



The Rising Tide

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Focus on Vietnam

Special Report on Youth Delegation

The special focus of this issue is a report of a recent fact-finding tour to Vietnam coordinated by FLF Secretary General Dan Fefferman. The youth delegation toured Vietnam for a week as guests of the Republic of Vietnam. Included are details on the delegation and the itinerary, a day-by-day description of events, reports of special highlights, and personal impressions of some participants.

We arrived in Vietnam two days after Bien Hoa air base had been rocked and while heavy fighting was going on in Ben Cat, near Saigon. Corrupt dealers in the fertilizer case had just been disclosed, and gasoline had risen to \$1.35 a gallon (Most Vietnamese make about \$35.00 a month). And, everyone seemed to know about the Congressional battle over military aid. Thus the topics on everyone's tongues were the continuation of the war, corruption, inflation, and apprehension about the U.S. commitment. All of these problems were readily recognizable—people differed only in their opinions of the priorities of each.

There were other aspects of Vietnamese life that were more striking to us as visitors. First was the absence of Americans. Besides press correspondents, we saw only three Americans: the daughter of a Baptist missionary and two non-military technical advisors.

The political system appeared stable and healthy—as much as any in Southeast Asia—also comparing well with some European systems. Efforts of the labor movement to build up their party bode well for the creation of a loyal opposition. The country felt quite free, especially in the midst of wartime conditions.

The economic possibilities of Vietnam were also striking. Natural beauty, rich resources, uncrowded land, intelligent and industrious people combined to remind us of the great potential for Third World countries to better the life of their own people and of the rest of the world. Many are optimistic—including Ambassador Graham Martin and the Chase Manhattan Bank president, who thinks that Vietnam's economic takeoff could be twice as fast as those of Taiwan and Korea. But business seems to be waiting—until oil is struck, the war is

over, or the first major investor moves in.

Despite inflation problems, the reconstruction effort is moving forward, particularly in the area of refugee resettlement. Desire to return to the land has brought most people back to their old homes or to new, government supplied lands in a very short time.

It was the people themselves that left the deepest impression. Already committed to a free Vietnam before arriving, I felt that ideological position took flesh and blood as I met people involved with that fight. Cultural differences were more of an attraction than a barrier as I established unity with people whose traditions and whole life-experiences were almost totally different from my own. I felt, sometimes, more at home—at least, more welcomed—than we would in Europe or maybe even in the U.S.

As I grew closer to the people, I was saddened by prevalent misunderstandings of Vietnam. Sometimes things are blown out of proportion. There is no doubt that Con Son—no matter how beautiful the beaches—is a prison and that its Tiger Cages were not pleasant living quarters. But there are far worse prisons in the U.S. And at least the Tiger Cages are no longer in use.

Then in other cases the reality of the situation is not at all perceived. To how many people is a burning monk the symbol of protest—against the U.S., the military, the Establishment? How many are ready to admit that it was a political act directed against the anti-Buddhist practices of the Roman Catholic ruler Diem? Or that this man's Buddhist followers are united with the government against Communism? I even suspect that many South Vietnamese "political prisoners" would be distressed to hear that foreign aid to their country is in jeopardy.

Beyond all else—concerns for inflation, political reform, etc.—we heard the same theme. We heard it from students, young people, professors, Buddhist monks, and ex-Viet Cong. "We must remain united in spirit," they said. "The fight for freedom does not belong to Vietnam alone."

Louise Berry

DELEGATION

Coordinator

Dan Fefferman, Secretary General, Freedom Leadership Foundation, B.A., University of California, Berkeley. Toured Vietnam in 1970. Has also visited Cambodia, Japan, Korea. Editor, *The Rising Tide*, 1971-1973. Staff member of the Freedom Leadership Foundation since 1971.

Participants

Louise Berry, Editor, *The Rising Tide*, B.A., Earlham College. Has lived in Europe and toured East Germany.

John Buckley, senior at University of Virginia. Southern Regional Director for Young Americans for Freedom.

George Curtin, Los Angeles youth organizer who has travelled in the Middle East, B.A. CCNY. Member of Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East and the Young People's Socialist League.

Lorenzo Gazzmaga, International Affairs Director, Freedom Leadership Foundation. Cuban refugee Field organizer, 1970-1973.

Robert Heckman, New York State Chairman, Young Americans for Freedom, B.A., Adelphi University.

Raisa Scriabine Petroff, free-lance writer/translator, M.A., Cornell University. Russian emigre now working on a book for Harper and Row.

Victor Roberts, Regional Director for Young Republicans for mid-Atlantic states. Regional administrator for West Virginia's manpower program.

Ron Robinson, Director, State and Chapter Affairs, Young Americans for Freedom, B.A., Canisius College. Spent six weeks in Taiwan on World Youth Crusade for Freedom.

Itinerary

We requested a visit to a variety of groups and areas in Vietnam to get a broad overview. As young people, our particular interest was in meeting young people. Accordingly, our trip had the following highlights:

Students—Tours and meetings with student associations of:

Saigon University
Saigon University Medical School

Van Hanh University

Dalat University
Hue University
Can Tho University
National Military Academy

Labor—Meeting with leaders of Vietnamese Confederation of Labor; long discussion with the CVT youth organization and its leader, Nguyen van Chinh.

Post War Reconstruction projects visited. Refugee resettlements in Quang Tri and Phuoc Tuy. National Cadres Training Center in Nung Tan. Experimental rice farm in the Mekong Delta. U.S. aid-funded crafts center in Hué.

Administration—We held meetings with these officials of the Vietnamese government:

Hoang Duc Nha, Minister of Information and Open Arms
Ngo Khae Tinh, Minister of Education, Culture, and Youth
Nguyen Ngoc Bich, Director of Overseas Information
Province chief of Hué, Dalat, Phuoc Tuy, An Giang, Quang Tri and with Ambassador Graham Martin of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon.

Religion—In addition to our tour of Van Hanh University (Buddhist) and Dalat University (Catholic), we met with Rev. Tich Tam Chau, leader of a unified organization of Mahayana and Hinayana sects of Buddhism in Vietnam. Present were many of Vietnam's Buddhist leaders.

Prisons—We toured Con Son island and met the directors of both Con Son prison and of the prison system for Vietnam.

Military—We were briefed on the military situation in Regions 1 and 4 (Hué, Quang Tri and the Mekong Delta).

Vietcong—A group of Hoi Chon (defectors) spent an evening in discussion with us. Included were a former Vietcong political commissar and major. Time since defection ranged from several years to several days.

Areas Visited—Saigon, Dalat, Hué, Quang Tri, Vung Tau, Phuoc Tuy, Mekong Delta—An Giang province, Can Tho.

Press—Had conference and discussion with *Los Angeles Times* and UPI correspondents in Saigon.



Quang Tri citadel. Land across the river is North Vietnamese/Vietcong territory.

Fact-Finding Mission

Explores Vietnam

June 6-June 12, 1974

SAIGON—JUNE 6

Hoang Duc Nha, Minister of Information and Open Arms

Early in the morning of the day after our arrival in Saigon, we spent two hours conversing with Mr. Nha, at 31 the

youngest Cabinet minister. As such, he emphasized his hope in the youth of Vietnam, stressing that the GVN welcomed youth and flexibility. "The elitist concept is wrong," he said. "Now the trend is reversed. Everyone thinks that he can be a politician." He cited that the average age in Thieu's cabinet is 47 while in Hanoi's Politburo it is 67.

Nha hopes to use his youth to great advantage in creating a nationwide student association. "We have to unite with other people," he said. "I think we are making some progress in that direction. Because students distrust contact with the Establishment, I say: I'm not the Establishment; I was one of you. I had difficulties much worse than you are having now. I'm passing on my experience to you."

In summarizing the war, Mr. Nha cautioned us that the cease-fire had not changed Communist intentions. After describing their strategy of gradual conquest by piecemeal steps, he concluded: "They will not be satisfied until they control."

University Tours in Saigon

Saigon University Student Union. Saigon student union president Bui Uy greeted us warmly at the simple offices of the Saigon student union. "Geographically speaking, we are very far away," he said. "But politically speaking, we have many things in common; namely—to serve the ideals of democracy and freedom. This office brings a poor image of Vietnam, for we are in the midst of rehabilitation and reconstruction. We youth are working to improve the situation. We are ready to cooperate with those willing to reconstruct the country."

Uy, a 27 year old law student, has succeeded in keeping the organization free and independent. We spent many hours in discussion with him and his leaders at a dinner he hosted for us and on one of our later field trips.

Saigon Medical School. Again as guests of students, we toured the Saigon Medical School. While its buildings were beautiful and its facilities and faculty were of high quality, it is not turning out graduates fast enough. According to its Dean, Vietnam needs at least 400 new doctors every year; the medical school can produce only 200. Internship is done before graduation. After graduation all males enter the army and females—an astonishingly large 20 percent of each class—undertake a similar form of civilian service.



View of Saigon from Van Hanh University

Can We Forget Vietnam?

by Raisa Scriabine Petroff

"How can you Americans so easily forget all the lives you've lost in Vietnam? How can you ignore the past?" The words of a former medical doctor in the Viet Cong now "working for peace" in the South reflect a common Vietnamese view.

"Believe me, miss, we know assisting us is a tax drain on you. We appreciate it. Your money is well spent here. You will not regret helping us," a man on a Saigon Street stresses politely, but with a note of urgency in his voice.

"We can't fly many of our planes. We don't have the gasoline," a commander in the Mekong Delta relates. Nguyen Cao Than, Secretary General of the World Buddhist Social Service, points to a half-complete pagoda: "Please tell them in America that this is

to be a pagoda of peace and freedom. But we can't finish it without help."

The prospect of withering American economic assistance is a prime source of concern in Vietnam today. Vietnam is on the verge of either economic success or failure. It is a seesaw that can fall either way. The key factor in tipping the balance is the amount of American aid to be pumped into the country in the next few years.

The United States is Vietnam's chief financial asset, though the Vietnamese are attempting to diversify the sources of their economic assistance—France, West Germany, Denmark and Japan being prime contributors.

The question remains: "How much United States aid?" U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin's estimate of "800 million dollars in the next two years" is termed "realistic" by Nguyen Ngoc

Route of youth delegation tour. North to Hue and Quang Tri. Northeast to Dalat. Southeast to Vung Tau and Phuoc Tuy. South to Con Son. West to the Mekong Delta.

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Winter Soldiers

"Veterans" Push Marxist Line

by Dan Holdgrewe

For the first time since the decline of the anti-war movement, the radical left may have found a new rallying point. The *Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldiers Organization* (VVAW/WSO) is making a determined effort to revive the campaign among American youth for Communist victory in Southeast Asia.

These "veterans" are no longer interested in peace, however, but have instead embraced a blatantly Marxist doctrine of economic determinism and fabrication of capitalist guilt. They list among their objectives, "to dedicate ourselves to these principles and objectives which directly relate to the imperialist suppression of the People of the World by the United States government. We understand this war is imperialist in origin and affirm that the membership of VVAW/WSO is not only concerned with ending this war, but with changing domestic, social, political and economic institutions that have caused and perpetuated its continuance."

The name "Vietnam Veterans Against the War" was used by anti-war activists as far back as 1967 to exploit the American people's sympathy and respect for veterans. Suffice it to say that a disproportionately small number of these "veterans" had received honorable discharges. In 1970 VVAW emerged as an independent organization manufacturing propaganda about alleged war crimes committed by U.S. Military personnel and allied governments. Sixteen VVAW members took the step toward terrorism and political extortion by occupying the Statue of Liberty in December of 1971. VVAW also supported the Hanoi-backed 9 point peace agreement with the Vietnamese "people."

