



Senator Henry Jackson and Dr. Leonid Tarassuk.

## Human Rights At The Fore

Thanks to the bravery of Andrei Sakharov and Alexander Solzhenitsyn, whose names now crop up in even ordinary conversations, Soviet violations of basic human rights have never been so dramatically publicized. The Rising Tide is pleased to print Dr. Sakharov's recent letter to congress, make available through Senator Jackson's office, and to report that the human rights vigil has received more attention (pages 3 and 5).

Also giving dramatic testimony to the current situation in the Soviet Union was Dr. Leonid Tarassuk, recently on tour in the United States. Dr. Tarassuk, now living in Israel, experienced a year's delay for his visa and the loss of his job

### Dr. Leonid Tarassuk

Dr. Tarassuk, former curator of the Arms and armor division of the Hermitage in Moscow, spoke on behalf of Valery Panov at a luncheon sponsored by Senator Jackson on Monday, September 10. Dr. Tarassuk said of Panov: "This is a day to which we have both looked forward for many

months-- a day on which we would be able to meet together in the free world. Joyous as the occasion is, it has been marred by some unhappy news that we have just received from the Soviet Union -- news that brings to an end a silence of several months during which we looked forward to the release of our friend, Valery Panov, from his forced confinement in the Soviet Union.

"We had been led to believe -- both of us -- that if Valery Panov refrained from seeking support in the West for his right to emigrate, and if his friends remained silent, he would be permitted to leave the Soviet Union in September. But we have now learned that on Friday Valery Panov was again denied an exit visa. This latest denial is a brutal and unexpected act of bad faith on the part of the Soviet authorities who have failed to honor their pledge to respond to our silence by releasing Panov.

"Every day it becomes clearer that the situation of those brave men and women in the Soviet Union who desire fundamental freedoms -- scientists like Sakharov, writers like Solzhenitsyn, dancers like Panov -- becomes more grave. This latest blow to the

hopes of Valery Panov and his friends that he might join us in the free world is a bitter disappointment to us all and a tragic reminder that the authorities who manage the Soviet state cannot be trusted to honor their commitments."

Tarassuk also commented: "They (the authorities) are unable to keep their own word. We must keep this in mind. They are not honest. I appeal to you to save this good man -- renew efforts to release him, to help him share his great gift of dancing." Dr. Tarassuk also had valuable comments on the following subjects:

*Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe*

"I must emphasize the great importance of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. I dreamt of this day, when I would be able to tell what listeners think about these stations. It is so important to give all protest inside the Soviet Union truthful information as much as possible."

*The fate of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov*

"We know modern Russian history very well. We know what

(Continued on page 8)

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

25¢

# The Rising Tide

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## SAM's In The South

-- Full Text of Vietnam's Protest --

At a press briefing at the Embassy of the Republic of Vietnam last Tuesday, September 11, embassy Minister of Political Affairs and charge d'affaires Phan van Thinh declared that the government of South Vietnam was prepared "to carry out every measure of self-defense and to protect the security of its territory, including its air space." Minister Thinh made the statement as part of a note of protest that was delivered by the South Vietnamese government to the Communist regime of North Vietnam; the note was released in Saigon, Paris (to the North Vietnamese embassy there) and Washington, D.C.

The full text of South Vietnam's statement follows:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Viet Nam wishes to call the attention of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the fact that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has engaged and is engaged in several activities which seriously violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Viet Nam, some of the clearer of which facts are enumerated below:

"Since the Paris Agreement of January 27, 1973 on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam went into effect until now, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has established, repaired and extended at least twelve airfields in South Viet Nam, in a scheme to slowly convert them into air bases. Those are:

1. Dong Ha Airfield (Quang Tri Province) useable for light aircraft.
2. Khe Sanh Airfield (Quang Tri Province) useable for light aircraft.
3. Ben Het Airfield (Kontum Province) useable for light aircraft.
4. Dakto Airfield (Kontum Province) useable for light aircraft.
5. Phuong Hoang Airfield (Kontum Province) useable for medium aircraft, under repair.
6. Potei-Kleng Airfield (Kontum Province) useable for medium aircraft.
7. Duc Co Airfield (Pleiku Province) useable for medium aircraft.

8. Bo Duc Airfield (Phuoc Long Province) useable for light aircraft.

9. Loc Ninh Airfield (Binh Long Province) useable for medium aircraft, under repair.

10. Minh Thanh Airfield (Binh Long Province) useable for medium aircraft.

11. Katum Airfield (Tay Ninh Province) useable for light aircraft.

12. Thien Ngon Airfield (Tay Ninh Province) useable for light aircraft, under repair.

"The Khe Sanh Airfield Runway, particularly, has been enlarged and extended to 1,900 meters, enough capability to receive military jet aircraft and transports.

"At the same time, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has infiltrated into South Viet Nam many large anti-aircraft units complete with weapons in order to deploy them heavily at each airfield listed above. For example, at Khe Sanh there are today dozens of SAM-2 Missiles where before the signing of the Paris Agreements there were none of these weapons in South Viet Nam.

"The Government of the Republic of Viet Nam particularly brings to the attention of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam the fact that the above facts and actions of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are serious violations of international law, of the Paris Agreement of January 27, 1973, of the related protocols, and of the Joint Communique of June 13, 1973:

"The fact that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is engaged in strongly promoting the construction of numerous air bases below the 17th parallel, with the capability of receiving various kinds of aircraft, from light and medium to jet aircraft, is a grave violation of article 30 of the Paris Agreement and article 2 A of the protocol concerning the ceasefire and Joint Military Commissions.

