a deposed head of state in exile -- Prince Sihanouk, who has been in Peking since his ouster by the Khmer Parliament three and a half years ago -- could appeal to a number of foreign personal friends to have a draft resolution adopted by the U.N. and thereby force the government of the land out of the world organization. Since this is a question of internal leadership, other member states might eventually face the same challenge from their own deposed heads of states."



KOREA



Why The Talks Stopped

by Gary Jarmin

On August 28, 1973, North Korea suddenly announced that it was going to break off the dialogue between North and South Korea. The reasons for such action, according to Kim Young Joo, the Co-chairman of the South-North Coordinating Committee representing Pyongyang, was to protest the alleged South Korean CIA abduction of Kim Dae Jung, the leading political opponent of Park Chung Hee in last presidential election. The North Korean Communists said that it was impossible to continue the dialogue as long as Lee Hu Rak, head of the South Korean CIA, remained the chief negotiator during the North-South talks. The Communists also charged that the South Korean government has "persecuted patriotic elements" through the strengthening of its anti-Communist policy and has attempted to perpetuate the division of the country by pursuing a "two Korea" policy.

The breakdown in the talks, according to substantial evidence, was actually something the North Korean delegation had been wanting for several months. The abduction of Kim Dae Jung merely gave them the excuse they needed to bring the talks to an end. Unfortunately, the reason why the Communists suspended the North-South dialogue has been clouded by the Kim Dae Jung incident, consequently going unnoticed.

To understand why the Communists cancelled the talks, it is important to re-evaluate their reasons for beginning them in the first place.

"Overthrow of Present Government"

It first must be made clear that the North Korean Communists never honestly believed that "peaceful reunification" was possible. In fact, in their "eight point peaceful unification formula" of April, 1971, the Communists clearly stated that the formula could become effective "only in the event where either a 'genuine people's regime' is established, or 'patriotic and democratic persons' seize power, in South Korea, after an overthrow

of the present government there."

Consequently, their position is that reunification will only be possible when the current South Korean government is overthrown.

The Communists further disclosed their actual intentions in the form of a policy thesis entitled "On the Mutual Relationship between the Unification of the Fatherland and the Revolution in South Korea" released on the very eve of the simultaneous announcement of the South-North Joint Communiqué in Seoul and Pyongyang on July 4, 1972. Among other things the Communiqué stated that unification could only be achieved "on the sole condition that an 'anti-imperialist, national liberation and people's democratic' revolution is achieved in South Korea." The Communists added that "to drive American troops out of South Korea has the top priority in the struggle."

It is obvious that the North Koreans looked upon the North-South talks as a tactic merely to enhance the possibility of trying to create a revolution in South Korea or weaken it sufficiently to launch another invasion.

Specifically, the North Korean Communists hoped to create a relaxed atmosphere in order to get U.S. troops removed from South Korea. They also hoped for a division within South Korea between various political factions, making its position rather weak and vulnerable to North Korean Communist exploitation.

Creation of 'Revolutionary' Force

Furthermore, as a precondition for a serious debate the Communists insisted that the Republic of Korea 1) abrogate the Anti-Communist Law and National Security Law, 2) disband anti-Communist organizations and prohibit their activities and 3) formally give up her anti-Communist policies. The obvious purpose of all these demands was to weaken anti-Communist sentiment in the Republic of Korea and create a "revolutionary force", operating under instructions from Pyongyang, to engage in subversive activities in the South.

Improving Image

Finally, as a result of the talks, the Communists hoped to improve their international image from one as a "hostile aggressor" to that of a friendly and respected nation. In this respect they have been relatively successful; however, their breaking off the talks and rejection of the Two Koreas United Nations proposal made by the South has dampened their growing acceptance abroad.

The reason the North Koreans abruptly called a halt to the North-South talks is that their expected aims never materialized. The Communists expected the political situation in South Korea to become confused and divided, with one side organizing as the pro-North faction. Quite the opposite has occurred - the Park government is in a much greater bargaining position of strength than ever before.

The exchange of delegations between Pyongyang and Seoul also confronted the Communists with another dilemma. Their own cadres, having been filled full of propaganda and lies about the

South, were in for a rude awakening when they visited Seoul, seeing with their own eyes the prosperity and great strength of South Korea. Furthermore, their own weaknesses were exposed when the South Korean delegation visited the North. Ultimately the deception had to become quite apparent of Kim Il Sung and shaking the belief in the 'absolute superiority' of the Socialist economy over that in the South.

Fearful Exchanges

The North Koreans actually feared cultural and family exchanges because they knew too well the weaknesses of their own system and the attractive advantages of democracy. Increased contacts along these lines in the eyes of the Communists would eventually endanger their own security.

Finally, the North Koreans were completely upstaged when President Park Chung Hee proposed both Korea join the United Nations. The Communists attacked this as an attempt to permanently divide both Korea. However, most international observers felt it was a good idea, particularly as a stepping stone to eventually bring about unification of the two sides.

Objective Thwarted

Basically, the Communists did not want to slowly build cultural, athletic, educational or scientific exchanges as a basis for the two sides to gradually develop confident and trustful relations with each other. The fundamental problem was that the Communists wanted immediate political results advantageous to their situation including 1) removal of the U.S. forces, 2) elimination of the Anti-Communist Law and National Security Law, 3) dissolution of anti-Communist organizations in the South, 4) creation of a revolutionary front answering to Pyongyang, and 5) greater international recognition abroad. Seeing that none of these things was coming to pass with the exception of the fifth objective plus



North and South Korean delegates discussing border incident. Talks reached an impasse due to North's intransigence.

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Man With A Cause

by Susan Miller

Dr. Jagjit Chauhan, the spokesman for the international Sikh community, visited the Freedom Leadership Foundation recently for an interview with FLF staff members. Dr. Chauhan, who was also the former Finance Minister of Punjab, has already visited Britain and parts of Canada and is now in the United States as part of an extensive tour to gain support for the goal to which he has decided to devote the rest of his life. "The mission for which I am here is the creation of an independent state of Khalistan for the Sikhs, who are a religious group in the state of Punjab in India." The main purpose for his doing so stems from the fact that India is coming more under the influence of the Russians; the Communist ideology is penetrating there in the social, cultural, and religious fields. Dr. Chauhan expressed his fears that "In the future--it may be within the next four or five years--India will go Communist. If she does, then we are not going to go

original bodies of this international council. That is the work that I am now doing."

When asked to explain the situation of Communism in India and why it was a threat, Dr. Chauhan responded: "Actually this last election was contested by Mrs. Indira Gandhi by having a joint front with the Communists. They had a common fund for fighting in the elections and they won many things. Due to the help of those Communists, Indira got a majority in the government. And now they (the Communists) benefitted. Some of them have joined Indira's party. They were still members of the Communist Party. They have just joined her party with a scheme. And the rest are sitting out just opposing her simply to be popular with the masses. Half of them have gone in in the ruling position. Indira is actually now powerless. She can't do anything. She has been so much entangled... she can't get out of this trouble. She is depending for defense on Russia; she's depending on trade on Russia--all of the trade is either with Russia or the east European countries.

of the action of the fools--she calls America 'reactionary fools.' There was no option for her--especially when China was there and especially when she wanted to attack Pakistan and this Bangladesh--she had to go to somebody for help. Because there is an economic crisis now she can't have trade with paper currency with any other country. So naturally she has to do this trade in rupies and only Russians are doing it. America won't do trade with paper money. And so other countries won't do that. Trade with Russia is the only option left to her with the bad economic conditions--with the badly needed defense requirements. This is my view. And I assure you I will come back next year also and you will see what I said in October, 1973, will be true in 1974."

Dr. Chauhan explained that the Sikhs want to create the state Khalistan as a show window in Asia. "Khalia" means pure; "tan" means land. "Land of the pure" is what they desire to create. According to Dr. Chauhan, Communism is the only solution that the Asian people are thinking of in order to solve their problems. "We want to change that thinking. Hard work and free trade and free ownership can also bring results--better results than anybody can bring about by taking all these tactics which Communists have advocated. If we are able to show to the people in Asia, poor countries, that there is a way of developing--and we are capable of doing that--it will be just like East Germany and West Germany." You can compare the difference between the development in East Germany and West Germany and choose that which you see is best."

The basis for the Sikhs' opposition to Communism is because "basically Communism is opposed to God. God loves us. That is the reason--one of the biggest reasons. Secondly, is that we don't believe in this confiscation of properties, doing no work, and everything owned by the state. We have been a free sovereign people and we want to be a free sovereign people--for all times to come. Communism fought this by nationalizing everything--they want to take away everything that an ordinary poor family even has got."

