

How is it that  
people get to  
this clandestine  
archipelago?

Those who, like you and I, dear reader, go there to die, can get there solely and obligatorily via arrest. The universe has as many different centers as there are in it living beings. Each of us is a center of creation, and the universe is shattered when they hiss at you: "You are under arrest." Arrest is the sharp nighttime ring or the rude knock at the door. It is the insolent entrance of unwiped jackboots of the brassy security operations men. It is the frightened and beaten-down civilian witness behind their backs.

read Eric Sevareid, CBS news analyst, to about a hundred professional people demonstrating in front of the offices of TASS, the Soviet news agency, on January 23rd.

According to Ben Wattenberg of the sponsoring Ad Hoc Committee for Intellectual Freedom, TASS was chosen because of its vilification of Solzhenitsyn—it is "in the forefront of this disgraceful campaign to silence a man of intellectual heroism."

In explaining the Committee's purpose, Mr. Wattenberg, author and former assistant to President Johnson, said: "We are dedicated to the proposition that the ugliest idea in the contemporary world is the one that says ideas may not be expressed openly and freely. The immediate cause of our demonstration is Alexander Solzhenitsyn, a lonely beleaguered man who has earned the right to be called a hero by many persons of every free political persuasion. For some years, and especially since the

publication of *Gulag Archipelago*, Solzhenitsyn has been the target of a campaign of threats and vilification which each day grows more intense. A lynch mob is now being formed in the Soviet Union. Solzhenitsyn stands in danger of being destroyed by the very oppressive forces he has so powerfully described. All that stands today between Solzhenitsyn and his destruction is the force of world public opinion. We are here to help bear witness to a simple notion that must be explained to the Soviet government again and again: *The whole world is watching.* If the concept of 'detente' is to mean more than the absence of military confrontation, it must mean mutual accommodation and exchange. It must mean mutual openness if it is eventually to mean trust. We are here to suggest that freedom is a legitimate part of the exchange between our societies. All the gain, all the computers, all the gas and oil, all the vodka and all the Pepsi Cola stand as little,

compared with the sovereign idea that men must be allowed to speak their mind."

While the demonstrators carried signs saying "hands off Solzhenitsyn," and "The Whole World is Watching," a delegation delivered Mr. Wattenberg's statement to TASS, where it was received, according to former LBJ aide Harry McPherson, through a bolted door. Some questions are raised by the demonstration. A good smattering of liberals were in support. Said Mr. Wattenberg: "We represent a wide diversity of political backgrounds, of professional activity and ideological persuasions." Participating, for example, were Frank Mankiewicz, former Press Secretary for McGovern, and John Lofton, former editor of *Monday* magazine of the Republican National Committee.

One could ask "Where were they last year? And what about all the others besides Solzhenitsyn?" For now, we can respond.

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# The Rising Tide

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

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## Hundreds Ask for Spirit of Forgiveness

A drenching rain did not dampen the spirits of about 1,000 youthful members of the "National Prayer and Fast for the Watergate Crisis (NPFWC)" founded by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, when they held a colorful parade and rally on Capitol Hill on January 21. They had gathered from all over the country to express their concern to the nation's legislators that the US "unite in prayer" to find the solution to the Watergate crisis. The Marchers were inspired by Rev. Moon's "Watergate Declaration," which urged the American people to "Forgive, Love, Unite."

The parade, which started at 11:00 AM, featured street theater, singing, chanting, a profusion of banners, placards, and flags, people in costume depicting historical figures such as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, a convoy of eighty vigorously horn-honking cars and vans, and lots of enthusiastic yelling and cheering. The procession started on the west side of the Capitol, proceeded around the Hill, ending on the front steps of the Capitol facing the reflecting pool. A brass band, protected from the rain by a plastic canopy, played a welcome as the marchers rounded the side of the building and ranged themselves on the steps on either side.

"We are here today to seek God's guidance on the critical questions facing our country today," said Mr.

Dan Fefferman, National Coordinator of the NPFWC. "We want our legislature to follow God's will in regards to the Watergate Crisis."

Neil Salonen, President of the NPFWC, told the crowd, "When God created America, He brought together people from every country of the world, because He wanted to create a nation which could be an example of liberty, righteousness, and justice for all the people of the world... At first, America fulfilled that... but recently, at a time when the people of the world are looking more to America for hope and liberation than ever before, America is losing her ideals. Alexis de Tocqueville said 'America is great because America is good... If America ceases to be good, she will cease to be great.' Mr. Salonen urged that the nation unite in prayer behind the President and overcome the "forces of hatred and negativity which are threatening to tear our country apart."

After a closing prayer and three cheers of "hip-hip-hooray," the demonstrators, with a shout, surged up the steps to the plaza directly underneath the Capitol Rotunda.

The rally dispersed, but the young people stayed behind and visited the congressmen and senators from their home districts, urging them to sign Rev. Moon's Watergate Declaration. "The rally was a miracle," one congressman said.

## Upcoming Talks Bring Europe to a Crossroads

The American public is generally unaware of three important conferences between the democratic and Communist blocs now underway in Europe, which could well decide the future of Europe and the free world. They are the 19-nation "Mutual Balanced Force Reduction Talks" (MBFR) in Vienna, and 35-nation "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" (CSCE) being held in Geneva, and the second phase of the U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II), slated to reconvene in Geneva on January 31st. Success or failure in any one of these could determine the fate of the security of the Western nations. For this reason the American public must be made fully aware of the stakes involved.

Underlying these conferences is the theme of "detente," which has caught the imagination of so many peace-loving people who would like to see a relaxation of tensions and a more stable international situation. However, the history of detente shows that, from the Soviet point of view, it means a raise in their influence and a decline in American influence. This has been their steady goal throughout all of the conferences, and they seem to be succeeding remarkably well.

### SALT I

This much is clear through the SALT and MBFR talks. In SALT I, the Russians gained a major diplomatic coup by obtaining an agreement which froze the United States in a position of numerical inferiority in missiles, launchers, and submarines.

They obtained this agreement by insisting that the US had a technological advantage in MIRV technology, which the Soviet's didn't have at that time, offsetting the Soviet's numerical superiority. However, in the interim, the Soviets have not only obtained MIRV capability but have tested a whole new generation of land and sea based ICBM's, incorporating new technologies and new launch techniques.

In other words, the U.S. agreed to inferior numbers, but the Soviets did not agree to inferior technology. As a result the Soviets now have the advantage in both numbers and technology.

### SALT II

In the upcoming SALT II talks, the Soviets will surely seek to con-

solidate their advantage. Their position has actually hardened; their last proposal at Geneva was so one-sided as to be wholly unacceptable to the U.S., a classic case of "what's mine is mine, what's yours is negotiable."

Simultaneously with its nuclear build-up, the Soviet Union has strengthened its conventional forces, especially in Central Europe. The superiority of the Warsaw Pact nations in men and weapons over the NATO forces continues to grow rapidly in this area.

In this situation the MBFR negotiations are of the greatest importance. These talks are designed to achieve a reduction of tensions by a mutual pullback of troops and machines confronting each other in Europe. However, the Soviets have a geographical advantage in that they only have to pull back their troops 500 miles to the USSR while the US must pull its troops back 3,000 miles across the Atlantic.

To offset the Soviet's numerical and geographical advantage, the West proposed a mutual cut of 15% which would cut US forces in the first stage by 29,000 troops and Soviet forces by 68,000. This would

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# America Must Pray

by Neil Salonen  
President  
Freedom Leadership Foundation

Mention the word "Nixon," and the first thing that comes to mind is a group of hired political spies, several nice-enough-looking presidential aides, and a man at the top who must either be the personification of dishonesty and corruption or the world's most tragic victim of circumstance. Seemingly overnight, morality has become a central concern in the American mind. No matter what the outcome of the current debate on impeachment and/or resignation, the Watergate scandals may motivate Americans to place moral integrity at the top of their list of qualifications for their political representatives, if nothing else. If recent polls reflect a genuine trend, we can expect that Democrats and Republicans alike will be doing some substantial housecleaning before the upcoming Congressional elections this November. In fact, Watergate may turn out to be just the kind of political shock America needs to reverse its headlong spin toward decadence and reorient itself toward the achievement of a moral society. This is the kind of atmosphere in which people seek a definition of value, a clarification of ideological roots.

Those roots, as we have repeatedly emphasized, lie in the Judeo-Christian tradition. They imply a belief in God. There is no doubt that God may use different terminology to reveal His will in different ages. Perhaps it is also true that His priorities change according to His need or desire at specific times. But God is still God.

By causing us to re-examine our moral and ideological foundations, Watergate could, in fact, spark an ideological revolution. Conscien-



Members of National Prayer and Fast Committee at Capitol grounds.

tious people today seek a leader or leading ideology which can clarify the moral alternatives, point the way to go, and pioneer the path to new levels of American achievement. We desperately crave an understanding which can unite our divided land. The Unification Ideology is a rallying point for all Americans who truly seek a positive solution. "Forgive, Love, and Unite" is God's command at this critical time in America's history. And that is why we are calling all Americans to unite in prayer for the guidance of God.

Members of the National Prayer and Fast for the Watergate Crisis visited many congressional offices to ask congressmen and their aides to join us in prayer for America's future. We are happy to report our surprise at how many national leaders — Democrats and Republicans alike — sincerely felt that only with God's help could they even attempt to make such a critical decision. Several offered prayers on the spot, and more than one was moved to tears by the sincerity and dedication of the young people who had traveled thousands of miles to make their views known.

There was nothing partisan or political in what they were saying. It was simply a plea that America might unite in prayer before continuing the important investigations which will lead to a decision on the Watergate affair. It was a challenge to submission to the will of God.

It was a challenge that each of us must manifest the humility and the courage, to accept

## Israel-- from an Insider's Perspective

Following is a talk given by Dan Tolkowsky, commander of the Israeli Air Force from 1953 to 1958. Speaking on the eve of the Mideast ceasefire, he gives important clues to continuing problems and Israeli attitudes.

The first subject I want to talk about, a rather complex one, is the fact that in a world which is in the midst of very rapid change the Middle East is even more so. It is changing particularly rapidly in a rapidly changing world. Now why?

Let's start off with the Arab states. Let's take the best possible construction, assuming that, from their point of view, they have no evil intentions. Let's assume they could accomplish some form of continuous economic and social development over the coming twenty or thirty years. For a moment let's disregard the fact that Egypt, for instance, has kept a constant level of per capita income over the past ten years and that the Aswan dam so far has only been able to prevent the per capita income from going down because of Egypt's vast population expansion. Let's be as utopian as possible and say that all these countries will proceed upward in their economic and social growth.

The first thing that is going to happen is that they will be subject to enormous stresses and strains within; as you well know, economic and social growth involves deep changes in the social structure. Changes in the social structure inevitably means stresses and strains. These strains in the Arab countries will result in trying to direct the attention of people outward to other suitable objects to let off steam. The most comfortable object in sight is Israel, the most suitable object to which to direct people's frustration and anger.

### Change Within The Arab States

Even in the best possible circumstances of progress in Arab countries, we would be faced in the coming decades with a situation which will be full of tensions and problems. But unfortunately, things are considerably more complicated. Let's take the energy problem. One of the interesting things about the energy problem in the Arab countries is that it involves a change in the pecking order within the Arab states with respect to Israel. In the fifties and the sixties the dominant members of the Arab states were the militant countries who were neighbors of

Israel. They were the countries that were supposed to be doing their stuff for the Arab cause. Within a very few years, even now, the dominance of this cluster of Arab states will move towards the oil-producing countries.

So we are witnessing a vast internal change and a shift of major importance. In fact, my own personal view, is that one of the reasons why Egypt and Syria went to war in October was it was really a "now or never" thing. Sadat sensed that this shift would take place; this was his last chance to achieve any kind of pre-eminent position in the Arab world.

### Changes in the West

Then there is the triangle of super powers; the U.S.A., China and Russia. All sorts of potential shifts and changes in this relationship in itself can well influence the Middle East and again be

to tomorrow's problems. It is equally utopian to assume that the Arab states would truly and honestly seek a formula or a solution that would lead to a completely stabilized situation. If you add to this the fact that historically the Arab countries have always been great tactical opportunists — this has to do with their tribal structure, their tribal way of of thinking — it is therefore to my mind absolutely out of the question to assume that they are shooting for any kind of stable situation. And anybody who thinks or even imagines that there is a solution or formula which will bring stability for any period of time in the Middle East is just utopian and euphoric. By the same token, anybody trying to force such a formula down our throats would simply be adding insult to injury because if we were to accommodate ourselves or to give up all sorts of important things in order to achieve a utopian result, it

*But what we are not prepared to have done to us is to be led into a succession of crunches which will eventually bring us to the verge of annihilation.*

factors of change. There is the uncertainty and the malaise of this country which is a great factor of change in the total structure of the entire globe today. The decline of Europe is a very obvious, very powerful factor of change. We're entering into a different kind of world. So that whichever way we look at it, the last thing in the world that we could possibly assume is that there is some kind of stable solution of any cluster of problems in the Middle East today. In a world of change that promises to keep changing for another couple of decades, it just doesn't make sense to assume that any answer that is relevant to today's problems will be relevant

would be sheer folly.