With the fading of support of the anti-war movement, Vietnam Veterans Against the War began to espouse overtly Marxist criticism of American society. In their own words, "We began the process of learning that the war was only a symptom, that as long as the American economic structure could profit from the exploitation of working and third world people at home and around the world, This orientation is born out in the

wars like Vietnam would continue."

The VVAW was no longer an anti-war group—it had become an organization centered on Communist theory and dedicated to the overthrow of American democracy. "We have learned that only a radical change in the system of this country can possibly prevent the wars of the future." The suffix, "Winter Soldiers Organization," was added to legitimize the influx of non-veteran leftists without sacrificing the facade of morally outraged defenders of their country.

In the U.S., VVAW/WSO maintains an independent status insofar as it is not openly tied to one of the various Marxist parties, (i.e. the Moscow-run CPUSA, the Maoist Progressive Labor Party, or the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party). However, it works hand in glove with the pro-Castro Venceremos Brigade, exchanging information and personnel freely. Furthermore, sources in Japan reveal that the VVAW/WSO works closely with the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) and with the Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Congyran) which is a North Korean front. This orientation is born out in the

VVAW-WSO publication *Winter Soldier*.

In contrast to many Marxist groups which have condemned the cult of personality centered on Kim Il-sung in North Korea, *Winter Soldier* takes a strong pro-Kim position. In Japan VVAW/WSO members speak and show films idealizing life in North Korea to encourage immigration by Koreans living in Japan. For anyone familiar with the underground press to be unrestrained by the truth. Having no reputation to lose it does not stop at distant Asian shores, but goes right to the heart of the U.S. to invent stories unavailable in the "controlled establishment press."

Facilitating Communist victory

The current activities of the VVAW/WSO are designed to facilitate Communist victory in Asia by neutralizing U.S. influence. The drive for unconditional amnesty gets first billing when VVAW/WSO describes itself, but in its programs amnesty takes second place to its Southeast Asian objectives. The "veterans" work at alienating servicemen in Asia from their mission, for the purpose of weakening U.S. military effectiveness against Soviet and Chinese imperialism. The demands for amnesty and a "uniform discharge" are attempts

to remove the penalties for those crimes which VVAW/WSO is actively encouraging servicemen to commit.

More directly, the VVAW/WSO underwrites a flood of propaganda perpetrating the myth of "democracy" in the Communist-held zones of Southeast Asia and of a "people's struggle" against "imperialistic aggression." The *Winter Soldier* enjoys the freedom of the underground press to be unrestrained by the truth. Having no reputation to lose it does not stop at distant Asian shores, but goes right to the heart of the U.S. to invent stories unavailable in the "controlled establishment press."

July Rally

Consistently, the VVAW/WSO has built itself up by participation in other radical causes and token aid programs for veterans combined with intensive proselytization of Marxist views. They could possibly emerge as the leading Communist front group in the U.S. One important indicator will be the success of their July rally in Washington, D.C.

From July 1st to July 4th,

VVAW/WSO will conduct demonstrations and seminars in downtown Washington. The advance publicity for this rally has listed impeachment of the President as a major issue, although not an intellectually respectable issue in view of the fact that VVAW/WSO considers inflation and unemployment impeachable offenses. Few Western leaders would survive under that criteria, but that, of course, is exactly what VVAW/WSO would like.

Another major issue is the call for amnesty for draft resisters, deserters, etc. This, they say, is required because the criminals are not the criminals, but the "government" and the "imperialist system" (i.e. everybody else) are the criminals. Furthermore the war was "illegal." The attempts they make at constitutional arguments for an illegal war make their impeachment stand look good.

More importantly, there will be session after session of propaganda so that no one leaves the demonstration without a thorough understanding of how U.S. imperialistic aggression has again and again victimized the peace-loving, democratic North Vietnamese.

Victories Cease, Troubles Begin

Khmer Reds Lose Momentum



Khmer Ambassador Um Sim speaks at luncheon on Capitol Hill.

As a result of these restrictions, the Cambodian peasants are beginning to seek every opportunity to escape from the Communists. "When the Communist forces pulled out of the area around Kampong Thom to go fight around Phnom Penh, the people took advantage to break loose, and fled by the tens of thousands to the provincial capitals," the Ambassador said. "They realized that life is hard on the Government side (due to inflation), things are expensive to buy, and it is hard to get money. But this is better than having nothing to buy and having no money."

Describing the progress of the war, Ambassador Um Sim said that captured documents reveal that a prime goal of the Communists was the capture of the capital city of Phnom Penh. They made two major efforts to take the capital, both of which failed. The first attempt was in August 1973, when the U.S. was still providing air support for the Khmer government. The captured documents indicate that the Communists were hoping to score a propaganda victory by demonstrating that they could take Phnom Penh despite U.S. might. However, the second attempt on Dec 1973-Jan. 1974 also failed, even in the absence of American air support.

Jim Murphy from the Cambodia desk of the U.S. State Department, at the head table with Ambassador Um Sim, said after the Ambassador's speech, "The Communists could justify their restrictions (of the Cambodians under their control) as long as they were making victories; but now that they've lost the momentum of victory, they're faced with all the problems their restrictions caused—how the people are looking for every opportunity to pull out."

The Khmer Reds now are reduced to attacking small cities, and infiltrating Phnom Penh to carry out acts of assassination and sabotage, such as the recent

murder of the Education Minister last May.

As a result of the fighting and the exodus from the Communist-controlled areas, Cambodia now has an estimated 2 million refugees, out of a population of 7 million. Questioned about how the government can handle such a large proportion of refugees, the Ambassador replied, "There is still plenty of room for them, and they are beginning to get organized. The refugees around Kompong Thom are a good example of people helping themselves. They voluntarily requested arms from the government, and have gone back to defend their homes by themselves."

The Khmer government has offered a six-point peace proposal to the other side. The first condition calls for the "withdrawal of all foreign troops," (meaning NVA and Vietcong, as there are now no American troops in Cambodia), followed by a cease-fire and negotiations leading to internationally supervised elections. "Cambodia is different from South Vietnam in that the Communist Party is legal in Cambodia," the Ambassador said. "They are free to organize any way they want—if they are elected, the people would accept it." However, the government has received a favorable reply from the Khmer Reds. One of the problems in negotiating is that no bona-fide leader of the Khmer Reds has stepped forward. "Sihanouk is only a nominal head of state—he no longer really leads the Khmer Reds," the Ambassador explained, and the insurgents have not named any leader or governing body which the government can negotiate with.

In regards to U.S. aid, the Ambassador said that aid maintained at the present level, taking inflation into account, would be sufficient for their needs. "We want the same amount of material, but not the same amount of money," the Ambassador said. Cambodia also needs the bargaining power of the United States in international relations, and the diplomatic skill of people such as Henry Kissinger, in order to influence world opinion to put pressure on the North Vietnamese to cease their aggression. "Without these things, we must try to do it by ourselves and I don't think we can do it by ourselves."

Closing his speech, the Ambassador scored news reports which said that the American Ambassador, John Gunther Dean, is "running the country." "We have a parliament—a House and a Senate," the Ambassador said. "If President Lon Nol makes a decision, it can be overruled by two thirds vote of parliament. In spite of what they say, democracy is operating in our country. It is not true that one man runs everything, even if he is the Ambassador of the United States."



FLF members Dan Fefferman and Louise Berry give their impression of Vietnam after the slide show.

Vietnam Delegates Welcomed

On Monday, June 24 both old and new friends attended FLF's "Welcome Home" reception held at the Rayburn House Office Building for those who had recently returned from a fact-finding tour of Vietnam included among the 120 prominent people who attended were Congressmen Fisher and Collins of Texas, Major General and Mrs. Edward Lansdale, His Excellency Um Sim of the Khmer Republic, and about 25 congressional aides and office workers, as well as many representatives of the embassies of the Republic of Vietnam, Republic of Korea, Republic of China, the Philippines, and Chile.

The reception, beginning at 5:00 p.m., featured a half-hour narrated slide presentation of the tour. It included scenes of the famed "tiger cages," and the delegation speaking with some of the many recent North Vietnamese countryside showed the lush richness of Vietnam, truly unreflective of reports about "mass defoliation." It showed much of the country's recent progress toward stability through improved rice crops, resettlement of refugees and reconstruction.

Other extremely interesting slides were taken of two contrasting areas near Hué and Quang Trí. Close to Hué a little village was nestled in green vegetation alongside a beautiful flowing river. In

contrast to this, devastated countryside, completely destroyed in the North's offensive of 1972 was shown. Covering the area are hundreds of gravesites of those South Vietnamese who lost their lives during the North's invasion in 1968 and the 1972 spring offensive. Other slides showed South Vietnamese territory which, despite the Paris agreements, is still being held by North Vietnamese.



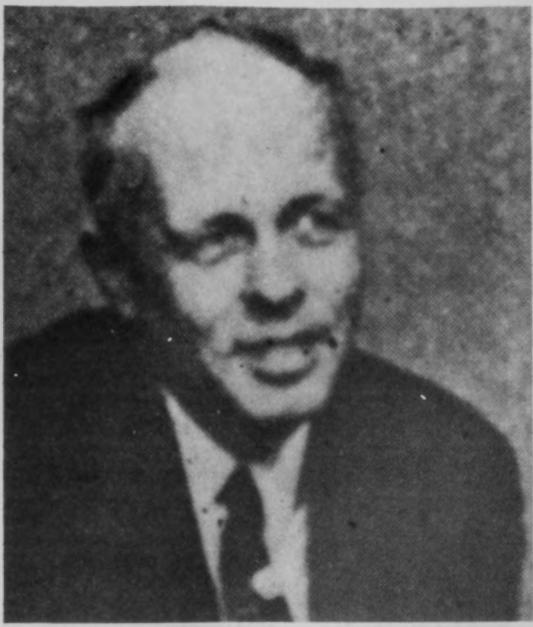
Vietnam delegate Raisa Petroff (center) and husband Nick talk with Sikh leader Dr. Jagjit Chauhan.

presentation and felt it was a very fair—and not often seen—representation of the situation in Vietnam.

There was a great diversity of groups attending the reception—different age groups, various ethnic backgrounds, professions, races. It was quite an impressive sight. At the end of the slide presentation, members of the delegation answered questions, giving personal experience and impressions.

Dissident Scientist Interviewed

Sakharov Praises Solzhenitsyn



Andrei Sakharov

Translated and reprinted from Possev, issue No. 3, March 1974. Courtesy of the publisher.

On January 20, 1974, academician Sakharov responded by telephone from Moscow to questions put to him by correspondents of the Swiss newspaper, *Tribune de Genève*.

What is your opinion of Solzhenitsyn's book and of its possible influence abroad?

The publication of Solzhenitsyn's book is a significant event. The author's stature and courage, his brilliant literary talent, the precise documentation of the narrative, the enormous effort that the author put into this book, all this affects even a prejudiced reader. A large body of scholarly historical literature dealing with repression in the USSR has already existed for a long time. Examples of such studies are Melgunov's *The Red Terror*, Conquest's *The Great Terror*, Roy Medvedev's *Let History Judge*, and there are many others. These books are, in my opinion, indispensable for anyone wishing to form an unbiased opinion about the subject.