Dr. Chauhan went on to say, "That is why we are appealing to all liberty and freedom-minded people of the world to come to our rescue. This is the time to help us. If you will not, the rest of the free world will continue sleeping and not caring about us, and the consequences will be... that there will be nobody--a strong force rather--to oppose Communism there... and the sentiment of religion--it will absolutely vanish from that very land which is known for the God-loving people and the religion. That is the only good thing we have got in India. That will be lost."

"All I want is that this independent state of Khalistan will be in the best interest of world peace and will be in the best interest of India itself, and will be in the best interest of the free world as a whole."

Dr. Chauhan told Louise Berry, "Bring all the God-loving people under one banner... there should be only one call that all God lovers and all God-believers become a big anti-Communist force. It will be a very big force, I tell you... and that will give a new light to the whole of Europe--to the world. Now the young people are feeling that Christians are talking against Muslims, Muslims are talking against Buddhists, Buddhists are talking against Hindus, Hindus are talking against Sikhs--what is all this confusion? So, on the whole they say, oh, religion is all bad. It is the source of all the fights and all that. If it is done, that all God-loving and religious-minded people of the world should get together--what a great force and great novel idea that will break all the barriers! The non-believers in God are getting together. Why can't we get together? When we have got the same objective, why can't we sit together, discuss with each other? Every religion teaches us the same--it leads us to goodness, the forces of goodness versus forces of evil. That should be the fight."

"So--let us see what happens--how much we are able to move the world. I am trying my level best. I have now decided to devote the rest of my life to this cause--it may happen--it may not happen. I shall die for this cause. That is what I can do. I am a doctor and I have a very luxurious practice in India. I have got my own hospital and properties. I am ready to sacrifice everything and I shall fight it out and I assure you I shall succeed. It is no question. I have full confidence of that."

"She is talking against every other country. She has now involved so much with the Russians that there's no way out now. And that is what I am saying because Russians are more than intelligent. The Communist Party is better organized and that is one of the reasons why I say that this process has to go on further and further. She can't get away from this, and especially now in the international situation, she has got bad relations with China; she has got bad relations with Pakistan. She has got bad relations with Iran, which is the neighbor. She has no good relations even with Nepal, which is just a very small power. And she has now created unnecessarily enmity with America. And they call me a big stooge of America--stooge of CIA, stooge of whatnot. They are just trying to create distemper against America. They have been able to create all that--this animosity against America."

"America has been helping us even when we were in very hot waters. There was no reason to go against America under any circumstances, but she is talking about this so much... the atmosphere is so much hard with anti-American propaganda in India, that if in India you go, you won't feel safe. An ordinary American, which was loved a year ago--two years ago--now they think he is the biggest enemy of India, in spite of all the aid, in spite of all the help."

Why does Dr. Chauhan think India has taken this course? "Simply due to the folly of this lady. She wanted to please the Communists so she started abusing America, Nixon, and others, simply to get the publicity and to tell to the people that 'I am very much a socialist.' She called herself socialist and that she is against any



Dr. Jagjit Chauhan, crusader for freedom for the Sikhs.

for Communism. We have to live as a God-loving, free, sovereign people in that land of ours. This state is not a new idea--we had our own state before it was conquered by the British in 1847."

According to Dr. Chauhan, when the British decided to get out of India in 1947, the Sikhs could have established an independent Khalistan. However, they chose not to do so at that time based on the assurance of the Hindu leaders that India would do nothing to interfere with the religious, cultural, or social spheres of the lives of the Sikhs. "We just believed what the Hindu leaders said to us and now we feel that our confidence has been betrayed. If India has to go Communist--if India is to remain poor forever, we can't. We believe in hard work, we believe in liberty, we believe in free trade and free work--and that is the reason we want this state of ours."

Although there are Sikhs scattered throughout all of the states of India, the largest concentration is found in Punjab where they constitute 60 per cent of a total population of 11 million. And though India is the homeland of the Sikhs, they may be found all over the world in countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, England, America, Canada, Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Indonesia.

Dr. Chauhan was the General Secretary of the ruling party of the Sikhs in Punjab. "Now," he says, "I am the President of the Information Council of the Sikhs. In order to create that state we need international communication and for that purpose the international council has been constituted. The delegates from various countries--we had a north American conference here only a few weeks ago. And so we are just setting up the



Czechoslovakia

This poem was written by Chicago FLF member Margaret Hodes in commemoration of the 55th anniversary of Czech independence (see last issue of the Tide). It was inspired by her friendship with several recent Czech exiles.

*Oh Czechoslovakia, the beautiful land
Oh Czechoslovakia, now Communist contraband.
Full of Russian soldiers spreading rifle fears
To hardened faces with long dried tears,
Eyes once alive and shining free,
Now revealing inner poverty
And this is proletarian liberty?*

*Awake mankind! Let all men see
The horrors of the world of the unfree,
Where no light shines of future hope,
Where life is just a horrible joke.
Is this really what mankind is searching for
As a solution to the economically poor?
Economics alone can't be the solution
What we need is a revolution!
Wait, don't run for guns and knives
Aren't we trying to save men's lives?
A revolution of heart is what's in store,
The outcome is a world where all care more.
No law, no rule, no written creed
Can ever force a hungry man to feed
The mouth of a child who is more in need.*

*The cause is no love -- no thought for the others
The effect is this world -- this killing of brothers
Deal with the cause, not the effect
And finally this world will truly reflect
What all mankind has been searching for
Through aching years of historical sores
A world of goodness, peace and love to be
Free from economic and inner poverty.*

*Oh Czechoslovakia, the beautiful land
Oh Czechoslovakia, you must understand
That today on this earth
A new age is at hand!*

Margaret Hodes

FLF Organization, Professionalism Praised

The Right Report, published by Lee Edwards Associates, devoted one quarter of its latest issue to a profile of FLF President Neil Salonen. The Right Report had this to say about FLF and the Rising Tide.

In its brief history, FLF has been in the forefront of the struggle for human rights and freedom. Its very first public act in October, 1969, was a three-day fast for freedom in support of U.S. POWs in North Vietnam. Since then, FLF has, for example, protested the establishment of a liaison office by Communist China in Washington, D.C., sponsored a rally calling for the release of Russian Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko who criticized the 1968 Czech invasion; and published in its bi-weekly newspaper, The Rising Tide, numerous articles about Russian dissidents, long before most major newspapers.

Under Salonen, the Foundation has grown from a literal handful of 120 "centers" throughout the U.S. Membership has doubled since Jan. 1, 1973 because of more effective organization, the increasing professionalism of The Rising Tide and seminars of the World Freedom Institute, at which Salonen and others lecture hundreds of young people about Marxism and the moral alternatives. Ninety per cent of their members are between the ages of 17 and 27.

FLF is also conspicuous for its eagerness to do battle: "We're not

afraid to have our ideas tested against the ideas of other people," said Salonen. "The only thing we're afraid of is that our ideas won't be presented when the others are." The ideas do not constitute the usual brand of anti-communism, or Christianity. They are unique, and controversial, but have touched the minds and hearts of many young people.

"Our whole way of life is being

threatened," Salonen told TRR. "We're dedicated to doing something about that. There is no ideological center in America which gives clear definition of what the U.S. should be and how we should conduct the fight against communism. If we dedicate ourselves to the cause, if there's any God at all, He will bless our efforts and make us more effective."

More on Tide Award

On November 6, 1973, Congressman William Scherle (R.Iowa) inserted Dr. Andras Pogany's speech given in presenting the 1973 Freedom Award of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation to the Rising Tide (see Rising Tide, November 2.) In introducing Dr. Pogany's speech, Rep. Scherle said:

"Mr. Speaker, on the 17th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, I had the privilege of addressing a group of participants in that tragic and heroic grasp for freedom. Dr. Andras H. Pogany, president of the World Federation of Hungarian Freedom Fighters, delivered the following remarks at the anniversary celebration. The parallels he draws between the world situation 17 years ago and today cannot be ignored. As Dr. Pogany points out, we should not sweep the hard facts of

continued Soviet oppression under the rug simply because we are making an effort toward detente."

In a recent communication with the Rising Tide Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Co-President Istvan Gereben said: "Among the former recipients of the award are: President Nixon, Congressman Horton, Hogan, Scherle, Derwinski; Senators Dirksen, Dodd, Goldwater and Simpson; Walter Cronkite and David Lawrence. The Rising Tide is the first newspaper to be awarded."

"The clarity and forcefulness of The Rising Tide in conveying the true nature of Marxist ideology and Communist practice deserve recognition. We especially appreciate your paper's efforts in disseminating information about Hungary and our Federation's work."