This is terribly important to understand because to a lot of people in the Western world, the situation looks like some jigsaw puzzle which some terribly bright man could come along and sort out and put together, which would be okay for the next two decades. This I think is a lot of bunk.

Remember one other thing: Peace has never been a declared national objective of the Arab countries. The only things they have ever declared is the fact that they want us to go a) back to the '67 borders, b) back to the pre-1948 situation, and c) back to the

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## "MODERN SCIENCE AND MORAL VALUES" THE 2ND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE UNITY OF THE SCIENCES Nov. 18-21, 1973



International Cultural Foundation founder Rev. Sun Myung Moon addressing the Second International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences.

## Scientists Strive for Unity

It is now generally accepted within the academic and scientific community that increased specialization of science and technology has plunged our world into a critical situation. New prophecies of doom are published regularly by both physical and social scientists. Every branch of the sciences defines the problem in its own way and seeks for the solution according to its own methods and theories, but no solution has appeared which transcends the limits of the scientific disciplines and offers an integrated solution. Toward this end, the International Cultural Foundation (ICF), begun in 1968 in Japan and recently incorporated in New York, organized the Second International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences in Tokyo, Japan, on Nov. 18-21, 1973.

"On the part of the ICF, we are trying to do our best to make a positive contribution, to make a breakthrough in science," said Mr. Osami Kuboki, President of ICF, in his welcoming speech. The conference brought together about 60 delegates, 20 from Japan, the rest from Europe and America, representing a broad spectrum of the physical and social sciences. Among them were two Nobel Prize winners, D. John C. Eccles, prize winner in Physics in 1963, and Dr. A. Courmand, winner of the Nobel Prize in medicine in 1956. Edward F. Haskell, outgoing chairman of the first ICUS held in New York City in 1973 and chairman of the Council for Unified Research and Education (C.U.R.E.), noted with satisfaction that the second conference was 3 times the size of the first. "This gives us confidence that the rational and efficient assembly of the sciences can be achieved in time, before disasters overwhelm us," Mr. Haskell said.

The general theme of the Conference, "Modern Science and Moral Values," expanded the theme set at the first conference, which was "Moral Orientation of the Sciences." Rev. Sun Myung Moon, founder of the ICF, remarked in his closing address, "It is desirable for science to deal with the question of man's subjectivity as well as the objective problems such as the improvement of the environment and the development of the means of life. My ardent wish is that all scientists develop their respective fields on the basis of a solid view of moral values, thus exalting human dignity by adopting the spiritual and unified method as well as the materialistic and analytical one."

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada sent a message to the conference:

"...I can think of no other tasks more urgent than that for which this Conference has been called... unless we achieve cooperation and communication among the scientists of our nations, unless our specialists are infused with a common ethical denominator based on compassion and knowledge, we will see that disintegration and fragmentation so prevalent in our modern world. May your deliberations generate that hope, courage and leadership so vital to us all."

Messages were also received from Dr. M. Wilkins, British Nobel Prize winner; Dr. W. Libby, Nobel Prize winner of the U.S.A.; Dr. C.P. Snow, eminent author of Great Britain; Dr. A. Peccei, President of the Club of Rome, Italy; Dr. T.D. Lee and D. M. Delbruck, both Nobel Prize winners of USA.

The scholars met in plenary session and committee sessions

during the 3-day conference. The plenary sessions united all the participants in the presentation and discussion of lectures delivered by several of the most eminent scholars. The committee sessions divided the participants into two smaller committees under the themes of Science and Philosophy, respectively. The former committee discussed the unity of science, science and value, and the nature of man. The latter committee discussed social development and science/technology; the social effects of science/technology; and the human implications of the life sciences. Each participant delivered a 20-minute lecture, which the committee then discussed.

The regular sessions were highlighted by two evenings of special dinners with lectures. These evenings were open by invitation to distinguished members of the public. Gordon Rattray Taylor of England warned an audience of over 700 of the critical energy shortages we may expect in the near future. Joseph Coates of the USA stressed to an audience of over 300 of the necessity of resolving the "mismatch" between the existing institutions in our society and the potential brought about by our contemporary technologies.

All participants were greatly impressed by the conference. In the closing committee meetings, they expressed interest in keeping up such conferences, and hoped that the third conference, scheduled to be held in London late in 1974, would lead to the formation of a permanent organization designed to carry on intensive and ongoing research toward integration of the sciences, and applying this knowledge to greater integration in solving the world's problems.



## Czechs Remember Jan Palach

by Hal McKenzie

Five years ago, on January 16, 1969, Jan Palach set fire to his gasoline-soaked clothing in Prague's Wenceslas Square to protest the loss of his country's freedom to the Russians, and became a national hero and symbol of resistance who will remain in Czechoslovakia's memory forever.

The Communist regime desecrated Palach's grave, which had become a national shrine before which Czechs would always place candles and wreaths. Afraid

of the memory, the oppressors removed Jan's body and had it cremated, replacing his body with that of a woman, Marie Jedlikova. However, Czechs continue to place candles and flowers at the spot in spite of the regime. Also, all over the world, Czechs abroad unite in memorializing Jan's sacrifice, keeping alive the flame of resistance which will one day burst forth and consume the Communist tyranny.

I went to one such memorial service at the Mount Vernon College Chapel in Washington, D.C. It was attended by about 100 Czechs of

all ages: grandmothers, scholarly-looking old men; some smartly dressed, attractive young adults, and a few well-behaved children. Although the program was all in Czechoslovakian, I could understand the spirit of it.

The performance was a multimedia presentation of dramatic readings and poetry read by a chorus of 6 men and women, coordinated with slides projected upon white panels behind the speakers, accompanied by recordings of Czechoslovakian folk songs, newscasts, and voices of people at the scene of the 1968 Russian invasion.

Several pictures stand out in my mind: scenes of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, including a picture of children in floppy striped prison garb looking out from behind the barbed wire of a concentration camp; bodies of 2 children shot for the crime of being Jews; the picture of another Jan Jan Zajic, who immolated himself later, and wrote the words, "More than to be - is to love!" I also remember slides of the beautiful Czech countryside, and scenes of the walls, bridges and buildings of the picturesque old city of Prague before it was destroyed in the war. Near the end of the presentation we saw slides taken on the scene when Russian tanks rolled into Prague in 1968. There was a picture of a young man baring his breast to a tank cannon; a young Russian tank trooper looking perplexed at earnest exhortations of young Czechs in his own language; a blood-stained Czechoslovakian flag which had covered the corpse of a fallen patriot being carried through the streets. We heard on-the-spot tape recordings of Czechs explaining what was going on - I couldn't understand the words, but

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## North Vietnamese Imperialism

by Gaffar Peang-Meth

Hanoi has always wanted to create a "greater North Vietnam" comprised of Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam. In fact, in 1939, the North Vietnamese created the Indochinese Communist Party. It was later officially dissolved because of the strong national sentiments of the Khmer and Lao people, but in its place the North Vietnamese sent their Communist cadres, mainly Chinese and North Vietnamese, into Cambodia and Laos to help in implementing Ho Chi Minh's dream of an Indochinese Communist Federation. The Viet Minh forces infiltrated well within Khmer territory, introducing their arms caches and agents.

So, before the end of 1950, a complete North Vietnamese subversive network was established in Cambodia and since 1950, Ho Chi Minh openly ordered his disciples to "carry the revolution on the Mekong."

After Hanoi's Lao Dong Party was created in February 1951, North Vietnam proceeded to found a "Front National Uni du Kampuchea" (FNUK or National United Front of Cambodia). In March 1951, baptized the "Government of Khmer Resistance," and subsequently founded an "Armee Populaire Khmere de Liberation" (APKL or the Khmer People's Army of Liberation), composed mainly of Viet Minh fighters.

The North Vietnamese appeared to have no fear of exposure. They explained the reasons for their presence on Khmer soil in a radio broadcast to the Khmer people in April 1953. They stated:

"The Lao Dong Party and the Vietnamese people have a mission to make a revolution in Cambodia and Laos. We, Vietminh elements, have been

sent to serve the revolution and to build a union of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos."

Clearly, what the North Vietnamese would like to do is to create a Communist dominated Cambodian Government which would be a sympathetic supporter of Hanoi and which, eventually, would become a protectorate of North Vietnam in the same sense that the Cambodian Government was before the arrival of the French.

### NVN Occupation

The Vietnamese Communists never left the Khmers alone, before or after the Geneva Conference of 1954, when North Vietnamese Colonel Ta Quang Buu, Vice Minister of Defense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam signed an agreement with Cambodia to respect the latter's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and to refrain from interfering in her domestic affairs.

North Vietnamese Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap told Prince Sihanouk during the latter's visit to North Vietnam in 1971 that after the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the Vietnamese Communist Lao Dong had taken some 6 to 8,000 Khmers to Hanoi where they attended the Son Tay Military Academy (infantry training school) and the Nguyen Ai Quoc Political School. In addition to the establishment of NVN cells throughout the Khmer State, Hanoi gave birth to the Khmer Communist Party, the *Pracheachon* (the People's Party), whose leader Nong Suon himself, was forced by the eleventh National Congress in 1961 into virtual public admission that he operated under Hanoi's directives.

The massive infiltration of North Vietnamese into Laos and their

military build-up in Cambodia since 1962 are in conformity with their objective: a Communist Indochina ruled by Hanoi. Surely, the North Vietnamese principal objective is the takeover of South Vietnam, but Hanoi has capitalized on its need for supply areas in Laos and Cambodia by launching attacks from there against the natives as well as against the South Vietnamese.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk first declared *urbi et orbi* that there were no Vietnamese Communist troops in Cambodia, however, on October 2, 1968, his own Secretary of National Security revealed that

"despite the efforts of the provincial authorities to repel the Vietnamese armed forces, the latter continually install themselves on our territory near the frontier, notably in the districts of Svay Teap and Romduol (and become) more and more hostile toward the provincial and districts authorities and the population."

Hanoi then had transformed some one-fifth of Cambodia into military bases with their own military headquarters including the famous COSVN. The emergence of military bases on Khmer soil created security problems which Hanoi solved by forming its own administration superceding the Cambodian's Khmer citizens who lived in the areas were considered a security risk and driven from their homes. Grass-roofed bunkers were replaced by mortared enclaves - Hanoi was digging in Khmer citizens who lived near their bases were given North Vietnamese or Vietcong identification cards for safe travel. Even Prince Sihanouk "Samdech Sahachivin," the good friend of Pham Van Dong and Chou En-lai, and Khmer Chief of State, was

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"More than to be - is to love!" - Motto for a Czech martyr

# The Current Crisis in England

## What's Happening... And A Reason Why

Britain is in deeper trouble than at any time since World War II. British Prime Minister Edward Heath, putting the country on a three-day work week and throttling down the economy to save a dwindling coal reserve, left much of the country to do their business by the flicker of candlelight and gaslight. Except for certain essential industries such as hospitals, fuel dealers, and the vital steel industry, half the labor force was working from Monday to Wednesday, the other half from Thursday to Saturday.

### Overtime Ban

Although the worldwide energy shortage had a part to play in the crisis, the main problem is a breakdown in industrial relations. The 270,000 coal miners in the state-owned coal industry have refused to work overtime unless the government grants enormous pay increases. The overtime ban has had the effect of cutting coal production by one third. The miners are demanding \$18 to \$22 dollar hikes in their weekly wage of \$57 to \$83, substantially above the 11 percent wage-increase limit set by the government's counter-inflation plan.

The government is standing firm against the miners, saying that to grant the miners' request would invite other industries to demand similar "special treatment," thereby sabotaging any attempt to control inflation, which has been rising at a rate of more than 10 percent per year. The miners, for their part, talk of even tougher action. Mick McGahey, National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) vice-president, one of several Communists in the Union's leadership, said, "It may be necessary to turn the overtime ban into a strike." This act could bring industrial collapse to Britain, taking one of the world's most civilized societies to the brink of class warfare.