"In the Paris Agreement the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam pledged that: "North and South Viet Nam will respect the demilitarized zone on the two sides of the tem-

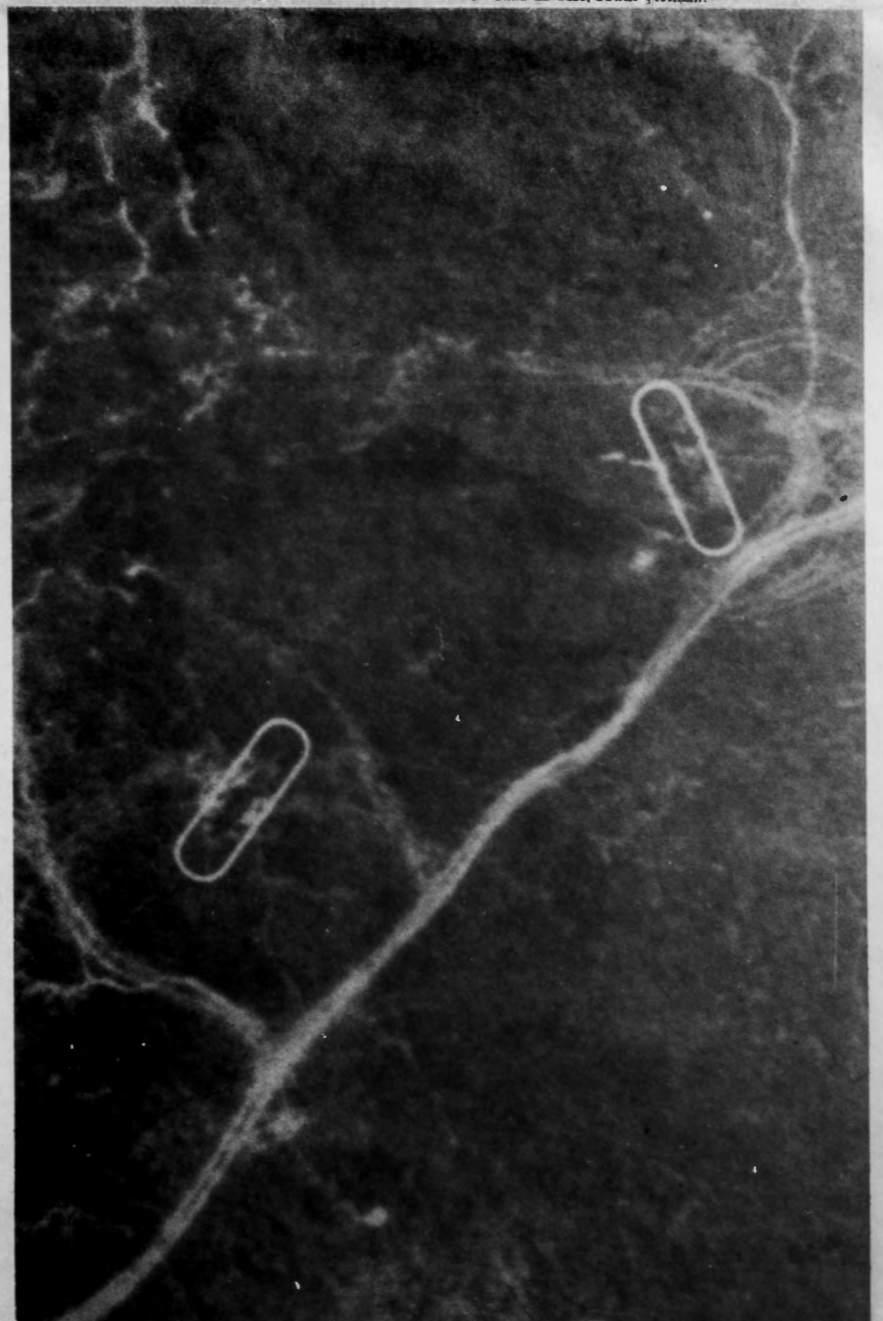
porary military demarcation line." If the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam unilaterally has one of its airplanes cross over the demilitarized zone illegally, that would be a violation of article 15 B of the above mentioned agreement.

"The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, regardless of several stern warnings from the people and the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam, still continues to cause violations even after the Paris Agreement came into effect by infiltrating soldiers, weapons, war equipment, particularly anti-aircraft units, SAM-2 Missiles, and tanks into South Viet Nam. Besides that, the infiltration of weapons and war equipment is not on a one-for-one basis nor according to the system. That is a serious violation of article 7 of the Paris Agreement and article 7 A of the protocol concerning the ceasefire and the military commissions.

"According to the Geneva Agreement of 1954 and international law, the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam is sovereign over the whole of South Viet Nam and is the only legal Government and that sovereignty applies to all territory and to all of the air space. For that reason, all foreign aircraft, including those of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, that wish to fly across the air space or wish to land at any point in the territory of South Viet Nam, must have the prior consent and must obey the air regulations of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam. The action of repairing airfields on the territory of the Republic of Viet Nam is an action clearly designed to provoke hostilities. The several actions which are violations are part of a Democratic Republic of Viet Nam plan which was officially acknowledged when a representative of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam made a statement in a meeting with the press in Saigon on July 9, 1973. Wherein he said that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam had the right to repair and enlarge airfields in their various temporary military

(Continued on page 8)

Site markings indicate SAM locations at Khe Sanh air base, South Vietnam.





## Behind Allende's Debacle

The world's first democratically-elected Marxist government has met its inevitable end. The military coup which overthrew Allende was only the climax and not the cause of the failure of Chile's first experiment with "socialism." In the end, that which brought down the Allende government can be summed up in one word -- Marxism.

There are many relatively democratic countries which have been able to make a kind of socialism work and still maintain order, peace, and civil liberties. Sweden and Israel (which has about half of the GNP of Chile) prove that democracy and socialism can mix. But democracy and socialism based on a Marxist analysis of society is a different story. Democracy and Marxism cannot mix. Nothing has better proved it than the sequence of events of a turbulent three years of rule under Allende's democratic Marxist government.

What does Marxism itself have to do with what occurred in Chile?

First and foremost were Allende's basic errors in attempting to practice Marxism with the Chilean economy. He raised everyone's pay about 30%, froze prices and then ordered all production doubled.

Somehow Marxists believe that there is a never-ending supply of money--always enough for everyone-- that is simply dominated by a few greedy capitalists. By raising wages, freezing prices, etc., Allende destroyed the very mechanism which creates the profit he so much

wanted everyone to share in. A businessman cannot produce a profit under such business restraints. Lenin made similar foolish maneuvers after the 1917 revolution, throwing the Soviet Union into an economic crisis and thus forcing him "backwards" into implementing the New Economic Policy, which restored private ownership of land to the peasants. When the leftist MIR organization began helping peasants seize farmland, Allende, being the Marxist that he was, looked the other way. The result was immediate food shortages because no one was sure when the government or Communist-inspired peasants would seize the land. Production plummeted, forcing the government this year to spend over \$500 million for food imports alone.

Allende's expropriation of foreign mine companies without compensation was another example of a Marxist ideologue thinking that it was his justified historical right to slap "imperialism" in the face. The inevitable result was the decrease of foreign investments, loans, and credits, thus adding to Chile's financial difficulties.