Hungary Adjusts Herself to Detente

by Imre Kovacs
Coordinating Committee of
Hungarian Organizations in the USA

The stronger the demand for a freer exchange of ideas between East and West, the sterner the attitude of Hungary's Communist regime towards dissident intellectuals and critics. The regime is fighting its opponents within the Communist party in particular and its enemies from the outside in general.

Expulsion

Charging "subversion," the Communist regime indicted a young author for privately circulating a book he had written on human problems connected with industrial work. Twenty-eight-year-old Miklos Haraszti had first been reprimanded by the party a few years ago when, as a university student, he wrote a poem in which he declared by paraphrasing from the Bible that those who use force will be destroyed by force. He was expelled from the university and put to work in a factory. There he gathered the material for this new book which was barred by the Communist regime.

The trial, scheduled for September 26, was, however, postponed under pressure from the Italian Writers' Union through their protest to the Hungarian Writers' Union. When Haraszti presented himself at the courtroom, which was crowded with spectators—most of them young people and intellectuals, the chief judge announced an adjournment, claiming that it was necessary because of the illness of one of his colleagues who was assigned to hear the case.

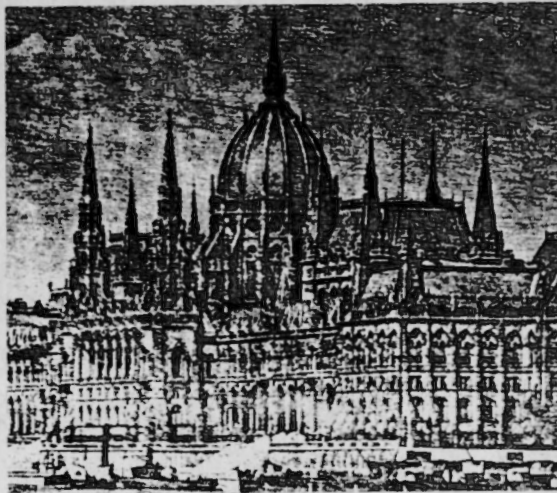
The former prime minister who was ousted by the Hungarian revo-

lution in 1956, sociologist Andras Hegedus, along with philosophers Mihaly Vajda and Janos Kis, was expelled from the Communist party on the basis of a resolution adopted by the Central Committee on May 14, 1973. In antiquated language the resolution, which can be regarded as a party verdict, charged the dissidents with expressing in their studies and criticism a "number of ideological and political views which are opposed to Marxism-Leninism and to the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Communist Workers' Party." Cultural commissar, Gyorgy Aczel, called Hegedus, (a convert from Stalinism to liberal and reformist views) an "intellectual turncoat," and a "renegade," for insisting that "the living standard and way of life in the developed capitalist countries represents the system of the future for those Socialist countries which have adopted economic reforms and accepted the market mechanism."

Turnabout

At an international conference of political and social scientists in Yugoslavia in the fall of 1968, the same Andras Hegedus who as prime minister had asked the Russians to extinguish the Hungarian revolution joined, along with six other Hungarians, his Western colleagues in signing the Korcula document, a brave declaration which publicly condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia. A private letter from Hegedus to the Central Committee restating his condemnation of Soviet brutality in strong terms led finally to his exclusion from the Hungarian Communist party.

To prevent future dissidence, Hungary's Communist regime has



Parliament House - Budapest

introduced a course called *Civic Knowledge* in the schools. For two hours each week the students are drilled on how to deal with problems of principle, and internal and international politics. The study plan relates the family, the working place, historical events, and literally the whole country to the Communist ideology. In seminar-type discussions the students are brainwashed on "Socialist" society and its functions, and on "Socialist" rites and rituals such as baptism or name-giving, weddings, and funerals. They learn the concept of the "Socialist" state, including its functions and class nature: the "Socialist" constitution; the Party and front (mass) organizations;

state administration; the legislative process; the judicial system; "love of the Socialist country;" and "defense of the Fatherland." They learn about the place of Communist Hungary in the world and, in the integrated "Socialist" states, the Warsaw Pact and COMECON, the international class struggle, and, naturally, the meaning of peaceful coexistence.

The subject of an advanced course is *Fundamentals of our Weltanschauung*, divided into three sections: the scientific concept of nature; social concepts based on dialectic materialism; and the basis of social policy. The objective is to lay the foundations of a Marxist Weltanschauung and to systematize the various elements that make up

the "Socialist" Weltanschauung. A Ministry of Education directive has required the subject taught as a regular part of the curriculum since the beginning of the 1972-73 school year. It may only be taught by teachers who have attended special preparatory courses and whose own "Socialist" Weltanschauung is impeccable—party members, possibly.

Tightening

In a wider perspective, the Hungarian Communist regime has introduced a series of laws, government decrees, and rules for tightening the control of the whole society. Mushrooming youth clubs, in which students and young workers debate issues and listen to Western music, have come under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Education and the educational divisions of the local councils. Writers, poets, philosophers, critics, producers, and composers are reminded to keep in mind the regime's guidelines for creative standards and restrictions.

The Hungarian parliament enacted a bill of law updating the Constitution on April 19, 1972 and another reforming the Code of Criminal procedure on March 23rd of this year. The new Constitution states that the "Marxist-Leninist Party of the workers' class is the leading force of society." In other words, all power is exercised by the working people. With this act, the Kadar regime elevated the Communist Party to a constitutional entity which speaks for itself.

The revised Constitution piously declares that the Hungarian People's Republic respects human rights, thereby arousing the suspicion that the Communist

regime's understanding of human rights is not in accord with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, and the International Bill of Rights, adopted in 1966, by the U.N. General Assembly. These two declarations will probably never be officially endorsed by Communist Hungary. Both contain provisions which are unacceptable to, or unobservable by, a Communist regime. And, whatever the new Hungarian Constitution may say, it must be remembered that even a formal recognition of human rights by a Communist regime will never give its citizens the same rights in practice that are enjoyed in a free society.

Open challenge coming from the youth, the ever-restless Hungarian youth, is characteristically met. On two consecutive March 15ths, a sacred, national holiday commemorating the 1848-49 Kossuth Revolution and War of Liberation, students have demonstrated against official speakers and the Communist regime. Last year they shouted for freedom, and eight of them were sentenced to prison. This year, according to Radio Budapest, several hundred made an attempt to stage a "nationalist demonstration." Forty-one of them were detained. The Minister of the Interior, the man in charge of the secret police reported to the Parliament that the yearly average of political cases numbered 250 arrests and indictments.

Communist Hungary adjusts herself to detente!

New York, Oct. 5, 1973



Struggling To Fulfill A Noble International Mission

The occasion is spectacularly dramatic: on the eleventh minute of the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of eleventh month of every year, everything in Canada shuts down for two minutes. There are no movements, no voices, no cars, trains, boats, no lights, no power usage at all except for planes in flight and hospitals and any other vital or emergency needs. A stern, solemn silence and complete cessation of all routine activity sweep through the second largest political land mass in the world, looking and feeling as if the residents of that giant country had suddenly whisked themselves magically away. The nation lies dark and quiet for two minutes, then abruptly resumes all its regular habits. This is how the citizens of Canada observe Remembrance Day, an annual statutory holiday in memory of Canadians who died during the two world wars. Canada perpetuates the noblest sacrifice of its soldiers killed in those epic conflicts with a dignity and national unity of observance that is truly moving.

First - Order Influence

But if this is a time of honoring people and events of the past, it is also an opportunity to review the Canadian position in the world today. Canada remains a troublesome nation to many Americans, and Canada is all too aware of the predominant American ignorance of Canadian government and politics, even history and culture. Still, this fact has largely acquired the casual status of most elements of common knowledge, and Canada today addresses itself to more pressing matters. Vying with

Sweden for second place in the ranks of the world's highest standard of living countries, Canada increasingly looks forward and outward to a more demanding role in the dramatic unfolding of global events. It is developing rapidly as a nation of first-order influence in a diplomatic role and finds its cultural significance being held in continuously higher esteem.

Particularly in its recent role in the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) of the cease-fire in Vietnam, Canadian foreign policy emerged as a point of international concern and sway. Canada had joined as a member of the original ICCS from the Geneva Conference of 1954—reluctantly (because the Conference was not under the aegis of the U.N.), but in what it hoped would be a firm resolution of combat.

Both the Canadian role and the old ICCS altogether soon became ceremonial functions, finally dissolving into mockeries of their prime purpose. Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Mitchell Sharp put it: "Despite Canada's best endeavours, hostilities did not long cease nor did the International Commission long control and supervise." Voices were heard at home against continued Canadian participation on the Commission, but the country held on, won over by the parties who saw her as a major symbol of objective non-involvement. The Ottawa government soon became possessed of a knowledge, second to none, of all aspects of cease-fire supervision in Vietnam; its clarity of vision in the vast jungle of diplomatic and military entanglement amid delicately acute in-

ternational pressures became highly regarded.