We know of numerous testimonies of persons who have survived the labor camps and the torture chambers. But I have the feeling that only a few have fully grasped the meaning of those as-

tounding facts which are contained in this literature. It is insufficiently popularized in the West, and it is completely inaccessible within the USSR. Misunderstanding and mistrust are prevalent among many. Often, it is deliberate and dishonest. In other cases, it is the result of an astonishing trust in the deceptive official version. The lack of understanding on the part of Western intellectuals has been one of the reasons for many of our tragedies. It is also highly dangerous for the West itself, as it is being caught in the trap of leftist extremism. It is no less important for our own people to know the authentic rather than the falsified history of the nation. The moral and spiritual significance of *The Gulag Archipelago* must be enormous. Only by understanding the depth of the crimes of the recent past can there be any hope of exonerating ourselves of this bloody burden.

Solzhenitsyn's book is distinguished by its broad historical scope, by a synthesizing grasp of the subject. The author rejects the mid-position held by critics within the Party who ascribe everything to the errors committed during the period of the cult of personality, and primarily to the destruction of Party cadres and those of the international Communist movement during 1934-39. These Stalinist purges were monstrous in

Do you agree when, here in the West, your position is identified with Solzhenitsyn's? Or is this an oversimplification?

Of course, there are certain differences in our views. Probably, this is attributable to the fact that Solzhenitsyn and I have had completely different lives and professional experiences. Different temperaments also have their effect. But what difference does that make? I admire Solzhenitsyn's talent, diligence, and courage. I am certain that what he is doing is very important for all our people and for all humanity.

Some tourists feel that the situation in the USSR has improved with respect to freedom of expression and material well-being. Is this true?

Foreign tourists in our country are meticulously restrained from any uncon-

trolled contact with the people. Their itineraries are limited to suitable showplaces. If I were a tourist observing the life of a foreign country through a tour bus window, I would guard against making any generalizing conclusions. As to the substance of the question? There is no simple answer to your question about the material well-being in our country. The past year has been a productive one; we had an abundant harvest and for us this is very important. There has been some development, at least in terms of quantity, in the domestic production of consumer goods. But in our country, as in all the world, there is evidence of latent inflation, and this adversely affects the majority of the population. It is still a reality that we are far behind the developed countries of the West, both in our standard of living and in our social institutions. The distribution of food and light industry products continues to be completely inadequate in most parts of the country. Therefore, it is difficult to give a simple answer to the question about changes in the standard of living.

A special place in the book—and I consider it a very important one—is devoted to the mass repressions of the peasantry during the era of collectivization, famine, and consolidation of the Stalinist dictatorship in the years 1929-1933. These years denoted the turning point in the history of our country. The psychologically and economically disastrous consequences of the crimes that were then committed, for which the entire Party leadership, the entire Party, must certainly bear collective responsibility, have determined much in our lives of the whole subsequent period.

Solzhenitsyn describes in detail other meticulously concealed crimes which have cost our nation tens of millions of human lives. I would like to believe that *The Gulag Archipelago* will become widely known, not only in the West, but also in the USSR, and that it will be that stone which will finally break the ice of mistrust and misunderstanding which has been created by lies, hatred, cowardice, and stupidity. This stone has been thrown by a strong and sure hand.

Do you agree when, here in the West, your position is identified with Solzhenitsyn's? Or is this an oversimplification?

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The question about the freedom of expression, however, does have a single, simple answer. Here, everything is exactly the same and, to a certain extent, there is even deterioration. The power of the ideological Party leadership continues to be pervasive, dogmatic, and bureaucratic. Similarly pervasive is the power of the KGB. Every contact of our society with the outside world is controlled as thoroughly as ever. Here are some facts from the most recent times: religious persecution has again been intensified in Lithuania; there have been searches and arrests; a new wave of repression is becoming apparent in Kiev and Leningrad; ideological repressions against writers have intensified. The most recent examples are the expulsion of Lydia Chukovskaya from the Writers' Union of the USSR, searches conducted in the homes of Anatoly Marchenko and Viktor Nekrasov, threats to Voinovich and Kopelev. And, of course, there is the mad campaign against Alexander Solzhenitsyn; where it will lead, no one knows. If we compare our days with the not-so-distant past, it will be obvious that, even in our special publications it is now impossible to publish that which was freely published only a few years ago, for example, in the journal *Novy Mir*.



Gen. Grigorenko with his wife and son.

Grigorenko Freed; but . . .

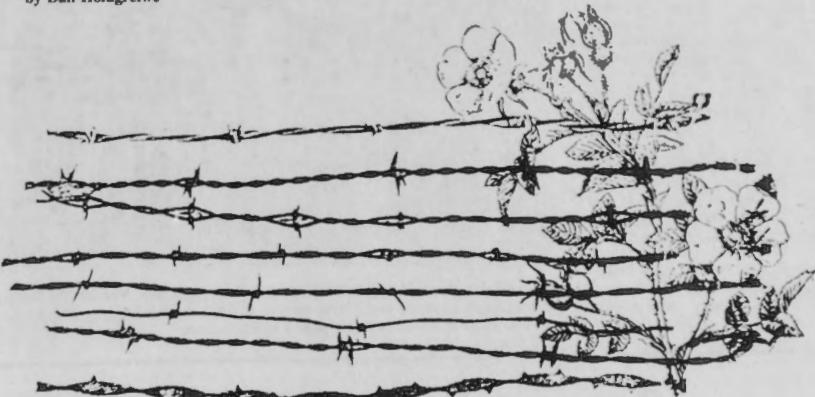
In a widely publicized move, the Soviet Union has released Soviet army Major General Pyotr Grigorenko after five years of detention in a Soviet mental hospital for defending minority groups and civil rights. While this is good news for those in the West who have been calling for the release of General Grigorenko, it does not reflect a change in the Soviet policy toward dissidents in general, which is the more important consideration.

Like the exile of Alexander Solzhenitsyn and the emigration of Valery and Galina Panov, Grigorenko's release is a token gesture which the Soviets hope will reduce Western criticism before President Nixon's Moscow visit. Meanwhile, thousands of unknown Soviet citizens continue to suffer imprisonment for their religious or political beliefs. Only the facts of Soviet repression have changed—instead of being imprisoned, Solzhenitsyn is slandered by the Soviet propaganda machine; Grigorenko has remarked, "Just because you get out doesn't mean you can't go back in."

A radical change in Soviet policy toward non-conformists is needed, not the token release of a few celebrated dissidents.

Notes from the Underground

by Dan Holdrege



groups in Ireland and the Middle East to placing agents of influence in high positions in foreign governments. And of course the Soviets use undisguised military force to dictate the internal affairs of other Iron Curtain countries.

But while it is easy to dismiss the hypocritical position of the Communists, we must respond seriously when this same position is embraced by our fellow citizens and elected officials. Here important distinctions must be made, distinctions which the Soviet position intentionally obscures.

If the United States extends special favors in trade or technology to the Soviets, we are aiding them in the oppression of their people. We are then accessories to their violation of the Soviet Constitution, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and the inalienable rights of all men endowed by their Creator. To demand reform as a precondition for extending special favors to the U.S.S.R. is not interference in Soviet affairs; they are free to decline our favors. But to favor a nation without regard for how it treats its citizens is morally, and in the long run politically, irresponsible.

Likewise it is not interference to expose the crimes of the Soviet government to the world, and to appeal to mankind to condemn these wrongs. This might be so if it were an attempt to force the Soviet Union a way of life totally different from its traditions and beliefs. But no demand for freedom, either from within or without the U.S.S.R., has exceeded the generous provisions of the Soviet Constitution. These generous promises of freedom are, however, totally contradicted by the actions of the Soviet government.

In this light, the support that President Nixon has given the Soviet position

Solzhenitsyn's Interview on CBS

by Alan W. Bock



Sending Walter Cronkite to interview Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn is a little like sending Mickey Mantle to interview Picasso. Cronkite seems incapable of more than a superficial pomposity, and showed little evidence of understanding what Solzhenitsyn was trying to tell him. Nonetheless, the hour-long interview on CBS-TV with the great Russian author gave us an opportunity to hear and see the man himself. Several points which he made invite discussion.

It is encouraging to note that Solzhenitsyn still hopes to go back to Russia, "when the system has changed enough to allow *Gulag Archipelago* to be published and distributed freely." He has no intention of remaining a permanent exile, and he is clear in his understanding that it is not just a few personalities who must be ousted, but a system of permanent repression which must be changed. Perhaps it is hopelessly romantic of him to hope that such profound changes in Russia might occur in his lifetime—but in many ways it is a miracle that he is still alive. The Soviet government could have crushed him, knowing that after a few weeks of furor the noble Western intellectuals would forget all about Solzhenitsyn.

It is possible that Solzhenitsyn is alive today because he is something the Red bureaucrats cannot understand—a man who cannot be intimidated into submission. To have killed him would have been an admission of defeat for the State. Exile is ideologically less damaging to Communist self-esteem. It shows a faith that though a man may be stubborn he could still come around to belief in the Inevitability of History. By the nature of his opposition Solzhenitsyn made himself a threat

dead or alive, even to people with no respect at all for human life. The reasons are too complex for this space, but his very survival indicates that one should not dismiss the possibility of miracles out-of-hand when dealing with this man.

The other key point which Solzhenitsyn brought out concerned emigration from the Soviet Union. There is a tide of emigration now which could result in the cream of Russia becoming permanent exiles from their homeland. Solzhenitsyn, while congratulating the Western press for its efforts to facilitate emigration, made it clear that his own goals are to work for improvements in Russia which will make it unnecessary for people to want to emigrate. It is important to keep this long-range goal in mind.

There is mixed evidence on whether the example of Solzhenitsyn's courage is bringing about substantive changes in the Soviet Union. In preparation for the Nixon-Kissinger visit, hundreds of Jews have been harassed or detained to discourage any incident which

might rub the noses of the Americans in reality. It is likely that the current wave of exit visas being granted is designed to get the most troublesome elements out of the country to clear the way for a new wave of vicious repression.

On the other hand there are some encouraging signs. The *Chronicle of Current Events*, the underground journal which has been repressed of late, has begun publication again. The great cellist, Mstislav Rostropovich, announced his support of Solzhenitsyn, and may have his citizenship revoked for his trouble. The sculptor Ernst Neizvestny has attacked the Soviet travel ban. Novelist Victor Nekrasov, who had avoided being labeled as a dissident, protested the "stream of slanders" directed against Solzhenitsyn.

Even the regime's pet poet, Evgeny Evtushenko, who sometimes ventures into a little criticism as long as he's sure it won't jeopardize his privileges, spoke out in protest of the exile of Solzhenitsyn. The fact that Evtushenko ventured a timid protest probably indicates a much stronger feeling in the Russian intellectual community.

What do these contradictory events mean? It's too early to tell. But Andrei Sakharov decided to turn down an offer to come to the United States, feeling that with Solzhenitsyn gone it was more important for him to remain in Russia. That indicates a selfless dedication to duty. But it may also indicate a long-term optimism that the Soviet system is in trouble from within.

Let's hope Solzhenitsyn will be able to return one day. The only hope must come from turmoil within the slave state. With Nixon and Kissinger playing footsie with Brezhnev, the regime is surely in no serious danger from the "capitalist imperialists" of the West.

Thoughts on

"Non-Interference"

This week I am departing from the usual format of this column to comment on the response in the United States to the protests of dissidents in the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R., of course, condemns any criticism of its treatment of religious or political dissidents as interference in its internal affairs. "Non-interference in internal affairs" has become a byword of Soviet diplomacy, which the Soviets hope to enshrine at the European Security Conference. Regrettably, leaders in the United States as well have begun to espouse the Soviet position of non-interference.

In themselves, the claims of the Soviet Union would not be worth much consideration. Like much of Soviet policy, these arguments are based more on convenience than principle. The government-controlled press in the U.S.S.R. has never hesitated to tell other countries how to run their internal affairs, nor has the Central Committee refrained from issuing statements on alleged mistreatment of pro-Communist elements in the Democratic world. Currently Uruguayan Communist Rodney Arismendi and Chilean Communist Luis Corvalan are beneficiaries of intensive Soviet propaganda.