The further Allende went, the more polarized became the factions of left and right and of middle and working classes. A Marxist does not really believe that reconciliation and harmony ever will be developed between different classes. Rather than working for incremental and practical socialist development, Allende almost disregarded the upper and middle

classes. He courted radicals and allowed thousands of them from all over South America to infiltrate into Chile, which only helped to intensify the contradictions developing between classes and political parties. Since Marxists believe that classes are fundamentally opposed to one another and will always conflict until one overtakes the other, then conflict will inevitably Allende led his country to the brink of civil war. He certainly didn't intend this; once he started down the course that he set, it was only a matter of time before the antagonisms in society would develop far beyond his control.

Marxism cannot accomplish its aims without, as Marx said, "the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." Democratic Marxism cannot exist because it inevitably aggravates class antagonisms, breeds conflict, and finally resorts to violent revolution as its only sure means of success. Compromise is a fundamental aspect of democracy but nowhere did Marx ever talk about compromise. Allende was vainly trying to pound square pegs into round holes--of course it didn't work.

It was ultimately the very supporters of Allende, the miners, truck drivers, and workers who finally ended the "socialist" experiment. Perhaps Allende promised them more than he could deliver and left the workers still demanding a "paradise." Only God's love and truth deliver that, which unfortunately was not included in Allende's Marxist textbook.



by  
Neil Salonen  
President  
Freedom  
Leadership  
Foundation

## Party Congress -- A Chinese Puzzle Box

by Gary Jarmin

The 10th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was finally convened after many years of speculation about what was really brewing among the Communist leadership in Peking. Although the Congress of the few days did indicate that: (1) there had been some significant developments in the still unresolved power struggle and (2) the Chinese, directing their remarks specially at the Soviet Union, indicated that they are particularly worried about any "surprise attack on our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism."

The Politburo seems to have a rather "balanced" make-up with Chou En-lai still in control but now having to share more of his power with a leftist faction led by Wang Hung-Wen, the 36 year-old second vice Chairman of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee.

Tenuous Hold

There used to be only one vice Chairman of the Party, formerly Lin

Piao. Now, for the first time, there are five vice chairmen with the vote fairly evenly divided between the radical and moderate factions. Only due to Chou's position as the leading vice-chairman and the fact that a few former party officials brought down during the Cultural Revolution were rehabilitated and installed on the Central Committee did the conference appear to be a mild victory for the pragmatists.

Nevertheless, the consistent ideological position taken in the statements of the 10th Party Congress overwhelmingly support the leftist view represented by Wang and Mao's wife, Chiang Ching. Its basic line is that revolutions are always necessary to completely weed out "unrepentant capitalist roaders" who will "inevitably go in for splits, intrigues, and conspiracy." Even Chou predicted that "probably another revolution will have to be carried out after several years." Such a line coming from Chou En-lai is certainly unusual and actually a compromise to placate the

*"Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within.... there is the danger of capitalist restoration."*

ideologues on the left.

Mysteries

The Conference did not resolve the problem of who will succeed Mao, which means the power struggle will undoubtedly continue for some time. The most interesting

thing about the conference is the fact that it was the shortest ever held. It only lasted five days, compared to the previous one which took 3 weeks, and has left most China watchers slightly baffled.

One answer to why the conference was short and unexpectedly con-

vened is that the Soviets may be preparing to launch an invasion into China. The Soviets are probably desiring to intercede on behalf of a pro-Moscow faction which could come to power during the Cultural Revolution.

This could be the reason the Chinese had such a short conference--to display a show of unity as a warning to Moscow that there would be no advantage to intervention and that in fact they will have to fight a China resolutely determined to win.

The war of words between the two Communist powers has greatly increased lately after a rather quiet period lasting many months. Brezhnev formally expelled China from the "fraternal socialist camp," and the Mongolian People's Republic has charged China with border violations and subversion. Another fear of the Soviets is undoubtedly the growing development of China's nuclear weaponry. In response to all these things, the Soviets have recently increased their

troops along China's border by another three divisions.

The text of Chou's speech at the 10th Congress would seem to indicate that the major purpose of the conference was to warn the Soviets against attempting any invasion.

"Enemies at home and abroad," Chou warned, "all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within.... there is the danger of capitalist restoration," he continued, "and there is the threat of subversion and social-imperialism."

The enemy within

It is precisely divisions and conflicts "within" that the Chinese are now fearing that the Soviets may try to take advantage of. The 10th Party Congress can hardly be considered the final establishment of a stable Chinese leadership. At best it appears to be a masquerade of unity by one totalitarian Marxist regime extremely worried about being devoured by another.

# Made in Rumania

-- Story of a  
Soviet-bloc  
Renegade

by Ray Mas

In the midst of a so-called "Era of Detente" and "Peaceful Coexistence," the relations between the so-called Socialist "Brother" countries and the U.S.S.R. seem a great deal out of context. These relations bear strong witness to the ideological failure of Communism to bring unity among nations. Instead what we see are growing ideological and economic disputes among these nations, with each nation claiming its own brand of Marxism-Leninism. For the Soviet Union, the necessity of being "Big Brother" to world Communism is vitally important. Yet increasingly the Soviets have been walking a political tightrope that is day-by-day destroying that sovereignty as well as Community unity. It is the Socialist Republic of Rumania that stands out most distinctly as a challenge to Soviet hegemony. Yet, at the same time, historically, it has also been one of the most orthodox and Stalinist of Communist states. Herein lies one of the greatest ironies of Soviet-bloc relations.

It becomes easier to understand Rumania's position when a few historical trends are studied. In Stalin's time Rumania's strength was based largely upon Russian support of its strong Stalinist rule. But the rise of Khrushchev and "de-Stalinization" witnessed growing pressure upon the Rumanians to depose Gheorghiv Dej and renounce his Stalinist policies. Resisting these pressures and fearing that the new Moscow

policy would mean his political demise, Dej and his associates began holding feelers out to the West as well as to China as early as 1954.

The Hungarian Revolt of 1956 had a strong impact upon Dej. It was then that he began developing the formula which would evolve into Rumania's present economic policies.

Following the Second World War, Rumania received very little aid from the Soviets, who preferred to maintain Rumania as a satellite completely dependent upon the U.S.S.R. Reflecting this feeling, Soviet troops did not leave Rumania after World War II, until the end of 1957. Thus, for a decade, Rumania was milked of its resources (which are plentiful), receiving little in return.

In 1958, Khrushchev attempted to make Rumania the "breadbasket of Eastern Europe." But by then, even orthodox Rumania's patience had reached its end.