Conditions

When an initial peace "scare" occurred in 1968 with wild talk of a cease-fire only weeks away, Canada leapt to the diplomatic forefront with its respected record of supervisory experience. Anticipating the call to a new control commission following a new cease-fire conference, the government began a detailed appraisal of conditions it felt, judging from what it had learned in the past, had to exist in order for Canada to agree to new supervisory functions. Canada would participate, it was decided, only if it could be certain of a sure contribution to complete peace, orderly political and economic development in the area, assurance that no commitment be of indefinite duration, that the supervisory organization have adequate resources for its work and immediate access to any part of the territory to be supervised, and that its reports go to a continuing authority which would make them public. Canada was ready to enlist its services, in short, if it could feel sure of some promise of a successful peace with reasonable cooperation from the warring parties and provided Canada could play a useful role.

It was a turbulent four years from the opening sessions of peace talks in Paris in May, 1968, to the dramatic disclosure of October 26 last year by Henry Kissinger that peace was finally at hand in Vietnam. Before the month ended in was announced that the United States and North Vietnam would agree to an international commission of con-

trol and supervision to be made up of Canada, Hungary, Poland and Indonesia. Canada was asked to hurriedly decide whether or not it would serve on such a commission. Ottawa reemphasized the conditions it saw as rudimentary to the success of the commission and prepared to donate its delegation of the existing ICCS of 1954 to the new supervisory body.

Serious Doubts

It was a move made with careful and well thought-out deliberation. Canada recognized that after 18 years the original ICCS had totally failed to see the cease-fire even remotely translated into a lasting settlement; it wanted no part of a similar experience this time around. Having received the invitation of the nations at war to participate on the new ICCS, the Trudeau government in Ottawa ultimately agreed to serve for a minimum of 60 days, after which it would reserve the right to withdraw at any time. "It's no secret that we have serious doubts about what we are being asked to undertake," Secretary Sharp said, recognizing North Vietnam's continued military intervention in the affairs of South Vietnam.

On January 27, 1973, the Paris Agreement was signed, and the ICCS moved into position. Not long after, Canada began taking note of what it termed "serious inadequacies" in the provision of the Agreement regarding the arrangements for international supervision. Among them were the failure to appoint a non-involved continuing political authority to which the ICCS could report, the rule of unanimity which allowed only fully unanimous

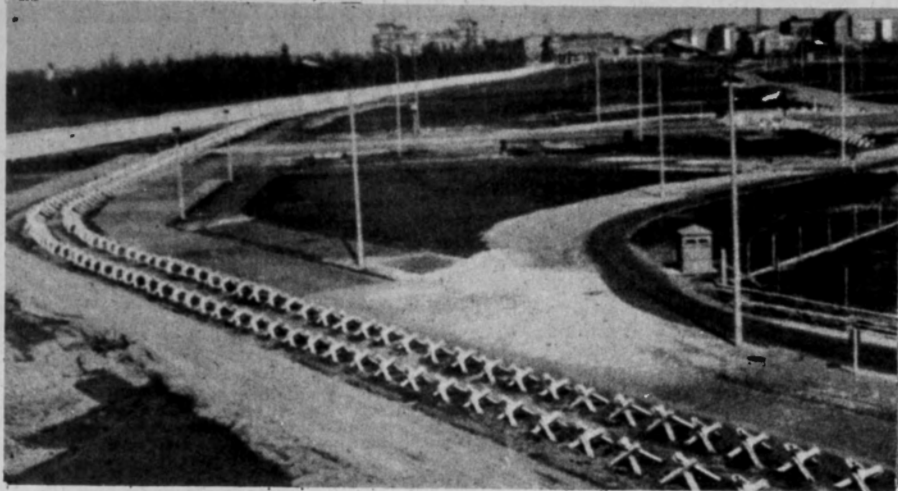
reports to have the status of Commission reports, the fact that the Commission and all its teams were to act as a single body equally representing all four members ("This could become an invitation to paralysis"), and the fact that ICCS freedom of movement was challengeable. Canada additionally felt that some of the Commission's assigned tasks, such as controlling the entry of military personnel and equipment, were clearly beyond the means of the meager organization. The government also expressed its disappointment that provisions for a settlement throughout the whole of Southeast Asia were minimal. Altogether the ICCS job began to appear more and more an ill-advised state of affairs. Rumbles resounded in Ottawa on February 7 of this year the External Affairs Secretary announced that Canada had recognized the Communist government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a development aimed at facilitating the work of the Canadian ICCS delegation; outcries came from many angry corners. Canadian involvement in the Commission was on its way down.

Canada's Opinion

Pressure at home was a relatively mild factor in the Canadian withdrawal compared to the growing list of irregularities to be seen among the four parties of the Paris peace accord (the United States, North and South Vietnam and the Viet Cong's "Provisional Revolutionary Government"). While necessarily maintaining an atmosphere of detached objectivity, Canada kept it no secret that it saw the Communist representatives as running rampant over the

terms of peace which they "intended to strictly respect and scrupulously implement and expected everyone else to do the same," as Secretary Sharp reported, adding, "...they had their own interpretation of precisely what each article meant and this added up to either a peacefully unified Viet-Nam or one whose reunification by force would be justified on the grounds that the other Parties had not adhered to the agreement."

In Saigon the Canadians delivered their opinion that because of its composition, the Commission would probably never report a unanimous report unfavorable to the Communists; because of its declared objectivity, Canada could hold little influence over the more ideologically "flexible" Polish and Hungarian Communist delegations. Reports mounted of incessant Communist cease-fire violations. Finally the delegation could only conclude that Canada could no longer maintain a serious contribution to the establishment of an enduring peace in Vietnam. When the Canadian commitment to the ICCS ended, so did the Canadian supervisory role. It was eventually replaced by Iran, its place sorely missed. The Trudeau government again emphasized its goal in the international community as the preservation of national integrity in foreign relations, a position which it felt could not permit it to continue involvement with world agreements that did not agree, functions that did not function, and policies of fairness with variable and one-sided interpretations by aggressive parties. With no overt proclamation, Canada added its voice of condemnation of the Communist method of peace.



Ideology

Psychic Research Inspires Tide Reader

by Barry Cohen
Anchorage, Alaska

These days psychic research is becoming a big thing — more so in fact on the inside of the Iron Curtain than here in the Free World. I got turned on recently by an article entitled "Marxist Metaphysics: The Materialist Miracle" in a favorite underground newspaper of mine, *The Rising Tide*. The author, now in Washington, D.C., is a personal friend of mine.

In reviewing a book called *Psychic Discoveries Behind the Iron Curtain*, he noted the growing contradiction between strict Marxist ideology, which asserts that man is merely "matter in motion" and no more than that, and some rather startling discoveries by respected Soviet researchers. Hesitating to call their findings in the realm of the psychic "spiritual", they prefer the term Bioplasmic Energy.

I decided to do a little investigating of my own, and asked several area residents who are into the psychic to comment on the following question: "What do you think of the increased scientific research, especially in the USSR, in the psychic sciences?" I'd like to share with you some of the interesting responses I received.

Audrey Brown, a grad student in the Counseling Psychology program, had this to say: "I am really excited

years. And now the practical-minded Soviets are into a telepathy trip. But that's not all.

As my *Rising Tide* author-friend Lou Fournier notes, "The Communist psychic researcher finds himself a blend of 'pure' scientist, philosopher, artist, theorist, and — probably much to his amazement — speculative theologian." So religion and science find their meeting point in our privileged generation.

To illustrate this, I'd like to mention some Biblical situations that are somewhat similar to those under investigation in Soviet laboratories.

First, on the question of psychokinesis. Also known as "the PK effect", psychokinesis refers to the movement of physical objects by non-physical powers. It is said by some that the Pyramids of Egypt, as well as the mysterious multi-ton statues of Easter Island, were constructed by spiritual efforts — i.e. huge stones were lifted by thought-power. (If true, the ability to harness such forces could drastically reshape the AFL-CIO.) One interesting question that this theory raises, though, concerns the stone which sealed Jesus' tomb. Could it have been moved in a similar way?

Secondly, the Soviets are into astrology, known to them as Cosmo-Biology, if you please. One explanation

One explanation of astrological phenomena holds that the universe passes through various moods in a pattern, just as we have seasons here on earth. These cosmic moods are 12 in number, corresponding to the zodiacal signs.

that there is scientific investigation of telepathy, psychokinesis (moving objects by mental power), and similar phenomena by physicists, biologists, psychologists and other scientists in the USSR, when for so long this area has been viewed by most with skepticism and disbelief. The Soviets, starting in 1968, have been spending about \$13 million a year on parapsychology research at major universities and institutes."

