

# Save This Man

Express Your Support in Writing  
to Alexandr Solzhenitsyn

The following is a broadcast made by Soviet specialist Constantin Boldyreff on WAVA radio's Washington Report of the Air on Wednesday, January 9.

People in the Soviet Union call Solzhenitsyn the "Conscience of Russia." Conscience has no room for compromise with evil, hypocritical deals, for wishful thinking and self-deception. Conscience means absolute honesty, total dedication to truth, utter fearlessness. And Solzhenitsyn is all that.

Living in the ditches of the cruelest police machine ever known to mankind, this lonely man succeeded in achieving a feat that no power in the world had ever been able to accomplish so far, even remotely. And with a pen, moved by his deep faith in God, singlehandedly he has challenged the mighty Soviet colossus, shaking it to its very foundations. He exposed the Communist crimes which pale even the atrocities of the Nazis. He tore down the foiled mask from Lenin's face and pointed

an accusing finger at the Communist idol who ordered the "purge of the Russian earth of all harmful insects." Thus Stalin has but completed the bloody task that Lenin had left unfinished. The result was a half-century bloodbath that has swallowed twenty million human lives — a reign of terror which still continued to take its cruel toll up to this date.

In an interview with two foreign correspondents last August, Solzhenitsyn said: "One cannot admit that the previous march of history is irreversible; and that even the mightiest power in the world cannot be counteracted by a self-reliant spirit. From the experiences of the last generations it appears to be totally proven that only the unflinching human spirit, standing firmly in the way of advancing violence, resolute in its readiness to sacrifice itself and to die, commanding 'Not a step further!' — only such unflinching spirit constitutes a real defense of individual peace or universal peace, and of mankind as a whole."

Solzhenitsyn is such a spirit. With the publication of *The Gulag Archipelago*, Solzhenitsyn

has become the conscience not only of Russia but of the entire world. And the voice of all conscience calls upon each and all of us to do all we can to defend him if we wish to extricate ourselves from the ominous moral morass in which the whole world is suffocating today.

The Kremlin leaders are too shaken and shocked to strike back at the author of *The Gulag Archipelago*. But they will! Only strong free public opinion can protect him from their wrathful vengeance.

Send telegrams and letters of support to Solzhenitsyn. Send them to the hornets' nest: Pravda, Moscow, USSR.

The newspaper will not deliver your message to Solzhenitsyn. But Brezhnev will know that decent people all over the world will not tolerate any reprisals against the great writer who dared to tell the truth.

So that Solzhenitsyn should know that people are sending friendly messages to him, forward copies of your telegrams and letters to his literary agent: Fritz Heeb, Podistr. 48, 8002, Zurich, Switzerland.



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## The Rising Tide

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

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Chris Killingbeck discusses Watergate Declaration with passerby near the White House.

### Forgive, Love, Unite Becomes Rallying Call

The "40-day National Prayer and Fast for the Watergate Crisis," from December 1 through January 9, ended its campaign with a series of 50 demonstrations throughout the United States.

The nationwide campaign was inspired by the now-famous "Watergate Declaration" of Rev. Sun Myung Moon, which appeared in full-page ads in 21 major papers across the country. The Declaration called upon Americans to find the solution to the Watergate Crisis in uniting in a spirit of Christian love and forgiveness under the slogan "Forgive, Love, Unite." Scores of thousands wrote in support of the declaration, and more than 35 Senators and congressmen signed in support of the statement or responded favorably by letter. On Dec. 21, Congressman Vander Jagt of Michigan submitted Rev. Moon's statement as part of the Congressional Record.

High point of the campaign was a demonstration in support of the President after the annual White House tree-lighting ceremony on Dec. 14. Sue Cronkite, staff writer of the *Birmingham (Alabama) News*, described the event.

Just before midnight, Nixon slipped out a side door of the White House and visited the young people in Lafayette Park, where they had

marched earlier carrying candles. "When Nixon greeted the youngsters during their candlelighting ceremony in the park he had tears in his eyes. He thanked them for coming and shook hands with many people while the youths cheered."

"Suddenly it wasn't so cold in Lafayette Park. Nixon waved and smiled and they chanted their love and support in return."

Two weeks later the President again recognized the youths by inviting about one hundred of them, who had been maintaining a morning prayer vigil across from the White House, into the White House for coffee and a chat with Presidential Aides Michael Farrell, Bob Anader, and Janet Valentine.

The call for prayer and unity, motivated more by religious than political concern, has received widespread grassroots support. Mayors and governors have joined the call with proclamations. Mayor Walter Washington of the District of Columbia proclaimed December 19, 1973 as a "Day of Prayer and Fasting for Unity." The proclamation read in part:

WHEREAS, during this period of our development, the Nation's Capital has an important role in creating goodwill and unity among

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### Myths End Along With the Vietnamese "Peace"

by Hal McKenzie

As this article was being written, news reports said that President Nguyen Van Thieu on January 4 called his troops to attack the Vietcong on their own territory because, he said, the Vietnam war had begun again.

Thieu said, "We should not allow the Communists a situation in which their security is guaranteed now in their zone so they can launch harassing attacks against us. We should carry on these activities not only on our zone but also in the areas where their army is now stationed." He added, "As far as the armed forces are concerned, I can tell you the war has restarted."

These words reflect the reality of a cease-fire agreement that had long ago been made meaningless by the Communists' clear intent to use the peace agreement as a smokescreen under which they can continue their drive to take over the South.

Although the so-called ceasefire in South Vietnam has not ended the fighting, the American pull out has had the advantage of clearing up many myths about the war which used to be accepted so widely in the West.

America pulled all of its troops out of Vietnam, but contrary to the expectations of those who maintained that President Thieu's regime was a corrupt travesty propped up by U.S. arms, the South Vietnamese government did not fall but is holding its own even in the face of increasing attacks by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. The Communists have not gained any more territory than they held in January, the areas they do have are sparsely populated, having an estimated 2 million out of South Vietnam's 18 million population. The Government troops have been responding successfully to Communist attacks so far the North Vietnamese have not been able to mount the new general offensive that has been widely predicted. Actually their ability to carry out an offensive able to capture and hold any of the main population centers seems to be diminishing with time.

#### Hanoi's Attempt

Also it is becoming quite obvious to nearly everyone that the killing goes on in Vietnam because the

leaders in Hanoi want to rule the South and are willing to sustain the war to obtain that goal. The myth of the "Provisional Revolutionary Government" (PRG) of South Vietnam is also being dispelled as North Vietnamese army and cadres take more and more control over Communist activities in the South. The war no longer has much semblance of an insurrection from within South Vietnam but rather appears to be an attempt by Hanoi to annex southern territory.

#### Still Some Myth Perpetrators

However, even these realities do not prevent certain die-hards from maintaining the same old myths that seemed so credible in the days when people were marching against "American Imperialism." A particularly striking example came to our attention recently in an article in the *New York Times* about Kissinger's acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize, written by Bronson P. Clark, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. Clark writes "What was the successful conclusion (quoting Kissinger) of

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President Thieu with South Vietnamese Soldiers



# America in Crisis: How Should We Respond?

by Neil Salonen  
President  
Freedom Leadership Foundation

As our regular readers know, the Freedom Leadership Foundation has seldom hesitated to express criticism of the President of the United States. In particular, we have been disappointed in the character of "detente" and the conduct of foreign policy in many areas. It seems that no price has been too great to achieve or maintain that precarious "balance" which was supposed to create a generation of peace.

One reaps what one sows. There are many who feel that the crisis resulting from the Watergate events is a sort of retribution for an immoral foreign policy. One person suggested that Nixon's sacrifice of Free China's interests for the sake of rapprochement with Communist China is in this way related to the President's trouble now. If one admits the existence of a universal moral law, such an explanation is not out of the question.

Another and not necessarily contradictory explanation holds that God is currently purifying and judging America in preparation for a revival of the American spirit before our nation's 200th anniversary—regardless of who was in office, the "junk" had to come out sometime. Perhaps that is why some leading Democrats are not very vocal against the President—their records may not hold up under scrutiny, either

Regardless of where we stand politically we can agree that our nation is in crisis. At such a time men of religious conscience seek the will of God in humility and prayer. America has a deep tradition of reliance upon the wisdom of God. On three occasions in the midst of the Civil War President Abraham Lincoln proclaimed a national day of prayer and fasting urging all Americans to "humble ourselves as we see fit before our Creator to acknowledge

deep meditation, discussion and prayer that America must unite around its President at this time.

Grave mistakes have been made, no doubt; but for the sake of the nation, we must unite. The fact still remains in the United States that a man is considered innocent until proven guilty. Richard Nixon is our President. As long as he remains in that office, he deserves the respect and support which it commands.

Many argue that the President's

in the conduct of foreign affairs. It is rather for the nation itself that we must unite at this time.

America's primary problem is not corruption in the White House. America's problem is that she has strayed as a nation from the path desired by God. Now is the time for national repentance. If we as a nation can come to admit our final reliance on God, and if we can find it in our hearts to forgive one another and unite in love for the

*If we as a nation can come to admit our final reliance on God, and if we can find it in our hearts to forgive one another and unite in love for the building of a better America, then the future will be bright.*

our final dependence on Him." Associate Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun stated that our nation is in need of a prophet—like Nehemiah, who read the Book of the Law to the Israelites by the water gate of ancient Jerusalem and united his nation in obedience to the statutes and principles ordained by God.

When Rev. Sun Myung Moon issued a statement in 21 major newspapers December 30, in which he called Americans to "unite in the spirit of love and forgiveness," FLF was among the first to heed the call. It is our conviction, after

situation has so seriously inhibited his effectiveness that even if he were completely innocent, he should resign in our opinion, that is a matter between God and Richard Nixon. We would prefer to see him stay in office and fulfill his mission. Hopefully he will be a better and stronger man because of his ordeal. And perhaps too, he will lead that nation in a more forthright path in the continuing struggle for freedom.

To support Richard Nixon at this time is not to condone any mistakes he has made, either in the handling of his White House staff or

building of a better America, then the future will be bright. If we cannot do these things, there is no telling how long the hatred, accusation and vilification will continue, regardless of the outcome of the Watergate affair.

God's command at this crossroads of America's history is "Forgive, Love, and Unite!" In that spirit, let us move on together to accomplish the substantial goals that must be achieved if we are to lay the foundations for world peace and prosperity before the close of the twentieth century.



House vote indicates increased public concern over Soviet violation of human rights, especially freedom of movement.

## Rights Amendment Wins

Representative Charles Vanik's trade bill amendment withholding credits and "Most Favored Nation" (MFN) status to Communist countries denying to its citizens the right to emigrate was passed by the House of Representatives on December 11 by a vote of 319 to 80. (Vanik's amendment is the House equivalent of the Jackson amendment.) The House also defeated (289 to 106) an amendment to delete Title IV of the bill which includes the Mills-Vanik provision. The trade bill itself passed by the substantial margin of 272 to 140. The overwhelming margin of four-to-one by which the House passed the Mills-Vanik provision demonstrates the growing commitment of Congress not to seek detente without qualification with Communist countries as long as they continue to deny basic human rights to their citizens.

### Provisions

Specifically it would deny Most Favored Nation status as well as US government credit and investment guarantees to countries that deny their citizens the right to emigrate or prevent their citizens from emigrating by imposing exorbitant taxes as the price for departure. While applicable to all countries to whom the US has not granted trading advantages, at this time the amendment is most readily relevant to the Soviet Union. The trade bill itself is directed toward granting the President greater power in conducting trade negotiations with other countries. Trading countries customarily bargain for access to each other's internal market. An important bargaining tool is the tariff, a tax imposed on products imported from another country. Many countries are favored with a lower tariff on the products they attempt to sell to the U.S., giving those countries better access to the American market. Having MFN status, they are in a better position to sell more and earn more in the US.