It was then that Rumania began to embark upon an accelerated industrialization. The period between 1958-62 saw a meteoric rise in Rumanian industrialization, some 330% over what it had been before World War II. Inevitably seeking markets for these goods, Rumania began to turn to Western Europe. In that time, trade with the West doubled. By the early 1960's, 30% of Rumania's trade was with the West, most notably, Germany, France, Italy and the U.S.

Since 1963, Rumania's in-

dustrial growth rate has been a spectacular 20%+ yr. The Soviets have been hard put to condemn Rumania because, ironically, it has been the fastest growing economic power of all Eastern Europe. Met with the paradox of a nation which at once can be a good propaganda tool of socialist success yet at the same time owes its success to disobeying Moscow's economics, the Soviet Union has been in a constant quandary as to how to deal with Rumania.

Ceausescu, Dej's principle protegee and now his successor, has led Rumania down an increasingly liberal road in internal policies as well. Greater freedom of artistic and political expression is allowed. At the same time, Rumania's foreign policy has remained adamantly pro-Soviet. Rumania has been strongly anti-Israeli and in more recent times has been participating in Warsaw Pact maneuvers as well as several Comelcon (the Soviet version of the Common Market) ventures. In terms of the Sino-Soviet dispute, Rumania has kept a neutral role. In fact, in the fall of 1963, Rumania assumed a mediator role between the Soviets and Chinese. Essentially this fit in well with Rumania's adamant feeling of the equality and sovereignty of Communist states.

Czechoslovakia

Perhaps the first true test of Rumania's course came in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. There was no lit-

tle fear that Soviet tanks would come rumbling into Rumania. More and more, Rumania was growing to take a defiant stand against the Soviets. But, the invasion did not occur and Ceausescu's liberal policies survived. Nevertheless, the Czech invasion put an end to any reckonings of a completely independent path. The watchword of "independence, not defiance" has become Rumania's low-key policy towards the Soviet Union.

For Rumania, the past six years have seen a dramatic rise in international prestige. The visit of DeGaulle in 1968 and of President Nixon the following year, along with Rumania's stance against the Czech invasion, have contributed importantly to Rumania's reputation.

Economic relations with the West continues to expand rapidly as is evident by the ever-growing activity of the Rumanian foreign economic delegations, the main route of economic communication with the West.

It is very evident that Rumania has been the most successful of all the Eastern European nations in achieving economic and domestic political freedom. In the wake of this, the question remains: What is the viability and value of the Soviet economic and political system if it must be ignored for a state to be successful? This is a question which the Soviets, of course, prefer not to deal with, but which all Eastern Europe must be secretly considering.

# Vigil Draws Response

The Human Rights Vigil of the Freedom Leadership Foundation is now into its fifth week. The program began late last month as a formal act of protest against the Soviet government for its ruthless and calculated campaign of repression aimed at crushing dissident voices of social, ethnic, religious, and political unrest in the Soviet Union. The Vigil consists of two alternating members of FLF (the legal limit allowed at any one time) standing in front of the Soviet Embassy on 16th Street, passing out literature on the Soviet dissident elements; they remain for an hour (12:00 to 1:00 p.m.) each Monday through Friday.

FLF Program Coordinator Lou Fournier reported on the progress of the Vigil: "We're very excited about the response so far--especially from the Soviet Embassy

officials themselves. They do a lot to boost our morale by consistently picking up our literature every day. In addition, they've registered strong vocal reactions to us out on the sidewalk, indicating that we're definitely being noticed. They took movies of us on Labor Day and have spoken to us suggesting that we find better things to do with our time. Last week on angrily declared to me, 'You had better find some place else to do this!!'"

"This, of course, is a dramatic illustration of exactly the point we're making: were we doing this same action in the Soviet Union, we would surely be on our way to a prison of some variety by now. Many imprisoned Soviet dissidents were incarcerated for doing in the USSR what we're quite grateful to be able to do here." Fournier further indicated that response to the

circulating Petition of Solidarity for Soviet figures of protest is also quite favorable. (The Petition is reprinted in this issue of the *TIDE*. Signers are asked to send their signatures to the Freedom Leadership Foundation where they will be forwarded to Soviet ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly F. Dobrynin.)

The *Tide* would like to take this opportunity to correct certain erroneous information about Soviet writer Vladimir Maximov contained in the background article on the Soviet Human Rights movement in our last issue. Maximov was not, in fact, previously declared "mentally unsound," although he did suffer much KGB intimidation. It has lately been learned that Maximov has told the Soviet government that he is ready to leave the country entirely if they will let him. He was recently sum-

moned by the KGB to submit to psychiatric and physical testing as a possible prelude to conscription into the army, although he is well past the age limit for military eligibility.

Recent developments on leading dissident figures Andrei Sakharov and Alexander Solzhenitsyn include:

--Sakharov nominated for Nobel Peace Prize, first by Solzhenitsyn, then by a member of the British Parliament.

--Anti-Sakharov-Solzhenitsyn letter campaign continues.

--U.S. Academy of Sciences sends strong letter of protest against intimidation of Sakharov to the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

--Solzhenitsyn attacks U.S. politicians for failing to take stronger stand against communist regimes in the past.



DMZ - Korea

## One Korea?

From a presentation by FLF member Hal McKenzie, now living in Korea.

The South Koreans as well as the North Koreans feel a great longing in their hearts for unification. When the Red Cross talks went on, there was a lot of elation and hope in the country because of the desire for unification. Some of the leaders expressed pessimism; but the people in general had a very positive attitude toward it--especially the ideal of bringing together the broken families. The older people still remembered the attack of the North Koreans and are very suspicious; the young people simply don't understand why North Korea is so obstinate and narrowminded. As much as anything the Koreans want the unification of the world, but they just don't understand why the North Koreans are the way they are. They realize of course that there is a great ideological gap between North and South and that this gap is getting worse and worse. This is something that fills them with a kind of despair and great sadness. They really don't understand how to resolve the problem.

the papers are stories of spy rings which have been cracked by the police. For all the ones arrested, I'm sure there must be many more still at large. South Korea is continuing the dialogue but they don't get any real assurance that North Korea is really sincere and has really changed its plan to communize the South by force. The South Koreans are suspicious that even though there are talks of peace, the North Koreans are still making preparations for war. So with the increasing pessimism that the talks will be successful in changing North Korea's mood as far as the possibility of another attack, a lot depends on the international situation. If America were to pull out now or in the near future, this would be enough of an inducement for the North to attack. Their army is



Hal McKenzie

### Ties

Four to five million people fled from the North to the South during the Russian occupation after the war. There are about 30 million people in South Korea, so about a sixth of the people are from the North. I think that everyone in South Korea is affected in some way by the division. For many people not only their relatives but their ancestral homes are in the North, even though they may have been born in South Korea.