How does this compare with American efforts? The Rev. Hal N. Banks, who has been a student of the psychic for a good number of years, points out that "it would appear that the Soviet Union is far ahead of the USA in the development of psychic resources. They are to be congratulated for their foresight."

Rev. Banks continues: "The import of all this is incalculable; it will mean a basic revolution of human thought... spiritual matters will eventually assume a new importance over the material..."

That's just what spiritually turned-on people have been asserting for

In "The Role of Religion in Soviet Dissent," (Rising Tide, October 22) 750 was the number given for churches existing in the Soviet Union. This is incorrect. The actual figure is 7,500

Two Nameless Political Virtues

by Staunton Calvert
from Samidat in the U.S.

"You are confusing yourself with terms," said an economist who was one of my professors. He said it so often that we referred to him by quoting it, but I cannot remember an instance in which he was wrong. His familiar charge could well be made against many political discussants of today.

A political virtue essential to the preservation of free government is languishing for the lack of a name or other identification. This basic virtue is the tendency to preserve what is good until something better is found. "Conservatism," according to my dictionaries' reports of its usage, means the tendency to oppose change — to keep what is established whether it is presently the best thing available or not. The word, then, embraces not only the nameless virtue but also the related political vice of maintaining what is presently bad ("presently" is necessary; the Electoral College, for one thing, was commendable at its outset and is

now bad). Anyone who insists on having a single word for this virtue might consider "preservatism," and for the virtuous ones the title "preservativists."

Editors contribute to the great cause of clarity very little of what they are in a position to give. It is bad enough to see "convince" where "persuade" is meant. Much worse is "infer" for "imply", heaven help us if we forget what inference is! Among political terms, a peculiar, correlative confusion appears to arise from the namelessness of the virtue I celebrate at the moment. Certainly, in politics, reaction is antithetical to conservatism (this is true whether that which is intended to be reinstated is worse than, or is better than, that which is current); yet many an editor will permit an intended destroyer of the Bill of Rights or of the rules of evidence to be termed a "conservative" or, apparently to emphasize that his position is extreme, an "arch-conservative."

A second nameless political virtue, as important to progress as "preservatism" though not so important to the very survival of responsive government, is the active concern for liberty. "Liberalism" apparently is too muddled a term for this, due in part to its identification with a party in England opposing the "Conservative party," the latter characterized by defensiveness of what is established, both good and bad. If "liberalism" has thereby become identified with championship of change, bad as well as good, a historical justification exists, a rather weak one, for the practice of treating the extreme "conservative" and "liberal" (sometimes equated with "rightist" and "leftist") as totally opposite, with a continuous scale of political positions between them.

But between the two political virtues (1) the tendency to preserve what is good until it can be bettered and (2) the active concern for liberty, there is certainly no

conflict, liberty being an excellent thing; in fact, he or she who shows one of these attributes strongly can be expected to be strong in the other as well.

Since the term "liberalism" has become too confused by usage to identify the second virtue, those who must have a term for it might consider "liberaphilia" — "liberaphile" for the virtuous one.

The political discussant who sets for himself a responsible standard for clarity will probably not resort to one-word terms such as "preservatism" and "liberaphilia," but nobody with any prudence will use either "conservative" or "liberal" with confidence that he is communicating a meaning other than that reported by the lexicographers. Even if he uses twelve words to identify one political virtue and five for the other, as I did, he probably will use fewer words, in total, than the current discussants — and he will bless us with the novelty of intelligible discussion.

Matter: Cause or Effect?

by Dr. Sang Hung Lee

First I will offer a critique of the view of matter in Communist materialism. Communist materialism denies the scientific view of matter and sees only its objectivity and activity. It is indeed true that material is objective and separate from the spirit. But the philosophical significance of material is not completely clarified.

Objectivity and Cause of Matter

Whether matter is created or not is a philosophical question of more importance than whether matter objectively exists or not. Also the question of where matter originated is another important ontological question which philosophy should answer and clarify, taking into consideration all available information. Hence, it is absolutely necessary to respect scientific results. Today quantum physics has given us important data and has shown that the physicists' view of matter is closely related to the philosophical one. Nevertheless, Communists, including Lenin, turn a blind eye on scientific results and consciously refuse to admit the theories of matter as viewed by quantum physics. This fact proves that their philosophy is unscientific. Even though they maintain that dialectical materialism is the most scientific of all philosophies, it is in reality far from it.

Then why do they refuse to consider science in the formulation of materialism? Because modern science (physics) was at the point of proving that so-called "matter" actually is non-material and super-material.

The new theory of matter shows that the elementary particle, the most fundamental unit of matter, has properties of being a particle and energy in wave form. The traditional theories that regard matter as only that which can be measured have crumbled. Thus a new theory is established that matter is energy with neither form nor mass which sometimes transforms into a particle with both form and mass. Nevertheless, the question of why energy changes into a particle and what objective factor affects this change remain.

If the action of the objective factor is identified, we cannot but admit the fact that will; that is, spirit, is existing behind energy. To admit that there is spirit behind nature is the same as admitting God. Thus modern science does not deny the existence of God and does not prove the absence of God. Consequently, it is dogma, conjecture and sort of superstition for Communists to purposefully deny God. They should not be allowed to make materialism their

means of rationalizing violent revolution and they should wait for the future results of science concerning the problem of the existence of God. Of course everybody is free to be an idealist or a materialist. However, even if the legitimacy of materialism could be clarified, it is not right to discriminate against someone for his own view and even murder him just because he believes differently — even more so today because — modern science shows the possibility of proving the existence of God. Recently, however, Communists have pretended pacifism and humanism to gain popular support.

Counterproposal to the Objectivity and Cause of Matter

A religious standpoint, which includes the creation theory, can also include the concepts of the reality and objectivity of matter.

Since God created nature as the object of joy and the recognition and practice of man as subject (Genesis), the world exists independently of the human spirit. In other words, the objective world as recognized by man does exist.

This is not so different from the materialistic point of view. Hence it is absolutely unreasonable for Communists to hold the objectivity and reality of matter as the basis of their materialism.

Now let me touch upon the next subject, the cause of matter. We can infer from the inductive method that there can be no denial of God's reality because if we push the search for the cause of matter to the end, we must come to the first cause, the absolute purposeful cause.

Molecules are composed of atoms and atoms are composed of fundamental particles. Then what are particles made of? It may be something physical but smaller than anything so far discovered or it may be an invisible force. Either way, the ultimate source of matter must be an invisible and incorporated force, for regardless of how small the smallest particle may be, it is still a formed and resultant thing that cannot be the ultimate cause. Nowadays, it is only common knowledge that matter is formed by enormous quantities of energy. If the first cause is incorporeal, this is evidence that the world of the cause transcends time and space because there can be no further cause before this cause.

Nevertheless because the universe developed from the first cause, this cause is not a void but an incorporeal force, a teleological being. The development of the universe obviously has a direction and this direction must have a purpose. Therefore the first cause had already had a goal to direct towards

In other words the first cause is a purposeful, directional force. This cause is God Himself. God is an absolute being with the attributes of spirit and energetic elements. These are the basis of matter. Consequently both materialism and idealism are erroneous and unreasonable. True ontology has to admit an absolute being; that is, a unique being which unites these two attributes.

The Unjustified Expansion of Materialistic Concepts

Another error of the Communist materialistic theory is the unjustifiable application of materialism to social phenomena. Here I offer a critique and counter proposal to this claim.

According to the Communists, production power, production relationship, capital, labor disputes, strikes, etc., are all considered to be material things. They maintain that based on these social material conditions, the capitalist society will fall and the Communist society will be established. Even a good political system, improved legal system and the rise of morality are incapable of correcting the contradiction of capitalism.

However, production power, production relations, strikes and labor disputes cannot be categorized as matter because all these social phenomena are in fact products of the spiritual aspect of man. For example: production power, just as Marx said, is made up of labor power and working tools. Labor power is not a mere physical power but a technical and intelligent power. Working tools are also not just simply matter but rather materialized technique, the result of mental power.

The production relation is the relationship between men centering around the production power. Therefore the human aspect is more important than the material between the haves and the have-nots in society, when everybody desires to commonly possess capital — the form of the production relations will automatically be changed. For example, the raised spirit of cooperation in advanced countries has led, because of increased stock ownership, to the joint possession of enterprise. Thus we can see that the production relationship is a spiritual, relationship — not a material one.

Correction!



This is Thomas Masaryk, not Jan Masaryk!

Europe

The Warsaw Pact

by Ray Mas

The Warsaw Pact is quite commonly referred to as NATO's counterpart. Yet for the Soviets it has been, and it seems will continue to be simply another tool of Soviet repression in Eastern Europe.