Beyond this the Soviet Union carries out more direct interference through the KGB, whose activities extend from organizing and funding "local" terrorist

Notes, in Brief

- Russian Orthodox priest Dimitri Dudko continues to refuse to repudiate the public meetings he held with his congregation condemning the spiritual emptiness of Soviet life.

- In preparation for President Nixon's visit to the U.S.S.R. a new wave of repression has hit Jewish activists. To prevent news from spreading, the Soviet government has disconnected the telephones of known activists. Reports reaching the West indicate increased secret police surveillance and growing fears that male activists will be called up for military service prior to Mr. Nixon's arrival.

- Sources in Japan link the defection of Soviet Professor Boris P. Redkin, who has been teaching at the University of Osaka, with reports filed by pro-Communist students in his classes to local Soviet agents.

- The government of Communist China is making reprisals for the growing number of escapes from the mainland by seizing Hong Kong fishermen. These fishermen have been executed or sent to forced labor camps on charges of aiding supporters of Lin Piao in the current "anti-Lin" and "anti-Confucius" campaign.

VIETNAM, 1974

from page 1

Van Hanh University We were warmly received by the students of Van Hanh University—center of Buddhist learning in Vietnam. Attended by 4,000 students, Van Hanh is noted for having a complete night-school program.

After meeting with student representatives from several faculties, we toured the university with the 38 year old Dean and had a lengthy informal discussion with him and student leaders. (See separate section on student attitudes.)

Education Overview-Ngo Khac Tinh, Minister of Education, Culture and Youth. Mr. Tinh stressed to us his aspiration of integrating students into reconstruction efforts. He pointed with pride to student volunteer work in a DaNang refugee camp which brought corruption cases into light and saved several thousand dollars. He also hopes to launch projects in cooperation with the public sector—he mentioned that the local Saigon press had exhibited a willingness to join in some programs with the school system. Although higher education has made great strides, it is, he said, especially hampered by a lack of funds and a teacher shortage.

U.S. Embassy in Saigon:
Discussion with Ambassador Graham Martin

Briefing in military situation. Main characteristics of the recent military situation in the South have been a decline in casualties from the level prior to the cease-fire with a rise in indiscriminate, damaging, recent shelling of Bien Hoa area is an example of terrorist activities. Despite recent fighting in Ben Cat near Saigon, most enemy activities have been along the Western border, with 50 percent of it occurring in the Mekong Delta. According to the Embassy spokesman, the North Vietnamese Communists, who make up 80 percent of the enemy ground force, have little popular support in the South. "By their own estimate they control only 12 percent of the population... they would have to infiltrate 3 million people to gain any kind of strength in an election." The spokesman cited that the North Vietnamese faced some problem. The rice crop was down, reconstruction demanded much energy, their military aid had been reduced by half, they were unsure of Soviet and Chinese future support, and they were afraid of U.S. air power. These circumstances were reflected in a recently obtained North Vietnamese directive calling for greater patience—while, to them, the GVN was deteriorating and the 1973 cease-fire only a postponement of their conquest, victory would not come until 1979-1984.

Ambassador Graham Martin. We had the privilege of talking with Graham Martin, an increasingly controversial personality particularly amongst the media due to his direct approach to Vietnam critics. We were impressed by his honesty and quiet dignity, sensing deeply that he has great integrity.

The discussion opened with the subject of political prisoners. The Embassy, he says, investigates all claims of political prisoners—"If there are any," he says, "I haven't been able to find them." He noted that they considered political prisoners those who had been imprisoned solely due to their opposition to the regime—"Or more accurately," Martin said, "due to the regime's opposition to them." Those whose political beliefs lead them to any form of violence

are not considered political prisoners.

The South Vietnamese, he said have well understood the present economic situation—there have been no riots. Politically the regime is stable—Martin feels that 80 percent of the population is behind Thieu and even more opposed to the Communists. "Millions of refugees have voted with their feet. The essential human spirit, whenever given the choice, chooses freedom for self and children... Do you know a dictatorship that arms its own people?" (referring to the GVN militia program).

In explaining his quick response to Shipley's article and to Vietnam critics, he said: "Being a former journalist, I had the responsibility to inform my people of the truth. I believe with every fiber of my being that a free press is essential to the democratic system. We have a choice to make. Many have an emotional commitment to North Vietnamese victory—the propaganda campaign has been so long and pervasive. Someone has to get the truth on the table."

Martin voiced a qualified optimism on Vietnam's future. "The people are industrious and willing to work. The country has many natural riches. An economic infusion could initiate a synergistic process, creating a takeoff like that occurring in Taiwan."

"We should get out," he said.

"But it is very important how we do this. We will reach the goal—the question is how long it will take. A large appropriation for the two years would bring a take-off like a sky rocket. If they (the Vietnamese) didn't work, it wouldn't work. It will here."

After the meeting we gave the Ambassador a *Rising Tide* with an article about him in it. "I will treasure this," he said.

HUE AND QUANG TRI — JUNE 7

After a very scenic plane ride to Phu Bai airport near Hue, we were briefed by Col. Nguyen Khac Ly on the military

situation in military region I—northernmost area of South Vietnam.

Cease-fire violations had dropped considerably since the beginning of 1973, but North Vietnam has more manpower in the area—Khe Sanh base has been completely overtaken, as has much of the northern and western portions. Most of Quang Tri province, overrun in the 1972 Spring offensive, is now reclaimed, but Communists still occupy the area of the province north of the former city of Quang Tri.

On our helicopter trip to Quang Tri we saw the full range of Vietnamese countryside. Beautiful vistas of green mountains, plains, and calm rice paddies prevailed until we got to the northern area—stark and covered with gravesites.

Quang Tri

Quang Tri Province Chief Ky has a lot of responsibility for a young man. After the case offensive several hundred thousand refugees fled the area to escape the Communist advance and crowded into the cities or refugee camps. Strong ties to the land of their ancestors gave them the desire to return to their destroyed homelands even while the area was—to our standards—devastated. Since Quang Tri Province was reclaimed by the GVN, Ky has resettled 110,000 refugees.

Simply constructed of wood and tin along the roads, the villages have quickly reestablished themselves even with all their institutions, small shops, cafes, barbers, and seamstresses.

Reconstruction of Quang Tri has depended on aid from a variety of sources. The new Quang Tri city hall is being built with cement from Korea, timber from the U.S. and West Germany, and tin from Denmark.

Enroute to Quang Tri city, we travelled on Highway 1, passing old Soviet tanks. In 1972, 3,000 fleeing refugees were killed along this road, now known as the "highway of terror."

The entrance to Quang Tri, once the home of 85,000, is marked by a skull and crossbones atop a barbed-wire fence

Houses—now piles of rubble—were becoming reclaimed slowly by the jungle. The city was destroyed by artillery fire alone, indicating a protracted battle. At the riverbank, we stood at the northernmost border of South Vietnam. Not more than a hundred yards away was enemy territory, marked by a Vietcong flag and posters. The quiet of the deserted area—too dangerous for habitation—was incongruous with the violence of the past battle or of those fought recently nearby.

Hue

The beautiful Imperial city along the Perfume River is still recovering from the 1968 invasion and massacre and the 1972 offensive. The Hue Province Chief described the problems of caring for the tremendous influx of refugees in 1972—Hue, he said, did its best to provide them with food. There has been little revengeful feeling towards refugees from Communist-controlled areas because, he said, "people know what the Communists do."

U.S. Relief Program. On our way to a meeting with Hue University students, we toured a U.S.-funded craft center. Here refugees needing employment create wood carvings, paintings, and Vietnamese style handicrafts. We saw only one section of a large operation employing hundreds of people.

After having been warmly met by students of Hué University, we toured the Imperial Tombs as the guests of General Lam Quang Thi. The ancient buildings, damaged in 1968, had been very well restored.

CON SON—JUNE 8

The island of Con Son, if located nearer a developed country, would probably be an expensive resort. Rather, the beaches and lush mountains isolated in the South China Sea, are the site of one of the most controversial prisons of our time. Brought to the attention of the West by Don Luce, Con Son, is known



Scene near Hue.. Much of Vietnam looks like this—not destroyed or defoliated!

as the home of the infamous Tiger Cages. The whitewashed walls, tile roofs, and tree-lined courts of the prison were quick indicators that the prison was a relic of the French occupation.

According to Vietnamese prison chief Col. Tiep, the 5,000 prisoners are non-political. All North Vietnamese and Viet Cong prisoners, he said, were turned over after the 1973 agreement. (Where, he muses, are the 67,000 South Vietnamese prisoners captured by the North?)

Food for the prisoners includes a 500 gram daily ration of rice plus a portion of the produce that they, as the island's farmers, cultivate. There are varying security classifications—those in less restricted categories can work in a supervisory capacity or obtain employment at the islands Coast Guard base.

made short speeches to the prisoners, encouraging them to endure their term courageously.

Some of us spoke with the prisoners. Most of those we encountered had ten to twenty years—the most prevalent crime was murder.

On our way to the Tiger Cages we visited the infirmary and classrooms. The infirmary, small and crowded, is staffed by only one doctor while 80 percent of the prisoners have malaria. The educational program was a brighter spot. Programs include reading instruction mechanics, and handicrafts.

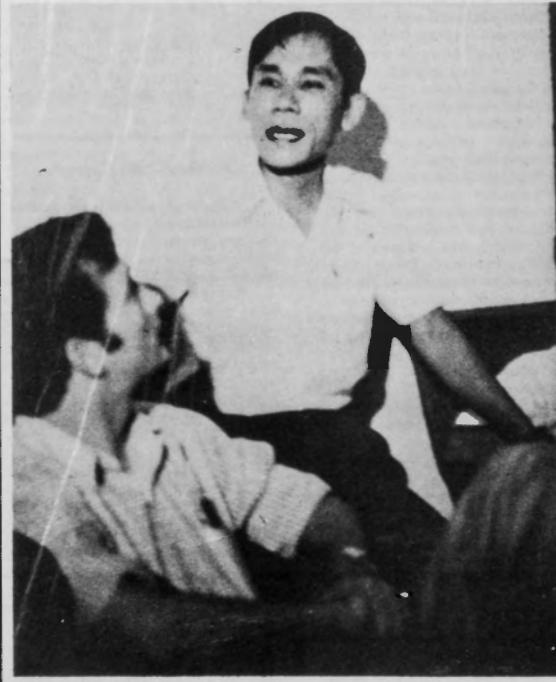
Tiger Cages. The Tiger Cages are in an old area now overgrown. None of the cells had been used since 1972, we were told. Before that, Tiger Cages, they said, were used for short periods of solitary confinement. Each cell had a door-



Youth delegation in Saigon. Front Row: Robert Heckman, Nguyen Thi Ngoc-Huong, Raisa Petroff, Ron Robinson, George Curtin, Nguyen Ngoc Bich, Nguyen Van Hoan, Louise Berry, Le Thi Hoi Hai. Second Row: Mr. Truong, John Buckley, Victor Roberts, Lorenzo Gaztanaga, Dan Fefferman.

Recent Ralliers Tell Their Story

Communist Hypocrisy Inspires Defection



Detected Vietcong Political Commissar.