Class warfare is probably just what some of the union leaders have in mind. The chief negotiators for the miners are Joe Gormley, President of NUM; Lawrence Daly, the national secretary; and Mick McGahey, the vice-president. McGahey is known as one of the most dedicated Communists in the trade union movement. Son of one of the founding fathers of the British Communist Party, he is on the national executive of the Party and on the CP's influential political committee. Daly is nominally a member of the Labour Party but was once a CP member; Gormley, while a Laborite, is known to side with the Communists for tactical advantage. There are altogether six card-carrying Communists on the 26-man executive of the NUM, and the Communists can usually count

on the support of at least five others in the voting. The right- and left-wing factions on the executive are said to be evenly divided.

It is this Communist influence in the unions that Heath was referring to when he mentioned privately to Common Market leaders at the Copenhagen summit that the Communists were trying to bring Britain "to its knees." As if to confirm Heath's allegations, the Communist Party on January 8 published a flier announcing that it plans to use the crisis as a means of toppling the Conservative government.

### A Special Case

The miners began to gain confidence in militant tactics when work stoppages in 1969-70 brought a major pay reward through the Wilberforce Report, which judged the miners as a special case. Since then their wages have been above the national average, as have their wage increases. A Coal Board offer, which was generous to the worse-off at the expense of the better-off, was rejected.

The Communists are also known to be strong in the Transport and Engineer unions. As if taking their cue from the miners' strike, railroad engineers, also demanding large pay increases, slowed service by working "by the rule." This meant, for example, refusing to run trains without speedometers, even though they had done so for years. They called that off but had a one-day strike and continued a ban on overtime and Sunday work, making travel a nightmare for commuters and deeply hurting industry. About 75 percent of all coal used by power stations in Britain is delivered by the state-run railways.

Added to these problems was a 15 to 20 percent reduction in oil deliveries as a result of the Arab oil cut-off.

### "On Our Knees"

Mr. Heath's stand in resisting the unions seemed to have wide popular support. A "London Daily Mail" opinion poll showed the conservatives leading the opposition labor party by 3.9 percent. The Prime Minister said he would stick it out on a three-day week until spring if necessary. But business leaders fear that the economy might collapse before then. According to a statement by the British Confederation of Industry, if the situation got any worse, "It would be difficult to see how industrial life could continue. By the time we reach the spring, we are really going to be nearly on our knees."

What are the conditions now? With many factories working only part time, shortages of tin, steel,

rubber and glass threaten to bring industry to a standstill.

With power cut by more than one third, steel output dropped by half, crippling the important auto-assembly plants in the Midlands, as well as other key industries upon which England, as a trading and exporting nation must survive. The British Confederation of Industry predicted a wave of bankruptcies. The government estimated that nearly a million workers have been laid off, leading to welfare costs for the unemployed which might reach \$170 million a week.

Retail trade was seriously damaged, with stores opening for only limited hours each day. Blood supplies at many hospitals were down 25 percent because the three-day week curtailed mass blood-giving in offices and factories. Drug companies reported difficulties in the manufacture and distribution of medicines. Worst of all, the export trade, which Britain depends on for its solvency, encountered delays, weakening the pound in international trading.

As a sign of the times, Australian officials reported double the number applying to emigrate compared with one year ago. In the words of one worker, interviewed on British television outside Australia House: "I'm losing money all the time. There's no incentive to stay on. The unions are taking over and the country is going to pot."

For the most part, however, the British none-the-less are taking it all stoutly with a certain "Dunkirk Spirit." The Confederation of British Industries reported, "We are getting a lot of reports of unions and management getting together to rearrange work patterns and generally trying to make the best of a bad job....Firms are, by and large, getting more production from each three days than they got from each five days normally. There is no doubt that people are working harder. The huge effort being made all around means that production has not been cut in proportion to the hours that companies have power." Yet experts say Britain is probably now losing about 20 percent of its usual manufacturing output.

### Innovative Spirit

Britishers improvised in many ways to keep the factories running. One company in Lancashire resurrected an antique, coal-burning engine to generate power. A snuff maker in Sheffield used a water wheel to stay in business. A firm of printers in Essex reverted to treadle presses and discovered they did a better job than with automated equipment.

However, it will take more than a stiff upper lip to repair the dam-

(Continued on page 8)

by Allan C. Brownfeld

While advocates of "detente" in the West tell us that the goals of world Communism are different than they once were, the facts seem to tell a far different story.

The current miners' strike in Great Britain has as its long-range goal the defeat of the Heath Government and the activities which have now thrown that country into economic chaos have been strongly supported by British Communists. In some cases, they have been the party most responsible for producing the present impasse.

### Smashing Phase III

Writing in the December, 1973 issue of *East-West Digest*, Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, M.P., declares that,



(American Mining Congress)

"Communists, Trotskyists and other extremists are working in rare union to spread the miners' strike to other industries in order to engineer a confrontation which will defeat the government... the immediate aim would appear to be to smash Phase 3 of the Government's Counter-Inflationary Act."

John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, wrote in the *Morning Star* that, "The miners are in the front line. All should back them. We appeal again as we did at our national congress to the Labour Party and the Cooperative Movement for a massive, united campaign for these aims, a campaign which would win the overwhelming majority of the population and sweep the Tories from power."

Bert Ramelson, the Party's National Industrial Organizer, spelled out the Communist policy in greater detail in the *Morning Star* of November 23, 1973.

"Smashing Phase 3 can be the beginning of a process that could end the 25 year-old efforts to impose some form of incomes policy and the undermining of trade unionism. It can be smashed by determined industrial action by all workers in support of their claims and in solidarity with each other. Heath's, Barber's and Walker's daily reiteration of their determination to defend Phase 3 is a measure of their fear of just such a struggle..."

### "Total Nationwide Strikes"

Communists do not hesitate to tell the world how they seek to use

strike is an expression of the development of a broad anti-monopolistic front."

Emphasizing that the decisive force in the struggle is the Communist world system, which "provides favorable conditions for developing an anti-imperialist campaign inside the countries of state monopoly capitalism," he notes that Communist Parties proceed from two basic assumptions: "that the only alternative to state monopoly capitalism is Communism; and that imperialism and monopoly capitalism are to be undermined by a determined campaign for 'democratic demands' of a kind which will weaken the foundations of the system."

### "The Forefront of Battle"

While Communists are of limited influence in British politics, their power within the labor movement is significant. In his volume, *Labour: The Unions and the Party*, Bill Simpson, who chaired last year's Labour Party Conference, writes that, "The influence of the Communist Party has always been greater in industry than in the broad political field, and this was as true in the 1920s as it is today. Small in number as they are, they have always been in the forefront of the battle, particularly strong in the shop stewards' movement, and with energies and dedication which are envied by other political parties."

In 1973, the 33rd Congress of the British Communist Party met with 459 delegates in attendance. Of the 459, 83 delegates were members of the engineering union's four sections, the transport workers coming next with 37. Electricians had 25, mineworkers, like railwaymen, had 19 each, and buildings workers had 20.

In addition to the Communist Party, a new "Revolutionary Party" of Trotskyists was established at a London conference in November. It already has more than 3,000 members and passed a resolution calling for the overthrow of the British government and its replacement by Labor leaders who could be "forced to retreat before the mass movement of the working class."

The Communist leadership in Moscow declares that it now seeks "peaceful co-existence" with the West. "Peaceful co-existence," in Communist terms, means simply that the struggle will be conducted in ways other than military confrontation. One of those ways appears to be the labor unrest now being inflicted upon Great Britain. To properly assess Communist goals in today's world it is most important to observe Communist actions. This would be a worthwhile undertaking for those who presume to be our leaders.



# One Great Big Gulag

Below are excerpts from the summary of the testimony of Abraham Shifrin, a Jewish immigrant to Israel from the Soviet Union, which he gave before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Feb. 1973. Mr. Shifrin, a graduate of law, was arrested in Moscow in 1953 during the anti-Jewish terror known as "The Doctor's Plot." He spent ten years in many different concentration camps all over Russia. Then he was released and exiled to Karaganda from 1963 to 1967, where he was employed as legal advisor for the Kazakhstan Coal Mining Ministry.

In 1966 Mr. Shifrin managed to travel extensively all over the Soviet Union, visiting the camps in which he was formerly interned. Over a two-month period he traveled over 10,000 miles by train and hitchhiking, gathering information from ex-inmates and residents in the villages near the camps.

According to Shifrin, the camps now hold fewer than at the time of Stalin's terror. However he estimates that the number of political prisoners now in the Soviet Union exceeds 5 million, the number of camps numbers into the thousands, and the conditions are just as brutal as in Stalin's day.

Mr. Shifrin's testimony includes numerous eye-witness accounts received from other prisoners, as well as from friends and relatives of prisoners still imprisoned in Soviet concentration camps. The content of Shifrin's testimony touches on the same information contained in Alexander Solzhenitsyn's latest book, Gulag Archipelago.

The announcement in April 1961 that prisoners in Camp No. 410 were to be moved to another camp came out of the blue. The prisoners could hardly believe their luck because there had been no previous instance of large scale transfers out of Camp No. 410.

The morning after they were told of their impending move, the prisoners were taken to the railroad track and placed in cattle cars. There were 70 prisoners to a

car, but there was sitting room for only 40 on the benches--so thirty had to sit on the floor between the benches. Armed soldiers, assisted by dogs, stood by while the prisoners were loaded aboard the train. In small towers above the train were guards armed with machine guns. Because there had been a number of instances where prisoners in transport had cut holes in the floors of the cars and dropped through the track bed, the bottom of the end car was equipped with a giant steel rake, whose teeth reached within a few inches of the track bed.

The train traveled for six days and six nights. The prisoners received each day a meager ration of bread and salt fish, and a cup of water twice a day. They were not permitted to leave the car to tend to their needs--the latrine was inside the car.

When they emerged from the cars at Potma it was a warm sunny day (when they had left Vihorevka, Camp No. 410, it was 25°-30° below zero). All told, some 2,000 prisoners emerged from the train, which apparently brought prisoners from many camps in the Tayshet complex.

While the sun was warm, the view around them was grim. On both sides of the railroad track were the fences of concentration camps--old, grey fences topped with barb wire, with corner watchtowers manned by armed soldiers. The fences and watchtowers succeeded each other without interruption as far as the eye could see.

While the Tayshet prisoners were standing there, surrounded by armed guards, the camp gates across from them swung open--and out came 200-250 women carrying little children in their arms, surrounded by soldiers with rifles and dogs. The camp guards immediately realized that they had made a mistake in permitting the women and children to be seen by the two thousand prisoners from Tayshet--and they began to herd the women back through the gate, using their rifle butts liberally. The women were crying, the children

were crying, soldiers were cursing, and the dogs were barking.

Unable to contain their indignation at the treatment of the women and children, many of the Tayshet prisoners shouted their protests to the guards, calling them "Fascists!" The guards shouted back at the prisoners--then fired their weapons in the air and shouted to the prisoners to lie down.

At this very moment the camp loud speaker came on with "the glorious news that the Soviet astronaut Gagarin is now in orbit in his rocket!" This, said the commentator, demonstrated the superiority of Soviet society over

capitalistic society.

Shifrin had heard of special camps for women before but this was the first time he had seen one. In the Soviet Union there are not only special camps for women, but special camps for women with children, and special camps for children.