Founded in 1949, as a direct answer to NATO, the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), was developed to tie and integrate Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Through a multilateral military design, WTO created a blanket of security for the Soviets, who were already deathly afraid of West Germany's involvement in NATO. To the Soviets, it seemed not too far fetched that West Germany would use NATO for a rebirth of German imperialism. Viewed in historical terms, WTO is essentially a Soviet expression of an age-old Russian fear of her western boundaries and a desire to develop an airtight "cordon sanitaire." Essential to this was the strong presence of Russian power, which the Soviets have successfully displayed in WTO. For ten years, following the end of World War II, Red army troops were stationed in almost all the Eastern European countries. Between 1955 and 1958, the forces were gradually withdrawn from Rumania and Bulgaria, and partly from Poland. But East Germany, Hungary, and, since the 1968 invasion, Czechoslovakia have continued to serve as bases for the Soviet military.

The official signing, which actually occurred in 1955, formalized a set of 14 bilateral treaties tying the Eastern European countries to the Soviet Union. At the same time, it served to integrate East Germany, a former enemy, into the Soviet military framework.

Real Intent

The WTO is a Soviet design forced upon the East Europeans is obvious. Since its inception there has been little WTO cooperation or coordination. In addition, all the

important WTO posts are held by Soviets. The local WTO does not extend beyond the third level from the top. At present, Marshall Yakubovsky is the WTO head, a post formerly headed by Marshall Grechko.

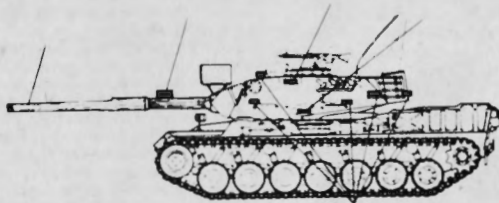
The military hegemony of WTO is obvious; not so obvious is the growing political importance WTO is gaining. In a time when the increasing trend is towards East-West trade among Eastern Europeans, the Soviets have strengthened WTO as an effective political counter-balance. Increasingly WTO has been graduating from a paper organization to an active means of exercising political constraint on the East European states. It provides a formal framework binding the various Communist states together. In addition, it supplies a juridical basis for limiting the exercise of East European sovereignty by forbidding their participation in other alliances. Finally, it serves as a forum for expressing the, albeit, external unit of the bloc as well as a forum for condemnation of renegades.

Buildup

The tragic events of August, 1968, are a still grim reminder. Nevertheless, the trend has been one of continued buildup in the overall military capability of WTO. In fact, according to the authoritative London Institute for Strategic Studies, there is a gradual shift in favor of WTO over NATO forces. Since 1967, the Soviets divisions alone stationed in Europe grew from 26 to 31. Moreover, the Soviets have been steadily improving the quality of their war-fighting potential in Eastern Europe with increasingly refined weaponry.

Included with a growing number of WTO military exercises, it is difficult not to see the growing importance the Soviets are putting in

WTO. The appointment to the Politburo of Defense Minister Marshall Grechko (the former WTO commander) several months ago, can only be additional evidence of this trend. In the face of the great debate over detente, it would do well to remember Marshall Grechko's own words: "The Socialist countries have a single enemy—imperialism, and a single goal—the building of Socialism and Communism...military-technical cooperation (between the WTO countries) furnishes appreciable mutually beneficial results. It is aimed at insuring the military--



technical superiority of the socialist states' armies over the armies of likely enemies. This demands the continuous modernization of arms and combat equipment, and the development of new and improved models. The Soviet Union plays the leading role in this."

Nowhere and from no one could it have been more aptly said. We need not warn ourselves about the dangers, the Soviets do very well themselves. It is in our hands to use the warnings with prudent wisdom and sound judgement, both of which are sorely needed in Washington today.

"Neutralization"

by Allan Brownfeld

West German leader Franz Josef Strauss, formerly minister of finance and defense and now a key figure in the Christian opposition in the Bundestag, paid a visit to Washington recently and spoke to a small Capitol Hill luncheon which this writer attended. He came at a time when the Soviet presence in the Middle East had, at least for a moment, stilled the more euphoric "detente" rhetoric, and in which a new opportunity for a consideration of the Soviet Union's real goals had, as a result, presented itself.

participated in several years ago.

Treaties to Withdrawal

First comes the signing of a treaty renouncing the use of force, which also means the recognition of the legitimacy of the division of Germany and the Communist domination of Eastern Europe. Second is the de jure recognition of East Germany. Third is the withdrawal of troops from both sides, and fourth is the dissolution of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Dr. Strauss noted that the renunciation of force and the recognition of East Germany have already been realized and that talks are not being held concerning mutual force reductions. The talks are labeled "Mutual Balanced Force Reduction" talks - MBFR. What if any may well mean is the withdrawal of American troops thousands of miles across the Atlantic, and the withdrawal of Soviet less than a thousand miles to the Russian border. It would not be much of a bargain - for the West.

Does German Chancellor Brandt really seek the neutralization of West Germany? Dr. Strauss notes, "I don't say that Brandt wants neutralization for I cannot verify that. But elements of his Social Democratic Party are pushing very hard in that direction. What Brandt does want is to stay on top."

While talk of the neutralization of Europe may sound like a nightmare, Dr. Strauss points out that previous "nightmares" have come true. "After Hitler," he stated, "we must be on the alert early enough. The situation in Europe today is very serious. In the last elections the conservatives only won in France because of the system deGaulle had introduced requiring a majority of the vote under the German system a leftist popular front, including the Communists,

would have won. Italy is completely immobile. Holland has a socialist government. By any estimate, Western Europe is in real trouble."

Troops Still There

The Soviet aim, Strauss points out, is to keep Soviet troops in Hungary, Soviet missiles in Europe, and the U.S. on its own side of the Atlantic. "If the Soviets succeed in these goals," he told his audience, "they have achieved their aim: a neutralized Europe without unity or an ability to defend itself."

China

Only one country in the world gives us a warning about what the Russians really have in mind. That country, Strauss declared, is China. The Chinese know Russian aims well enough, it seems, for those aims of world revolution and domination are the ones they share as Communists. Their major disagreement is not over ends, or even means, but over which Communist Party will dominate.

Firm Atlantic Alliance

The only answer, Dr. Strauss believes, is a united Europe as a part of a firm Atlantic Alliance with the U.S. It is clear that those who urge a hasty withdrawal of American troops from Europe, and a cut in defense spending, together with one-sided concessions at the SALT II and MBFR talks, and who believe in the detente rhetoric of the Soviets, are being used by the Communists for their own purposes.

It is too bad that there are not more men such as Franz Josef Strauss traveling the world to awaken us to the real dangers we face.

U.S. Psychiatry Investigates Soviet Abuse

(Continued from page 1)

being besmirched," he added. "The suggestion was made that these criticisms were the work of professional anti-Soviet propagandists, and if one were not a member of such a group, then one was being used as a dupe."

Dr. Freedman ended his statement by affirming that no conclusion can be drawn from the meeting while also detailing some revealing impressions. They are here reproduced in full:

"While I feel that no conclusions can be drawn from this visit and that there must be continuing discussions, I have several impressions that I can state:

"First: The diagnostic criteria, particularly that of schizophrenia, appear to be much broader than ours, with many sub-categories. Emphasis is on the course of the disorder. They describe a host of categories, such as sluggish or shifting schizophrenia and various schizoid states. I am informed, though, that similar diagnoses are used in non-criminal cases. It is difficult to judge from case histories, but I would doubt if I would go along on the diagnosis of at least two of the cases that we heard.

"Second: Regardless of the diagnosis, I would wonder about the necessity for hospitalization of some of the cases. As far as their presenting symptoms were concerned, they might very well have been handled as out-patients.

"Third: The original diagnosis per se, particularly of schizophrenia or a paranoid state, rather than the state of functioning of an individual at the time of examination, is all-determining apparently. Thus, an individual who had once been diagnosed as schizophrenic but who had been in complete remission for ten or more years, if charged with a crime, would be considered not responsible. As a consequence, he might be confined in a hospital. Schizophrenia is stated unequivocally to be a disease, and there is intense interest and research in genetic aspects of schizophrenia.

"Fourth: Although it was stated that criticism itself is not a sign of psychopathology, one does get the impression that dissent, criticism or opposition are considered to be bizarre behaviors and important manifestations of disease. Tied in with this is the impression that deviance appears tolerable until it is involved with political dissent.

"Fifth: Certain cases of alleged crimes might appear trivial to us in the United States. However, as they emphasized by citing sections of their criminal code, these are considered quite serious crimes in the Soviet Union. I refer to such activities as demonstrations in Red Square. It was emphasized to me time and time again in private discussions that Soviet psychiatrists operate under the laws of their country and that these laws were not discussable.