Vietnam's Open Arms program, run by Information Minister Nha to encourage and welcome ralliers, has been very successful—it has attracted 225,000 people across the lines. As guests of overseas information director Nguyen Ngoc Bich, we spent an evening with defectors to the Open Arms program from the Viet Cong or North Vietnamese (ralliers). The ralliers included a major, a political commissar, a doctor, a secret police officer, and two musicians from Hanoi. One of the musicians, the major, and the doctor had defected only a short time before.

Most of the men present were very intelligent and politically astute, befitting their high positions in the Communist structure. The U.S. Embassy says that high-level defectors are growing—these men proved it. They were not foot-soldiers tired of getting shot at but rather the cream of the crop of Communist-created society.

Why did they leave? All of them went through a process of re-examining their motives for joining the Communist side. The 1973 Paris agreement initiated this process for many—they found themselves fighting against their own people now instead of the "U.S. imperialist aggressor." This disillusioned them. Said the political commissar: "I thought the Communists came to liberate the people from the enemy. After I read the Paris Agreement, I saw that the Americans and the South followed the Agreement. The other side did not. I am a man and can change my mind."

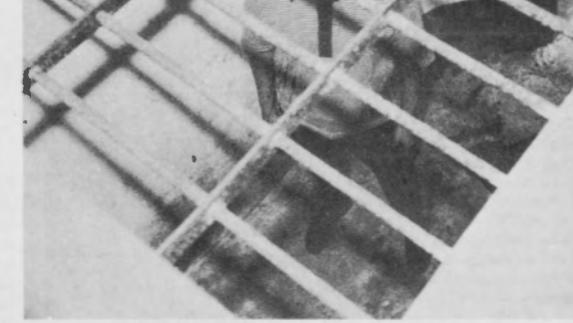
Others perceived the bankruptcy of Communist ideology. One considered it

much too abstract. Another tired of its hypocrisy—he had heard the Communists promise land then see them take it away.

Each had a different story to tell describing how they left. For some it was just a matter of slipping away at an opportune moment. In other cases it required much careful planning, sometimes in conjunction with others. All are now under the protection of the Open Arms Ministry; the political commissar, however, fears for the safety of his family.

Their testimony was on the beginning of the evening. As soon as there was a lull in the conversation, the political commissar surprised us by saying "May we ask you a few questions now?" He led off by asking us if we had any idea about the extent to which protests in the U.S. were used as Communist propaganda. Their foremost concern was that the United States must gain a clearer idea of what is now at stake in Vietnam. The Vietcong major was especially adept in expressing this.

"How do you expect us to fight very well with these Congressional cuts?" he said. "In the North the situation is different. They have few financial burdens—they don't pay their troops, for example. We pay our people, like any country worthy of its name... If aid is cut, there is but one avenue left. This would be to become just like the Communists, forcing people to do things. This would be a dangerous situation. The fight for freedom belongs to all nations. Are you ready to wash so much down the drain?"



Dan Fefferman inside a Con Son Tiger Cage. Entrance is at the right.

The prisoners, in black garb were lined up surging a patriotic song when we met them. Con Son director Phuong introduced the Australian Ambassador to Vietnam, a Japanese Senator, and Dan Fefferman to them. Each of three

way; they were arranged in cell block

Entrance is at the right.

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General Lam Quang Thi with Dan Fefferman in Hue

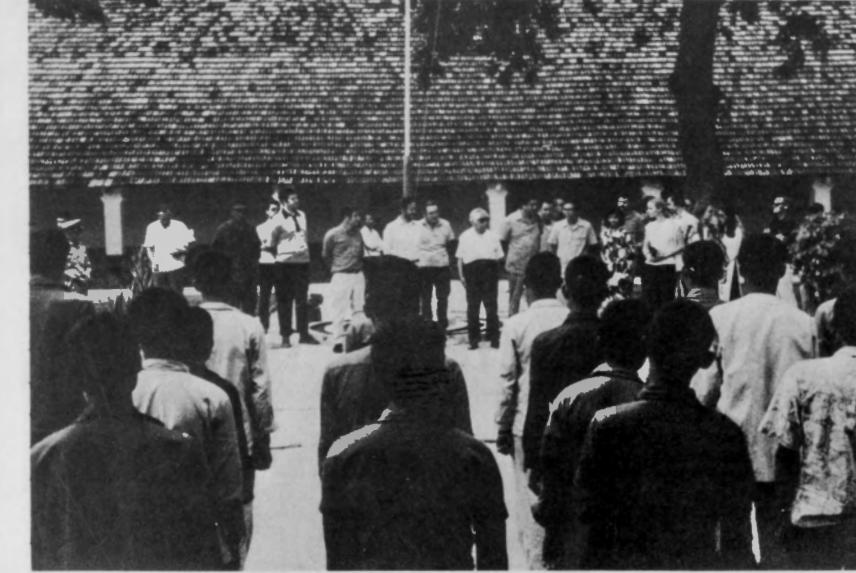
VIETNAM, 1974

from page 4

windowless—which were actually much less comfortable than the Tiger Cages. Over lunch we asked the commander of the Coast Guard station at Con Son if he were ever frightened as one of the few non-prisoners on the island. He explained that at first he was, but that incidents of violence had been scarce. As emphasis, he pointed to the two cooks who had just served us lunch, saying that they were serving sentences for murder.

DALAT—JUNE 9

Dalat, a beautiful and prosperous resort area, has seen little of both the war



Con Son prisoners meet youth delegation, Australian Ambassador, and a Japanese Senator.

and American soldiers. Thatched and tin-roof houses are not seen here—instead are Alpine looking cottages. Its isolation has made it the site of two of Vietnam's colleges, the National Military Academy and Dalat University.

National Military Academy The Military Academy is the showplace of Vietnamese higher education. Modeled after West Point and equipped through U.S. support, it turns out high-quality career officers, many of whom have been killed in action. The library, comparable to a good college library in the U.S., is equipped, in technical subjects, with books mainly in English; therefore all cadets learn English. The library was well stocked by the U.S. until 1971. Facilities include a language lab and labs with a range of light to heavy equipment.

Dalat University Dalat University, a private Catholic college with several

many generations to come," said Rev. Tich Tam Chau, leader of a Unified organization of Mahayana and Theravada Buddhists. Also greeting us were other prominent Buddhist leaders including a Senator, a leader of the revolt against Diem, and the director of Vietnam's Buddhist youth and social service programs. U.S. misunderstanding of the Buddhist position was brought home to us when we saw a tapestry of one of this group's leaders burning himself—an event well publicized in the U.S. He was actually protesting Diem's repressive measures towards Buddhists. Shrines commemorating Buddhists killed in the war were also proudly pointed out in the Pagoda.

"All freedom-loving people must stay united to fight for freedom so that all the people in the world may live in freedom and prosperity for many generations," said Rev. Chau. "We wish and

hope that you, after your visit, will also contribute to the bond of friendship between our countries and the unity of all spiritual forces. We hope that you will devote yourselves to the propagation of the doctrine of freedom."

At the close of the meeting Rev. Chau made a special bow to Lorenzo Gaztanaga, member of the delegation who is a Cuban refugee.

National Cadres Training Center

We were given a tour of the National Cadres Training Center at Nung Tan by its director, Col. Lam. The center trains all Vietnamese civil servants for a period of four to six weeks; 230,466 men and women have been through the pro-

Vietnam Faces Military Problems, But Economic Prospects Bright

by Lorenzo Gaztanaga

Vietnam is a country still at war. Since the cease-fire there have been

50,207 Communist violations and 14,633 acts of terrorism. Within its own borders there are 400,000 North Vietnamese enemy troops occupying so-

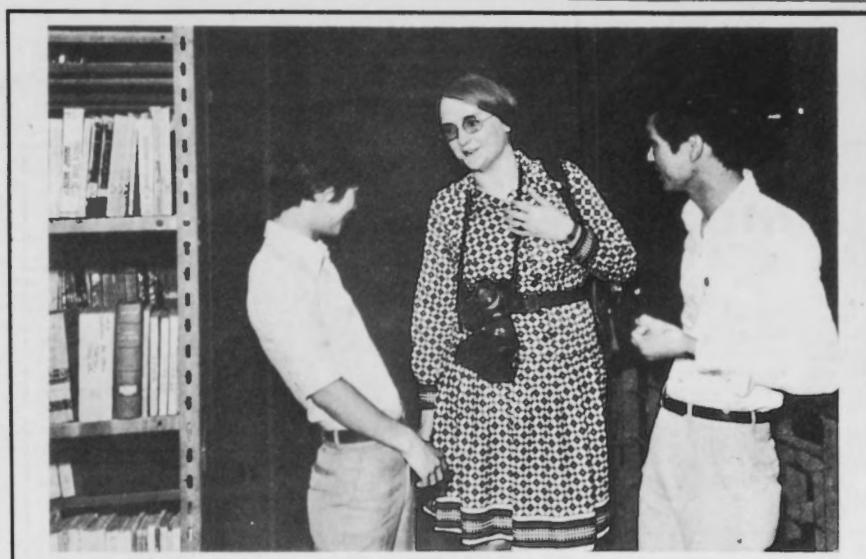
called liberated territory. These troops have consistently worked at strengthening their control of usurped areas. The tactics they use consist of building better supply lines, i.e. roads connecting North Vietnam with South Vietnam. These roads were built with the purpose of being all-weather roads, yet in reality the rainy season can keep the Communist troops isolated in the controlled areas.

Shelling of civilian areas as well as small fortifications continues almost daily in spite of their being flagrant violations of the Paris Peace Agreements. Up to now the North Vietnamese in South Vietnam have refrained from any major offensive. Nevertheless, the presence of such a high number of Northern Troops and the remaining thousands of Viet Cong pose a threat. In terms of weapons the North Vietnamese have introduced more Soviet-built T34 and T54 tanks. There are new installations of SAM missiles in strategic areas.

In all, the North Vietnamese are more modernly equipped and maintain a constant flow of supplies from their big brothers, the Russians and the Chinese. The Chinese markings in the fins of North Vietnamese bombs which have killed South Vietnamese children while in school are proof of North Vietnamese aggression.

The South Vietnamese are mostly supplied with American equipment left behind after the American's withdrawal. The armed forces are well trained with a high morale, having proved themselves in heavy battle with the enemy. The ARVN is generally outnumbered by the Communists.

The GVN hopes to maintain an effective wartime army without militarizing the society. So far, this has been successful. Nevertheless, the strain is there. It became obvious when one of the Province Chiefs stated that in case of a sudden invasion there would be enough troops and equipment but not enough gasoline to mobilize.



Tide editor Louise Berry with students of Van Hanh University.

The Student Mood

by Louise Berry

All of us looked forward to our discussions with Vietnamese students, eager to sound them out about their feelings towards the Thieu government and current U.S. policy.

Hospitality

My first surprise was that they were just as eager to meet us. I would walk into a room, looking for a likely student, armed with my list of questions. But then, a student would find me and quickly ask: Where was I from? What did I study? Was this my first trip to Vietnam? What did I think? Personal hospitality always came before politics.

Peace with Honor

But the war has disrupted the life of all students, and they are angry about that. "What is the greatest problem of your country?" I asked students of the Buddhist Van Hanh University.

tional Cadre Training Center and the beach resort of Vung Tau, is rich land in the Phuoc Tuy province which is being given to refugees of the Quang Tri area who do not want to go back to that area. After touring Phuoc Tuy, many decided to stay. They are given a half acre of land and material to build a house, including wood from munitions bases, tin and cement. The land is good—it's lush green contrasts sharply with barren Quang Tri.