## The Great Camp Uprising

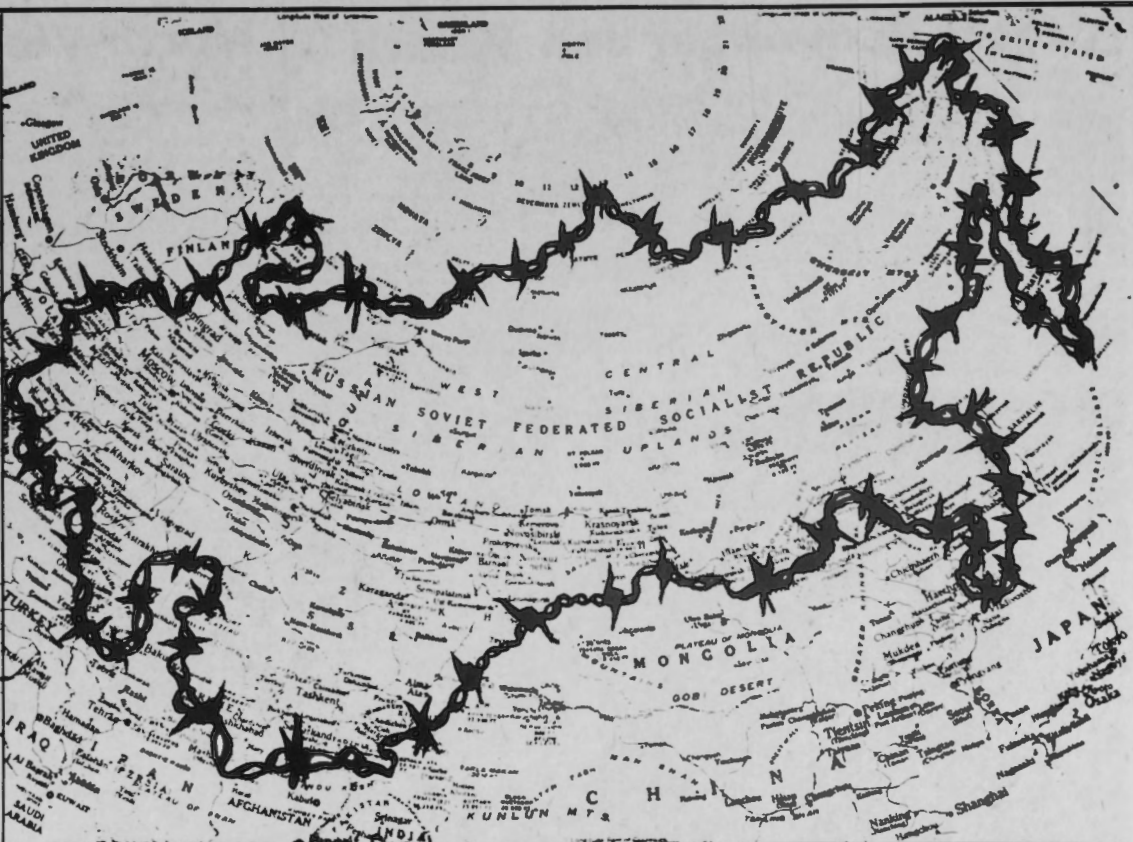
In Novosibirsk, Shifrin met people who had come from Kingir where there had been a major camp uprising. Tanks had crushed 500 women who had tried to protect their men by standing in front of them. (The fences

separating women from men had been broken down.) In Novosibirsk, he also met people who had taken part in major uprisings in the Vorkuta complex, where prisoners held out for months before they were crushed, and in similar uprisings, in Norilsk, in Tayshet and in the Kolyma, and Barnaul complexes. All of these uprisings took place in the last part of 1953 and the first part of 1954. The prisoners said that all coal mining and gold mining and other labor had come to a complete stop in these camps and the prisoners had taken complete control of the camps. In some places the guards remained on the towers,

but they did not dare come inside. In other places, the guards were disarmed. Members of the Government - Mikoyan, Khrushchev, Voroshilov, Budenny, Molotov - came to see them and told them they must stop their strike in the national interest. They replied that they wanted freedom because they were innocent. Then the Government sent troops and tanks and planes and artillery, and many thousands were killed in the suppression of these uprisings.

## Tayshet

From Camp No. 025, Shifrin was taken to Camp No. 307, 300 Km.



## Towards a Free Europe

The following petition is being circulated by the International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights. Many Europeans involved in politics and education have signed it. Since no Americans have yet signed it, we urge you to do so, especially in light of the upcoming talks. (See page 1) Please send to the Committee at 18, Rue Saint - Placide, Paris 6, France.

Detente between East and West is a self-evident necessity. The policy of confrontation prevents the solution of problems vitally important to all. Billions of roubles and dollars urgently needed elsewhere are being spent on arms. Moreover, local wars fought within the climate of bloc rivalry threaten the world with a total conflict. Rapprochement is the only way out of this menacing impasse.

Detente is possible; however, many obstacles must be overcome--above all, mutual ignorance and distrust. To bridge the gap formed during the many years of isolation and hostility, a wide-ranging sustained effort is necessary.

Non-aggression treaties and declarations of peaceful intentions, business deals and joint space ventures are only shells that must be filled with meaningful purpose: mutual understanding, respect, and goodwill between peoples and individual persons.

Government-level discussions at the European Conference for Security and Cooperation show that the task of achieving detente devolves not only to politicians but to us all. The free movement of people, ideas and information is a process in which everyone can and should participate. It is we, Frenchmen, Russians, Americans, Germans, Italians, Danes, who must move freely and exchange ideas and information. Our governments can only remove obstacles and create conditions favorable to this rapprochement.

Each of us is confronted with the question: what did we, personally, do for detente? What have we learned today from the people across the gap; what have we shared with them of our hopes, history and ideals? Much can be done today. We can make even more possible tomorrow. Some practical measures would greatly ease and accelerate detente.

The following are some of the measures that we ask governments to enact and all people of good will to support.

—Free movement of tourists over the entire country. No obligatory use of particular tourist agencies. Free initiative for tourists to travel and seek accommodations as they please.

—No exit visas to be required. Easing of procedures for foreign citizens to obtain residence, work or study permits.

—Free currency exchange at any bank at regular exchange rates.

—Creation of information centers on work opportunities for foreign nationals and for citizens abroad.

—Extensive exchange programs for university and high school students. Unimpeded initiative for universities, schools and private foundations to organize and finance such exchanges. Extension to all countries of special student travel discounts. Subsidies for cheap group travel abroad for students.

—Free export of royalties or savings.

—Tax policies favoring the import of royalties, savings etc. as contributing to a positive trade balance.

—Full recognition of the right of authors to dispose of their literary or scientific works according to their own preferences. Recognition of the principle that such works have a spiritual value transcending the formal trade and speculation rules.

—Unimpeded development of distribution networks for foreign books and periodicals.

We state our conviction that free movement of people, ideas and information is essential for a true detente and rapprochement between East and West. We are in sympathy with the aims, and support the practical steps, proposed in the appeal of the International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights.

## The Archipelago Called Hell

*I could not carry a heavier heart than for those who mistook folly for deed*

*Who, to everyone, possessed wisdom and honor and seemingly adhered to the solidest creed*

*Bringing peace as the objective and peace as the end, slightly shortsided of what was at hand*

*Yet t'was more than a folly or destruction of life, for those wanting freedom in their land*

*Were betrayed by their allies, who, blindly deceived, did not give life to those who would bleed.*

*Yes, the Churchills and Roosevelts kept their bargain with Uncle Joe to whom they would sell*

*The merchandise of friendship, whose lives would be cast to the depths of that Gulag well.*

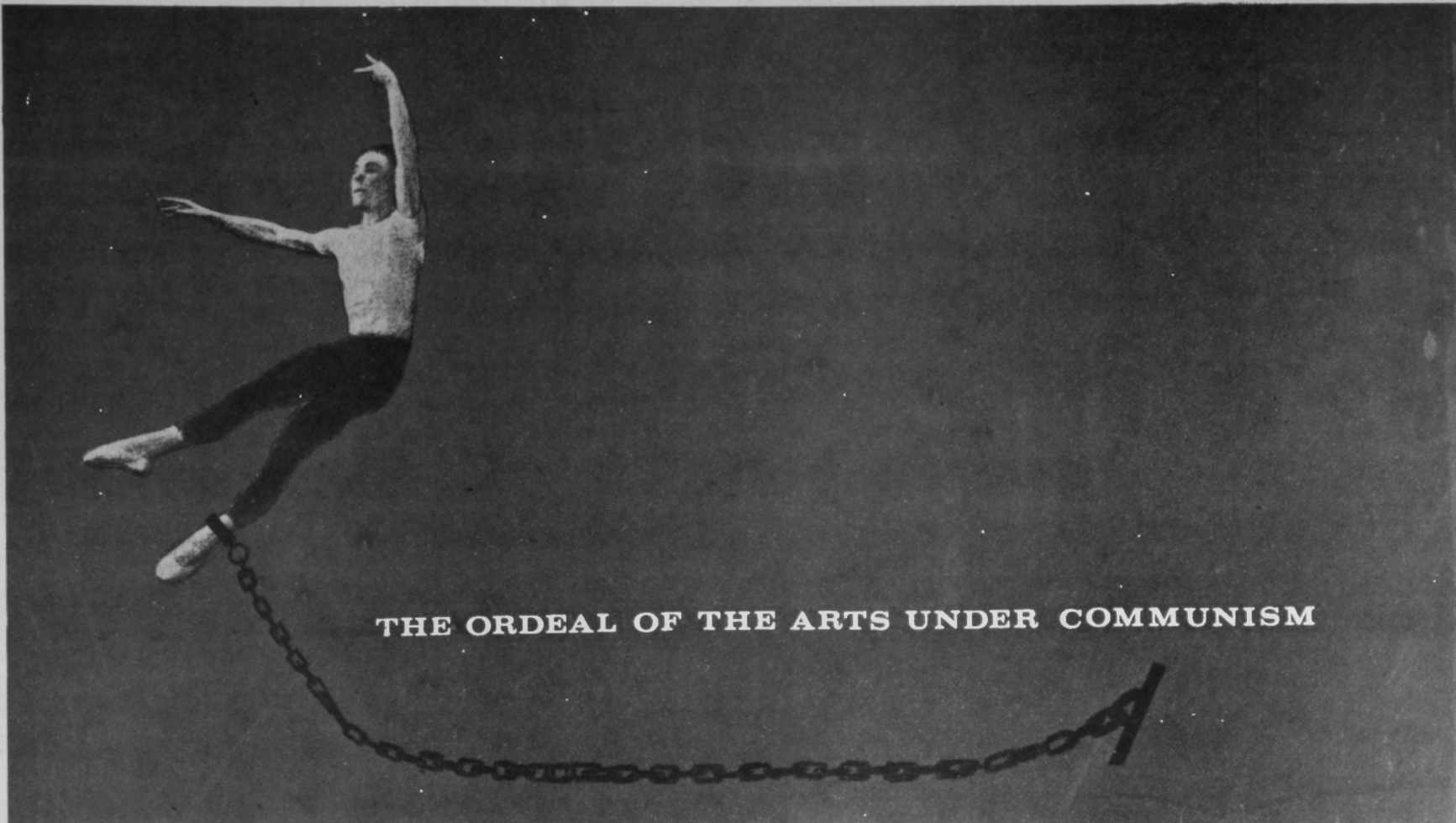
*By the millions they fell, wondering what they did wrong and who was really to blame.*

*Was it because they were prisoners of conscience or governments which looked nearly the same?*

*It didn't matter - for whoever couldn't live in the socialist heaven would die in the Archipelago called hell.*

by Garv Jarmin





## THE ORDEAL OF THE ARTS UNDER COMMUNISM

by Louis Fournier

With this article, the last of a three-part series, *THE RISING TIDE* ends its investigation of the utilization of culture in the Soviet Union as a means of political expediency.

### The People Speak

The culture of the USSR is regarded by the officials of the nation as a natural product of the Bolshevik Revolution. Necessarily it is meant to reflect the socialist mode of production introduced by the Revolution. Ever since 1917 the Communist government has assumed that the changed economic foundation of life was naturally tending to produce new cultural forms and phenomena but that it would be the function of the Soviet state to organize, plan and direct the course of this cultural development. The succession of Soviet leaders have all contrasted "spontaneity" with "consciousness," expressing their deep distrust and fear of the former and their total reliance on the latter. Thus complete state ownership and management have come to cultural life of the USSR as to all its other fields of activities.

Beneath the austere machinations of ideological control, there lies Russian culture (predominant over the distinct cultures of the various republics comprising the USSR). The artistic expression of the Russian people still bursts through the firm crust of Communism and emerges either enshrouded in Marxist trappings or as an act of cultural defiance. In the Soviet Union, as everywhere, the arts remain inherently an expression of

spirit that no external holds can entirely regiment. The Russians hold their art dear to them, and they take special pride in the two areas of culture that have long been their stronghold. They are sensitive to the thought that their artistic supremacy now stands gravely threatened by the crush of political manipulation.

### Russian Dance

It was not until Peter the Great founded St. Petersburg in 1703 and began forcibly inviting his nobles to take up Western dances at the myriad balls and social functions that the czar presumed that dance in Russia found its first real foundation. In 1734 a Frenchman engaged as a ballet master arrived in Russia. Jean Baptiste Lande began organizing young boys and girls in a private school and soon convinced Empress Anne to officially start an Imperial School of Ballet with headquarters at the Winter Palace.

By 1740 Russia had its first fully established company with Russian soloists that compared favorably with dancers in Europe in talent, if not in salary. By the turn of the 19th century Russia had its first native choreographer, Ivan Valberg, who created a Russian repertoire of dramatically convincing works. With continuing help from outsiders particularly the French, Russia quickly began to develop an outstanding international reputation for ballet. Sergei Diaghilev was to become one of the world's great dance impresarios. Tamara Karsavina and Vaslav Nijinsky, and their choreographer Mikhail Fokine, would soon become legends in the evolution of Russian ballet. In the

emergence of Russian dance into the 20th century, the pre-revolutionary excellence initially was carried over. Anna Pavlova still thrilled audiences in the early twenties. Not long after the Bolshevik takeover, the new trend in Soviet art became ominously evident.

A major trend today in Soviet ballet is the emphasis on the positive. In the state of Communism today, its leaders say, there can be no room for negative connotations, sublimated dark sides of the human nature, the socialist man must constantly be framing his perspective toward the bright resolution of all situations. There can be no sad endings.