Another bargaining tool is the capacity of the US government to make loans to countries who require financing for purchases in the American market. In these cases the government functions like a bank or savings and loan in-

stitution in extending credit of large purchases other countries could not make because they lack available cash. Most of these transactions are handled by the Export Import bank (Eximbank). The Congress sets the conditions under which the Eximbank can operate, including the categories of foreign countries to which the bank can lend money.

The Vanik Amendment would deny all these trading privileges to countries maintaining restrictive emigration practices. If passed, it would require the President to withhold these trading privileges until emigration practices are liberalized.

### Why They Need It

The Soviet economy is traditionally in bad shape due to poor management, agriculture failures, extravagant aid programs in the Middle East and South Asia, and the inability to develop profitable export markets. One of the Soviet leaders' most attractive remedies to this problem is access to the American market.

At present, the Russians have little to sell in the United States, especially by way of finished, packaged products. But there are important things for them to purchase which would enable them to meet immediate requirements at home such as food and transport and to develop more profitable export possibilities, as in the fields of energy and minerals. For the development of their energy and mineral capacities for export to the US, the Russians require systems and technologies and the related equipment on a scale available in the United States. But to make purchases in the US on the level they require, the Russians need access to US government credit and credit insurance. And if future Soviet exports to the US ever develop on a significant scale, they can be traded profitably only if the Soviet Union is granted MFN status.

Under these circumstances, Jackson/Mills-Vanik represents a significant obstacle to Soviet needs. Accordingly, proponents of human rights behind the Iron Curtain hope that the Russians will respond to the amendment in their

own self-interest, calculating that the health of the Soviet economy and the stability of existing political leadership will rate higher for the Soviet leaders than maintaining a suppressive emigration policy.

According to Miss June Silver, Washington representative of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, the Nixon administration and big business interests regard the Mills-Vanik provisions as damaging to "detente," and therefore urged that action on the bill be postponed, hoping that anti-Soviet sentiment would cool with time and the Mills-Vanik language could then be more easily defeated. However, the administration needs a trade bill soon. Trade negotiations are now underway with Japan and Western Europe, and our trading partners are saying that without legislation to give the President authority to negotiate tariffs, he will have no legal basis upon which to negotiate. Because the trade bill is so important, the sponsors of the amendment felt that the pro-human rights language in the bill would have a good chance of making it through.

### Applications

The amendment, originally proposed by Senator Henry Jackson as a reaction to the restrictive Soviet "education tax" on Jewish emigrants, is phrased in such a way as to apply to all Communist countries and all groups desiring to emigrate. "For example," Miss Silver said, "if an emigrant from Czechoslovakia or Hungary wanted to reunite with his family left behind the Iron Curtain, the Mills-Vanik amendment might help him by allowing his family freedom to emigrate."

The amendment is co-sponsored by a majority in both the Senate and the House. A bi-partisan group of 77 Senators have joined Senator Jackson and more than 275 Congressmen have joined Representatives Wilbur Mills and Charles Vanik in sponsoring the legislation. Now the bill must go before the Senate for examination by the Finance Committee which will recommend its version of a trade bill for approval by the whole Senate.

## Cambodia Protests Violations For Peace, All Depends on North Vietnam

Commentary of Khmer National Radio on December 28, 1973



Soviet tank in Cambodia.

Regarding an eventual and problematic re-establishment of peace in our region, all depends now more than ever before on North Vietnam exclusively. All has been done by the countries concerned to bring about the immediate re-establishment of peace. For example the United States, on its part, long ago withdrew all its forces from South Vietnam within the prescribed time. From its side, the Republic of Vietnam has made numerous

propositions in the framework of La Celle-Saint-Cloud conversations—proposing in particular to the Vietcong a precise time-table for the application of the Paris Agreements concerning a political solution in South Vietnam. The Khmer Republic itself has spared no effort to promote the re-establishment of peace, in particular by proposing last July 6 a six-point peace plan which remains valid today.

By contrast, the Communist side has yet to register the slightest gesture of good-will; this is instead

replaced by total intransigence and the refusal to make any concession. Specifically one can observe that North Vietnam has not withdrawn its invasion forces from the territories they still occupy in South Vietnam, the Khmer Republic and Laos eleven months after the signing of the Paris Agreements. Not only was there no withdrawal of these invading forces but there has been no indication that such a withdrawal might one day begin.

And that is what is most alarming, i.e. the total silence of the North Vietnamese leaders regarding the eventual withdrawal of their invasion forces and the correct application by their country of the stipulations in Article 20 of the Paris Agreements. In fact it is evident that the leaders of North Vietnam do not have the slightest intention to withdraw even one man whom they have illegally installed on the territories of the three countries. It is precisely this entirely negative attitude of the leaders of Hanoi on re-establishing peace which renders the situation so dangerous in our region, as it is presently.

It is certain, in any case, no matter how one looks at the problem that peace will be re-established in former Indochina only on the day that the North Vietnamese invasion forces are integrally withdrawn from the territories which they have stubbornly occupied. What remains, regarding peace, is only words and is of little interest. The essential point is unchanged that is the necessity for the withdrawal of the foreign invaders so that the three countries in the region which have been frustrated in their desires for peace, due to these aggressors, can regain it.





The Little Angels, the national folk ballet of Korea, performed for UNICEF to a standing-room-only crowd at the U.N. General Assembly Hall. The performance, on December 27, 1973, was the first public cultural event to have ever been held in the General Assembly Hall.

The Little Angels, a project of the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation, have won acclaim as "the finest corps de ballet in the world" (*London Evening Standard*).

They have performed for President Nixon, Queen Elizabeth, the Prince and Princess of Japan, Princess Beatrix and Prince Claus, President Chung Hee Park of Korea, former Premier Sato Prime Minister Edward Heath, and Australian Prime Minister Whitlam. UNICEF also benefitted from their participation in the European Festival in the Hague, Holland, in December 1972.

The Little Angels performance in New York received standing ovations, favorable reviews in the *New York Times* and *Daily News*, and TV coverage. The program was broadcast twice in Korea.

Fifteen native Korean folk dances were performed by the Little Angels, ranging from the comical Mask Dance convincingly portraying the antics of lions to the graceful fan dance (illustrated below), a model of precision. Some of the dances related to Oriental history and mythology—one was a touching love story between an angel and a man, concluding with the angel's return to heaven. The

Little Angels surprised the audience with their singing ability, especially with their finale, "Children of the World, Unite".

*Children of the world unite  
Together we must change the  
wrong to right  
We must learn to live quite happily  
beside our fellow men  
Peace will guide the way  
Lay down the sword, take up the  
pen  
And the world will join us in our  
peaceful fight  
Children of the world unite*

*Children of the world unite  
The future may depend upon our  
might  
And if God will always grant the  
strength to turn the other  
cheek  
To show to non-believers just  
how blessed are the meek  
We'll see yellow, black and  
red in hands with white  
Children of the world unite*

The benefit performance received the support of many dignitaries, including twenty-six U.N. delegates, eight Ambassadors, ten Senators, eleven Congressmen, and two governors. The Committee was chaired by Mrs. Kurt Waldheim and Mrs. Lila Acheson Wallace, Co-chairman of Reader's Digest. On the honorary committee were Nelson Rockefeller, John Lindsay, Senator Javits, Governor Wilson, Mayor Beame, U.N. Observer from Korea, Tong Jin Park, Minister Joo Young Moon, and

U.N. and UNICEF officials. Honored by a standing ovation at the performance was Sun Myung Moon, founder of the Little Angels (and of FLF), also a member of the sponsoring committee.

The Little Angels received letters of commendation from President Nixon and South Korean Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil. Mrs. Guido Pantleoni, Jr., President of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF, praised the Little Angels while receiving flowers from them—"Art unifies the minds of people. Our young friends combine art and youth."

It seems appropriate that the U.N. should be the scene of a beautiful presentation of Korean culture twenty years after its assistance to this small war-torn country.

At the performance Little Angels President Bo Hi Pak remarked about their significance:

"It is truly heart-warming to see these more fortunate children giving of themselves on this stage in behalf of those less fortunate children, who will receive help as a result of this program. This is a beautiful example of human brotherhood in its purest form."

"Tonight the Little Angels will dance and sing their way into your hearts as they have for millions of people around the world in the name of peace and good will. Perhaps as in no other time in history are the words of a great teacher more fitting and a little child shall lead them."

"Thank you."



## A Very Special Holiday Gift

**The Little Angels -- National Folk  
Ballet of Korea -- Perform for  
UNICEF on Historic Occasion**



## Where Will Japan Turn Now?

by Ray Mas

There is little doubt as to the effects of the Arab oil embargo upon Japan. From a fairly non-aligned stance, the Arabs have been able to force Tokyo into a decidedly pro-Arab stance. Japan receives about 84% of its oil from the Middle East, 43% from Arab nations and the rest from Iran. In this position, the Arabs could not help but be successful. In fact, Japan's financial planners fear that the oil embargo and inflation will bring the worst economic slump since the post World War II recovery. Other economists predict a virtual economic collapse or at least a growth rate of 5% — bleak for a nation used to gains twice as great.

### Shifting Politics

Yet economic crisis is only half the problems facing the Japanese. Since 1969 the once rock-stable Japanese political system has seen a number of major shifts and rumbles which have resulted in the growth of a substantial left-wing element in Japanese political life. In general elections in 1969, the three major left-wing parties together gained a

total of 46% of the vote, almost as much as that obtained by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the ruling party of Prime Minister Tanaka. This growing fractionalism could even lead to a splintered political situation similar to that of Italy. In other words an extreme left coalition, operating from a solid base of organized support, controlling from one-fourth to one-third of the electorate, and occasionally able, by exploiting existing policies, to make a serious grasp for power. In 1971, the left wing Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) gained control of the two largest Japanese cities, Tokyo and Osaka. This, combined with strong showings in recent Upper House elections, paint a shaky picture of Japan's once stable political system.

### Anti-materialism

There are many reasons for the growing crisis in Japan besides the recent oil embargo. A growing resentment towards the materialistic values of the West and a desire to return to traditional Japanese values has played a significant role, especially among young people who

look towards the previous generation's veneration of GNP (Gross National Product) with scorn and do not view economic growth as paramount or even necessary. Added to this growing philosophical disillusionment is the growing impact of Marxism upon young people, who make up the majority of the 3 left-wing parties.

### Shortages

In addition to a growing social crisis is a severe labor shortage. This has had the effect of an accelerating upward spiral in wage demands. During the 1960's wages rose on the average of about 11.5%. By 1970 the rate had become 18%. This wage increase has thus complicated further efforts to battle inflation and furthered labor unrest as unions continue to clamor for higher wages to meet their needs in an inflated economy.

Finally, Japan's lack of raw materials (of which petroleum is only one) is bringing Japan greater difficulties. Japanese sources estimate that dependence upon imports of copper is likely to grow from the present level of approx-

imately 75% to over 90% by 1975; in lead to nearly 60%; in iron ore from 85-90%; in natural gas from a relatively low-level to about 75%, and it is likely to remain at 100% in aluminum, nickel, oil, and uranium. Moreover, in terms of volume, actual needs are expected to almost double. This great and, in some cases, almost exclusive dependence upon raw materials offer a myriad of potentially dangerous shortage problems to Japan—witness the devastating effects of the Arab oil embargo. This in essence must consistently force her to take an extremely low profile internationally, and in some cases (as with the Middle East) take philosophically unfavorable positions. The makers of the British Empire knew these problems all too well and thus sought complete control over their resource suppliers. Lacking that control as well as natural resources today has spelled only crisis for Great Britain and is beginning to do so for Japan as well.