MEKONG DELTA —JUNE 11

The Mekong Delta, the rice bowl of Vietnam, has been the area of over 50 percent of North Vietnamese violations

"War," they answered. "There must be peace. Enemy troops must leave. Then we can work on other problems." The Dean of Van Hanh University answered similarly, also saying that Vietnam needed strong moral leadership. The president of the Saigon University Student Union said to us: "Peace with honor is the aspiration of the Vietnamese people, especially the youth. There is no peace under the yoke of enemy forces. All foreign forces must withdraw in order to have peace. Our main enemies are the North Vietnamese Communists."

The Communists were not at all popular. "Have you seen what the Communists do?" asked a member of the executive board of the Saigon Student Union as he described in detail the results of a Communist attack upon a village. "Most students hate the Communists," he said. The leader of the Dalat Student Union showed me a photo album with pictures of a student demonstration against Communism. He was in

the lead. And another prominent student said after listing all his complaints about Thieu, inflation, and corruption: "Any one in the U.S. who thinks that Vietnamese students have any sympathy with the North Vietnamese or Vietcong is doing us a terrible injustice."

The students were more intent on asking what Americans felt about Vietnam than on expressing their opinions on Americans. While they regretted the moral influence of U.S. troops, most of them accepted U.S. presence as a military and political necessity. Now they are wondering what is going to happen to them now, although they were too polite to bring up the question.

I will never forget being put in the position of having to explain American attitudes towards Vietnam aid as exhibited by Congress, especially when I was asked by the Rector of Hué University. After hearing him describe the 1968 invasion of his university and the 1972 Quang Tri offensive, what could I say to him? I could find no justification for our growing isolationism.

Can Tho University

The newest public university, Can Tho University mainly serves students from the Delta on its four sites in this populous city. Founded in 1966, it has

since the cease-fire. Its rich rice fields used to feed all of Vietnam plus some of the rest of Asia.

The military official briefing us stressed the need for ammunition and gasoline in the Delta region, where there



Experimental rice farm in An Giang province.

are 50,000 enemy troops. "We know you have inflation problems," he said. "We don't want to take your money away from you. We will try our best with what we have. Just please help us a few years more so we can recover."

Experimental Rice Farm

An Giang Province is one of the most peaceful and prosperous of Vietnam. Inhabited largely by Hoa Hao Buddhists whose messianic leader was killed by the Communists, it offers no popular base for Communist activity. While village life is simple—as it is throughout Vietnam—there is always enough to eat.

In the midst of this province is an experimental farm testing new strains of Miracle Rice. Miracle Rice will enable the Delta to harvest three rice crops a year. The goal of the farm is, through testing under varying conditions, to determine which new hybrid of rice can grow most successfully in the region so that Vietnam can again become a rich exporter.



The Reverend Tich Tam Chau gives his blessing to the delegation.



Quang Tri—ruins of the 1972 offensive. Will there be another?

VIETNAM, 1974

America From a Distance

by Dan Fefferman, Secretary General
The Freedom Leadership Foundation

One of the best things about being in Vietnam or a week was how little we heard about Watergate. At the most we saw one or two stories each day in the English language paper.

But Watergate did come up. The most substantial discussion about it was one evening at the headquarters of the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor, during a meeting with the youth arm of the Labor (Cong-Nong) party. These young people defined themselves politically as social democrats. Their closest American equivalents might be along the lines of George Meany or possibly Henry Jackson. They were concerned that, in the midst of Watergate, America might lose sight of her global responsibilities.

From Asian eyes, we found during the trip, the Watergate crisis seems blown out of proportion. The President's men bug the headquarters of the oppos-

ing party, get caught at it, try to cover it up, and the next thing you know, the U.S. faces a constitutional crisis unprecedented in her history.

From Asian eyes, the issue looks a lot more political than it does moral. Not only are the dividing lines in the House Judiciary Committee precisely drawn according to partisan affiliation, but appropriations for Vietnam—which skyrocketed under Johnson and Humphrey—have been squelched by the very Democrats who brought the nation into the war. Then the President responds with a round of summits, whether the primary purpose is peace or political pointmaking is not exactly clear. It all makes America's commitment to moral principle rather than political expediency seem very questionable.

The one thing I felt best about in Vietnam, especially compared to my

impression when I was there four years ago, was the new sense of self-reliance and increased determination. There is little bitterness against the U.S., and Americans are remembered mainly for the sacrifice they made for Vietnam. I was grateful to see this, because it would be tragic if America were remembered—as she very well might be—for a betrayal.

America's great problem in Vietnam was that her people began to doubt her purpose. When this happens, morale is bound to sag, determination to wane, and withdrawal or defeat is inevitable. Yet it appears that the nation of Vietnam may indeed have been saved. And if the U.S. can maintain the balance of power through the next two or three years of ideological and moral confusion until she regains her sense of unity, purpose and righteousness, the future of world freedom may not be so dim.



Inspecting a physics lab at the National Military Academy

Can We Forget Vietnam?

from page 1

intervention. They basically want foreign aid to fight their own war on their own terms with their own military strategies. A government official points out, "We have had every kind of troops here. The Americans were no worse than the Gurkhas." Patriotism is a prominent spirit in Vietnam. "We finally have a chance to prove ourselves," says a graduating cadet at Dalat Military Academy. "I want to fight for Vietnam. I didn't have to join the Navy because I am an only son and my father was killed at DaNang. I want to serve." He will serve for life, as a career officer.

American economic aid to Vietnam is effectively used in the building of schools, universities, refugee resettlement areas, and orphanages. American lumber is building the town hall in Quang Tri, while US Army surplus books stock the library at Buddhist Van Hanh University in Central Saigon. The US government gift to Dalat Military Academy, 50,000 texts in English, was "welcomed though many of the cadets have trouble reading English," the head of the Academy library informs us.

"After Vietnam is more secure militarily," says Dalat's Province Chief over a Vietnamese lunch, "we hope to attract more tourist trade." Dalat, the Shangrilaesque honeymoon capital of the Central Highlands will be one of the major travel attractions. The potential for tourism in Vietnam is outstanding considering the country's remarkable geographic variety. Caribbean beaches line the coast. Jungle huts hidden by lush tropical vegetation characterize the Mekong Delta. Coniferous forests in the highlands form a quasi-Alpine region. Hotel service is excellent while life is relatively inexpensive. A surprising calm pervades Saigon with war 25 miles away.

While Vietnam has much going for it, decisive factors are working against it. Oil prospects may entice NLF as well as foreign investors. The ICCS supervisory force cost the Republic of Vietnam 6,542,571 dollars since its inception, providing little in return except "turning the other cheek at true violations," as a Delta commander describes it. A concerned student leader says that the ICCS "spends more time black marketing and bar hopping than maintaining peace." Most Vietnamese sadly shake their heads at the mention of the ICCS which drains a government already functioning on a 179 million dollar deficit.

The Vietnamese describe themselves as "sentimental people." "We need sympathy and compassion." That is precisely what they are denied in the press. "You just can't get a human interest story picked up outside of Saigon," complains the UPI correspondent at a press conference. The Vietnamese people also need help. Curtailment of assistance to a country whose war has gone "out of style" in the Unit-

Sacrifice Of Allied Soldiers Will Never Be Forgotten. The question still remains for the future, "Will the same noble sacrifice be forgotten by the United States?"



U.S. funded craft center in Hue employing refugees.



Soviet tanks along the "highway of terror."

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THE NOBLE SACRIFICE OF ALLIED
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Roots of Soviet Antisemitism - II

by Stefan Possony

Despite the bloodletting, the Jews remain the most numerous dispersed group within the USSR. Even as an "anachronism," they still are entitled to the political rights on which all ethnic groups, anywhere, have an inherent claim.

The Jews themselves are divided on the question of whether they are a nation, a people, a cultural-religious community, or something else. Some Jews want to merge with foreign nations, others want to revitalize Jewish nationhood and live in a national state, and still others want to preserve the special tradition of a nation which lives in *diaspora*. The believing Jews desire to have full religious rights and are in turn divided into assimilationists, nationalists, and "diasporists". Non-believing Jews are similarly divided. A few religiously-minded Jews have been converting to Christianity, agnostic Jews have been reverting to Judaism. In addition, there are socialist and Communist Jews, some of whom work for equal rights within the USSR, while others want to emigrate. A large plurality, possibly a majority of Soviet Jews, seems to favor Zionism.

In the USSR the Jews have nothing to lose but their chains.

Under the circumstances, there can be no single solution to the USSR's Jewish problem. Within the Soviet context, solutions, which necessarily must be multiform, should all adhere to the principle of national self-determination, as it was endorsed by Lenin. Lenin saw the essence of this principle in the right of a national group to *secede* from the state to which it does not wish to belong. By logical extension this right necessarily applies to individual members of ethnic groups: national self-determination is derived from individual options. Lenin was in favor of people voting "with their feet."

The Communist writer, V. Bol-

shakov, who is a contributor to *Pravda*, quoted a 1969 resolution of the Israeli Communist party rejecting the "reactionary Zionist theory about the supposed existence of a 'world Jewish nation'".

"That the Jews in the whole world constitute one nation, although they live in different countries and regimes, have no common economy, no common territory, no common language, no common culture, and no common way of life—that is to say—they have not one single common characteristic of all those characteristics which are typical of a nation."

Thus, the Communist position still is that the Jews are no nation, that, according to Lenin, assimilation is the "only possible solution of the Jewish problem," and that "the national process" of Jewish assimilation is "observed in all countries." This process of "the natural consolidation of the Israeli nation" has "a long way to go to be completed."

Assimilation

According to the latest Kremlin doctrine the Jews in the USSR should be assimilating, and the option of as-

Jews are subjected to social, educational, professional, and political discriminations and handicaps. Experience has shown that assimilation can only be individually successful. For the group the option is non-existent. Even party members have been regarded as something like enemy aliens since 1967, and most were expelled from the party.

The survival of the Jewish religious community in the USSR is most uncertain. The anti-religious policy of the party imposes severe limitations upon all religions, yet the Buddhists, Baptists and Jews are treated with particular harshness. Soviet policy aims at the elimination of the Jewish religion as well as of the religious community. The Jew who openly professes his religion volunteers for sacrifice and persecution. The Soviets claim that "sociological studies" show that the number of believers is very small and that most of those who practice religion are old. However, the figures published by Soviet "sociologists" are undependable and vague. Emigrants from the USSR include many young people who are strongly religious.

It also should be pointed out that Soviet authorities do not allow more than a token number of synagogues; probably not more than a few dozen are kept in operation throughout the USSR. Religious instruction is practically forbidden and is provided as an underground effort, as is the teaching of Hebrew.

Emigration

Since the possibilities for proper arrangements within the USSR are strictly limited, emigration would seem to be the best solution for the Jews, as well as for the people who do not want them around. The Poles, Rumanians and Bulgarians allowed total Jewish emigration. The Kremlin, although it was engaging in oppressive practices refused emigration until 1969. Since then 60,000 odd Jews have been permitted to leave. It would appear that while most of the emigrants were eager to leave, the Soviet authorities also enacted policies de-



signed to "dump" a substantial portion of the Jewish population abroad.

Emigration is continuing. With the exception of a few Germans, no other ethnic group is granted this benefit. Hence, in this respect, the Soviet government now discriminates in favor of the Jews. However, the Kremlin refuses to step up the emigration rate substantially and it may stop the exodus altogether. Meanwhile, the opening or closing of the exit doors is used to extort political advantages in the field of foreign policy.

The procedures leading to Jewish emigration are shot through with vindictiveness. For example, applications for exit visas, almost invariably, entail instant loss of employment. Cases have been known where applicants were deprived of their livelihood, and yet were denied permission to depart.