Family ties have always been very strong in Korea. The worship of ancestors has always been part of the culture and society; so the separation of families and ancestral home is particularly painful for the Koreans.

In general the South Koreans support the reunification policy and goals. I think it is one of the main reasons why they supported the revitalizing forms of President Park. The whole idea of the revitalizing forms was to strengthen and unify national policy and administration in order to cope with problems of unification and negotiations that are going to go into the future. They want to be on equal footing with North Korea not only economically and militarily but also ideologically.

already geared for war. People who visit North Korea come back with the impression that North Korea is prepared for war. In fact, North Korea could invade South Korea within a matter of weeks--maybe even a matter of days. If America remains firm in its commitment, then this would be another inducement to prevent the North from invading. If other things happen...

### The Future

North Korea and Red China are having more and more give and take. South Korea is making more overtures to Russia and Russia is responding. South Korea is using Russia as a counterweight to China and to try to strengthen its position in regard to North Korea. So if the international situation remains favorable, then maybe in the long run there might be enough inducement to have the North give up its plans of communizing the South by force. But as the international situation changes for the worse and America loses its position in the Orient, they can be induced to attack. Which is maybe what the North is counting on. Its propaganda line in the West is that "America is not needed in the South. American presence in the South is preventing unification," etc. But if South Korea can be strengthened in the next 10 years, some kind of genuine detente can occur.

### Problems

The reunification talks are already running into problems. For example, after the Kim Dae Jung incident, the North Koreans refuse to speak with the South Korean spokesman. When I left, this was a main stumbling bloc between the relations between North and South. Even while the Red Cross talks were going on, two South Korean soldiers were killed along the border. They were just replacing military unification markers when they were attacked from the North Korean side. Two were killed and one was wounded. This was a very serious provocation. Also, North Korea continues to send many agents into the South. The main channel nowadays has been through Japan because there has been increased tourism and economic investment from Japan to Korea. The North Koreans have been sending agents disguised as businessmen or tourists; often in



Discussing border incident at DMZ

## Petition Of Solidarity



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

Mr. Ambassador:

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

NAME

ADDRESS

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# Realities of Jewish Emigration

## Jewish Emigration from the USSR: 1948-1973

In the last 25 years, approximately 68,000 Soviet Jews have been granted permission to emigrate. Prior to 1968, only about 6,000 Jews had been allowed to emigrate. In 1968, as a result of an increasing number of applicants and mounting pressure from the West, the emigration figure accelerated.

In the last 5 1/2 years, (1968-mid June 1973) about 62,000 Jews were given permission to leave the USSR. In this same period, approximately 178,000 "invitations" from relatives in Israel were requested and received by Soviet Jews.

Thus about 116,000 Soviet Jews who requested invitations still remain in the Soviet Union. Based on the experience of the last 5 years, about 90-95% of those Jews who request invitations actually apply to emigrate. Therefore it can be assumed that more than 100,000 visa applications have not been acted upon by the Soviet authorities.

### Application Process

There is a 2-6 month delay between the initial step in the application process, (i.e. filing an application), and the final action on the application. Until the applicant has completed the final step, he is not included by the authorities as a statistic in the group of applicants to emigrate.

During the application process, applicants are subjected to obstacles designed to discourage them from completing the application process. The applicant is required to obtain clearance from the manager or fellow tenants of his place of residence; obtain a character reference from his colleagues (or school if he is a student); repair his dwelling; in many cases, obtain writ-

ten permission from his parents to emigrate regardless of his age, and finally, pay 940 rubles (\$1,300.00), the required exit fee.

Those individuals the applicant has to deal with to get through the above steps are encouraged to embarrass, malign, and belittle him. He is likely to be fired from his job (or lose his pension, if retired), picked up arbitrarily by the police for questioning, have his apartment searched periodically, and be subjected to other forms of harassment. These steps are taken to frighten the applicant and intimidate others from applying to emigrate. As a result, some applicants change their mind and withdraw their application; others who might have applied are intimidated into not beginning the application process.

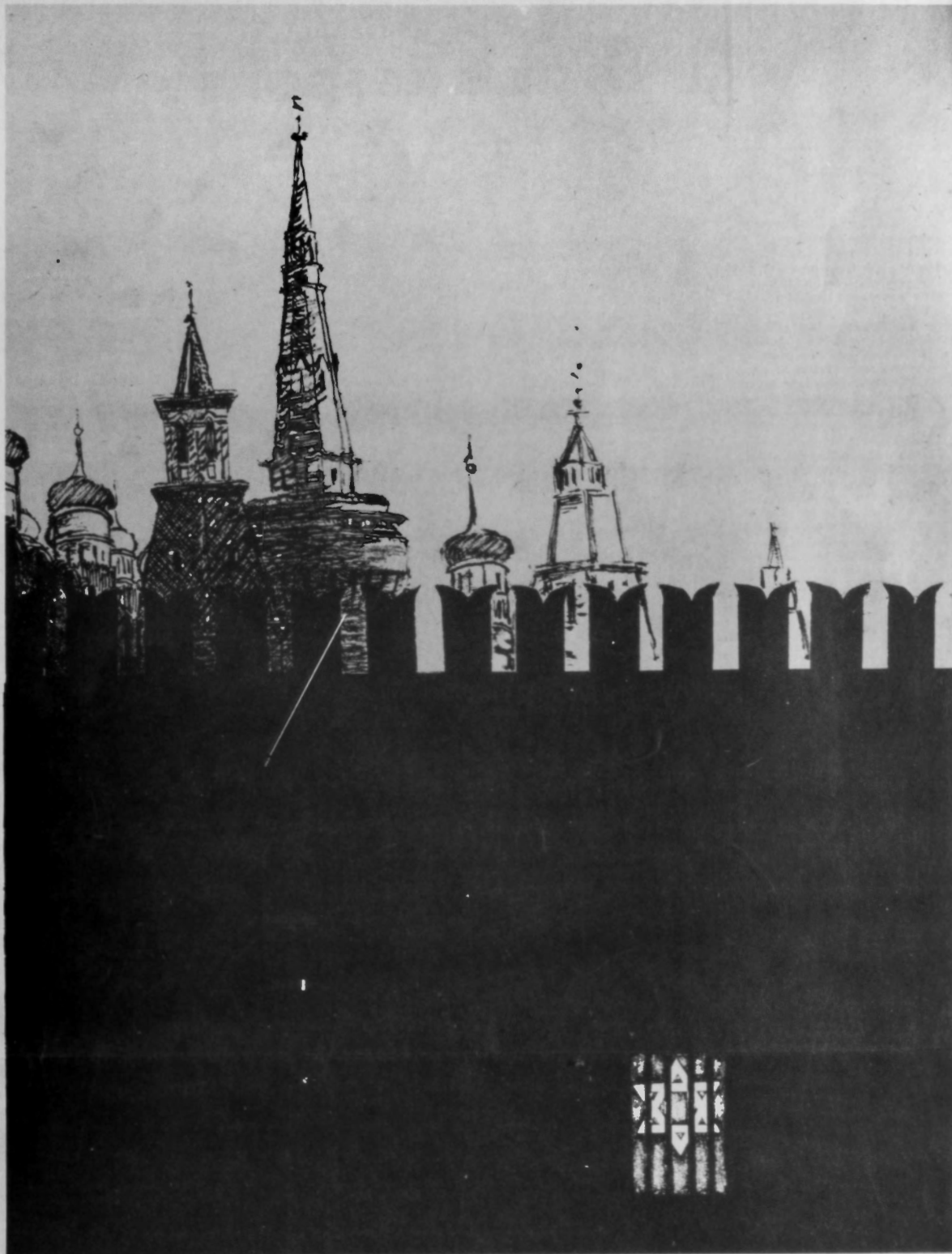
An invitation from a relative in the country to which a Soviet citizen wishes to emigrate is required by the Soviet authorities before the application process can be initiated.