### Our Role

I have attempted to give an overall picture of the economic and

political problems which face Japan today in an effort to call attention to one thing: America's responsibility.

In a recent interview Prime Minister Tanaka explained America's responsibility this way: "We believe the United States must stay in this part of the world (Asia)—must continue to play a major role here. It is the only way to assure freedom, peace and stability for the world at large."

To many observers, the Prime Minister's words appeared very startling. Somehow, since Vietnam, many Americans have come to the conclusion that not only are we not needed in Asia, but that Asians do not want us. Mr. Tanaka's statement does well to dispell such a belief. In fact, startled by the energy crisis and the effects of America's China policy, Asians more than ever are looking towards the United States. Yet the importance of America's role in Asia and specifically in Japan goes beyond Asia itself. It is estimated that added together the Gross National Product of the United States and Japan equal 40% of the world's GNP, a staggering figure indeed.

Mr. Tanaka has suggested a

possible community of the U.S., Canada, and Japan as a viable economic and peace-keeping force in the world. The weight of such a community would be great indeed, not only for the benefit of those free nations but for the world. Precisely what that means to the United States is a greater, not lesser, global responsibility. Of the 86 billion dollars of U.S. global investment, 55% of it comes to Asia, a pitifully small amount for such an important strategic and economic area. The results of a continued withdrawal from Japan and other free Asian countries would be a tragic mistake indeed, especially if America loses them by courting Communist China.

### Confidence in Power

Again, Prime Minister Tanaka's words are valuable. "The U.S. has many domestic problems, and some Americans may be deeply concerned about the way their country is being run. But of all the 3.7 billion people on this earth, Americans have the most stable economy, they have an abundance of resources available

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# The Gulag Archipelago

By Ray Mas

The chapters in the history of the Soviet dissident movement abound. Yet the events of this year suggest that developments are moving at an ever-quicken rate. The recent publication of the book *Ten Years After Ivan Denisovich* by Zhores A. Medvedev, has effectively marked one era, one milestone in the dissident movement. The ten years since

the Soviet regime and thus of a new era, Solzhenitsyn's latest work must also be marked as a milestone. Despite the fact that *Gulag* deals only with the years 1918-56, it describes an era not by any means forgotten or gone, the era of Stalinist terror. Many survivors of the camps and their relatives have not forgotten the bleak horror of those days. As well, many who were in govern-

ment positions then still hold office today and thus have a personal stake in burying memories. Fearing retribution, they are determined not to let the issue come up again. Since Krushchev's famous secret speech in 1956 no other single public statement has served to resurrect the Stalinist horror more than *Gulag Archipelago*. Solzhenitsyn rejects the Kremlin thesis that Stalin alone was responsible for the "excesses of his time." Instead Solzhenitsyn devastatingly demonstrates that the reign of terror under Stalin was made possible by Lenin's establishment of a ruthless police state. He further ascribes the mass confessions of the purge trials in the 1930's as the work of

*"... and what about the 200 million? In a vague and unclear way I have the vision that some day I will cry out to the 200 million." Solzhenitsyn*

Solzhenitsyn's now legendary work was published by official decree in the Soviet Union have been crucial ones indeed. They have ranged from the "liberal" atmosphere of the Khrushchev era, in which *Ivan Denisovich* was published, to the increasingly repressive measures of the Brezhnev regime in which *Gulag Archipelago*, Solzhenitsyn's latest work, has been branded as "unfounded slander against the Soviet People."

## A Personal Stake

Yet, just as *Ivan Denisovich* signaled the beginning of a coherent, organized opposition to

ment positions then still hold office today and thus have a personal stake in burying memories. Fearing retribution, they are determined not to let the issue come up again. Since Krushchev's famous secret speech in 1956 no other single public statement has served to resurrect the Stalinist horror more than *Gulag Archipelago*. Solzhenitsyn rejects the Kremlin thesis that Stalin alone was responsible for the "excesses of his time." Instead Solzhenitsyn devastatingly demonstrates that the reign of terror under Stalin was made possible by Lenin's establishment of a ruthless police state. He further ascribes the mass confessions of the purge trials in the 1930's as the work of

It is no less embarrassing in the midst of the Soviets' cherished *detente* policy and holds possibilities for seriously impairing Moscow's objectives. What is demanded most importantly of the Soviet regime now is definite action. If it does not order firm, quick action against Mr. Solzhenitsyn and his foreign

## One Step Further

Yet the overwhelming difference is that the challenge lies within the borders of the Soviet Union and even goes so far as to denounce the untouchable of untouchables, the deified Lenin. In *Gulag Archipelago* Solzhenitsyn rejects the Kremlin thesis that Stalin alone was responsible for the "excesses of his time." Instead Solzhenitsyn devastatingly demonstrates that the reign of terror under Stalin was made possible by Lenin's establishment of a ruthless police state. He further ascribes the mass confessions of the purge trials in the 1930's as the work of

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# ...its Effect on "Detente"

by Gary Jarmin

It should already be evident that "detente" between the Soviets and the West is hardly more than a maneuver by the Communists to turn the Cold War into a one-sided ideological offensive advantageous to their side. Although there is ample evidence available to prove the farcical nature of the current rapprochement, the final test of its invalidity should be concretely verified if the Soviets bring any harm to Alexander Solzhenitsyn due to the publication of his new book *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956*.

No doubt the Soviets consider the publication of the book harmful since it documents the arrests, interrogation and persecutions of many people by the Soviet secret police from 1918 to 1956.

In the new book Solzhenitsyn describes the enigma of the 30's when hundreds of loyal old Bolsheviks confessed to committing so-called anti-Soviet crimes in publicly-staged trials.

coerciveness when it was used against them.

Solzhenitsyn now feels that the time has come to let the truth out. He said, "The author who keeps quiet is an accomplice in all the evil that is committed in his homeland or by his people."

Since the announcement of the publication of Solzhenitsyn's new book the Soviets have increased their attacks against him.

Tass, the official Soviet government news agency, denounced Solzhenitsyn's new book as "a New Year's gift to the enemies of his motherland."

The attacks against Solzhenitsyn were also coupled with criticisms of the "reactionary Western press" which intended to use the new book to mount a fresh anti-Soviet campaign designed "to poison the atmosphere of detente."

Also in a rare move Solzhenitsyn was publicly criticized by the Soviets over nationwide television in the U.S.S.R.

## Internal Debate

Although the Soviets have given no clear indication as of yet to what they might actually do to Solzhenitsyn there is one other factor which may cause the Soviets to follow up on all of their threats to him - that factor being the current debate between the hardliners opposed to the current detente and those supporting Brezhnev's policies.

No one less than President Nikolai Podgorny has revealed great reservations about Soviet rapprochement with the United States.

Podgorny's recent speech in Riga apparently put him on the side of Mikhail Suslov, the Politburo ideologist, and Dmitry Polyansky, another politburo member who have been opponents of Brezhnev's line on detente.

## Test Case

With such high-ranking people putting pressure on Brezhnev to take a harder line, it is very possible that Solzhenitsyn could become a test case in the eyes of those opposed to Brezhnev detente policies.

## Challenge to one-man Rule

In order to satisfy the hardliners, it's possible that Brezhnev may be faced with the choice of having to risk criticism abroad by imprisoning Solzhenitsyn or face more criticism at home for not doing so. Facing the reality of the situation, Brezhnev may opt for the former choice rather than risk giving his opponents an issue over which to challenge his increasing position of one-man rule.

Should the Soviets do anything to harm Solzhenitsyn the answer to the question over "the validity of detente" should no longer be in doubt, even though it is a question that for Solzhenitsyn and many of us was answered a long time ago

# "The Struggle Won't Stop..."

## --The Democratic Movement in Russia--

The President of the National Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS), largest Russian emigre underground democratic movement, gives his views.

Speech by Alexander Artemov  
NTS President  
December 12, 1973

Stalinism is a logical, utmost development of the Leninist dictatorship. Stalin could be considered to be a genius among mediocrities. In a party dictatorship the most important thing is the ability to seize power and to control the government apparatus, then totalitarian propaganda creates a genius out of its leader. What has become true of what the leader has predicted is played up, anything that he was mistaken about, of course, is hushed up. I don't want to tire you with many examples; I will give you only one which has a relationship with the United States.

In 1936 an American editor, Roy Howard, had an interview with Stalin in Moscow. He asked Stalin if he could see the focus of development of the Second World War. Stalin replied that most probably this would be a war between England and America. This is a most ingenious prediction that you can't find recorded anywhere in Soviet annals. Nonetheless, Stalin was a genius in his own narrow field, the technique of governing. Stalin brought to a logical end the development of the totalitarian

Hitler at that time. But this was not really so; the problem for us was much more complicated. Experience of the war has shown that the mass of people made a mistake in their calculations. No one really profited from the years of war. We were all in a difficult position.

It so appeared that this road which seemed to be the only one available turned out to be non-existent.

The post-Stalin period has brought tremendous changes both on the side of the government authorities and on the side of the people. It so happened that both sides have gone through a differentiation. In the camp of the government we no longer had a single enemy. Our hatred therefore became broken into fragments. I will give you an example in literature. During Stalin literature was in fact a servant of propaganda. But after the death of Stalin there appeared two different poles: on one side was Kochetov, he's a very dogmatic person; on the other side, Tvardovsky who was the editor of *Novy Mir* and who brought Solzhenitsyn into attention was liberal.

The plus side is that because of

won over by Marxism at that time.

By interest and because of my duties I had to learn to study Marx, Lenin, Engels, and so on. I was reading Engels in the hope of finding a Marxist answer to the question concerning the meaning of life. Engels' answer was really plain. He said that life was a form of the existence of protein. This is not only not an answer to the question but it is first of all not even an understanding of the problem itself. This actually terminated my first love with Marxism, the divorce then ensued.

Now turning back to the period I was discussing, the young people then turned away from Marxism and found some of the answers to their questions in religious teachings. In the political field very quickly people began to see clearly the contradictions between the principles of freedom and law in the Soviet Constitution and its legal system.

When Stalin was writing his constitution, that famous constitution, he was without any hesitation, citing all sorts of democratic freedoms and privileges because he was absolutely sure that no one would ever dare to ask for them. This of course was what the new democratic opposition did. It actually referred to this constitution, taking it seriously for the first time. The government then tried to deal with this opposition based on a position that is contained in the preamble of the constitution.

"In the interest of the development of socialism the Soviet State guarantees to citizens the following freedoms: freedom of speech, press, religion, etcetera." Young people interpreted this as saying that it is important and necessary to grant to everybody the freedoms because this is in the interests of socialism. The government says, "Yes we will give you those freedoms, but only in the interests of socialism."

The democratic movement was all the time emphasizing the fact that they are an internal movement not depending on any foreign factors. Very soon they realized that in the present situation the world community is very much interrelated. Statements had to be made known to the Western journalists so the radio could beam it back to the Soviet Union. It is possible the Western powers and the West in general do not fully realize what a tremendous importance for the people behind the Iron Curtain is the mass media.