The law which imposes confiscatory taxes on Jewish emigrants, ranging in some instances up to 30,000 rubles and averaging well over 1,000 rubles, on the pretext that they should repay for their schooling, has been suspended. By itself, this monstrous law proves the presence of strongly antisemitic attitudes within the Kremlin. The facts of hesitation and temporary reversal of policy also show that some of the party leaders want to mitigate antisemitic practices.

The Jews in the USSR are denied political equality. They cannot live satisfactorily as a religious or cultural community. They are unable to assimilate effectively. They are unprotected against discrimination. Limited emigration is tolerated, but the bulk of the Jewish population cannot leave.

Communist Antisemitic Propaganda

The entrapped Jews serve as targets of propaganda campaigns which periodically re-stimulate antisemitic sentiments among the populace. These campaigns resemble those run by the tsarist and the Nazi governments, and include "spontaneous demonstrations" of hate. Soviet antisemitism is rarely preached overtly and at the present time it is usually disguised as anti-Zionism and opposition to the state of Israel. However, three outspokenly antisemitic books, published during 1963, 1968, and 1969 in Moscow and Kiev, were identified by the Russian democratic opposition. One of the antisemitic authors is attached to the CPSU's central committee.

The main themes of this propaganda are the classical ones: 1. the Shylock theme, with the adaptation that most of the Soviet citizens who violate the economic laws of Communism, are Jews; 2. the religious theme criticizing the Talmud for its alleged immorality—a subject which should be of little interest to an atheistic state which asserts Soviet Jews have abandoned their religion; 3. the theme of a Jewish political conspiracy which either is running the world from Wall Street, or is plotting to do so; 4. the theme that Jews are "cosmopolitan," hence anti-patriotic and untrustworthy; many are traitors and virtually all are potential traitors; 5. the equating of Judaism with capitalism, in particular finance capitalism; and 6. the allegation—which is the original Soviet contribution to the antisemitic repertoire—that all Jews are Zionists, and that Zionism is a fascist and im-

following testimony was presented to the Committee on Internal Security of the U.S. House of Representatives:

"One of the most recent anti-semitic pieces coming out of the Soviet Union is 'Caution: Zionism!' Congressman Ashbrook put a statement in the *Congressional Record* last year identifying this as one of the most vicious anti-semitic books he has ever seen."

It is published by Progress Publishers in Moscow. One of the interesting things this book says is that Pope Paul VI has behind him Cardinal Augustin Bea, "who had long ago abandoned his Jewish faith to embrace Catholicism in order to help cement the alliance between the Catholic Church and the Jewish Church by means of the Second Vatican Council Declaration of November 20, 1964, and a cheque—a bank check from the Jewish bankers—in favor of the Vatican, of whose origin even the old, trusted keepers of the banking secrets of the principality of Liechtenstein have no inkling." It also talks about the Rothschilds who give the money robbed from the workers in Israel."

It should be added that Congressman John M. Ashbrook is one of the most prominent leaders of American conservatism, and that Pope Paul VI and Cardinal Bea are among the prime targets of extremist antisemitic "Catholic" groups in Spain, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina. The CPSU expert in antisemitic propaganda, Simyon A. Rostovskiy alias A. Leonidov alias Ernst Henni, a contributor to *New Times* and *World Marxist Review*, doubles as expert in anti-Communist and anti-Catholic activities.

The Ring of Oppression

A state is entitled to oppose other states. The USSR is within its rights if it pursues an anti-Israel policy. Similarly, since many Jews oppose Zionism, no non-Jew can be faulted if he, too, objects to Zionism ideas. Yet anti-Zionism may spring from antisemitism and may be merely an Aesopian cover to hide anti-Jewish emotions. If the alleged anti-Zionist touts out the whole repertoire of antisemitic hate slogans and alleges a secret Jewish (or Jewish-American) world conspiracy, anti-Zionism is simply a disguise. The anti-Zionist policy of the USSR does not justify the antisemitic venom. On the contrary, if this policy were required by Soviet strategic interests, it would be strengthened if it were not tainted by antisemitism. Indications are that the Kremlin is basically antisemitic and therefore pursues its anti-Zionist policy. Since the Kremlin needs the continued existence of Israel to preserve its leverage among the Arabs, it is hardly the other way around.

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Radicals Suppress Free Speech on Campus

Academic Freedom in Danger

by Allan C. Brownfeld

At a recent meeting concerning "The Crisis Of The University" in Venice, Italy, more than 100 academics from the U.S. and 14 other countries warned against the "illusion" that the crisis of the universities had abated.

"It is true that violence and intimidation have diminished in many of our universities," their statement said. "Unhappily, they remain serious in some countries, and underneath the surface calm, concessions to expediency are being made every day, which in a large number of our universities lead to the recruitment of teachers on political grounds and to methods for selecting and teaching students extraneous to our primary business of transmitting intellectual disciplines and seeking the truth."

No place is this unfortunate state of affairs more true than in our own country. In recent days a number of colleges and universities in the U.S. have faced serious challenges to traditional concepts of academic freedom and free speech.

Pressure from the Harvard Black Law Students Association, for example, resulted in the cancellation of a scheduled debate between Roy Innis, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, and Dr. William Shockley, the Nobel laureate who has espoused the controversial genetic theory that intelligence is linked to race.

It was not only black militants who opposed the Harvard debate. Discussing the circumstances under which the debate was cancelled, Prof. Martin Kilson, a leading black academician at Harvard, notes, "A disturbing feature of the cancellation... was that besides the emotional opposition of militant Negro law students—a form of intellectual infantilism not uncommon in the past six years among both black and white militants—faculty members and the Law School administration also discouraged the debate."

These actions by faculty members, states Dr. Kilson, "... suggest the unfortunate spread of insensitivity toward unfettered discussion at a great institution of higher learning like Harvard. We can now expect more actions of this sort around a number of emotionally charged issues, involving blacks, women, homosexuals, and Israelis or Jews. The most distressing feature of this whole dreadful affair are the few signs within the Harvard community of the kind of outrage that is necessary to reverse the spread of insensitivity toward free speech."

Similar scenes have been repeated at colleges and universities throughout the United States.

At Yale University, 150 students took part in a noisy demonstration which prevented Professor Shockley from participating in a debate. Kingman Brewster, Jr., president of Yale, denounced the 75 minute chanting, stomping, clapping protest as representing the choice of "storm-trooper tactics in preference to free speech." Similar scenes have been repeated at colleges and universities throughout the United States.

In Philadelphia, a new organization has emerged which specializes in disrupting the question period of public lectures. A somewhat eccentric though multi-racial group, it is called MOVE. The name is not an acronym but stands for "activity as opposed to stagnation." It follows the 400 page "guidelines" of its founder, John Africa, which, according to a spokesman, are "based not on philosophy, not on theory, not on concepts, but doing away with those." At the University of Pennsylvania they broke up the question period of a speech by Dr. Daniel Ellsberg. The next night, they drove Margaret Sloan, chairwoman of the National Black Feminist Organization, off the University of Pennsylvania stage. The previous weekend they had disrupted a symposium on gang warfare in North Philadelphia.

Activities of the militants are not limited only to the disruption of the classes of teachers with whom they disagree. The "battle" has been extended to the field of book-banning and active intru-

sions into the teaching process. According to headlines in the newly published SDS New Left Notes, "SDS Stops The Presses On DeCecco," and the paper boasts that the group has "succeeded in banning 'Introduction To Sociology' by John and Mavis Blezance" for containing a "culture of poverty" theory. After shouting down Professor Lachman at Wayne State University in Detroit for maintaining that not all men are equally intelligent, an activist delivered a substitute lecture. The SDS paper states that it was a serious mistake there to "waste too much time in private discussion with the professor while not being active in class from the start."

Measure, the publication of the University Centers for Rational Alternatives, a group headed by such leading academics as Sidney Hook, Joseph Scranton, and M.M. Todorovich, declares, "The picture being formed is becoming clearer. Radical groups from the remains of the New Left are making a serious and concerted effort to regain their former position on American campuses. They hope that the grave charge of racism will do it for them. By focusing on some of the more extreme extrapolations of a Shockley, they hope to associate with them others whose teachings may have nothing to do with race at all. They then can hope to tar all those who defend academic freedom as racists too. These efforts have led to disgraceful acts of political terrorism against individual professors..."

In his recent book "Education and the Taming of Power," Sidney Hook declares, "Politicalization of the university constitutes an obvious threat to academic freedom.... Academic freedom in the U.S. today is threatened not so much by fundamentalist churchmen, reactionary businessmen, and political demagogues as much as it is by ideological fanatics among students and faculty..."

This, unfortunately, appears to be the current state of American higher education.

perialistic servant of American fascism and imperialism.

Zionism is also equated with anti-Communism, so that the "anti-anti-Communism" which is being fostered by Moscow, conceals antisemitism behind a false label.

Antisemitism is practiced by all ruling and several non-ruling Communist parties. The Communists also have been fostering antisemitism among the Arabs since the 1930's.

Communist antisemitism is structurally similar to the antisemitism preached by rightist groups, except that the leftists accuse the Jews of being capitalists, while the rightists castigate them for being Communists. But left and right do sometimes meet on the same ground. For example, some of the chief promoters of antisemitism in Poland were leaders in 1937 of the violence-prone antisemitic and anti-Communist Falanga, a student organization. These personages collaborated with the Nazis during World War II, and under the Communist regime have been running PAX, a Communist front aimed at Polish Catholics. PAX is active among Catholics in many countries, is being given propaganda support by the Polish state radio's foreign broadcast service, and published newspapers and magazines. The director of PAX, an erstwhile leader of Falanga and Nazi collaborator, was given a high decoration by the Communist government of Poland.

The world-wide infiltration of Catholic groups through antisemitism is actively promoted from Moscow. The

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Council Against Communist Aggression Banquet

CACA Honors Freedom Fighters



FLF President Neil Salonen accepts award from CACA chairman Reed Irvine.

by Judy Barnes

"Young people are traditionally idealistic; what they need is vision," said Neil Albert Salonen, President of the Freedom Leadership Foundation in accepting the Council Against Communist Aggression's award for this year's most outstanding youth leader in the fight against the spread of Communism. In his speech (Printed in full in TRT, June 17, 1974), Mr. Salonen said Marxism is an ideology of conflict, contradiction, and violence—in short, a philosophy of death. It can only be overcome, he said, by a philosophy of life.

The award was presented to Mr. Salonen at CACA's annual awards banquet on June 15 at the Twin Bridges Marriott Hotel in Alexandria, Virginia. There were seven other award recipients that evening, three of whom were out of the country at the time. Recipients included Allen C. Brownfield, writer and lecturer on domestic and international problems; Major General Edward G. Lansdale, father of the successful "win the people" anti-Communist strategy in the Phil-

ippines and expert on the Vietnam War; Isaac Don Levine, veteran journalist and author of numerous books against Communism; Herbert Romerstein, Minority Chief Investigator of the House Committee on Internal Security; John Barron, author of the book *KGB* (also reported on in the previous *Tide*); Michael D. Benge, returned POW who endured five years of captivity in Vietnam; and Avram Shifrin, former inhabitant of the Gulag Archipelago.

Special guest speaker for the evening was Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina. Senator Helms, a long-time veteran of the news media, particularly television, spoke on the need of greater accuracy in reporting the news to the American people. The way to prevent bias in news reporting, says Senator Helms, is to require the major networks to pass all the news which they receive on to the local stations, which could then have the opportunity to pick the news which they feel is most important to include in their space of time. This, feels Senator Helms, would prevent the major networks from presenting a biased viewpoint.



Ex-POW Donald Rander accepts award for Michael Benge.