To sum up some of the major evolutionary events from Russian to Soviet ballet, it may be first said that its long isolation from Western influence has tended to make it more Russian. The folk element, always a strength in Russian ballet, seems more in evidence; there is no doubt that the many companies all over the Soviet Union will feed and enrich its classicism. There is far more material to draw on now with the composition of countless new ballets by many composers.

Today there are 33 resident ballet troupes, two in Leningrad (the Kirov and the Malyi), two in Moscow (the Bolshoi and the Stanislavsky), the others scattered across the country. There are 18 ballet schools and close to 200 ballets in the repertoire. Audiences today are from a wide range of classes and occupations, all of which with an impressive degree of knowledge and sophistication. The greats of contemporary dance from the Soviet Union are Rudolf Nureyev, Maya Plisetskaya, Galina Ulanova, and the celebrated husband and wife

team, recently outcast from their home company of many years the Kirov, because of their dissident beliefs. The Panovs became a world cause recently when they applied to emigrate to Israel. A "Committee for Valery and Galina Panov" was formed to pressure the Soviet government into allowing the Panovs safe passage. Recently a group of renowned Soviet dancers signed a letter condemning Israel's role in the recent war with Egypt and Syria. Perplexed inquiries were made in the West and it was soon discovered that the signatories were strongarmed into the statement, threatened with curtailment of foreign travel and performances if they did not sign.

One of the great dancers in the modern world, and one of the bravest, Maya Plisetskaya provided a sudden insight to the realm of government control. In her room in Leningrad, an English reporter was conducting a rare interview with her, prearranged (meaning that the questions were selected and answered in advance) by the Communist officials and was struggling to get from her something of a glimpse of the real artist behind the totalitarian screen around her. Suddenly her watchdog guard, who had accompanied her incessantly, abruptly left the room. Seizing her opportunity, Maya quickly said to the reporter, "Not one man or woman in 220 million can take a free breath under Soviet rule. Every word here is a lie. I hate them!" The story spread quickly, and the world still watches to see if there will be reprisals against her.

### Russian Theatre

As early as 1914 H.

Granville-Barker, the English producer-director, visited Russia. He arrived barely in time. Lent was about to begin, and for that period theatres all over Russia closed down (pre-revolutionary Russia was extremely strict about the theatre and who could attend). He did, however, see the last few performances of the season at the Moscow Art Theatre. He wrote of them in unqualified terms: "I had not believed till then that there could be perfection of achievement in the theatre."

By the twenties and thirties, the Soviet theatre was a world beacon, a scenic mecca of theatrical personages all over the world. At the height of that period one Soviet critic wrote, "The majority of the world's intelligentsia and workers regard our country as the only power which can save art." Moscow at the time attracted the most serious drama people of any nation, and nearly all of them viewed its dramatic innovations with respect and admiration. From America, some of the most important theatre people visited Russia at this time: Harold Clurman, Joshua Logan, Norris Houghton, Lee Strasberg, Cheryl Crawford and others. They went to Moscow for study, observation even inspiration.

It was a period of enormous invention, originality and progress. Constantin Stanislavsky, already a world figure from his pre-revolutionary Method system direction at his Moscow Art Theatre which he and Nemirovich-Danchenko founded in 1898, still flourished. Likewise did his arch-rival, the sensational Vsevolod Meyerhold, the progenitor of biomechanics in

theatre.

This vitality of this theatrical heyday in Moscow cannot be exaggerated. Every sort of experimentation was taking place; plays were acted with modernistic scenery or no scenery at all, curtains were abolished, fortunes were spent on single productions. Actors would race through the audience, audiences would be seated sometimes on the stage, sometimes around a circular stage in the middle of the auditorium, all in efforts to make the audience a more vital part of the dramatic proceedings. Films were made integral parts of stage productions. No idea in those days seemed too wild or daring for the Russians. By and large, it was Meyerhold with his flamboyant boldness and Stanislavsky with his profound ability to guide an actor deep into his role that attracted the world's theatre people to Russia in the first three decades of this century.

After that point the Soviet cultural crackdown began in full force. The early expectations of that golden era were not justified. Upheavals were instantly apparent in productions going into the forties and fifties. The havoc of the Stalin days became painfully obvious.

The Meyerhold theatres were abolished for a long time, and Meyerhold himself became the victim of Soviet destructiveness at its worst. Meyerhold, who was a member of the Communist Party, was still an original. He romped through the Soviet theatre, embarrassing it sometimes but always injecting a fresh vitality. As a person he was

(Continued on page 6)

## The Big Question: Solzhenitsyn Versus The Copyright

by Ray Mas

In the furor over one man, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, it is easy to forget that his dilemma is only representative of that of thousands who live in the Soviet Union today. Banned from true freedom of speech and expression in their own nation, and unable to even effectively communicate ideas between themselves, Soviet dissidents, particularly the writers, have sought the aid of the West extensively. Using "hand" or typewritten copies called "samizdat," this net work has done much to keep alive the dissident movement, but not enough. It has been the publication of samizdat in the West that has saved men like Solzhenitsyn from the bleak fate accorded lesser known dissidents. This is why the recent actions of the Soviet government concerning publishing rights is so extremely foreboding.

The Universal Copyright Convention (UCC), which implemented legislation to protect authors is new being read by the Soviets for the very opposite reason. Implemented in 1955, it took the Soviets 19 years to decide to sign that legislation; cause enough for some suspicion as a growing tightening of Soviet literature is taking place. Yet the true direction of such actions was not evident until the Solzhenitsyn blockbuster was published. Just 2 days prior to

its release, the Soviet Council of Ministers stated that Soviet authors could transfer to foreign publishers the right to their works only through the All-Union Copyright Agency, headed by Boris Pankin. A week earlier, Pankin, in an interview with Western correspondents, made clear that Soviet authorities would take steps to bar future publication of works by dissident authors.

The legality of such a course of action is not clear. Mr. Alan Schwartz, a noted attorney and authority on the Soviet publishing scene has declared that no action against the American publisher Harper and Row can be taken because Solzhenitsyn's book was authorized by the author and published in a UCC country, in conformity with UCC provisions.

In a less definite statement, Mr. Robert L. Bernstein, president of Random House and chairman of the Association of American Publishers said: "If the new copyright office sets up a way of stopping publication of dissident authors, it would clearly be against the legal aspects as well - although the latter will be argued between Soviet and Western experts for years." Mr. Bernstein's statement appears to be not too far from the truth.

Arguments in many circles abound already. In fact, there has



not been a lack of suggestions for positive action. Irwin Karp, counsel for the Authors' League of America, declared that publishers and associations should be pushing to have the McClellan Bill passed. This bill would prohibit foreign governments from using U.S. copyrights to censor or prevent publication of their dissident authors in the U.S. Mr. Karp is urging immediate action, feeling it would be the most positive means of support for Soviet authors.

It may be that the Soviet government has placed itself in a very precarious situation. There has been much speculation by the press, lawyers and publishers on what action the government might take in this case. Mr. Schwartz

feels the Soviets were caught off guard and are now trying to figure out what policy to adopt.

With a legal showdown in the offing, time is beginning to tell the story. Though official comments have been vitriolic and venomous enough, official action has not been. However lacking actions against Mr. Solzhenitsyn have been, they have not been lacking where it concerns others in the Soviet dissident Movement. Musicians report that they are being told by authorities to cut down on their use of western music and western arrangements on stages or in hotels and restaurants on the ground that using that material violates western copyrights and the U.C.C. Translators

in Moscow have been meeting increasing difficulty in receiving approval for translating Western works. Scientists complain that in recent months their institutes have been getting fewer western publications, with the official explanation that Soviet authorities are uncertain about the copyright implications.

Thus, increasingly, in both the artistic and scientific fields, the effect of joining the international copyright convention has been to slow the flow of works from West and East, allowing a tightening of ideological control.

Why then, has Solzhenitsyn or his publishers not been prosecuted? For the Soviet leadership to order lawsuits against Western publishers or prosecute Solzhenitsyn would not only engage angry arguments with western publishers and intellectuals around the world, but could possibly raise a major threat to Soviet hopes for "detente." In addition it could in turn become a reason for still further delays in the conference in European security and cooperation, which the Soviet leadership praises highly, or even add a further boost to Senator Jackson's trade bill limiting trade relations between this country and the USSR on the conditions of free emigration of Soviet Jews.

The challenge the Soviet leadership faces is immense. If the Soviets do act to punish Solzhenitsyn and deal with his Western publishers, there stands a good chance that its foreign policy efforts could completely fail in a wave of anti-Soviet feelings. In the least, such an act would severely delay their timetable. But, by not acting, they are tantamount to admitting open failure in their efforts, an equally undesirable result.

It seems truly incredible that one man could bring such woes upon the leadership of his nation. It is a tribute not only to his courage, but to the indomitable spirit of man. In 1970, when Solzhenitsyn won the Nobel Prize in Literature, part of his acceptance statement described literature as a protector and preserver of a nation's soul. "But woe to the nation where literature is cut off by the interposition of force," he wrote. "That is not simply a violation of 'freedom of the press,' it is stopping out the nation's heart, carving out the nation's memory. The nation loses its memory; it loses its spiritual unity and, despite their supposedly common language, fellow countrymen suddenly cease understanding each other."

It is the work of such men who preserve the spiritual heritage of Russia. It is a voice which not even the thick Kremlin walls can stop.





# Ideology

## Marx's View of Historical Laws

by 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.

What is the concrete meaning of the statement that social progress follows objective laws?

First, all events and phenomena in society occur because of social conditions which themselves stem from materialistic causes. For instance, the rapid propagation of Christianity throughout the Roman empire is not seen as the result of the zeal and powerful faith of the Christians but rather as a result of the confused material and social conditions of Roman society at that time. Likewise the liberal ideas of modern Western Europe are not seen as a result of man's spiritual awakening, but rather as the result of social conditions which stimulated them.

Secondly, the statement means that once any event in society has taken place it develops and brings effects independent of man's hope or intention, much the same as natural phenomena develop independently of man's will. For instance, the invention of the compass during the Renaissance and later of the steam engine and spinning machine (which initiated the Industrial Revolution) brought about effects completely beyond the prospects and intentions of their inventors. The inventor of the compass never dreamed that new continents would be discovered by it; the inventor of the steam engine couldn't have imagined that it would facilitate the Industrial Revolution.

Third, the statement means that when various historical events resemble one another, similar causes and effects are operating. The materialists often find that great historical events, even though different in time and environment, exhibit similar relationships of cause and effect. For instance, the revolutionary movement of free citizens which arose to overthrow the feudal society and the revolutionary movement of laborers which arose to overthrow capitalist society are different in time and environment. However, the causes and effects of the two revolutionary movements are similar in that in both situations the established social systems hindered the development of the productive forces and the revolutionary movement brought about the establishment of a new economic system.

### Progress in Nature Versus Progress in Society

Even though both nature and society progress according to objective laws, there is a fundamental difference between them. Since the progress of society is the result of man's conscious activity, it is generally thought that it differs from that of natural phenomena. The materialists, also, recognize that society can't progress if man does not act with a certain consciousness; that is, with certain views, ideas, purposes and a certain mental plan. Engels said:

In nature there are only blind, unconscious agencies acting upon one another, out of whose interplay the general law comes into operation. In the history of society, on the contrary, the actors are all endowed with consciousness, are men acting with deliberation or passion, working towards definite goals; nothing happens without a conscious purpose, without an intended aim (Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy," *Selected Works*, p. 622).

However, as stated before, the progress of society is supposed to follow objective (materialistic) law. In that case, if the social progress

stems directly from man's conscious activity, then man's conscious activity itself must follow objective law. However, since man's conscious activity is generally considered a subjective activity, how can materialists say it follows objective laws? About this Engels said:

The ends of the actions are intended, but the results which actually follow from these actions are not intended; or when they do seem to correspond to the end intended, they ultimately have consequences quite other than those intended (*Ibid.*, p. 623).

This shows that things do not turn out according to the subjective ideas of man. The results which actually emerge are not the ones desired by man; they do not correspond to his desire and purpose. Thus they must be controlled by something else. For instance, when we observe the revolution by which the feudal system was overturned, the intention and subjective thought of the laborers, farmers, and new bourgeoisie who participated was to acquire liberty and equality, to eliminate all discrimination, oppression and exploitation. However, the actual result of the revolution was the capitalist system, which was entirely different from what was intended.

### Factors Which Condition Conscious Activity

Thus, the subjective, conscious activity of man is conditioned by invisible causes which follow objective law without his being aware of it. What are these conditioning factors? Marx views them as man's material circumstances; that is, man's environment and his production and class relations. Though man tries to act according to his own purpose and intention, these material circumstances condition and alter his originally intended direction. Thus his conscious activity is restrained by the economic conditions. The progress of life follows the objective laws of progress, even though man is the subject of social activity.