How can Solzhenitsyn, for instance, address his own people? The entire press is in the hands of the government and of course it doesn't print a single word about him. Soviet radio and television are entirely under the control of the dictatorship. Everyone in our country knows about Solzhenitsyn, nevertheless, how? This is because of foreign radio, everybody listens to it. So the path of a Russian writer in trying to reach his own people actually carries him to countries outside of the Soviet Union and comes back as an echo.

Interesting are the Soviet laws that forbid listening to foreign radios. In the beginning it actually amounted to fifteen years of imprisonment for only having listened to the radio once. The second stage was "Okay, you listen, but you cannot say anything to the others." Today everybody actually listens and the government winks its eye and tries to pretend it doesn't exist. Today rarely is anybody arrested or in any way persecuted for listening to foreign radio. All the laws are still on paper but they are not being applied. But of course the great barrier is that of the jamming.

A very stupid position has developed as far as the government is concerned. If you read the Soviet press and listen to the Soviet radio, you simply could not know the most important events even happening within the Soviet Union itself because they don't write about it. When we meet with Soviet functionaries and ask them some unpleasant questions, they usually say, "Where did you take it from? It was never written in our newspapers." At the same time the people are almost totally aware of these facts. In the psyche of the people Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov have a far greater influence than the government itself. There is a joke

*continued on page seven*



system that was laid down by Lenin.

The Communist era is full of horrors for the Russian people and for the people of the world as a whole. But it had one advantage: it had a logical system, a logical harmony. On one pole stood that omnipotent tyrant. In front of him we have a sea of hating human units, all disorganized, without any single denominator in their aspirations. For us, political enemies of the Stalin government, the scheme was very clear: the tyrant and the people who hate him.

We were thinking - what are the ways which could help us conduct a struggle against him? I remember two examples. While I was a student, a group of us were discussing in Moscow the method of struggle. We discussed a number of technical operations of how things could be done, then came to the conclusion that it was really impossible to conduct any real struggle inside of the Soviet Union. There was only one way out - to wait for a war. But being members of the intellectual group, we had some psychological inhibitions as far as war was concerned.

In the new year of 1941 I was celebrating the day in Abredvka, the place where Pasternak died later. My relatives were living in the house of a local peasant. Even during Stalin's time, when people knew each other well, they still confided in each other and spoke pretty frankly. Of course a good influence during this period as far as the Russian soul is concerned was vodka. We awaited the new year and had our share of drinks. The peasant in whose house we were celebrating and who was totally free of any kind of complexes said, "Well, they can do anything to us they want, but I'll bet you the war will start very soon."

The philosophy of the common people was very simple - anybody whom the Soviet government was swearing at and blackening was probably a good person and our friend. Such in their opinion was

this internal struggle the sphere of the government has also suffered weaknesses. On the other side there also turned out to be the same kind of differentiation. At Stalin's time the concept of society as such simply didn't exist; it was an appendage to the party. It was a court society, a society of court servants.

After Stalin's death the opposition split into two parts: itself the educated groups, and the mass of the people; in the social sector you could observe a fanning out of various groups - religious groups, opposition political groups, and so on. This had its pluses because it was a realization of the elements of democratic Russia's pluralistic structure. The minus was that among these groups the opposition developed differences of opinion concerning strategic and tactical problems. On the other hand, if you take the mass of the people, which is far removed from any sort of theoretical discussions, you have to admit in the end that the masses of the peasants and workers have adopted the tactics of passive resistance and sabotage in some cases. The workers at the time of Krushchev resorted to the weapon of strikes reaching its final form in the armed revolt in Novocherkassk in 1962.

In the intellectual society in this particular period new forms of opposition began to develop. One could say that "Samizdat" began right after the Hungarian revolution, when students began to reproduce reports from foreign radio stations.

If the large masses of the people were mainly concerned in bettering their economic position, the concern of the intelligentsia was in trying to develop new ideas and new thinking. There developed certain waves, which one after another, were engulfing these people. For instance, the first wave was the one concerned with the search for the meaning of life.

The search for the answer existed even during Stalin's times when I was young. I was actually



## The Ordeal of the Arts Under Communism



by Louis Fournier

### PART II LITERATURE

With this series of articles *The Rising Tide* examines the face of culture in the Soviet Union, focusing on the utilization of aesthetics in that country as a means of Communist ideological warfare. "Ordeal of the Arts" is presented in three parts, dealing with the philosophical, ideological connotations of culture and its Communist manipulation and particular aspects of the arts in Soviet life.

Russian history drifts back into deep, challenging chapters of intriguing events. It seems almost to have set out on a course of preparation for its ultimate era, its place of world influence. Russia has always been a big-hearted land, vaguely mystical; its people are passionate and fiery. They like to firmly establish their commitments and guard their dearest attachments jealously. There is an open, trusting spirituality; it is tragic that their innate nobility of heart fell under the heels of a handful of misled patriots who banded around Marx's dialectical materialism. Russian culture has always been a powerful expression of the deepest yearnings of the soul of the nation. It necessarily shared that tragedy.

### FATHERS AND SONS

Russian literature seems rarely to have been disassociated from politics throughout its long history. Well before the 1917 Revolution, men of letters in Russia often found themselves seriously at odds with the powers that were, with equally serious consequences. Russian prominence in letters began to

develop with the versatile creative genius of Michael Lomonosov (1711-1765), who distinguished himself in an astonishing array of both literary and scientific achievement; he later became compared with an American of similar talents and eventually earned himself the sobriquet of "Russia's Benjamin Franklin." While the political nature of 18th century Russia was certainly no example of perfect stability, Lomonosov could not have foreseen the fervor of revolutionary zeal that would come a century later. The cultural climate of Eurasia throughout the 1800's seemed to consistently build for a huge breakthrough which came in no small way with the dramatic artistic explosion that occurred in Russia in the last half of that hundred years. Russia entered the so-called Golden Age, with music and literature leading the field.

Alongside that sudden flourish of arts, a political upsurge against czarist rule developed also — the two burgeoning developments often met with varied results, most commonly open clash. In literature, political martyrs emerged early and consistently. In 1790 Alexander Radishev was sentenced to death (his sentence was later commuted to lifelong banishment to Siberia) for his polemic essay on serfdom, *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*. In 1823 Alexander Griboyedov spent several months in jail for his play *Woe from Wit*, a satire on high Russian society. Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837), perhaps Russia's greatest poet, was once sent into exile for his anti-czarist sentiments. Mikhail Lermontov was banished because of a poem he wrote blaming the czar for the death of Pushkin. Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1821-1881) stood on a scaffold in

1849, noose around his neck, condemned to die because of his association with a revolutionary socialist group; only at the last second did word come that his sentence had been commuted to four years' imprisonment in Siberia. Ivan Turgenev (1818-1883), author of the sweeping epic *Taras Bulba*, the enduring *Fathers and Sons* and other works, found himself exiled for his attacks on serfdom. It was Nikolai Chernishevsky who perfected the Russian tradition of using fiction for the discussion and dissemination of social ideas; he was arrested in 1862, spent two years in a grim St. Petersburg prison, then lived 17 years in exile in Siberia. The Great Man of the Golden Age, Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910), was excommunicated from the church because of his views and could publish many of his books only abroad.

At Yalta in 1901 three great Russian writers met, quite unexpectedly. All three were there for health reasons and ran across each other accidentally. In them three epochs of Russian writing converged, three classes, three modes and eras of literature mixed and passed again. It was a turn of the century drama of Russian letters that in many ways foreshadowed the transition from Russian literature to Soviet literature. They were Leo Tolstoy, then seventy-four, the landed aristocrat and enlightened individualist; Anton Chekhov, forty-two, the middle-class intellectual, troubled by his mishandling of philosophical abstraction, whose bold innovative drama reshaped the scope of world theatre; and Maxim Gorky, thirty-three, the proletarian revolutionist, cocksure and driving goal-oriented.

In them stood the balance and stature of Russian writing. Both

younger men venerated and distrusted Tolstoy, whose magic, it seemed to them, while real and rich, belonged to an age impatiently awaiting passing. Chekhov was closer to that tradition than perhaps he would have liked to imagine, but still observed himself as an implement of modernity, striking a new pose in the range and impact of his art. Gorky, the first real new figure of what would soon become the new application of arts in post-revolutionary Russia, was disdainful of established order. He worshipped the mind, was convinced of its omnipotence, and pursued, at that time in a vague way, a course due to bring the quick changes he felt were so necessary.

### THE LOWER DEPTHS

Gorky stands out as the leading literary figure of the new Soviet literature, though this was not entirely his own doing. He was certainly the most luminary man of letters in that initial time of transition before, during and after the 1917 Revolution until his death in 1936. He knew Lenin personally; during his emigre period in Italy Lenin visited him and discussed details of the coming overthrow of the czar. Gorky was likewise in touch with numerous international writers and met or corresponded with such men as Mark Twain, H.G. Wells, G.B. Shaw, William Russell and others.

Gorky was a deep thinker and a moody man; this combination put him in dangerous spots at critical moments. He earned his initial acclaim in 1898 with a collection of stories, then swung into international fame with his rhetorical play *The Lower Depths* in 1902. He threw himself completely into the events of the 1905 revolution, playing crucial roles in that thwarted uprising. A few days later he was arrested and imprisoned in St. Petersburg, where it was rumored he was soon to be executed. Liberals all over the world, including Hardy, Rodin, Poincaré and Meredith poured in protests — within a month he was freed, pending a trial. That too was finally cancelled because of the wild clamor it aroused. In 1906 he set out for the United States on a tour to raise funds for a new revolution. He was eagerly met by large crowds, but his ovation soon dissolved into an outrageously comic scandal involving the woman who was accompanying him as Mme. Gorky. Front pages proclaimed that she was not actually married to him; that he had been separated from his real wife for several years. He was accused of bigamy and demands were made for his deportation. He was taken in by a friendly American couple, Mr. and Mrs. John Martin, who kept him through the summer at their home on Staten Island. In October he settled in Capri and stayed, writing and communicating with his fellows in literature and politics, until 1913 when Lenin persuaded him to return to Russia.

Gorky had trouble pinning his loyalties wholly on a single consistent theme; after the Bolshevik Revolution he became appalled at the destructiveness of the Marxist forces and organized many literary ventures aimed at protecting what he felt was real danger to Russian writers from Lenin's new state. He swung to and fro between outright support and retreated aloofness toward the new regime. He spent another period of emigration before returning to the Soviet Union to stay for the last years of his life. He organized the now all-powerful Congress and Union of Soviet

Writers in August 1934. Through that organization he set much policy on the writing of literature. He kept a flexible mind and still fluctuated in his feelings about Communism, although the state did all it could to fully absorb him into its cultural fabric. His birthplace was renamed for him in 1932, along with countless theatres, shops and other institutions. There is some speculation that he was killed in the purges of the thirties on Stalin's orders because of the dictator's uneasiness at Gorky's power. The Soviet Encyclopedia today lists him as the father of socialist realism and Soviet literature.

There were other notable writers who also bridged the gap from Russian to Soviet culture, although the vast majority left the country after 1917. Lenin found those who stayed to be at best reluctant to throw their wholehearted support behind the proletarian regime. "Bourgeois" writers continued to express their intense dissatisfaction with the new state. Remizov, Prishvin, Sologub, Shmelyov, and Mandelstam all voiced their opinions with no uncertainty. The gifted Jewish writer Ilya Ehrenburg then wrote his famous *Prayer for Russia*, violently anti-Soviet. By 1920 the Civil War was effectively ended, with Lenin consolidating and strengthening his power. The year before he had shut down every "non-proletarian" item of publication within his reach. By this time the greatest floods of departing Russian writers had subsided.