Population Growth: the Communist View

This August 1974, nine years after the first U.S. World Population meeting was held in Communist Belgrade (in 1965), Communist Bucharest will host an International Population Year Conference—again under the sponsorship of the United Nations.

Both Peking and Moscow are already preparing to turn the event into an ideological forum espousing the most radical Communist "solutions" to supposed problems of world "overpopulation."

Hsu Li-chang, Peking's observer to a preparatory meeting of the U.S. Commission on Population (March 4-15) has stated the official Maoist position on population problems: rapid population increase does not cause problems, rather at fault is the "presence of imperialism (and) old and new colonialism" in today's world. The Soviets follow the same line of reasoning.

The April 1974 issue of *International Affairs*, official theoretical journal of the Communist Party, USSR, features a lengthy article on World Population Year concluding that "the destiny of the people of our planet will ultimately be decided not by the physical limits to the growth of population and the limits to natural resources, but by the successes of the cause of peace and social progress." Translated from the Aesopian language of International Communism, that means that population will no longer be a problem once the Communists have achieved world domination.

Neo-Malthusians Condemned

"In the West," *International Affairs* continues, "all the mass media uses the 'demographic explosion' to whip up"

a sort of psychological panic" about population. Cited as typical examples of western panic button pushers are Robert S. McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense who now heads the World Bank and Paul Ehrlich, author of "The Population Bomb." The Communist journal calls them Neo-Malthusians after the English economist Thomas Malthus (1766-1834).

McNamara, for example, is quoted as stating that he sees "no other single problem" than population growth posing a greater threat to the prospects of economic and social progress in the developing world. Likewise, Ehrlich and his followers view population "as the central problem of the present age." Communists do not take such a stand. *International Affairs* points out, "Marxism-Leninism rejects the pessimistic, decadent view of the Neo-Malthusians."

Facts and Figures

Challenging the "Neo-Malthusians" who "try to prove that the world's resources are limited and that therefore food production cannot be increased to the level where it can satisfy the rapidly growing population of the developing countries," the Communist theoretical publication offers some interesting arguments:

—U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization experts have computed the world's food resources "are quite sufficient for roughly 36,000 million people by the year 2070."

Agricultural experts estimate that today only somewhat over 10 percent of the world's land surface is used for agriculture (1,500 million hectares) while we have the technical means now

available to cultivate at least 9,300 million hectares of land. "In view of the higher fertility of newly-developed land," *International Affairs* says, "the output of food could be increased 50-fold compared with the present level."

—Even a "Neo-Malthusian," like Prof. Roger Revelle, director of Harvard University's Center for Population Studies, the Communist journal states, admits that "potential crop area will be adequate to feed from 50,000 million to 60,000 million people, which is approximately 15 times the present numerical strength of the planet's population."

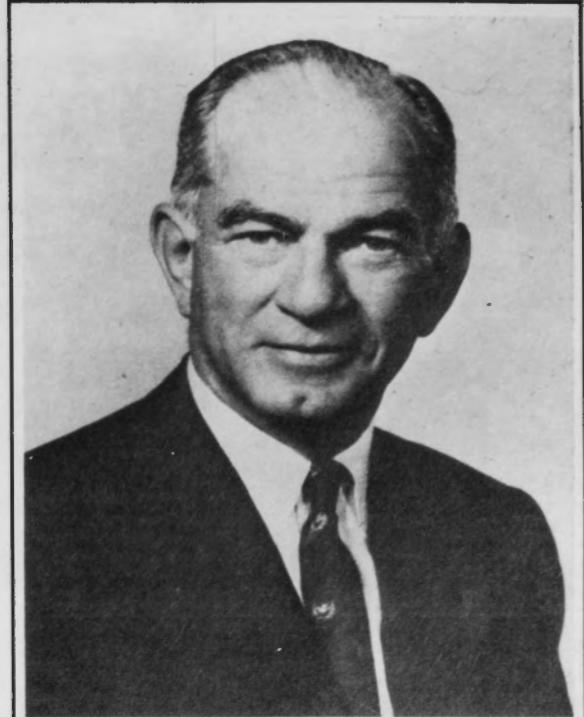
The Communist journal carefully points out that "it should be born in mind that although socio-economic measures are more effective than purely demographic ones in the solution of population problems; one should not go to extremes and join the demographic 'nihilists' in totally rejecting the need for a demographic policy" on population planning "provided it is... based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of demographic processes."

"One cannot but agree with the opinion of Michael Hudson a U.S. bourgeois scholar," the Moscow journal states, who contends that "there is a total difference between birth-control employed as a matter of personal conscience or choice and birth-control as a national and international policy of governments imposed upon peoples for political-strategic ends." *International Affairs* should know—the Kremlin is an expert practitioner of such coercion.

Hungarian Example

Example: Following the October 1956 anti-Communist uprising in

South Vietnamese prisoners still in North Vietnam's prisons. In addition to that, he said, there are still over 1,000 Americans unaccounted for. According to article 8B of the January 27 agreements made in 1973, North Vietnam is to assist in accounting for these men. Even though Mr. Rander holds little hope for these men, he said the North, with the exception of 23 men, has not assisted us in accounting for those still missing. This does not surprise Rander for, he said, quoting Lenin, "any agreement or pact signed with a Capitalist country is not binding upon the Soviet Union." Likewise, Rander said that in 1955, Ho Chi Minh repeated those very words of Lenin, and the North Vietnamese are living up to them today. Mr. Rander stated, "Throughout the years, the Communists have been insidious liars." He once asked a Communist Captain what was meant by the phrase "the Communist party speaks only the truth." The Captain could not answer, but Rander found the answer in one of the first volumes written by Ho Chi Minh. Ho wrote that "truth is what the Communist party wants it to be."



Senator J.W. Fulbright

Fulbright Era Ends

by Marx Lewis

The retirement of Senator J. William Fulbright, long overdue, will be welcomed by some, and mourned by others. It will be welcomed by most of his colleagues whom he treated as school children being taught by a Rhodes scholar, and by many of the members of the Foreign Relations Committee, which he headed for fifteen years, during which the committee's prestige and influence as an effective instrument of U.S. foreign policy deteriorated. It should also be welcomed by most Americans seriously worried about America's future as a force for peace in the world.

He will be missed by the leftists in this country and by the Communists around the world.... The Communists used him to good advantage. His speeches and articles were often quoted in the Communist press, here and abroad, to confirm the defamatory attacks he made on the U.S. He was approvingly quoted over Moscow radio more often than any other American, not excluding even Gus Hall, head of the Communist party, USA. Coming from the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee his remarks gave a weight which they would not have otherwise had, and which the Communists fully exploited. They now had it from the horse's mouth.

Criticism of U.S., Praise of Communism

They could quote him as saying that the U.S. is an arrogant and imperialist country, drunk with power, and seeking world domination, and that it resembles Hitler's Germany. They found much to approve in his charges that the U.S. perpetrates atrocities as base as those Hitler was guilty of. Our country, Fulbright would say, is "headless and heartless" even though no country in recorded history had responded more promptly and more generously to help the needy around the world, and that one of the measures it used to contribute to the well-being of mankind, its foreign aid programs, were approved by the Congress over Fulbright's opposition.

While Fulbright found much that he thought was evil in the U.S., which he called a "sick society," he found much to praise in the Communist countries, and nothing that he seemed critical about. He said that the Russians' experiment is no more radical under modern conditions than the Declaration of Independence was in the days of King George III. The crimes the Communist powers are perpetrating daily were seldom, if ever, mentioned by Fulbright. They left him cold.

The Soviet Regime

7

The Soviet regime hounds all ethnic and religious groups. The Jews are by no means the only ones who are suffering. But in present they are the group which is hit hardest: the situation depicted by Lenin still prevails. Why the Kremlin thinks oppressive antisemitism is helping the Communist cause is hard to fathom. Apparently, the Communists assume that the Jewish religion and the Jewish *ethnos* are most unpopular, hence they can be removed most easily. Once they were wiped out, an essential and long step would have been taken toward the elimination of all religions, the disappearance of all ethnic differences, and the creation of a uniform society.

Be that as it may, the persecution of the Jewish religion—as well as that of all other religions—violates the human and civil rights which the USSR professes to observe. Ethnic assimilation may very well be impossible because neither the non-Jews, nor the Jews themselves want it. The solution of a Jewish homeland within the USSR also appears to be impractical, although there is recent information that, once again, the Kremlin is thinking about activating Birobidzhan and instituting mass deportations of Jews to the Far East. Since such an operation could be accomplished only through mass terrorism, it would require radical re-Stalinization and may therefore be torpedoed. Emigration would thus appear to be the only practical solution, as it also would be the only human solution. But the Kremlin leaders who don't want the Jews around, don't want to let them go. Hence the answer to our initial question is: the Kremlin is committed, on principle, to pursue a policy of antisemitic oppression. In the USSR the Jews indeed have nothing to lose but their chains.

While there were other Senators who, like Fulbright, first supported our intervention in Vietnam, and who later defected, Fulbright stood in a class by himself. The others wanted to extricate the U.S. from it while he saw, he said, it was all a relic of the Cold War. The most curious event in the Fulbright story is how a man who had been a racist and reactionary during most of his career returned to life as a darling of the "liberals." It amounted to a reincarnation. It was really a transmigration.

destroy that independence that the Communists undertook the war in the first place. And he would have also known from a reading of Senate reports that the Communists do not honor their commitments.

Over the years Fulbright often changed his position. He was once a pronounced internationalist, favored a stronger presidency, and envisioned a One World. That he modified his position at times may not be a reflection on him. Changing times and conditions may require a change of position. But that he should have departed so radically from positions he formerly held, and to denounce those who clung to them, indicated an instability dangerous to the country.

Suppression of anti-Communist views

In 1962 our military leaders discovered that speeches they had prepared for delivery were being censored. References to the Communist menace were being deleted. It was then learned that the then Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara acted on the basis of a memorandum he received from Senator Fulbright. It ordered that military men in the field must not tell their troops anything about the theories and practice of Communism, or how to recognize subversive doctrines and enemy propaganda. And military leaders were not to discuss the subject in their lectures and speeches at seminars. The "liberal" press and the Communists immediately denounced such information as "right-wing propaganda."

Fulbright had acted surreptitiously. Secretary McNamara, being a businessman, and knowing nothing about government operations, and even less about Communism assumed that the Fulbright Memorandum was a directive he was supposed to follow. He thought it had come from the Foreign Relations Committee. The Committee had never seen it. Moreover, his submission of this statement was a violation of Senate Rules: he was trespassing on the jurisdiction of the Armed Services Committees of Congress which are in charge of military matters.

His action provoked sharp resentment in Congress. Fulbright said he was surprised. He only intended the memorandum, he said, as a personal view, and that he was naive enough to think that anything he did to prevent military domination over the civilian branch of government, would be controversial. The military was muzzled.

He accused his critics of having a "morbid preoccupation with the dangers of Communist aggression abroad and subversion and disloyalty at home." His morbid preoccupation was the "industrial-military complex" which would take over our government. The truth is in spite of all that has been done to discredit our military establishment it is still the most respected branch of our government. Recent public opinion polls disclose that it ranks higher than the executive and legislative branches, and the media. If any group attempted to take over our government, or subvert it, the military would defend our constitutional principles and liberties.

Fulbright tried to silence our civilian agencies. He downgraded the U.S. Information Agency, and opposed the appropriations for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which for two decades have been broadcasting the truth to people behind the Iron Curtain. He said it was all a relic of the Cold War. The most curious event in the Fulbright story is how a man who had been a racist and reactionary during most of his career returned to life as a darling of the "liberals." It amounted to a reincarnation. It was really a transmigration.