Then what are the laws of economic progress which condition man's conscious activity? They are a series of laws which pertain to the

productive forces and the production relation. Although Marx never formally listed them we can isolate the following laws: social progress is a result of the development of the productive forces; every man is necessarily involved in the production relations of his society; the production relations should correspond to the progress of the productive forces, and if the production relations holds back the progress of the productive forces, a revolution will occur and new production relations will be established.

Man's conscious activity is conditioned by these laws. For instance, in feudal society due to the feudal production relation of the manorial system, the spirit of obedience and service was highly esteemed. In capitalist society, due to full competition and the *laissez faire* economic policy, individualism is more prevalent. Anyone who holds on to the feudalistic way of thinking has to either suppress his thoughts and actions or adopt liberal attitudes. In order to live in society a man must participate in the production relations whether it seems good or bad to him. Accordingly, he must belong to either the ruling or the ruled class. Therefore man is inevitably directly or indirectly involved in the class struggle, and his consciousness is consequently conditioned. If he is on the side of the capitalists, his conscious activity will naturally tend to defend the capitalist society. These examples show how man's conscious activity is conditioned by the laws of economics. Marx said that he had formed these laws of progress through the scientific methods of observation and analysis, and through the study of various historical and realistic conditions. Unlike the idealists, he rejected metaphysical methods of proof.

Communism, A Critique and Counterproposal may be obtained at the Rising Tide Bookstore in the FLF 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:

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1365 Connecticut Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

## Sound Convincing?

by Staunton Calvert

An effort to convince through a reasoned presentation is not often witnessed unless we are so careful of the company we keep that we lose contact with the noisy contemporary world. It is valuable to recognize that some of the most frequently used means are adaptable to the support either of truth or of falsehood:

1. Still photographs are convincing not only because they make complex statements rapidly but because many viewers are unaware of the extent and force of their implications. A photograph used in or as a statement is almost never literal. In a shot reflecting action, the selection of the moment emphasizes an aspect of the subject, with implications concerning the moments just before and after the exposure. In such a photograph, as in one without action, there are effects upon the subject of light, contrast, and surrounding forms, as well as implications of what is unseen outside the frame. I once protested a magazine's use of a photograph in which such factors, in addition to the picture's relation to a text, misrepresented the subject, a fourteen-year-old girl. The reply was longer than my letter, but nothing was accomplished.

2. That great form of expression, the documentary motion picture, is too big to discuss in this space. Despite its extensive use for false propaganda, good luck has saved it from such a medium-and-message confusion as that which gives some of our companions their pride in not owning television sets.

3. A mass of detail in a verbal presentation tends to be convincing, whether the detail possesses truth and relevance, or one of these, or neither.

4. Any idea which is revealed as the solution to a puzzle convinces many happy puzzlers; a message which they have decoded they are thereupon unwilling to disbelieve. Give them an implication, a symbol, a synecdoche; draw a cartoon; stage a murky play, and you have

won. You have convinced them of whatever idea you have implied, symbolized, represented by mentioning a part of it or shown in a symbolic drawing or drama. Give them, instead, a straightforward statement of a fairly complex idea and you will lose their attention in mid-sentence. It is depressing.

5. Association of the statement — or, at least, of the person making it — with anything intensely pleasant may make him and his statements convincing. A description of the light in a dewy sunrise, written by a man known for his shocking testimony in a court case which was later to become notorious, caused this exclamation in my unhappy presence: "You just have to believe him!"

In addition to these five common means to convince people of either a truth or an untruth there is an uncommon means which serves untruth only. Apparently it is effective only where the dupe strongly wills the deception. It is the multiple-error presentation — two or more gross mistakes in combination. Long ago in New York I overheard an example by happening to stand where a passing guide was leading a few of my countrymen through a Russian exhibition. Judging her charges carefully, she climaxed her talk with this revelation: "You see, in the U.S.S.R. we have no rich people, and therefore we have no poor people." It was already evident that in the lady's country a few people commanded to their pleasure yachts and lavish homes; so, considering that ownership is "a bundle of rights," those few were countable as rich notwithstanding that the assets making them so were nominally "the people's." From the initial misstatement obscuring the rich, the guide moved rapidly to her nonsense about the poor of Russia by way of a *non sequitur*. In the circumstances, a mass of three errors was more convincing than a lone fallacy would have been.

## Arts

(Continued from page 5)

never popular. His innovations naturally attracted a large number of enemies among actors, audiences and politicians. Everyone recognized his genius, but not everyone could approve of him. His greatest mistake, however, was to attack Stanislavsky, who was as revered officially as was Gorky in literature. He thought Stanislavsky, who was not a member of the Communist Party, was a deadening influence; his staunch attention to realism irritated Meyerhold. Finally one fateful day Meyerhold publicly called Stanislavsky's Art Theatre "imperialist." That was too much for Stanislavsky, who set out to destroy Meyerhold. It was said that Stanislavsky was one of the few people who had direct access to Stalin's phone.

Shortly after, in one of those terse Communist meetings so famous during Stalin's reign, Meyerhold was denounced for "radicalism" and was expelled from the theatre. He had grown too remote from the people, his judges said; he no longer reflected them. He was allowed to make a speech—now a famous and heart-rending document. He spoke of freedom, of the death of Soviet theatre, of his innocence and his vast service to the theatre. He was then sent into exile. His name was removed from theatres and workshops. His theatre of the Revolution closed down. Substantial rumors abounded that Meyerhold had been murdered; it seems at least certain that he found his way into a slave labor camp somewhere. His death, several years after his exile, was quietly announced from the provinces. It was only recently that

his reinstatement began and a formal posthumous acknowledgement of his genius finally came about.

There is still a magic atmosphere in Moscow today at the hour of 7:30, when all theatre entertainment begins in that city. Muscovites enter their favorite houses of drama for another night's diversion from their plaintive lives. It is said that the Russian votes with his theatre ticket, and it is too obvious that the state sponsored propaganda shows are never well-attended. Soviet drama, like all the other aspects of Russian culture, has become imbedded in the smothering doctrine of socialist realism, and it continues to die.

### APPLIED CULTURE

Soviet culture has thus long ago come to mean something quite different from what many expected in 1917, when it seemed that the result would be art for the people: a culture in which the whole population freely created and consumed, aided by generous assistance to artists and ample facilities for artistic performance and exhibition. The leaders of the Communist Party decide what Soviet culture is to be like, what is to be encouraged and praised, what is to be merely tolerated and what is to be prohibited altogether.

In the words of a Pravda editorial of 1956, for the USSR "the Communist Party has been, is, and will be the sole master of minds, the voice of the thoughts and hopes, the leader and the organizer of the people in their entire struggle for Communism." The object of art, according to the Soviet cultural dictatorship, is to advance that

struggle; the object of education is to inculcate unflinching submission to the dictates of the Party that leads the struggle, but to induce enthusiastic response to such dictates in performing whatever kind of mental or physical toil is required of the given person at the given moment to secure victory in that struggle.

As Donald W. Treadgold in his chapter "Soviet Culture" in H.E. Barnes' work *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World*, writes:

"There is no doubt that the Soviet regime is aware of the extent to which art and education have fallen short, judged by those criteria, but there seems to be no reaction that [the Soviet leaders'] reaction to shortcomings in the realm of culture, any more than in the economic or political realms, is to conclude that the criteria themselves are defective. That would be to admit weakness in the foundation of the system itself. The success of the Soviet space program, the rise in output of Soviet heavy industry, the expansion of the Communist system to a point where it rules one-third of the globe and affects all sorts of developments within the other two-thirds daily and intimately—these and other phenomena are invoked to prove to the citizens of the USSR and the world that the goal of a worldwide Communist society is very much nearer today than it was in 1917. A few disgruntled artists and writers and an even larger number of inadequately indoctrinated school pupils are evidently regarded by the Party leaders as annoying but merely temporary by-products of the immense enterprise of creating [a world dominance]."

## Cambodia

(Continued from page 3)

denied permission to visit his own country's northeastern Ba Kham by the North Vietnamese. More, Sihanouk's royal army was openly engaged in combat by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese.

Then, in February 1970, Khmer governors from all provinces were called to Phnom Penh for a "province-by-province situation report." In the words of Douglas Pike:



"For the first time, an authoritative and comprehensive picture emerges of Communist activity on the countryside. It is worse than anyone had realized. Every province reports some Communist effort at the least 'seepage' at the worst, full takeover. Most un-

nerving of all is the magnitude and apparent ambition of the Communist effort. For the Cambodian elite in Phnom Penh, this is the most traumatic news to date."

The Salvation Government under the leadership of Prime Minister Lon Nol acted. Because Lon Nol worked to prevent the North Vietnamese from further encroachment westward toward the Great Lake, Hanoi began its deadly assault on the Khmers in March 1970. The point was clear: either the Khmers were to give their country to the North Vietnamese peacefully or the Communists would fight for it. As the Khmers refused to yield any territory to them, the Vietcong and North Vietnamese imposed the war on Cambodia.

Hanoi did not even bother to change the names of its old creations, the FNUK and APKL. One in fact hears of a FUNK or "Front Uni National du Kampuchea" and a FAPKL or "Forces Armees Populaires de Liberation Khmere," and also a GRUNK or "Gouvernement Royal d'Union Nationale du Kampuchea." Most of the members of this "royal" government in Peking are not "Sihanoukists" but "Communists." Sihanouk did not conceal their identity when he claimed "I give all to the Khmer Rouge. They are pure."

### Facts to Remember

Readers are asked to remember that Cambodia is not Vietnam, nor

are Khmers Indochinese. The Khmers are racially, linguistically and culturally different from the Vietnamese. The North Vietnamese are invaders and foreigners; they are to the eyes of all Khmers, the "Thmlai" or the "atheists." In Vietnam, Vietnamese are fighting the Vietnamese. In the Khmer Republic, the North Vietnamese are fighting the Khmers. The former are the aggressors, the latter, the victims. That was why in 1970 there was such a rush to the colours in Cambodia.

All Khmers are of one mind: that is, the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese must not be allowed to trample Khmer soil at will. Khmer citizens who were forcibly enrolled by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese are returning increasingly to the side of the Khmer Government. Many Khmer Rouge bands have requested to be integrated into the Khmer Army.

Their patriotism springs from the Khmer people's new sense of national purpose and awareness that their country could be absorbed by the North Vietnamese imperialists. The Khmers feel threatened with racial extinction. In the case of the Vietnamese, one Vietnamese would be absorbed by another. In Cambodia, absorption means Vietnamization of everything Khmer — as occurred in the 1830's. So, it should not be a surprise that the Khmers are continuing their efforts to defend their nation.

Will the world remain indifferent to the Khmer people who reach out for help and assistance to preserve themselves as a nation?





## No Black and White—Just an Unfortunate Gray

by Hal McKenzie

After trying to sort through the different positions concerning Chile - pro and anti Allende and/or the Junta - I have been able to determine only that it's too bad that the whole thing - Allende and then the coup - happened at all. Below is part of the path on the way to that conclusion. Ed.

Five months after the coup which toppled Chilean Marxist President Salvador Allende it still is difficult to find a solid bedrock of opinion as to where the new junta will go from here. This problem is compounded by colored journalism on both sides, making it difficult to find an objective opinion. The first step is to take a hard look at Allende.

From the beginning of his election, Allende was the darling of the liberal press in Europe and America. He was depicted as a humane socialist reformer undertaking a "grand experiment," the peaceful road to socialism. After his demise, he was eulogized as a crusader cruelly done in by a coalition of selfish capitalists, power-hungry generals, the US-CIA and the ITT. Time said Allende had become "an instant martyr for leftists the world over -- and a legendary specter that may well haunt Latin America for years."

Time reported that, "The poor, peasant and worker alike, idolized him... They listened with awe as 'Chico' addressed them." The article concluded: "Certainly this 'decent, godless man' will never be forgotten by the poor of Chile, who regard him as a secular savior..."

On the other pole, an article in the Wall Street Journal called Allende "an armchair Marxist" and advised other armchair Marxists that "it would be shrewder to wash their hands of this experiment by spreading the word that Mr. Allende was a buffoon, a libertine and worst of all an amateur..."

Besides the differing opinions of Allende himself, some outright fabrications have gained wide circulation. On October 8, Newsweek ran a story by John Barnes called "Slaughter in Santiago." It gives a gory and vivid account of a trip to the Santiago City Morgue, where Barnes reported seeing hundreds of shot-up bodies lining the corridors. A New York Times reporter and a Chilean journalist writing for the Wall Street Journal independently double-checked Barnes' sources, and found that Barnes' information was distorted at best. The figure he used for bodies brought into the morgue for the first two weeks of the coup (over 2,000) turned out to be the figure for the entire year, a period of several months. The reporters also talked with the morgue attendants who, to a man, denied that Barnes' account was true, and some doubted that he had ever been in the place.