At this point Russian literature basically breaks down into two areas: Soviet and emigre underground, both quite prolific. Until the formation of the Writers Union in 1934, Soviet literature found only sketchy guidelines to ideological direction. To be sure, everything that was in view to read was watched carefully, but there was nothing like the tight regimentation and ideological discipline existing today. The pro-Soviet writers of real value were few, and their lives and works were often pessimistic and tragic. One of the best examples is the highly gifted writer Vladimir Mayakovsky, who early in his career had been the leading exponent of the Futurist school of poetry in Russia. He distrusted authority and joyously set

about to upset every norm he could get his hands on. When Lenin came to power, he responded favorably, volunteering his services in many areas of writing. Mayakovsky wrote prominent poems, like *War and the Universe* and *About What? About This*, which won him vast acclaim. At the suicide death of poet Sergei Yessenin in 1926 he wrote a beautiful poem dedicated to Yessenin denouncing suicide as a way out of bitter disillusionment. Four years later, also disillusioned and hurt by what he felt was state insensitivity, Mayakovsky likewise killed himself.

Poet Valery Bryusov was another who eagerly leapt to welcome the overthrow of 1917. He was one of the first writers to actually join the Communist Party. He became an influential policy setter, establishing several precedents of official tone toward wayward writings. In 1922 he published a dramatic survey of post-revolutionary literature entitled "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow" that viciously attacked the liberal letters establishment, marking a strong trend toward more direct governmental control. The voice of the Party from this point on became much clearer.

### OF WHAT THE WIND SINGS

Alexander Blok (1880-1921) made his name with his controversial poem *The Twelve*, a powerful depiction of upheaval after the Bolshevik takeover. Its rich imagery was so evocative as to be free for almost any level of interpretation; many pro-Bolsheviks thought it a piece of praise for the Revolution. The anti-Soviet element regarded it as leaning more toward their point of view — much was written about it on both sides of the issue. Bryusov in his survey of 1922 formulated the most tactfully ambiguous statement of it, saying that it was, of course, well written and an excellent revolutionary piece but must be regarded as anti-revolutionary in spirit. This delicate diplomacy was representative of many early approaches to literary control; for a long time there was a great deal of government discussion on the proper tactics to be taken of creative writing. Trotsky wrote "Art must make its own way and by its own

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Maxim Gorky in 1905

## Martyr's Anniversary Shows Power of an Idea

On January 16, 1969 Jan Palach, a Czechoslovakian student, set fire to himself in Wenceslas Square to protest the 1968 Prague invasion. Public sentiment was so strongly with him that the regime did not dare deny him a public funeral after he died three days later. His grave, as well as the scene of his immolation, became shrines which were seldom without a secretly placed wreath or candle.

Recently, in October, authorities secretly removed his body, replacing it with that of a woman named Marie Jedlickova. The official explanation is that his mother requested him to be buried near his father. Others say that she was forced to agree to this.

According to Mrs. Anna Falus, Chairman of the Washington Chapter of the Czechoslovak National Council of America, "there is also another side to this 'spiriting away' of Jan Palach's mortal remains, that is fear. Fear of an idea, fear of what Jan Palach represents, fear of his grave becoming the rallying point for the Czechoslovak people on the fifth anniversary of his immolation. And not being able to punish him while he was alive and being cowardly at heart, the members of the Czechoslovak ruling party took their wrath out on him when he could offer no resistance."

Mr. B. Soumar, in commemoration of the third anniversary of the Prague invasion (1971) speaks of Palach and his role:

We are nearing the third anniversary of the Soviet-led military invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia.

August 21, the anniversary of this memorable day, will be kept quietly by Czechoslovak people. Instead of the scores of pilgrims who come everyday to lay flowers and light candles at the burial place of Jan Palach in Prague, thousands will pay their respects to the Czechoslovak hero on that day.

The three year Soviet military occupation of Czechoslovakia has served to crystallize the situation in the country: on one side is the present Moscow servile puppet regime with its powerful bureaucracy and armed and police forces — on the other, a silent but united people, non-communist and communist alike. The Soviet army of occupation is standing by for any eventuality.

Czechoslovaks who took active part in the Czechoslovak Spring are being jailed — many without trial, suspects are being demoted from their positions, while thousands of students who behaved so admirably in 1968 are being deprived of a higher education. Czechoslovaks of every class have again been silenced, as they were in Stalin's time, twenty years ago. Moscow has finally succeeded in uniting all the Czechoslovak people against Russia forever.

The present Communist regime has not yet dared to prohibit access to Jan Palach's grave. Under the watchful eyes of the police, pilgrims continue to bring flowers



Flowers were always present on gravesite of Jan Palach.

and light candles, saying their silent "no" to the regime which is protected by the Soviet military forces.

The prayer of the people who fill the churches is, "Jesus — not Caesar!"

For foreign observers, the churches not only are places of prayer but also of political

meditation. The silence of the Czechoslovak people is not one of apathy. And the silent resistance is not limited to places of prayer. It is in the minds and hearts of all Czechoslovaks.

In world history, Czechoslovakia will always be a reminder of the West's faulty appeasement policy which led to the 1938 Munich Pact and its consequences.

unprecedented human suffering during which more than fifty million people died. In prewar times, Czechoslovakia was an exemplary humanitarian democracy and the Czechoslovak people wanted, above all else, to return to their own traditional national life in 1968.

Since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the free world has been faced with what seems to be a clear Soviet challenge. The Moscow theory that the Soviets should support "wars of liberation" or attack any country whose government they dislike was completed by the Brezhnev Doctrine which, in effect, attempts to justify an attack by the USSR on any communist country which does not use the mark laid down by Moscow.

In spite of this Soviet policy, the world still longs for peace. It is no wonder, considering what the people have gone through in this century. Also during the time of Hitler's appeasement, the Western peoples believed that they were helping the cause of peace. Western military unpreparedness, naturally, also helped to make an appeasement policy popular.

The present situation is different. Allied non-aggressive nations are well armed to face any aggression. Negotiations for a plan to eliminate present tension and build a more peaceful world could be conducted in dignity.

The yearning for peace reflects the difficult days in which we live because the Soviet doctrines of aggression differ very little from

Hitler's plan of a thousand years of domination by Nazi Germany.

But any concluded negotiations will not have lasting peace value if Soviet aggression continues unchallenged and Moscow is not pressed to release all the Soviet captive nations from bondage.

The Munich Pact, now a symbol of historical warning, paved the way for World War II. The Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia can lead to further Soviet incursions. Aware of the Soviet danger, Romania and Yugoslavia have become more and more jittery — just as the East Central European countries became alarmed during the Munich Conference and when, in 1939, all the Czech lands were occupied by the Nazis.

On Saturday, January 19th, 1974, The Czechoslovak National Council of America, in association with democratic Czechoslovak American organizations of the Washington Metropolitan area, is presenting a special program in commemoration of the 5th anniversary of the death of Jan Palach, who burned himself to death in protest against the Soviet invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia. The program will feature poetry and songs of Jan Palach's generation (with anti-Soviet and anti-occupation tendency) and films taken during the Nazi and Soviet occupation and of Palach's funeral. The program is at the Mount Vernon College Chapel, W Street, NW, Washington, D.C. at 7:30 p.m.





# Ideology

## The Materialist Looks at History – Dr. Sang Hun Lee

With this series, *The Rising Tide* is proud to present to the American public one of the most profound and insightful commentaries on Communist ideology ever offered. Dr. Lee, a respected figure in the International Federation for Victory over Communism in his native Korea, in this book articulates the argument against Communist materialism with an eloquence and depth of logic that clearly relate the overwhelming intellectual ineptitude of Marxism. He explains how and why Communism spread as it did despite its fallacies and, most importantly, offers a powerfully constructive counter-proposal to Communism as a social system. *The Tide* this year continues its serial presentation of excerpts from this important work as a crucial educational tool in achieving the ideological conquest of Communism.

The materialistic view of history is the application of the dialectic to history and social problems. The dialectic states that matter precedes spirit, that spirit is a product of matter, that progress is accomplished through contradiction, conflict and struggle, and that progress is not a smooth, continuous process but is interrupted by an abrupt change in quality, a leap to a new, higher state. Just as the progress of things takes place through contradiction, conflict, and struggle, so human history has developed through the contradiction, conflict and struggle between classes. Also, just as spirit is the product of matter, so politics,

law, religion, philosophy, the arts, etc., the various forms of ideologies or the superstructure are based on production relations. And as qualitative changes come about through an abrupt interruption of gradual development and a leap to a new state, so by the revolution which is the qualitative change brought about by the struggle of the proletarian class, the old social order will be destroyed and a new society, the socialist society, will appear. These are the main points of Marx's view of history.

Marx's motive for establishing the materialistic view of history was he felt that without destroying the traditional idealistic view of history he could not lead the proletarian revolution to victory. The materialistic view of history appeared, then, like dialectical materialism, as a theoretical weapon designed to destroy all idealistic ways of thinking. Idealism does not view history from the view point of change and progress but tries to understand it as static and unchangeable. According to Marx's view it has justified the exploitation and oppression of the ruling class and has been their defender in every age.

For instance, Aristotle, the great classical philosopher, praised the system of his time as a permanent,

divine order. Thomas Aquinas, the medieval philosopher, defended the feudal society with the Pope at the top as built by God's Providence. Modern mechanistic thinkers likewise defended capitalism. In order to destroy this reactionary idealism, the materialistic view of history appeared. A summary of this view of history follows.

The first point of the materialistic view of history is that social development is governed by law. That is, society progresses according to objective laws which can be known scientifically. The second point is that man is necessarily involved in the production relations of his society in social life. These production relations are independent of man's will and correspond to a certain stage of the development of the productive forces. The third point concerns the foundation (basis) and superstructure of society. The foundation of society is the production relation, and the views expressed in law, politics, philosophy, and religion and their institutions form the superstructure built on that foundation, and reflect it. The base and superstructure are expressed as the contrasting concepts of "being and consciousness."

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that

determines their consciousness (Marx, "Preface to the Critique of Political Economy," *Selected Works*, p. 182).

The fourth point is that when the production relations become a fetter to the development of the productive forces, a revolution occurs. The fifth point explains that since the state is the ruling class's institution of power, the only way for the proletariat to win its struggle is to seize the state's power by force. The sixth point is that social progress and the production relations within society have taken several different forms according to the progress of the modes of production. In short, society began as a classless state but then became a class society. From this class society, a higher level of classless society will emerge. I shall explain these six points briefly, criticize the one of each one and offer a counterproposal to the materialistic view of history based on the Unification view of history.

**Social Development Is Governed by Law**

**The Meaning of Social Progress Being Governed By Law**

According to dialectical

materialism, nature is always in the process of change and development. This change and development always follows certain objective laws which are discoverable through scientific means. For instance, matter follows the laws of motion, inertia and gravity, light follows the laws of refraction, reflection and interference in its travel; liquids follow the capillary law when they flow through tubes and when gas is subjected to pressure, it follows Boyle's laws. All these laws are discoverable through scientific methods. According to the dialectic there are still other laws, such as the law of cause and effect, which natural phenomena should necessarily follow in addition to these natural laws. Therefore, in order to explain the existence of these consistent natural laws, Marx does not recognize the interference of God or any supernatural power. In dealing with social and historical problems he likewise denied the influence of any non-materialistic, mysterious power and said that social progress, like natural progress, follows objective material laws. These laws, like the law of economic progress, can also be discovered scientifically.