"Sixth: From what I heard and have read, it would appear that the Soviet system is wholly internal. There is no opportunity for outside

"One does get the impression that dissent, criticism or opposition are considered to be bizarre behaviors and manifestations of disease. Tied in with this is the impression that deviance appears tolerable until it is involved with political dissent."

checks or review. The procurator (prosecutor) would appear to have great power. The family can demand another commission to examine an individual once or twice, but the procurator or the court does not necessarily have to agree. The family cannot bring in outside experts or nominate members of the commission. As in many other European countries, the concept of habeas corpus is totally alien.

"Seventh: A person declared not responsible for a crime and who is hospitalized is reviewed at least every six months. If the physicians feel it is indicated, they can ask for an earlier examination. The family can petition for review, but this does not have to be accepted. There is no mechanism for the person hospitalized or his family to compel judicial review or examination by outside experts.

Considering the total Soviet system and their laws in regard to forensic psychiatry, the different standards in diagnosis, different concepts of mental illness, and the attitude concerning government vis-a-vis individual freedom, one must conclude that Soviet individuals may be charged with crimes and involuntarily hospitalized in psychiatric facilities in situations which would

have a different outcome in the United States. Whether Soviet psychiatrists are evil or, at the very least, nonprofessional is an irrelevant question. As far as we could see, they are operating within a proscribed set of procedures. I would not attempt to draw any conclusions in regard to their motivation or inner thinking.

"One is clearly left with a greater appreciation for our own system of appeals, of habeas corpus, of the numerous laws and regulations which protect the civil liberties of mental patients. One can also be heartened by the fact that new laws to broaden this

protection continue to be considered.

"It has been said, and I certainly do believe, that a civilization or nation may very well be judged by the way it treats its psychiatric patients. No issue can be more important at the present time than that of individual freedom, and the handling of psychiatric patients may be a barometer of our commitment to justice."

The ensuing question period was frustrating to some members of the press as they discovered that Dr. Freedman stood by his statement that no conclusions could be drawn from the meeting. One contingent, led surprisingly by I.F. Stone, doggedly pressed for details of the six cases studied, asked pointedly if psychiatry were indeed being abused, if, according to Soviet standards, dissidents were generally seen as crazy, and if the intellectual climate of the U.S.S.R. were bordering on paranoia. Another less relevant line of questioning inquired about U.S. violations of psychiatric practice.

Concerns not quieted

Dr. Freedman staunchly maintained that it would be a breach of professional ethics for him to disclose details of the six discussed cases without releases or to pass

judgement upon the professionalism of Soviet psychiatrists without further investigation. But he said that the meeting "did not quiet my concern;" he implied that he still suspected that anti-government behavior played a part in confinement. "Although it was stated that criticism itself is not a sign of psychopathology, one does get the impression that dissent, criticism or opposition are considered to be bizarre behaviors and important manifestations of disease...there is the feeling that anyone who criticizes must be out of touch with Soviet reality." When presented with the Soviet objection "How would you like it if scores of international teams visited your hospitals?" to his request for further inquiry, Dr. Freedman simply replied: "We would welcome it." Fortunately he does not consider the issue closed, indicating that he will do whatever possible to expand the inquiry in the future.

Reaction to Dr. Freedman's visit and conference was mixed. Those hoping for more information about hospitalized dissidents or judgements upon the behavior or ethics of Soviet psychiatry (and there were quite a few) were disappointed - indeed, one could learn more about psychiatric repression of political dissent from reading the Bukovsky papers or Medvedev's *A Question of Madness* than from Dr. Freedman's explanations. Some were confused about the accomplishments of his visit--others, by those of the conference.

And yet others, among them a psychiatrist, considered Dr. Freedman's visit and his willingness to publicize it a breakthrough in psychiatric history, certainly an improvement over the handling of the issue of Soviet psychiatric repression at the *Seventh International Psychotherapy Conference* in Mexico City, where a resolution asking for its discussion was tabled upon the threat of a Soviet walk out.

In summary, Dr. Freedman had little substantial news to report as a result of his visit; the visit itself was the news. While we may regret that there was no decisive result of the visit, we can only applaud that the President of the American Psychiatric Association took the initiative to inspire this meeting, that it happened, and that he wants to continue investigation. Let us hope that he is successful.

by Louise Berry

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Korea

(Continued from page 3)

having their own closed society undergo impure "foreign influences" damaging to their security, the North Korean Communists finally concluded that the talks had to be broken off. The hypocrisy of the Communists desire for "peaceful unification" was further proved when Kim Il Sung recently renewed his call of a revolutionary overthrow of the South Korean government.

Our Role

Regardless of what one may think, it is obvious that the strengthening of the Park government has been a major factor in thwarting the Communist attempt to exploit the South-North talks to their own advantage. It is easy to criticize the Park government for being too heavyhanded, but actually the U.S. is as equally responsible for the de-democratization of Korea as anyone. President's Nixon trip to China obviously created a great deal of insecurity among our allies, who felt that they were being abandoned. Democracy is a

luxury for these people; it is hard to afford when you are fighting for your survival. It is unfair to compare South Korean democracy to our own. Rather we should compare the amount of freedom in South Korea to that in the Communist-dominated North. If the U.S. presence and commitment to freedom in Asia were made more clear, then we could and should expect to see greater freedom and democracy in South Korea.

It must not be forgotten the Korean War began with a peaceful, diplomatic offensive by Kim Il Sung 23 years ago. It would be foolhardy to think it could not happen again. However, the fact that the great assurance against an invasion is the presence of U.S. forces in South Korea has been acknowledged by the North Korean Communists themselves. Regardless of the outcome of the North-South dialogue, the most obvious and greatest assurance for a stable peace is a strong and continued commitment of the United States forces in this torn and divided land.

Vietnam

(Continued from page 1)

ministration in the areas they control. South Vietnam holds parliamentary election August 26, and the Vietcong will most certainly arrange small local elections in the areas they control. But the Communists are not interested in a general election. They would lose, as it is, even if Vietcong and the North Vietnamese force control 30 percent of the country, only half a million out of South Vietnam's 18 million inhabitants live in their areas, the rest have fled. I have noticed an enormous anti-Communist feeling everywhere in South Vietnam. For example we have been exposed to demonstrations in Hue that might have had serious consequences if the police had not interfered so quickly.

Laugesen: The Vietcong have apparently won great sympathy in the western world. Why so?

Polish Officer: Hanoi has greatly profited by idealists in the west, by the Bertrand Russell tribunals, demonstrations and the like. At the same time South Vietnam has always been an open country of journalists from all over the world, while North Vietnam has granted visas chiefly to the pro-Communist press. Therefore the news coverage has been distorted. And the official name of Vietcong, "The Liberation Front" has alone attracted many people. The many American soldiers may have been decisive. They were a foreign element with only a light understanding of Vietnamese culture. That gave enormous problems which the Vietcong could use in propaganda.

Laugesen: How much backing has President Thieu in the population today?

Polish Officer: I must admit that now he enjoys great respect here. He has also changed style. Formerly he seldom appeared in public but lately he has begun to take part in mass meetings. He made unannounced visits to the outposts. Likewise he went to An Loc to visit the invested government troops while the town was subject to violent North Vietnamese attacks. There is no doubt that the many reforms of Thieu have contributed much to giving him great popularity. It was especially the land-reforms, making the farmers freeholders, that was a crushing blow for Vietcong. At the same time he has shown that he is absolutely not a puppet of the USA. At the peace negotiations in Paris he opposed the unfavorable cease-fire terms even if he was under strong American pressure. This has increased the president's reputation among the population.

Laugesen: To return to the cease fire and the task of the Control Commission. Why did Canada withdraw from the ICCS, so they now have to be replaced by Persia?

Polish Officer: For several reasons. Among others because the Trudeau government was criticized in Parliament at home for the country's participation. But the main reason was the difficulty in coming to an agreement as to who violated the cease-fire.

Laugesen: Poland and Hungary have the reputation of always giving the South Vietnamese the blame.

Polish Officer: You must try to understand us. We cannot tell the truth. The contents of our reports are decided either here in Saigon or in Warsaw or Budapest. This is power politics, and as long as Moscow supports the Vietcong there is nothing to do about it.

Laugesen: What is your personal opinion of the many violations of the cease fire? Who is the main (party) responsible?

Polish Officer: I estimate that about 75 percent of the real military conflicts are due to North Vietnam and Vietcong, while the South Vietnamese may be responsible for one-fourth. To this comes the pure terror-attacks which are all of Communist origin.

Laugesen: What will be the future of this unfortunate country?