Since only those who actually apply and complete the application process are counted by the Soviet authorities in their official statistics, others who neither apply nor complete the process as a result of fear are not calculated. Thus the authorities arbitrarily reduce the figures they provide on the number of Jews desiring to emigrate.

### Rate of Emigration

The average monthly rate of Soviet Jewish emigration permitted over the last year (June 1972-May 1973), has been approximately 2,500. The rate of requests for invitations by Soviet Jews over the same period averaged 5,000 a month. Thus about 2 Soviet Jews applied to emigrate for every Jew allowed to emigrate. This ratio increases the backlog of the Soviet Jews waiting permission to leave the USSR.

from National Conference on Soviet Jewry



## Open Letter to the Congress of the United States

from  
Andrei  
Sakharov

At a time when the Congress is debating fundamental issues of foreign policy, I consider it my duty to express my view on one such issue -- protection of the right to freedom of residence within the country of one's choice. That right was proclaimed by the United Nations in 1948 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

If every nation is entitled to choose the political system under which it wishes to live, this is true all the more of every individual person. A country whose citizens are deprived of this minimal right is not free even if there were not a single citizen who would want to exercise that right.

But, as you know there are tens of thousands of citizens in the Soviet Union -- Jews, Germans, Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Turks and members of other ethnic groups -- who want to leave the country and who have been seeking to exercise that right for years and for decades at the cost of endless difficulty and humiliation.

You know that prisons, labor camps and mental hospitals are full of people who have sought to exercise this legitimate right.

You surely know the name of the Lithuanian, Simas A. Kudirka, who was handed over to the Soviet

authorities by an American vessel as well as the names of the defendants of the tragic 1970 hijacking trial in Leningrad. You know about the victims of the Berlin Wall.

There are many more lesser known victims. Remember them, too!

For decades the Soviet Union has been developing under conditions of an intolerable isolation, bringing with it the ugliest consequences. Even a partial preservation of those conditions would be highly perilous for all mankind, for international confidence and detente.

In view of the foregoing, I am appealing to the Congress of the United States to give its support to the Jackson Amendment, which represents in my view and in the view of its sponsors an attempt to protect the right of emigration of citizens in countries that are entering into new and friendlier relations with the United States.

The Jackson Amendment is made even more significant by the fact that the world is only just entering on a new course of detente and it is therefore essential that the proper direction be followed from the outset. This is a fundamental issue, extending far beyond the question of emigration.

Those who believe that the

Jackson Amendment is likely to undermine anyone's personal or governmental prestige are wrong. Its provisions are minimal and not demeaning.

It should be no surprise that the democratic process can add its corrective to the actions of public figures who negotiate without admitting the possibility of such an amendment. The amendment does not represent interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries, but simply a defense of international law, without which there can be no mutual trust.

Adoption of the amendment therefore cannot be a threat to Soviet-American relations. All the more, it would not imperil international detente.

There is a particular silliness in objections to the amendment that are founded on the alleged feat that its adoption would lead to outbursts of anti-semitism in the USSR and hinder the emigration of Jews.

Here you have total confusion, either deliberate or based on ignorance about the USSR. It is as if the emigration issue affected only Jews. As if the situation of those Jews who have vainly sought to emigrate to Israel was not already tragic enough and would become even more hopeless if it were to depend on the democratic

attitudes and on the humanity of OVIR (the Soviet visa agency). As if the techniques of "quiet diplomacy" could help anyone, beyond a few individuals in Moscow and some other cities.

The abandonment of a policy of principle would be a betrayal of the thousands of Jews and non-Jews who want to emigrate, of the hundreds in camps and mental hospitals, of the victims of the Berlin Wall.

Such a denial would lead to stronger repressions on ideological grounds. It would be tantamount to total capitulation of democratic principles in face of blackmail, deceit and violence. The consequences of such a capitulation for international confidence, detente and the entire future of mankind are difficult to predict.

I express the hope that the Congress of the United States, reflecting the will and the traditional love of freedom of the American people, will realize its historical responsibility before mankind and will find the strength to rise above temporary partisan considerations of commercialism and prestige.

I hope that the Congress will support the Jackson Amendment.

(signed) A. Sakharov  
September 14, 1973

# Judaism and Marxism -- A Study in Contrasts

by Dennis Prager

Much of Judaism's dynamism stems from the tension within it between the universal and the particular: are we Jews first, or world citizens first? This tension is at the heart of Judaism's ability to survive as well as to exert a moral influence on other peoples.