Natural laws such as the law of gravity and the law of refraction operate independently of man's con-

sciousness and will. Whether man desires it or not, these laws operate with absolutely consistent cause and effect. Likewise, according to Marx, the laws of social progress are independent of man's consciousness and will. Again, however, the law of cause and effect, which Marx sees as always operating, is materialistic.

Marx recognizes only physical causes and effects because if he admitted the intervention of spiritual power, as the idealists have, his law of cause and effect would have been negated and he would not have been able to establish the objective laws which he thought social progress followed.

Dr. Lee continues his discussion of Marxist historical materialism in our next issue.

Communism: A Critique and Counterproposal may be obtained at the Rising Tide Bookstore in the F.L.F. main offices building. Order your copy by mailing a check or money order for \$5.50 (five dollars and fifty cents) price includes postage, payable to The Freedom Leadership Foundation, 1365 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

## On Creating Value

The following is excerpted from the chapter on Axiology (the study of value) from *Unification Thought* by the Unification Thought Institute. The Institute is developing many principles common to the Unification Ideology; therefore, this excerpt and others in following issues present and advocate a convincing moral alternative to Communism.

Some consistent idea of value should exist at the basis of each aspect of culture, such as politics and economy. This theory of axiology tries to clarify the existence of the purpose of creation and the essence of value created through the give-and-take action between relative elements. Thus this theory's goal is to define the structure of value as fundamental principles of standard ethics as well as individual morals. This theory may also offer a great deal to counter the variety and confusion of the present-day view of value.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AXIOLOGY

Axiology is the philosophical field that deals generally with the problems of value: how to judge, evaluate and recognize value. Descartes and Locke systematically pursued the study of epistemology and finally formed one of the most fundamental fields of philosophy. Later, Kant discriminated between the field of theory (*Sein*, being) and that of value (*Sollen*, duty), and axiology thus became one of the basic fields of the modern philosophical world.

Kant's theory, however, dealt more directly with determining which things are valuable, while the value that is dealt with here has more to do with ethics, since we consider value as that which decides the goals of man's activities.

In the history of philosophy, axiology occupies a very important position. It is interesting that it takes a place in history similar to the place it takes in the process of man's growth from childhood. Children ask the axiological questions such as, "Why do we do

this?" or "Why must we do that?" soon after their ontological questions such as, "What is this?" or "How does it happen?"

Let us examine both purpose and value.

### THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF AXIOLOGY

#### Dual being

What is value, then? Can we expect to find a constant concept or standard of value regardless of the time, place or persons that we encounter? How do material value or personal value come to take concrete shape?

Truth is unique, eternal, unchanging and absolute, regardless of time or circumstances. Thus our first step is to theoretically consider the true meaning of the existence of human beings and, based upon this consideration, deal with the true significance of value.

We can readily note that man has two sides, both an internal (spiritual) and external (material) side.

Hence, man has two different kinds of desires: the desire to seek after spiritual values such as truth, goodness, beauty and love; and the desire to seek for material values such as the desire for the sensory joys found in food, clothing, shelter, and sex.

#### Dual purposes

As stated in detail in "Ontology," man exists in a dual position both as God's substantial object, and as the subject of the whole creation.

To be God's substantial object means that man is in a position to offer joy to God. In other words, exhibiting his own God-given values, man offers truth, goodness and beauty to God in order to give Him joy and comfort. Since God is such that He contains every being, visible and invisible, He can be considered to be the complete whole, and to serve Him may be called the purpose for the whole.

Deep in his mind, man desires to do something or feels he must do something for his greater, wider

and higher whole; namely, for his home, his nation and the world in which he lives. From this desire a sense of duty naturally arises which corresponds to "must be thus," "wish to be such," or "must act thus," "wish to act in such a way." The sense of duty or "Categorical Imperative" (Kant) generally comes from this purpose of the whole.

The fact that man is the subject of the whole creation means that he influences the creation with love and also he receives from it values such as truth, goodness and beauty which give him joy.

This receiving of value corresponds to the purpose for the individual which is indispensable to man as is the purpose for the whole already mentioned.

#### Dual desires

The dual desires exist in relation to both the purposes for the whole and for the individual. One is the desire to realize value, to exhibit one's value toward God, and the other is the desire to seek after value in order to obtain joy through receiving truth, goodness and beauty from all things. These dual desires form an actual basis for feeling values and for a consciousness or a view of value.

What is the nature and basis of these desires according to the Principle? We can not help but think that the creation of man must have some reason or purpose because man was created by God. However, long this purpose may exist, however, it has no significance unless it is realized.

God gave man everything necessary to fulfill his purpose of creation, but his fulfillment was entrusted to man's free will. This purpose of creation can not be achieved if man remains in the state in which he was created. In other words, in order to achieve his purpose, man must grow by himself. This means that man has to be given the ability and impulse to fulfill his purpose. The impulse to fulfill his purpose of creation is the desire for value.



All the other created beings besides man are also given purposes of creation by God. Even inorganic matter has usefulness and law, and this usefulness and law both can be said to be realizations of the purpose of creation. That is, inorganic

matter becomes useful by its law. On the other hand living creatures possess an autonomous nature (plants) and an instinctive nature (animals). By these they grow automatically or instinctively to perfection and realize the purpose

of their creation.

Besides these laws, autonomy and instinct, man possesses creativity, namely the desire to create values by which God's purpose of creation is to be consciously realized.



## Portents for a Divided Europe

by Allan C. Brownfeld

from Anaheim Bulletin, November 28, 1973

WASHINGTON — Although the Soviet Union speaks in the soft words of "detente" when it addresses meetings such as the European Security Conference, its satellite groups in Western Europe have been busy doing what Communist parties have done so well for so many years: subverting the Western nations in which they operate.

If a new era of "detente" has dawned upon Europe, the activities of leftist groups in Scandinavia tell a far different story.

The organizations of conscientious objectors in Scandinavia, for example, have been heavily infiltrated by left-wing Socialists and Communists in recent years. From being purely pacifist organizations rejecting violence on principle, these groups today favor the use of violent as well as non-violent actions as a means of furthering revolution.

### Sweden

This development may be illustrated by the case of Sweden. The Organization of Conscientious Objectors (VCO) was formed in 1968 as a non-political organization. A few years later it had been taken over by leftwing elements and was officially declared as "a part of the revolutionary movement in Sweden." It stated that, "VCO's antimilitaristic work helps preparing and furthering the socialist revolution."

olution." In the spring of 1972, VCO merged into the "Socialist Antimilitarists" (SAM).

### Norway

The same development has been taking place in Norway. The originally pacifist and non-political "Peoples Movement Against War" (PMK) has turned its interest away from furthering non-violence as a supplement to military defense. Today, its activity is concentrated on the use of non-violent methods as a means of changing Norway's free society. Officially the PMK now "works in order to spread the knowledge and use of non-violent methods of struggle in political and social conflict inside society."

### Sabotage Increased

The effectiveness of the work of these groups can be seen in the sharp percentage increase of young people refusing to perform military service. According to official figures (published in the Norwegian Kontakt Bulletin No. 2, 1973) the number of applications from conscientious objectors in Norway has recently passed the percentage reached during the Korean War. The percentage reached a peak in 1951 when 6 per cent of all people called upon applied for being accepted as conscientious objectors. The percentage then declined until it reached the low of 1.1 per cent in 1964. Since then, however, both the absolute and relative number of applications for conscientious objectors

status in Norway has been rising year by year until it reached the high of 6.9 in 1972.

The development in Denmark has been similar. In 1965, 1.8 per cent applied in order to get the status of conscientious objectors. In the year of 1971 the percentage reached 14.5 — in the district including Copenhagen it approached 30 per cent.

### Army

In Sweden, the activities of the extremists have not been confined to political work. The Swedish Army has seen an increasing number of acts of sabotage against military equipment. In November, 1972, the Swedish General Staff published a report entitled "Subversive Activity within the Defense" which described in detail a development the military found disturbing. Quoting a leftwing publication stating that, "In the revolutionary struggle all means are acceptable" the report documented the turn from political propaganda to direct military sabotage during the nineteen seventies.

1970 18 tractors were sabotaged by having the fuel pipe cut. The aerial of a radar station was destroyed and at a military airport in the Eastern part of Sweden, the lighting installation was damaged. An attempted sabotage with the use of explosives against an electrical power plant was discovered. When arrested the saboteur stated that he was politically motivated.

1971 Radio stations were damaged 10 times. The attempted sink-

ing of one of the Navy's ships was prevented. Water was put into the fuel tanks of two helicopters and sand mixed with the fuel tanks of three cars.

1972 A series of acts of sabotage against aircraft was discovered, among them against the famous Swedish aircraft A 32 Lansen and J 35 Draken.

### Red Youth

The motive for these acts has been frankly stated by the youth section of the newly formed Norwegian Marxist-Leninist party. In one of their recent publications the group, which has recently changed its name to Red Youth, stated that its members must today start preparing themselves for the planned violent overthrow of the Norwegian political system. Norway's largest newspaper, Aftenposten, on April 3, 1973, quoted the group's leader as stating that, "The more we prepared for armed revolution, the less blood will be shed. It is important to educate all members to the fact that guns will determine the outcome of the struggle. It is our firm conviction that our rising will be victorious only if we prepare ourselves and the working people in good time for the fact that the fight will be armed."

The goal of the Soviet Union is now, as before, the neutralization of Western Europe, the end of NATO, and the removal of American influence from the European continent. While Soviet leaders speak of "detente" their followers in Western Europe are proceeding along a more familiar path. We ignore this reality only at great peril to ourselves — and our allies.



Changes in Scandinavia cast warning for future Soviet presence in Europe.

## Democratic movement

continued from page four

today in the Soviet Union that says this. In the year 2,000, students will be asked, "Who were Brezhnev and Kossygin?" "Oh, weren't they living in the time of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov?"

Let's say a few words of the present stage. Quite conditionally and not comparing the things exactly, one can trace two lines of development in the 19th century and during the Soviet regime.

In the 19th century you had Nicholas the First. There was rather severe governmental regimentation, serfdom, and so on. So it is a harsh regime. Then came the time of the great reform of Alexander II, the liberation of the serfs, the reform of the courts, etc. Then after that comes Alexander III who tries to set the clock a little bit back, but he is doing it far more softly, possibly because he couldn't do it the way Nicholas the first did it. Of course, on a different level you see Stalin with his bloody regime of tyranny and complete regimentation; then comes Khrushchev with his so-called reforms in which he got so entangled that nobody really understood what was going to happen. Now you see Brezhnev trying to set the clock back again in a way which should not lead exactly to the Stalinist situation, mainly because it would be dangerous himself, but to be harsh enough.

I don't want to engage in futuristic speculation and make any prognosis. But if you continue the scheme, after Alexander III came Nicholas II and a very bad end of the whole regime.

Now let's look at the situation as it is now and what should be done about it. Brezhnev is trying to suppress the oppositionary democratic group. Where does that lead to now? Some proportion of those people capitulate. Another part half-heartedly agree to cooperate with the government, knowing that otherwise they might suffer oppression. Another part is putting on the attire of court evolutionists who believe that somehow things will change and therefore they are going back. What remains of the opposition is either being repressed and sent to jails or expelled from the Soviet Union. Those who remain free and do not belong to any of those specified groups are becoming more radicalized and assume the tactics of underground struggle. The Moscow democratic movement

hasn't had enough contacts with the broad masses of the people and are sort of isolated from them. There, of course, the problem is to build a bridge between this open opposition and the masses of the people. Today on this new stage one can expect to see some external actions which will be actually moved and triggered by the forces that are underground.