To get a more first-hand view, we talked with Mr. Michael Boggs, Latin American specialist for the AFL-CIO. He has spent much time in Chile and has received eyewitness accounts from many Chileans. From what he said and what we gleaned from other sources, the facts, as near as we can ascertain, are these:

### An Unlikely Lifestyle

Allende, though calling himself a Marxist, was a playboy. Boggs said that he had many mistresses, not having lived with his wife for 15 years. After the coup, expensive clothes, imported liquor, and other luxuries were found in Allende's property. This hardly reflects the romantic ideal of the spartan Marxist revolutionary. Other sources claim that Allende was a vain and arrogant man, desiring to set himself up as the leader of revolution in Latin America. According to an interview he gave to Regis Debray, Allende was only using the constitution and democratic method to gain power while basically Leninist in his outlook. This means that Allende, from the very first, must have been plotting to eventually eliminate the opposition through the well-known Leninist method of mass terror and liquidation.

As reasons for Allende's downfall, Boggs cited Allende's "reckless nationalization of industry." The foreign business concerns were already due to be nationalized by the previous Frei government under a contract in which the Chilean government would buy the controlling interest in ITT and other stock. However, Allende completely took over the industries with a token compensation and put government representatives in charge of them. This of course was disastrous for foreign investment in Chile. Allende did not stop with the giant industries but nationalized small businesses as well. This brought on a crisis in confidence, causing the mercantile class to lose all hope of

ever accommodating themselves to Allende.

Mr. Boggs also mentioned the tenuous nature of Allende's political support. Allende was a minority president, having been elected by only 36% of the vote. His leftist backers were often extremists who criticized his policies as being too tame. Boggs called Allende's government "a splinter group regime. No one supported Allende except radical socialists and conservative communists."

### Invasion of Agriculture

Also harmful was what Boggs called the "incredibly crude invasion of agriculture." Leftists took over the large farms and many small farms at gunpoint without interference from the government. This was never done for economic reasons, but was a purely political act. This brought agriculture to a grinding halt. Food had to be imported, further depleting Chile's exchange reserves.

The depletion of foreign exchange meant that parts for trucks and automobiles could no longer be purchased. This created a crisis in transportation which was brought to a head in the disastrous trucker's strike. There was a food shortage and a shortage of medicine for the general populace. However, government-supported programs allowed plenty of food to pro-Allende sectors of the populace, and certain government-controlled or pro-Communist hospitals were found to contain vast hidden stores of medical supplies. It was assumed that these were being stored, along with the large caches of arms also discovered, in preparation for the

war of liquidation which Allende was planning to unleash against his opposition.

Once a large shipment of machine guns, pistols, and ammunition was hustled through customs by government officials and taken to Allende's home, marked "art objects," Allende's own residence had been turned into a guerilla training camp.

Chilean Foreign Minister Ismael Huerta said in the United Nations that enough arms had been shipped into the country from Cuba to equip a guerilla army of 20,000. Also Manuel Peneiro, chief of Castro's secret police, was sent to Santiago to help organize the coming revolution.

It finally became clear to Chile's military leaders that Allende was planning a "night of the long knives," a reign of terror which was to begin around September 17, the anniversary of Chilean independence. So they decided the time had come to act. After the coup, lists with more than a thousand names of people marked for liquidation were found in Allende's Ministry of the Interior and in underground headquarters elsewhere in Chile.

### Some Doubts

The new junta has raised doubts about its desire to quickly restore genuine democracy to Chile. Although the Newsweek accounts of slaughter in Chile were grossly exaggerated, summary executions, jailings, and book burnings did in fact occur. The most informed estimate of the number of deaths is not more than 3,500. The government figure is 1,060 while the left

ist figure is 15,000.

Boggs said that even though the Chilean government representatives said that labor unions have freedom in Chile, collective bargaining, elections, and strikes are barred for the time being. No concrete plans have been announced by the government concerning the restoration of democracy. Meanwhile, the situation in Chile is far from stable. Two or three soldiers a night are killed by sniper fire in Santiago and the main revolutionary groups, while being driven underground, remain intact. It is assumed that many caches of arms still remain hidden, and foreign revolutionaries brought into the country by the Allende government are still at large.

"Chile is living in a state of siege," Chilean Secretary General Colonel Ewing said.

Standing in the way of the restoration of democracy in Chile is the fact that Chile's Marxist binge deeply damaged the social fabric of the nation. The Chilean Ambassador Walter Heitmann said "(Marxist rule) destroyed social relations in Chile because then there was hatred between Chileans. Chile was always a happy community, but (under Allende) you could see it on the street, people hating each other... it was very violent. Social relations have to heal little by little. The economic problems can be healed within a few years, but the social problem is the worst one."

As long as the hatreds and divisions generated by the Marxist doctrine of class war still remain, it is unlikely that genuine democracy, freedom, or even gaiety and laughter can return to Chile.

## Labor Camps

(Continued from page 4)

from Tayshet. Here there were approximately 2,000 prisoners in a camp set in the forest near the Angara river.

The prisoners worked on the construction of a power station and on cutting lumber in the forest. In building the dam for the power station, giant rocks would be pulled to the site by companies of 100 to 150 prisoners hauling on ropes - in the manner of the ancient Egyptians building pyramids.

The camp contained all nationalities. Most of the prisoners were Russians, Ukrainians and Balts. There were also quite a few foreigners, including Japanese POWs, Germans and Austrians, and Polish Jews. The Austrians, for the most part, had been arrested or kidnapped by the Soviet authorities after occupation.

Prisoners worked ten hours a day - seven days a week until 1956, and six days a week after that. The KGB guards were brutal and merciless. When they shot prisoners who attempted escape at any distance from the camp, corpses were not brought back to camp but were left in the forest. They brought back only index fingers for the purpose of fingerprint identification. If escaping prisoners were shot down close to the camp, however, the bodies were put near the gate for three to five days for the purpose of terrorizing other prisoners.

Prisoners were required to work in the forest unless the temperature fell below -40 to -45 degrees Fahrenheit. How did they know it was -40? (1) There was a thermometer at the gate as they went out; and (2) if you spat and the spit turned to ice by the time it hit the ground - it was 40° below! Their clothing was completely inadequate. They had thin cotton underwear, and quilted cotton outer jackets. Their faces they covered - all but their eyes - with any cloth they could find. Their feet they wrapped in the foot cloths which were issued in lieu of socks - and then, if it was real cold, they would wrap them further with strips of heavy paper from cement bags. Fortunate prisoners, especially in the later years, were issued heavy felt boots when they worked in the forests. But most prisoners had very crude rubber boots which shoemaker-prisoners fashioned from old truck tires - first dividing segments of the tire casing into five or six layers, and then shaping rough boots from

them. These boots were not warm! As incentive to the guards to be merciless with escapees, guards were given fifteen days leave and the right to visit relatives whenever they shot down escapees.

Guards sometimes arranged provocations so that they could shoot down prisoners who were not attempting escape, and thus earn their fifteen day leave. When working in the forest, guards placed flags to mark off the work area, and any prisoner crossing the flag line was presumed to be an escapee and fair game for shooting. In one incident Shifrin witnessed a guard calling to a prisoner to come to him - and when the prisoner crossed the flag line he shot him down.

Brutal punishment would be meted out for minor infractions. One prisoner who had cursed a guard was tied naked to a forest tree at a time of year when the forest was infested with swarms of poisonous gnats (Moshka); prisoners had to cover their heads with nets while working in the forest. The naked prisoner screamed and shouted for the first several hours - and then he became quiet. In the evening they brought his terribly swollen corpse to the camp.

### Prisoner self-mutilation

Sometimes prisoners engaged in unbelievable acts of self-mutilation, either out of hopelessness and absolute desperation or because they had come to the end of their physical energies and found the ten hour workday intolerable.

Shifrin recalls one prisoner who cut off his hand with an ax and asked another prisoner to put the hand inside the lumber which had been loaded for shipment. When Shifrin asked him why he had done this, he answered that this lumber would go to other countries, and the hand might help people there to understand the conditions under which the lumber was cut.

Shifrin recalls another incident which took place in Camp No. 20 of the Potma complex in 1962. The 22nd Party Congress was about to take place. A 20-21 year old prisoner named Nikolai Scherbakov had a fellow prisoner tattoo on his ears "Present to the 22nd Congress" - and then cut off his ears. In the exercise area in the presence of other prisoners he threw them in the face of a KGB guard. When Shifrin asked Scherbakov why he had done this, Scherbakov replied that, had he not done this, people would never believe his account of life in the camps. Now, when he was a free man, at least he would be believed.

Shifrin underscores the point that prisoners who engaged in such self-mutilation were not insane but simply absolutely desperate. His accounts of self-mutilation are confirmed in statements by other concentration camp prisoners - e.g., in the book *My Testimony* by Anatoli Marchenko.

### Stalin's plan for the liquidation of the Jews

From prisoners whom he met in the Tayshet complex, Shifrin heard a bizarre story about Stalin's plan to liquidate the Jews. The prisoners told him that in 1952 (a time which coincides with the peak of the anti-Jewish terror) they had been sent to the Lake Baikal area to help construct a railroad spur. The spur ran from the main line of the Trans-Siberian railroad for a distance of two or three kilometers to the shore of the lake - to be more exact, to the edge of a vertical cliff several hundred feet high that overlooked the lake.

Because the railroad had no conceivable justification, the prisoners asked the officers in charge why they were building a railroad that led to the edge of a cliff. The officers explained to them that Stalin wanted the railroad completed in a hurry because he planned to announce the forcible deportation of all Soviet Jews to the already aborted "Jewish Soviet Republic" of Birobidjan. But, under the Stalin plan the Jews would never get as far as Birobidjan. The railway spur to the cliff overlooking Lake Baikal was being built so that the Jews could be liquidated without the trouble of building crematoria (Lake Baikal at that point was many thousands of feet deep).

### Warning to the Free World

Shifrin prepared an opening statement for his own guidance. The final paragraphs of this statement are worth quoting.

"And now let me voice a note of warning. The cancer of Communism has now spread over half of Europe, China, Cuba, and parts of Africa. The Communists try to destroy your society with the help of all those radical groups. They deceive your youth with propaganda; they try to demoralize

you so that they can seize power in your country. And don't think that I am spreading panic. Remember that there was a time when there was no Communism in Eastern Europe or in Cuba, and the red flags were not exposed so boldly in France and Italy. In the Soviet Union, Communists try to eradicate all dissidents, all democratic elements. They lock people up only because they dare to think. All this spells danger to you: The more they consolidate their power internally, the greater is the threat to the free countries.

"That is the reason why I am here today. I want to remind you of our responsibility to those who are oppressed. They need our help. How can we help them? We can help them in two ways: first, by exposing the facts; and second, by voicing our indignation.

"In helping them we shall also be helping ourselves."

## TASS

(Continued from page 1)

"Welcome to the ranks. Let's move right on!" Time will be the true test—Solzhenitsyn and his companion dissidents will need friends especially after the initial furor about *Gulag Archipelago* dies down. Mr. Wattenberg's closing "We'll be back!" was quite encouraging.

This event was a significant indication of a growing trend among intellectuals. Now that the haze of our ambiguous commitment to South Vietnam has been lifted, more and more people have become aware of the illusion of detente and the reality of Communist repression. Continued North Vietnamese violations of the cease fire, Soviet interference in the Middle East, and glaring human rights violations in the Soviet bloc have been the midwives of this change of attitude. Solzhenitsyn, in the process, emerges rightfully as the Man of the Year. After all, commented Mr. Severeid of the news media, their occupation, as should be everyone's, is truth. Louise Berry

## Palach

(Continued from page 3)

the earnest tones, the anger, the voices choked with tears gave a powerful message. Then over the tape came a furious storm of automatic weapons fire punctuated by cannon blasts, as the Russian tanks and troops opened fire to cover the crowd.

The climax of the program was a film of Jan's funeral. First it showed the statue in Wenceslas Square near the place where Jan set himself aflame, piled high with wreaths, with flickering candles in profusion. A Russian guard looked angrily at the photographer, and advanced threateningly. Then the funeral itself - thousands upon thousands of Czechs, wearing arm-bands and ribbons showing the Czech national colors, led by ranks

of people carrying the Czech national flag, walked solemnly and slowly to the gravesite. Some were weeping, but their heads were held high, and I could sense a pride in their bearing.