This tension, however, has not been easy to live with for either the Jews or the world. The innumerable and ceaseless attempts on the part of the world to depolarize the Jew, whether through conversion, assimilation, or destruction, need not be detailed here. Of interest are the historical attempts of Jews themselves to remove what were considered to be the confining and superfluous robes of particularity. (Mr. Prager states that Christianity and Marxism are two such attempts and goes on to examine Marxism)

As for Marx, there can be no question but that the thinking of this grandson of two Orthodox rabbis was saturated with Jewish moral fervor. As Edmund Wilson has written in "To the Finland Station":

"The characteristic genius of the Jew has been especially a moral genius...It was here that Karl Marx as a Jew had his great value for the thought of his age...Nobody but a Jew could have fought so uncompromisingly and obstinately for the victory of the dispossessed classes." Nor can there be any doubt concerning Marx's attitude toward Judaism: "The emancipation of the Jews," Marx wrote in 1843, "in the final analysis, is the emancipation of mankind from Judaism."

Thus, though Marxism is in many ways a secular Messianic offshoot of Judaism, it ultimately stands opposed to Judaism in virtually all essential respects. A reading of his essay, "On the Jewish Question," reveals that certainly Marx himself was well aware of just how opposed his system was to Judaism:

"Emancipation from bargaining and money, and thus from practical need and real Judaism would be the self-emancipation of our era."

Were Maimonides (the codifier of Jewish Law) and Marx alive today, on one thing they would surely be in agreement: attempts to reconcile Marxism with Judaism are intellectually dishonest and ultimately doomed to failure. A Jew can of course be a Marxist, but this hardly negates my point. Only when one considers Marxism to be purely an economic system and/or Judaism to be solely a nationality can the two coexist.

## Similarities

Of course, certain similarities of form do exist. Both Marxism and Judaism offer an all encompassing world view.

"A basic aspiration of Marxism is to 'totality of scope.' Like medieval Christianity, Marx's system undertakes to provide an integrated, all inclusive view of reality, an organization of all significant knowledge in an interconnected whole, a frame of reference within which all possible questions of importance are answered or answerable." (Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx, by Robert Tucker the noted Princeton Authority on Marxism.)

Both Marxism and Judaism utilize a "chosen people" (Jews/proletariat) which is historically ordained to lead mankind unto salvation, and both present visions of an ideal future.

Whether or not these similarities reveal Judaism's contribution to Marx's thought, however, they remain similarities in form only. In substance classical Marxism and Judaism are mutually exclusive.

For the ultimate sources of truth, the gods of the two are incompatible. For Marx, "the highest being for man is man himself." Man is god, and conversely according to Engels, "God is Man." Moreover, the Marxist Man/god is a jealous god who tolerates no other gods. In Marx's words: "... human self-consciousness...the supreme divinity - by the side of which none other shall be held." As the Jewish God is transcendent and also tolerates no other gods (particularly inconceivable in Judaism as mere dust), the lines of battle between Marxism and Judaism would seem to be clearly drawn.

## Morality

Yet in and of itself the fact that the Marxist god is man and the Jewish one is transcendent God means little. It is the practical and moral implications which are of great significance. Judaism views a man-as-god religion as "avadah zarah", idol worship. Believing in such a religion not only violates the Second Commandment, but renders the world amoral. In Dostoevsky's words, "with no God there is no morality." One morality based upon

the One God is Judaism's central moral tenet "Love thy neighbor as thyself," has no logical or moral base in Judaism when separated from the conclusion of that sentence, "I am God." (Lev. XIX, 18).

In Marxism, on the other hand, right and morality are man-based and relative. "Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and the cultural development thereby determined," writes Marx. "Morality for us is subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat," writes Lenin.

The methods of derivation of the two moral systems - beyond the presence or absence of God - sheds more light upon their differences. Marxism derives its world view from a study of society, Judaism from a study of man. Consequently, Judaism orients its approach to improving the world through the individual, while Marxism considers such an

approach futile. Man in the Marxist sense is determined by his environment. Unlike Judaism which holds the individual responsible for the quality of his existence, Marxism holds external factors responsible for individuals' dissatisfaction. Marx writes in Capital:



"Dissatisfaction with oneself is either dissatisfaction with oneself within a certain environment conditioning the entire personality, for example, dissatisfaction with oneself as a worker or as moral dissatisfaction. In the first case it is thus simultaneously and primarily dissatisfaction with the existing conditions; in the second case it is an ideological expression of these conditions themselves, which in no way transcends them, but is part of them."

To Marx, therefore, salvation means the overthrowing of existing society. Corrupt society, by definition, means men will be corrupt. The liberation of man can only come through revolution. "For the change in human nature which produces communist consciousness on a mass scale," he writes "can occur only in the practical activity of making revolution." That Judaism opposes such a view can be seen in the following example.

## Means and Ends

As Judaism preoccupies itself with the individual rather than with social classes, means are considered important in themselves and not judged, as in Marxism, solely in terms of how much nearer they bring society to the communist utopia. To the Marxist, "squeamishness about the methods employed for the sake of reaching the final goal amounts to a betrayal of that goal. Evil means must be used to fight against the features of an evil past. And the best policy is to admit this outright: the class struggle is an era of violence; and its first result is to be a government of violence, the dictatorship of the proletariat."

To this Marxist thesis Judaism responds by simply but categorically stating, "You are to pursue justice (in the means) and justice (in the ends)." A world based on Torah is, of course, the goal of Judaism, but this can neither be forced nor deemed inevitable. It must be striven for.

The principle which underlies Marxist vindication of evil means in the pursuit of ideal ends is the notion that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." As such, history has no good or bad individuals; for Marx, as G.D.H. Cole has written, "not individuals but only social classes possess ultimate reality." Consequently, the concept of personal morality and respon-

sibility is alien to the Marxist universe. There are only reactionary and progressive classes, and history or Marx's dialectical materialism decrees, in the words of a solemn Hebrew prayer, "who will live, and who will die; who before his time, and who in longevity."

Thus, he who acts on the side of history is ultimately responsible to no one and nothing but history. Stalin may have misread Marx economically, but surely not morally. The process of denying men their individuality and regarding them simply as class members has produced untold suffering in the course of this century.

## The Source of Evil

Judaism sees history not as the struggle of classes, but as the struggle of each man against immorality. This is exemplified by the lives of the founders and leaders of Judaism; Abraham, Moses and the

Prophets. In each case men as individuals fought against the prevailing evils in society and in the world at large. Man against his own evil inclinations and those of the world is the history and raison d'etre of Judaism. The struggle of the Jewish people in history is the struggle of each individual Jew at any given moment; individually the Jew struggles against his evil, collectively the Jewish people struggle against the world's evil.