It is precisely in this underground sphere that our organization is engaged.

Judging by the official reports of the trial of Yakir and Krasin, the government seems to have

exaggerated our influence. Before they were speaking about American capitalist groups, the CIA and its appendage, the NTS. During the trial of Yakir and Krasin only one force was mentioned, the NTS. In a way it probably is to be attributed to the fact that the Soviets are playing that detente game and they don't want to antagonize the United States. Our organization has existed for 43 years. Of course it plays its own role, but it is not out of modesty that I must say that Brezhnev is apparently attributing to us far greater importance than we attribute to ourselves.

What I would like to say in addressing you people here, as my own opinion and best wishes, is this: If you want to do something to help, go to Russia and act just as freely as you would if you were in your own country. Let the authorities then tell you what not to do, but make sure they do so when there are some Russians present.

There were some young Norwegians who came to Russia, and one began passing out leaflets in front of an escalator. A KGB man soon took him away. In the thinking of the KGB that was the end of the matter; then his companion who was standing

nearby after fifteen minutes took his place and began handing out leaflets just as before. The authorities only sent them back to their own countries; the young men didn't have to pay for their return tickets. Young people in the West should study Russian then go to Russia — don't listen to tourist, but go to a village and talk with the people.

Leftists are very active in the West while the great majority of democratic-minded students enjoy their freedoms and use them just to live in comfort. But totalitarianism throws out a challenge to you. The great leaders of your country such as Washington, Jefferson and Lafayette fought for freedom — you should defend what they did by helping our people and all other enslaved people. As Solzhenitsyn said, democracy must be active.

The open democratic movement in Russia may be extinguished, but the struggle won't stop. Now we have only individual human beings — Grigorenko, Sakharov — but soon will come movements. What they need is journalists to write about these movements and papers to say that there is no hope of gradual evolution, and to challenge the regime. A period is coming which will be far more acute than ever before.

## Gulag

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professional hypnotists recruited under Lenin. Interspersed with personal testimonies, Solzhenitsyn records Leninist purges, Leninist concentration camps and Leninist mass executions.

But perhaps the final and most important aspect of *Gulag* is that it is not merely a history but rather a contemporary philosophical and political statement. In comparing czarist and Communist rule, Solzhenitsyn declares that the numbers of arrests, executions and length of prison terms under Soviet rule have exceeded by factors ranging from 10 to 1 those of czarist times. In addition, he asserts that the Soviets killed and imprisoned more people than the Nazis did (excluding wartime casualties on both sides) and that at any one year of the Stalin era 12 million people were in prison. He then calls for the punishment of those responsible, noting that since Stalin only twenty-four executioners have been brought to trial, compared to Germany's post war figure of over 78,000. This is the final indictment — one which the Soviets cannot afford to ignore.

And Now? What then of their action? It is unlikely that any physical harm would come to Solzhenitsyn, but there are other forms of harm. Solzhenitsyn's book contains the names of many victims of Soviet terror who are still very much alive. Indeed, this is why Solzhenitsyn had not released the manuscript earlier. But since a friend broke under torture and disclosed the location of his manuscript, he realized that he could no longer protect his informants, and released *Gulag* for publication explaining, "For years I

have with reluctant heart withheld from publication this already completed book. My obligation to those who are still alive outweighed my obligation to those who are dead. But now that state security had seized the book anyway, I have no alternative but to publish it immediately."

What this means to those whose names appear in the *Gulag* cannot be very promising. Reprisals upon these friends could be used by the Soviets solely to bring mental torture to Solzhenitsyn and terror to the entire dissident movement. But in whatever form it comes, the world is watching and waiting to hear from the still-silent Kremlin walls as the false promise of *detente* vanishes.

## Japan

continued from page three

within their own country, and they have more investments abroad than any other country. We Japanese hope that Americans will continue to have confidence in their power... and at the same time be willing to exercise the responsibility that is incumbent upon a great country."

The present crisis in Japan will only be one of many if America cannot face that responsibility. If the United States cannot face this responsibility, can it face being responsible for destroying Japan and with it true hope for peace and freedom in Asia? President Nixon's recent call for global cooperation to deal with the energy crisis is an encouraging move. Let us hope that it will go beyond such an immediate crisis.

## The Arts

continued from page five

methods. The Marxian methods are not the same as the artistic. The Party leads the proletariat but not the historical processes of history. The domain of art is not one in which the Party is called upon to command."

This way of thinking was quite short-lived, however. Reshaped by Gorky and patterned in later years after Stalin's phrase "Socialist Realism," the official attitude toward intervention and control of literature completely shifted. The chief motivation was fear of unbridled flow of ideology in the Soviet Union.

The First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934 was the first organized occasion of this policy. Literature under Stalin was now to reflect the reality of the socialist state: its responsibility was not simply to mirror society but to help build it as well. The artists were to be, in Stalin's terminology, "engineers of souls." Stalin's cultural custodian, Andrei Zhdanov, drew clear guidelines on the direction of literature: "the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic portrayal should be combined with the ideological remodeling of the toiling people in the spirit of socialism."

With only peripheral changes, this basic philosophy has since been the bedrock of political control of literature in the Soviet Union. The ideological basis for control was already provided by the Marxist thought that art, as a vital part of the superstructure of society, is inevitably bound in the realization of the historical process, which to Communists means only the ultimate victory of the worldwide proletarian revolution. Marxist critic P.S. Kogan put it: "... behind the struggle between styles, forms, and artistic schools lies hidden the struggle between ideologies, and still further back, between classes."

Such arguments strengthen the claim that only one method can be possible in Soviet literature; socialist realism only can chronicle the development of the workers' revolution. Any other direction leads only into the hands of "bourgeois" ideology.

### FOR THE GOOD OF THE CAUSE

There are, even the Kremlin admits, a few ruble millionaires in the USSR. They are men like Shostakovitch, Khatchaturian, Eisenstein, Yevushenko, other musicians, filmmakers, actors and writers who manage to be popular and still be safely within ideological bounds. One such of the latter is the most popular Soviet novelist today, Mikhail Sholokhov (1905- ). His two leading novels, *Virgin Soil Upturned* and *The Quiet Don*, were enough to win him the Nobel Prize for literature in 1965. Sholokhov is a paragon of Communist virtue and one of the three or four really able writers who completely support the Soviet system. In 1969 Sholokhov stooped to the level of calling his later fellow Nobel laureate Alexander Solzhenitsyn a vermin.

Sholokhov was not the first

Russian to win the Nobel Prize, an award generally held in contempt by the Communists except when given to state-approved writers. Ivan Bunin had emigrated to France before he won the award in 1933. Pasternak's world-famous case of winning the Prize and then being pressured to refuse it was in 1958. In 1970 the award went to Solzhenitsyn, the foremost exponent of the literary opposition to the Soviet state.

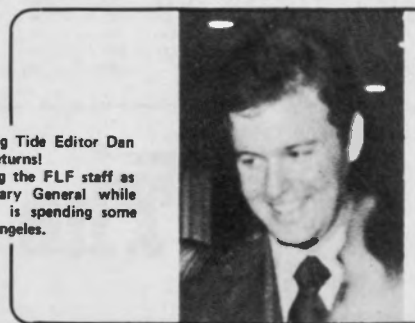
As might be expected, the list of writers in the Soviet Union not aligned with official Communist policy goes on much longer than those who are pro-Communist. It is also true that the best writing being done in the USSR is by the dissident writers. Their stories are often tragic, since government repercussions against them have often been vicious and, with few exceptions, unhesitating. Ilya Ehrenburg's *The Thaw* and other works have long marked him a leading figure in free writing. Mikhail Zoshchenko, a popular humorist in Stalin's days, was relentlessly hounded by the dictator himself. More recently, the notorious Daniel-Sinyavsky trial in 1966 stood as a painful example of writers under the Communist guns. That trial set off a wave of reactions throughout the literary establishment with more trials and punishments resulting. Andrei Amalrik's *Will The Soviet Union Survive Until*

1984? produced one of the most severe cases of judicial unfairness in modern history; Amalrik's sentence to a labor camp was only recently "commuted" to exile in Siberia "for reasons of health." There are countless others: Ginsburg, Marchenko, Fainberg, Yezens-Volpin, Krasnov, Chukovskaya, Dobrovsky, the celebrated twin brothers Roy and Zhores Medvedev, Litvinov, Vladimir Maximov was recently the subject of a campaign by the Freedom Leadership Foundation to bring attention to the impending state action by the KGB for his new book *Seven Days of Creation*, soon to appear in this country. The real hero of Russian letters is still Alexander Solzhenitsyn, whose new book, *The Gulag Archipelago*, strikes a new blow for free expression in the literary arts.

Much must be left untouched in this article; the time and resources are not available to give this topic the detailed coverage it fully deserves. It is hoped that the basic spirit of the situation in literature in the Soviet Union has been communicated. Most important in this comprehension is the ideological foundation under which culture as does the rest of Soviet society today finds its most severe repression.

Our next and final article will continue the examination of Communist control of the arts in the USSR.

Former Rising Tide Editor Dan Fefferman Returns! Dan is joining the FLF staff as acting Secretary General while Gary Jarmin is spending some time in Los Angeles.



## The Rising Tide

"America's fastest growing freedom newspaper"

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## British Rising Tide Brings Commentary on European Affairs

FLF's British affiliate, the Federation for World Peace and Unity, is now publishing its own version of Rising Tide. The British Rising Tide is a six-page weekly with a tabloid format. Many good articles about Europe are appearing in the Tide. Reprinted here is "NATO in the Balance -- The Backwash from the Middle East."

Whether we like it or not, the events of the Middle East war are having global repercussions, and not just in the shortage of oil. It has shown very clearly that the prevailing atmosphere of détente has not stopped the Soviets from sending large amounts of equipment and even skilled men to the Arab world both before and during the war and thus seeking to extend their influence in that part of the world. Warnings of the shallow basis of détente have come from two rather unusual sources, but ones that should have a deep knowledge of their subject's way of thinking. The oppressed liberal voices within Russia, notably Dr. Andrei Sakharov, the nuclear physicist, and Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Nobel Prize winning author, have repeatedly

warned the West that appeasement is equivalent to self-destruction. Only demands for true freedom within Russia and a strong stand can lead to any true peace. The other source is China. When Mr. Pompidou went there, extending hands in all directions, he was brought up sharply by being asked what he was going to do about stopping Soviet designs to establish hegemony over Europe. These two sources can hardly be accused of propagating 'Red Menace' myths.

In such a situation the only hope for peace with freedom is that the Western nations should take a strong and united line in its dealings with the Soviets. Instead they can only have been emboldened by the disarray shown by the Western powers over the Middle East crisis. The E.E.C. can really only justify itself if it is something more than an organization to promote economic self-interest. So far however, it has completely failed to play an unselfish and statesmanlike role in furthering world peace. Concern for their oil has led the Europeans to dissociate themselves from the American airlift operation of equipment to Israel, to notably fail to help Holland who caught the blast of the Arab oil embargo,



despite treaty obligations and the vast energy resources of the Common Market, and finally to issue a statement placatory to the

Arab world, which the Dutch were pressured into signing despite their markedly pro-Israeli sympathies. Most seriously, as Western

Europe has fallen over itself to avoid upsetting the source of its oil supply, the gap between the two sides of the Atlantic has widened.