The audience was united and swept up in the story of tragedy and triumph that the scene invoked. For me, it was an experience of knowing the depth of another people's oppression. Here, safe in America, these people could freely recall, in art and poetry, their national heroes and symbols of freedom and independence. But I couldn't help thinking of those still under the heel of the oppressor - how were they commemorating the death of Jan Palach?

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# The Quest for Freedom and Peace in South Africa

Africa, as the scene of increasing political turmoil and ideological confrontation, merits our attention. Hopefully the *Rising Tide* can focus on this area more in the future. The following is a well-balanced report on South Africa appearing in *Way of the World* magazine.

"I believe that there is nothing more important in human affairs than love and friendship. History has many lessons to teach us. One is justice. We cannot teach our children to hate because of mistakes of past generations. If we make the same mistakes we have the same results."

The speaker is Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi of Leboa, one of the homelands in the Republic of South Africa. The white government has assigned 13 percent of its territory as homelands for the various culturally and linguistically distinct groups. So far, seven homelands have been granted self-governing status since 1963.

Minister Phatudi spoke in Washington, D.C., before the Association on Third World Affairs, as part of a six-week tour of the United States sponsored by the U.S. State Department.

A professional educator until recently, Minister Phatudi stresses cooperative development rather than separate development. He hopes that men will learn from the mistakes of past generations. He graduated from the first university in that part of the world and taught for many years at a Wesleyan Methodist school in Johannesburg.

For over 300 years, the white man tried to rule the blacks as one mass. But when the colonial powers started releasing their colonies in Asia and Africa, the masses of

South Africa began to notice. In the past, the discrimination of the government had oppressed all blacks alike. But the blacks of South Africa speak many differing languages, some of the same linguistic family but others entirely different. These native languages are now recognized as significant and are now being taught in the schools.

## Beginning of the homeland

The blacks have felt that if Swaziland, Botswana, and other neighboring countries which speak distinctive languages can have a separate government, why can't they? On October 2, 1972, Leboa received self-governing status, the fourth to do so. Two more states received self-governing status this October. Homelands are also proposed in South-West Africa (Namibia), a South African mandated territory.

Now that separate groups are demanding freedom, the South African government, which used to oppress all blacks alike, has raised the barriers from horizontal to vertical. Their theory is, let each group be separate and those who want to may advance. But Minister Phatudi feels that this practice of separate development is no solution. "Proper growth is not just vertical or horizontal. It must be two-dimensional. The problem faces the national government and the homeland government alike. Problems cannot be solved by the white government alone. The homelands must find the answers, but neither can they do it alone."

Originally, leadership in the homelands was in the hands of the chiefs. But only a few had any education and were able to comprehend complex situations. Now the chiefs are handing over leader-



ship to the progressive elements, those who can understand the situations.

"When we tried to practice separate development, we realized how much we needed cooperative development," Minister Phatudi explained. "Economically we are so intertwined that we cannot disentangle ourselves. We must find a positive form that reflects the economic reality."

## First Summit Meeting

Now that there are a group of ministers of the same status, cooperation seems more likely. On November 8 the chief ministers of the homelands had their first summit meeting in order to formulate issues to discuss with the white government. Both federation and confederation are considered as

possible solutions. However, there has not been enough time under self-government for the homelands to formulate detailed strategies.

Minister Phatudi discussed several of the problems facing the homelands - particularly Leboa - in the coming months. The government of the republic invests its resources in the European sector, so the homelands must take the initiative for their own development. Lack of representation abroad is a hindrance, causing at least two homeland ministers to make recent trips to the United States to stimulate interest in investment in the homelands. Mineral resources in Leboa include platinum, chrome, asbestos and coal (no diamonds, however). These have never been systematically developed. However, finances are limited, water must be pumped from underground, and

trained manpower is lacking. Not one homeland has compulsory free education, and it takes time to train skilled workers. The conference of ministers must discuss expansion of educational programs, and although they desire independence, the homelands first desire a larger share than 13 percent of the land.

While in the United States, Minister Phatudi was particularly interested in visiting the University of Texas, where research is carried on to solve problems of agriculture in dry areas. "Things can be done," the vice president of the University of Texas told Minister Phatudi, who believes him. He added that in Puerto Rico he noted the success of tourism and is thinking of ways of promoting the unspoiled beauty of Leboa.

## Program of Love and Peace

"I think we can learn a great deal from the United States and Western democracies," Minister Phatudi continued. "I think it is a worthy contribution that the U.S. State Department invites us here. If we were left alone, I wonder where we would go. We need friendship that will assist us in making changes and solving the problems of human relations. We will make advances in Leboa if we can carry out a program of love and peace and less hate. Then Leboa can help the rest of South Africa."

Men have replied, "That's a very noble aspiration. But are you aware that when a nation comes to power they harm their benefactors, nationalize industries, etc?" He is aware of that but doesn't believe that if one or two states make a mistake the rest necessarily have to follow their example. Can one say that the German people are no

good merely because Hitler made a mistake? Minister Phatudi believes that with intelligence and reason, growth and development, they will refuse to make the mistakes of the past.

Most of the people are Christians, although of many different denominations. The Christians in Leboa have come to the government and asked them to build an ecumenical center so they can cooperate with each other. Even within the Dutch Reformed Church, one branch is very orthodox, but the other, with a large black membership, is pressuring the church to be a vehicle of brotherhood.

## Interdependence is a Must

Today people are becoming increasingly aware that our planet is becoming one. International associations are essential ingredients in bringing about an understanding and appreciation of each other. To what extent can a state become independent? Minister Phatudi believes that the cherished ideal of independence has been overdrawn. Instead, we need interdependence. Even the United States cannot stand alone. Leaders may be concerned only about domestic affairs. But if a nation's domestic affairs are upset, it may cause havoc around the world.

One great error in South Africa is that people think that separate development is an end in itself. "It is not," according to Minister Phatudi. "It is a means to an end. But that end is not yet known."

"We do not intend to exclude or retaliate against the whites," he stressed. "We come together as a group to see our problems from a common standpoint. If you see this point, you can understand the ideal of the homelands in South Africa."

## Israel

(Continued from page 2)

pre-Balfour declaration situation. These are the only things they have ever declared themselves on even though they declared themselves for peace. It's hard to assume that somewhere, deep inside what they're really shooting for is peace. This is really far-fetched. This is something we have to face.

### Israeli Youth

Let me start with young people in Israel. I myself have a married daughter, who this year is in her final year of architecture. Her husband is a graduate this year as a computer software man, but he has to be an officer in the artillery - he was called up this October. I have a son who is a pilot in the Air Force, and I have a younger son who is at home. I have enough youngsters on the team to be continually exposed to the current themes, views, and arguments and so on.

It is quite a problem for youngsters in Israel. The boys get called up for three years in the military service. The only ones who don't serve, apart from the medically unfit, are absolute fringe-people in terms of their criminal records.

But this three year period has one big advantage: at a very formative stage in their life Israelis get into this army routine, and if they have any qualities of leadership, they get them developed. In any

event it gives them time to make up their minds as to what they want to do in life. Like in your instance here lots of youngsters of 17, 18, or 19 haven't the foggiest idea of what to do in life. Girls of course spend 21 months, and the only girls who don't serve are those who come from religious families: they have to go to boards which consider each case. In the case of oriental Jews who came from backward communities, the idea of a woman going off into the army is just anathema. It drives the parents up a post, so we don't insist.

But the boys have got to start their university training after three years of service, which means that by the time they get to university or actually start out on their actual occupation, they live with a feeling that there's very little time. It probably gives them a more serious attitude toward their studies.

Naturally they are worried about the future in the same way as youngsters in the western world, but they have a history of successive wars and the realization that there is no simple solution in sight. When this comes home to youngsters, it's extremely worrying.

At the same time we have many number of volunteers for the more interesting military occupations such as pilots, paratroopers, and so forth. There are no shortage of volunteers. They are very well motivated. They are very troubled, and they are in the process of

trying to adjust to these circumstances that seem rather difficult.

Now as far as the adults are concerned, we certainly didn't think for a long time that there was a war coming. I myself was extremely worried about a different time scale altogether. I'd been worried about the oil problem and I had a feeling that this would build up to a really critical situation for Israel in the last half of the seventies. I had visions of the pressure coming slowly and gradually, with far more finesse on the part of the Arabs. I had visions of the United States being really caught with its hands down, terribly badly, in five years time. And the western world even more so. As far as I'm concerned the fact that the war happened when it did is probably the silver lining of the cloud, with this entire oil question coming out in the open in really the nick of time. But the adults in Israel have gone through a traumatic crisis in finding themselves in an unexpected war with very heavy casualties.

Now, what do we Israelis really want? What are we shooting for, really? What we really want is to continue growing - developing economically, socially; to bring in more immigrants from different countries in which they are unhappy. We are nowadays bringing in about 4,500 immigrants a month from Russia. This is a higher rate than we have ever had.

In fact, since September there's been a tremendous buildup. This is interesting because here we are in the midst of this war and in the midst of a massive dislocation brought on by the war. We are still finding housing for all of them, finding them work to do and so forth. There's enough room in Israel for them, there's no doubt about that. There's plenty of room - physical room and economic room.

But what we are not prepared to have done to us is to be led into a succession of crunches which will eventually bring us to the verge of annihilation. Or to the point at which we shall be sitting ducks to anyone who wants to annihilate us.

## Europe

(Continued from page 1)

leave 164,000 US troops versus 392,000 Soviet ground forces.

The Communist nations on the other hand proposed a cut of 20,000 men from both sides. This would achieve the Communist objective of slicing into the number of West German forces.

The position of the US is undermined by pressure from Congress for a unilateral disengagement of forces. The proposal of Senator Mansfield and others for unilateral US troop cuts, which has gained much congressional support, is holding a sword over the US position. If the Administration does not negotiate a cut, the Congress threatens to legislate one.

Given their military superiority, which serves them as an instrument of political pressure in Western Europe and repression in Eastern Europe, the Soviets are not really interested in any force reductions, let alone "balanced" reductions. However, to achieve their military buildup, the Communists have had to divert much-needed resources from their ailing economy. Moscow is counting on technological aid and trade with the US to bail her out of the economic crisis. Therefore the US can exert some leverage by denying the Soviets any concessions on trade unless meaningful progress is achieved in the MBFR talks.

### Human Rights

Another area in which the West can exert some leverage is in the area of human rights. The Soviet Union is greatly embarrassed by the publication of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*. Along with that the issue of expanded trade with the Soviet Union is now being held up in Congress with demands for freer emigration from the Soviet Union. Thus, in return for expanded trade and recognition of Warsaw Pact borders the West could well try to wring some progress in human rights out of the Warsaw Pact powers.

This is where the CSCE talks become important. The talks are meant to establish principles to contribute to security in Europe, cooperation in the fields of

economics, science and technology and the environment, and cooperation in humanitarian and other fields. The conference is seen by a congressional observer team as "like a somewhat abstract discussion in a university graduate seminar which the professors and students leave periodically in order to perform in the outside political world in some quite active ways." Despite CSCE's rather abstract character, the West, by taking a strong stand in these talks, could influence results in the other European conferences, especially in the area of trade and human rights.

However, America's role in this conference seems to be one of low profile and without major initiatives. The US's 12 man delegation is certainly less than one would expect in proportion to the importance of such a conference. The West German delegation has 20 professionals headed by an ambassador. All of the

major Western European countries except France and the US have delegations headed by an ambassador, but the US delegation is headed by a career Foreign Service officer. According to a congressional report, "... the lack of ambassadorial rank, and the size of the American delegation are indications of a relatively low priority given the conference by the administration."

In the MBFR talks, the Russians have broadcast their proposal far and wide, figuring to catch the Western public's attention and whip up momentum for its position. Washington, on the other hand, has not made public its proposal, and has not sought public support for it.

The real stakes in the negotiations are not just a matter of the number of troops and tanks or tactical nuclear weapons - the real issue is whether an important region of the world, allied to the United States, will remain free and independent. The American public must not let the freedom of Western Europe be unwittingly negotiated away. Also, the US would be in a much better position if they made clear to the Soviets that the freedom and security of the free world is not "negotiable."

## England

(Continued from page 3)

age being done, not only to the British economy but to the whole fabric of British life. Contrary to Marx's prediction, Britain was not the first to follow the path of Communist revolution mainly because the basic good sense and humanitarian concern of both labor and management led to a peaceful resolution of labor problems. However, with growing Marxist influence in the unions, an element has crept in which goes beyond the mere desire to correct economic injustices. The true intentions of Marxists were revealed by a remark made by Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the Communist Party, after the failure of the general strike in 1926. He was told that his party's activities were harming the miners and their families. "Do you think we care a damn," he said, "about the interests of the miner? What we are interested in is the road to revolution."



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