Polish Officer: I think there will be no peace for the present. Unfortunately, the military strength of South Vietnam may render a Communist military victory impossible, and a political solution through a coalition government is unthinkable. To this end the experiences from both Hanoi and Eastern Europe after World War II are too tragic. And they are remembered here in Vietnam. Therefore the result will rather be a dividing of the country. There are clear indications that the North Vietnamese troops will stay here. And Hanoi has also begun to send women and children down here in order to inhabit the deserted areas they control. Up to now the Communists may have opposed general elections. But millions of Vietnamese have voted all the same with their feet.

In an editorial on November 8, the *Washington Post* stated: "But it must be said that for all the hopeful promise of the January agreement, no realistic observer of the Vietnam scene ever thought that the 'cease-fire' would do more than mark a transition from one stage to another of a struggle that had been raging already for more than a generation." In its issue of November 12, *Newsweek* magazine declared: "...the leadership in Hanoi—facing a Watergate-weakened President Nixon who may be politically unable to unleash America's air power against the North again—appears more convinced than ever that force is the ultimatum answer."

Actions are more emphatic: during his observance of the stop-fighting conditions while in Vietnam, a member of the Hungarian delegation to the ICCS defected to democratic officials.

All this reveals with abundant clarity the double-faced standard of the Communist tactics in Vietnam. It has come to be common knowledge that Communist action always overrides Communist paper commitment. The whole world knows that North Vietnam, in open defiance of its every word to the contrary, intends to annex South Vietnam by military force under Communist rule. Saigon estimates that 50,000 government soldiers have died in combat since the war "stopped" in January. With what must surely be the bloodiest cease-fire in modern warfare, South Vietnam struggles on, building its own military machine in preparation for a long, protracted contest still to come.

Sadly, while the Communist aim stands plainly recognized, the nations responsible for the moral and spiritual welfare of the world lie idly at bay. America, setting the Free World pace, becomes increasingly consumed in an individualistic national self-centeredness that threatens to throw an immense imbalance in the historical path of the world, leaving an open highway, just as it has to Hanoi supply trucks in Vietnam, to the goal of Communism. Ideologically, the dialectical materialist believes devoutly in the salvation of mankind through the world-wide fulfillment of the Communist utopian society; he thinks more on a universal level than on a local scale. This is the Communist drive and strength, as opposed to the weakening West becoming entangled in crippling isolationism. An ideological awareness of Communism and the moral-responsibility of the democratic nations is urgently required, an end to which *The Rising Tide* is consistently dedicated. In its staunch stand against self-proclaimed Communist aggression, the Republic of Vietnam is in a position of supporting and defending the Free world. This is a pattern of sacrificial service dearly to be emulated and desperately to be achieved.

Cambodian Official Asks:

Why Endorse A Fictitious Government?

"Let us admit frankly, our weakness is patent; it cannot be hidden. Despite our victory bulletins, the Lon Nol regime is still there. If it is weakness and we cannot overthrow it, we are even weaker still. If, on the other hand, it is still powerful, why kill it?"

"You know, there are wounds which cannot be healed. I tell you, I will not return to Cambodia, I will remain in Peking until I die. My mother, the Queen, is going to come here and we will both remain in China."

"I want to know what is my status, in their (Khmer Rouge) view. Am I simply an employee or the Chief of State?"

"I do not have intimate relations with the Khmer Rouge; I have no more, I have almost no relations with them."

Norodom Sihanouk - *Le Monde*

DOUC RASY, Ambassador of the Khmer Republic to London, Member of the Khmer Delegation to the 28th session of the United Nations General Assembly 845 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 to the Editor of *le Monde*

Dear Mr. Editor,

I have read with great interest the interview with Norodom Sihanouk by your correspondent Mr. Alain Bouc ("Le Monde", October 27, 1973). This interview confirms the impressions I have had since the moment I learned that Prince Sihanouk made up his mind to settle down in Peking. No matter what the propaganda says, the epilogue of this drama cannot change.

In September 1973, at the very end of the non-aligned conference, after having gained recognition from the so-called non-aligned States and movements, he had already inadvertently forecast a situation he later unveiled to your correspondent, Mr. Alain Bouc. At that time, he had admitted to T.D. Allman in an interview published in "the Guardian" of September, 1973 that he was isolated from the community of Red Khmers residing in Peking, whom he qualified as "too Stalinist". This isolation is not new nor is the qualification he attributed to the Red Khmers.

However, I wonder why these Red Khmers have not yet reached an agreement on the choice of a leader in replacement of this

politician torn out by power, who has never hesitated to accuse them of being Stalinists? Three years and a half should be enough to launch a new revolutionary chief free from a disturbing past and capable of arousing everybody's hope.

I also wonder why a large scale diplomatic offensive has been launched under the banner of Norodom Sihanouk, when this name is doomed to disappear in no time at all. As a matter of fact, in a

whose status is not even known to himself. "I would like to know what is my status in their eyes. Am I a mere employee or a Chief of State?", confessed Sihanouk to Alain Bouc.

Suppose that in a few days or in a few months time the Cambodians agree on a coalition government without Sihanouk, will the United Nations continue to recognize the delegation appointed by this latter as indicated by the above men-

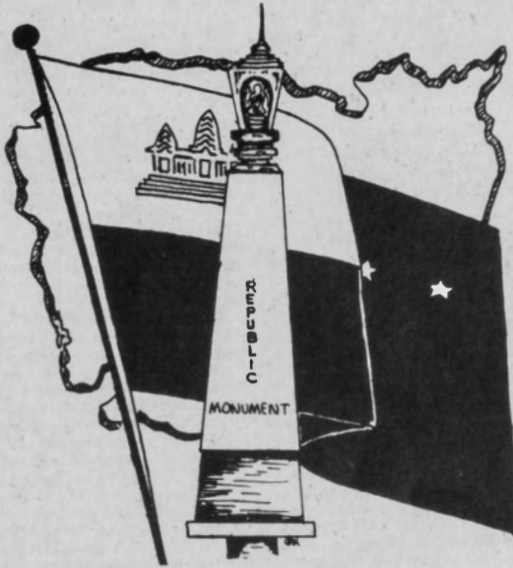
bulletins, the Lon Nol regime is still in power. If it is weak and we cannot overthrow it, the reason is that we are weaker still. On the other hand, if it remains powerful, why characterize it as moribund?"

Thus, as recognized by the RGNU's leader himself, his partisans are not the strongest on the field. Otherwise the question would be quickly resolved: those who exert the real control will nominate their delegations to the United Nations and to other affiliated international organizations. This is the best solution, for it will save those concerned the embarrassment of having to expose their domestic dispute before the international forum. The Khmer people would rather settle their differences at home. And the United Nations would not run the risk of recognizing a Government of fiction novels. Thus no one's interest will be served by trying to anticipate the matter.

Toward the end of his interview, Prince Sihanouk leads the readers to think that he has to choose between corruption and the pure and hard regime that these Red Khmers intend to establish. But he fails to remember that he had just declared that those Red Khmers were "too Stalinist". The characteristic of Stalinism is to take illegally the lives and liberties of others. Who does not remember the police exactions, brain washings, physical liquidations in reeducation and concentration camps and the ravages of death which sadly marked the period of Stalinism in the USSR? In its commonly accepted meaning, corruption consists in taking money illegally from others. Honestly, how can one choose between corruption and Stalinism. These are two evils we should get rid of with the same vigor. Stalin might have been free from corruption, though under certain circumstances Stalinism paves the way to corruption. But he is not free from crimes he has committed in order to maintain in power his police reinforced regime and the cult of his own personality. The choice proposed by Norodom Sihanouk is a fallacious dilemma, for we cannot choose between two evils which have ravaged the Khmer community since the Ancient Regime. The duty of us all is to found a nation free from these two evils, a nation issued not from a military victory of one side over the other, but from a mutual understanding, a social contract to be abided by all parties concerned.

Sincerely yours,

DOUC RASY



Drawing by Gaffar Peang-Meth

draft resolution already inscribed in the 28th United Nations General Assembly agenda, 32 delegations called for the recognition by the United Nations of the "Royal Government of National Union" headed by Chief of State Prince Sihanouk as the sole legitimate government of Cambodia. Such an attempt is an unrealistic scheme, for the United Nations always deals with States and not with men designated by names or with regimes they support. In so doing, the authors of the draft resolution tie this international Organization to the fate of one single man

tioned draft resolution?

If, as he said, he does not return to Cambodia, and instead remains in Peking until he dies, what will the United Nations do were it to recognize the government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the only legitimate government of Cambodia?

If what prompted the 32 delegations to sponsor the draft resolution was the force, their assertion was also flatly denied Sihanouk's confession goes as follows: "It must be said frankly that our weakness is obvious; it can no longer be hidden. In spite of all our victory

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