American officials have been bitterly disappointed by the reaction of their NATO 'allies'. The transatlantic link has been in this century a traditional and a vital one. The 1st and 2nd World Wars were only resolved with American intervention. After the last war, the rebuilding of Europe depended on American generosity through the Marshall Plan. Since then the American taxpayer has footed more than his share of the bill for European defense.

Today the U.S.A. no longer has its outright military superiority over the Soviet Union and NATO's forces are at the barest minimum for defending the West. For European nations to weaken their link with America is the purest folly, but by their attitude they have encouraged the forces of isolation in the United States to press more convincingly for the withdrawal of American troops from Europe. Such a situation can only give the Warsaw pact the edge

in the current negotiations in Vienna over mutual force reductions.

Britain's entry into the Common Market will be seen by future generations as a historic turning-point, but whether it is one for better or for worse still hangs in the balance.

Britain has the strongest spiritual links with America, links that have always been fostered by statesmen such as Sir Winston Churchill. In the last war the moral voice of European civilization was kept alive by Britain until the New World with all its power and might stepped forth to the rescue and liberation of the Old. Britain holds in her hands once again the unique opportunity to give moral direction both to Europe and the United States, whose people have become increasingly unhappy at standing quite alone in their protection of freedom in the world. We may stand as the bridge between Europe and America, but we can only do this if our vision is raised higher than inflation, balance of payments and trade considerations to the principles of freedom.

## Forgive

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all men, beginning with the development of unity among individuals, families and cities:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, THE MAYOR OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, do hereby proclaim December 19, 1973 as "A DAY OF PRAYER AND FASTING FOR UNITY" in Washington, D.C., and call upon all of the citizens of our community to join with me in making positive attempts to promote unity among all people.

The campaign climaxed on Jan. 7-8 with a series of 50 demonstrations held throughout the United States. The demonstration in Washington, D.C. was held on Jan. 7 at the "F" Street Mall downtown.

The rally, involving over 100 people, included prayer, song and speeches by people dressed in costumes representing early American figures.

A "Puritan Woman" told the crowd about the struggles and sacrifices the Pilgrims endured in the New Land; "George Washington" gave a speech about the attitude of the founding fathers and a vision he had about the future of America; and "Abraham Lincoln" gave a speech on National unity.

Mr. Dan Fefferman, national coordinator of the demonstrations, said "We are urging each one of the scores of thousands who have written in support of Rev. Moon's Watergate Declaration to see their local political and religious leaders and tell them how strongly they feel. We've all made mistakes, but we feel if we strongly pray the country can pull together. The whole nation needs to examine its relationship with God. We must call on God's guidance...."

## Vietnam

continued from page one

the negotiations? Even today, although United States soldiers and airmen are out of Vietnam, American technicians, planes, bombs, guns and dollars are still there fueling a war that President Thieu won't stop and cannot wage without United States weapons and money. The accords called for freeing the civilian prisoners, but in Thieu's jails and prisons are the thousands of Buddhists, Catholics and neutralists who would help to restore peace to Vietnam. The accords called for democratic liberties in South Vietnam and the repression has never been so harsh as now. United States dollars and advisors help to maintain the odious national police and prison system that has imprisoned democratic hopes.

To bring about real peace in Vietnam, Clark calls upon Kissinger to "oppose the flow of United States dollars that finance President Thieu's war budget...urge that our Government stop paying for Thieu's police and prisons...call for even-handed recognition of the two South Vietnamese governments (the RVN and the PRG)...If the United States honors the (Paris) accords, he can press President Thieu to honor them and initiate democratic liberties in South Vietnam."

Who Won't Stop?

Mr. Clark could never have made this sort of statement without being absurdly ignorant or blindly dedicated to furthering Communist goals. The record clearly shows who "won't stop." Thieu's government has been very cooperative in living up to the provisions of the Paris agreement and in cooperating with the ICCS teams sent to patrol the ceasefire. The record of the Com-

munists, on the other hand, clearly reveals their determination to conquer the South by armed might, regardless of the "peace" accords that they signed.

Since the cease-fire went into effect, Communist terrorist acts against the people of South Vietnam are estimated at 8,758 incidents as of November 1, 1973, an average of 973 cases per month or 32 cases a day. Their attacks are totally indiscriminate. "Viet Cong units have almost regularly been dropping mortars on several district capitals, occasionally opening fire on farmers and other civilians in government held areas, and lately attacking village and hamlet offices" (James M. Markham, New York Times, November 21, 1973). Since the day the cease-fire went into effect, major Communist attacks have occurred against ten major government outposts. Of course the South Vietnamese troops fought back, conducting bombing raids in retaliation. In order to fight back, the South Vietnamese need American military aid--but apparently Mr. Clark believes that it would serve the cause of peace if the South Vietnamese were left to be slaughtered without means of defense.

Troops Introduced

Article 7 of the Paris agreement forbids the "introduction of troops, military advisors and military personnel, including technical military personnel, into South Vietnam." Since the day the cease-fire went into effect, the Communists have brought 100,000 more North Vietnamese troops into the South, in addition to the 300,000 they had there already, adding up to more troops than they had for the 1972 offensive. Besides the troops, the Communists brought in 600 tanks

and 600 artillery pieces of all types and doubled their anti-aircraft capabilities. They have also built and improved twelve airfields inside the territory of the RVN, extended oil pipelines all the way from Communist China to the northern sector of the DMZ, and opened up a network of strategic roads coming from Cambodia and Laos.

ICCS Difficulties

Article 18(c) of the Paris agreement provides that the two South Vietnamese parties will facilitate the operation of the ICCS teams. Between February 28 and March 9, a total of ten helicopters making runs for the ICCS were fired on by Communist gunners. One such shooting resulted in the deaths of nine passengers and crew including four ICCS workers and, ironically, two NLF members. Shellings by the Communists have caused the evacuation of an ICCS headquarters in Tri Ton, Chau Duc province. Also the Communists have prevented the ICCS from operating in four of the five Communist-dominated areas stipulated by the Paris agreement.

Undisclosed figures

Mr. Clark's reference to President Thieu's "jails and prisons" is another favorite myth of the pro-Communist journalists. The exchange of civilian personnel captured and detained by either side is provided for in Article 8(c) of the Paris agreement. It stipulates that within 15 days after the signing of the agreement, the South Vietnamese parties would exchange lists of the Vietnamese civilian personnel in captivity.

Acting in accordance with these provisions, the RVN from the very first gave to the other side a full

listing of 5,081 civilian personnel in government custody. But when the time came for the other side to produce its list, they could come up with a list of only 142 names on the last day of the assigned date. This was so ridiculous that even the NLF representatives appeared apologetic. Soon on February 24, they revised their figure up to 200 through 400, then 429 and finally 637. This was on April 24, 1973.

According to government figures from 1954 until April, 1973, the Communists abducted 67,501 South Vietnamese civilians of which 16,754 were government officials, social workers, and rural cadres. The names, addresses, dates of birth and other personal details, as well as the dates and circumstances of their abduction by the other side, have all been recorded and put into a book, available from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Saigon. The disparity between 67,501 civilians actually captured or kidnapped and the 637 the Communists claim they held suggests that nearly 67,000 captives were massacred, died in captivity or are still held by the Communists. On the other hand, the Communist representatives accused the South Vietnamese government of holding 200,000 "political prisoners", but could offer absolutely no details concerning these alleged prisoners.

The fact is that the entire penitentiary systems of South Vietnam has a total capacity of less than 40,000 inmates. Even if these centers were filled to capacity, which they almost never are, the idea of packing 200,000 into them is rather ludicrous.

The Origin

The story of how they arrived at the 200,000 figure is an excellent example of the mischief that distorted press reporting can do. Apparently the figure was originally misquoted by western journalists from Amnesty International's estimate of prisoners held in all of Indochina, including North Vietnam and prisoners held by the Viet Cong. After quoting this figure at the Paris talks, the Viet Cong representatives when questioned later admitted that they got the figure from the Western press. The press, however, without checking their sources or attempting to verify their data, widely quoted the figure from the Viet Cong as fact, and even wrote indignant editorials about it. Thus we see a vicious circle in which imaginary figures are quoted by the press, then taken into the conference room by the Communists to be quoted again in the press as confirmed "fact".

When pressed for details, the Communist negotiators, who had no details to offer, conceded to bring down their estimates to 100,000, then 50,000 - but a good portion of the press were not even that responsible in their reporting.

Mr. Clark's reference to President Thieu's "jails and prisons" is another favorite myth South Vietnamese prison system is much like that of any other democratic country in that there, as elsewhere, it is occasionally necessary to imprison people judged to have done something seriously detrimental to society. However, unlike North Vietnam and other Communist regimes, the citizens of the Republic of Vietnam have an array of constitutional and legal guarantees at their disposal. They are constitutionally protected against arbitrary arrest: once arrested they are legally entitled to a public trial and defense

lawyer. There has been much written in the western press about such famous cases as Lawyer Troung Dinh Dzu, Deputy Tran Ngoc Chau, Mrs. Ngo Bo Thanh, student activist Huynh Tan Mam, etc. But all these cases were tried publicly with counsel in full view of the press. This is quite the opposite treatment than what faces the citizens of Communist countries, subject to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment without legal counsel or the protection of a free press. Max Clos writing in *Le Figaro* early in 1972 characterized South Vietnam as a "permissive society" which he said is one of the attractions that the South has for the small man in comparison to the austerity in Vietcong areas. This is hardly indicative of a regime which is "imprisoning democratic hopes."

By inflating the "political prisoners" issue, the Communists and their sympathizers are only trying to deflect attention from their own miserable record of prisoner treatment and release.

"Two Governments"

Now we come to the final myth, the one about the "two governments" in South Vietnam (the RVN and the PRG). The US could hardly grant "even-handed recognition" to both governments, considering that the PRG hardly exists at all except as a figment of the Communists' imagination.

This is indicated by the testimony of Jean Louis Arnaud, the Saigon Bureau Chief of the *Agence France Presse*, who spent a week in the Communist-controlled zone 50 miles north of Saigon after being "arrested" by the Viet Cong in the company of four West German television men.

"For the Communists here," Arnaud reports, "there are not two Vietnams, separated from each other by the 17th parallel. For the Communists, Vietnam is one country, its leader Ho Chi Minh, and its capital city Hanoi."

"(In my stay in Communist-controlled areas) I have been told of the People's Army, I have been told of the Party. But never have I found mention of the 'Provisional Revolutionary Government'. Apparently, the PRG belongs so very definitely to this category of 'provision-ality' that nobody has cited in my presence the name of any one of its ministers."

"North Vietnamese personnel can be found everywhere, even outside army units that appear to be composed exclusively of Northern born elements. The officer commanding the military unit in the region is from the North. The representative of the Liberation News Agency is also from the North. Here and there I saw on the cap or hat of innumerable soldiers the star of the North Vietnamese army. And in the rubber plantation of Minh Hoa, which houses a big military barracks, I had the surprise of seeing a gate where without ambiguity was shown Hanoi's flag."

Other sources report that Hanoi has sent tens of thousands of administrative cadres to Viet-Cong occupied areas, and more recently has even tried to populate some jungled and mountainous regions in the South by an infusion of their own population.

It is clear that Thieu is facing no threat from some "other government" native to South Vietnam. What he has to deal with is an attempt by Hanoi to swallow the South by gradually bringing pieces of Southern territory under its jurisdiction.



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