The world is evil because individuals are evil. Men, not socioeconomic forces, built Auschwitz. An evil society is the product of evil and not, as Marx would have it, vice versa. Judaism claims that social correctives must originate in the individual, since men must change before institutions can.

The Marxist will respond, of course, that man has been corrupted by social institutions, that he has been alienated from his true self. Underlying this position is the Marxist belief that man's true self is good. It could be no other way, for if Marx were to assume that man is evil irrespective of his environment, his deterministic theories about society shaping the man could never be sustained.

In order to "scientifically" prove the validity of the Marxist view of man's nature, Engels wrote in 1884 The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State. This book, which was based on the now discredited writings of an American anthropologist named Lewis Morgan, purported to show that original man was a wonderful fellow until his corruption by the advent of technology. Ancient man, we are informed, lived in a sort of ideal but primitive communist society. Cooperation and non-exploitation were the rules of life; mankind was one happy family.

Concerning man's innate goodness or lack of it, Judaism is quite explicit. Among the Torah's first descriptions of man is God's statement to Noah that "the will of man's heart is evil from his youth." (Genesis VIII, 21). Thus Judaism has developed the intricate legal system of Jewish Law (Halakha) in order to guide each man's moral actions; there is little faith in man's capacity to determine and enact good without divine guidance. "Wisdom begins with the fear of God." Again, the real revolution can only be internal.

Karl Marx lived during a period when men were drunk with optimism. The Nineteenth Century Western liberal worshipped himself; it was the age of Prometheus himself; it was the age of Prometheus unbound. We who live after Freud and Auschwitz consider such op-

timism about man's nature as belonging to, in Lenin's famous words, "the trash heap of history."

Regarding Engels' restatement of the "noble savage" myth, Judaism portrays original man as no better - no different in essence - from modern man. The Torah portrays the second man in history, Cain, as a murderer, and his retort to God's interrogation, "Am I my brother's keeper?" has resounded down through the ages. The fact is that individual man has not changed. Each man must struggle with weakness and evil as if he were the first man on earth. In this sense, Judaism, which is geared to non-changing man, is universal and timeless.

## More than Liberty

Basic to both Marxism and Judaism is the concept of freedom. To Marx, freedom is the worker losing his chains. "...the realm of freedom does not commence until the point is passed where labor under the compulsion of necessity and of external utility is required." As Marxism is a materialist conception, freedom is defined as liberation from want and servitude. Once liberty is achieved, all else will follow; further struggle is unnecessary.

This view of freedom must be regarded as severely inadequate. As Robert Tucker has noted, "The only problem freedom can solve is bondage." Yet the Marxist considers this quite sufficient: "freedom is...the essence of man... No man fights against freedom."

Again we see the dated nature of Marxist optimism. Marx was fortunate in that he lived before the age of totalitarianism. The evidence today completely contradicts the notion that "freedom is the essence of man." Quite to the contrary, as Erich Fromm (himself a socialist) and others have documented man's often attempts to escape from freedom.

The Marxist error lies in defining freedom solely on an external level. Freedom in Judaism exists on two distinct levels, external and internal. External freedom was achieved through the Exodus from Egypt. Yet the children of Israel were still not to be considered fully liberated. Only with the receiving of the Torah are the Jews truly free, for external freedom must be complemented by internal freedom (which itself can come only through self-discipline). The Jews could not receive the Torah (internal freedom) while in external bondage, and once liberated they could not utilize that external freedom without the internal freedom of Torahic Law and morality.

In Ethics of the Fathers it is written that "There is no freer man other than one who is involved in the Torah." It did not necessitate modern totalitarianism or the discoveries of Dr. Freud for Judaism to realize that man must struggle with himself in order to achieve freedom. Only at first glance, therefore, does it appear ironic that those who have acted on the supposition that man's essence is not freedom have produced considerably freer societies than those who have acted upon the opposite supposition. Alexis de Tocqueville prophesied correctly: "He who seeks in Liberty anything other than Liberty itself is destined for servitude."

## Ultimate Irony

Perhaps the ultimate irony is the fact that Marxism which proclaims itself scientific and realistic, is neither while Judaism, the object of so much Marxist invective, remains the one belief system to confront reality head on. Marxism a direct descendant of German Romanticism, is, as Robert Tucker has so brilliantly shown, a myth. Marxism reveals itself as a fantasy world composed of Good guys versus Bad guys. In this simple world all is explicable - at least to those who share in the True Belief. "The definition of Communists is simple," writes A.J.P. Taylor, "they were the ones who understood what was happening in the world, a definition which was limited to Marx and Engels...if events did not fit in with (Marx's) system so much the worse for events."

The appeal of Marxism is great, for it offers an irresistible combination of qualities: faith in Science, all the Answers, easily identified Heroes and Villains, immediate Utopia, and most important, escape from both the present unpleasant reality and personal responsibility.

As I have tried to show, Judaism offers none of the above attractions. Judaism is the religion of reality. Science is seen as a tool subordinate to moral man's (and God's) will. Man, the finite being he is, cannot

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## Washington Report of the Air Publicizes FLF Vigil and Dissidents' Plight

What began as a silent human rights vigil by a handful of young Americans in front of the Soviet Embassy in Washington may soon grow into a nation-wide outpouring of outrage and protest against the Kremlin's latest campaign of repression against Russians daring to speak out against Communist tyranny.

The Human Rights Vigil was started August 27th by the Freedom Leadership Foundation, a private educational organization founded four years ago, in its words to achieve ideological victory over Communism.

Leaders of the Foundation, which numbers more than 1,000 members, decided on the vigil as a personalized protest against the persecution of Russian dissidents including such intellectuals as Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Andrei Sakharov and Vladimir Maximov. Coordinating the vigil is Louis P. Fournier of Laconia, New Hampshire, a 23-year-old Vietnam war veteran who became involved in the contest against Communism through church activities during army training at Fort Hood, Texas.

"Walking the sidewalk in front of the Russian Embassy in Washington," says Fournier, "has given me a new sense of hope in the ultimate triumph of the human spirit."

FOURNIER "Freedom in the U.S.S.R. is a feasible practicality, we feel, and we've seen every indication that the Soviets will yield to public pressure. For example, our 'Free Gen. Grigorenko' rally last June ultimately resulted in General Grigorenko's release from the special psychiatric prison where he was detained. The legal limitation of two people at one time in front of the embassy, we feel, is not a hindrance. The Soviet officials take note of us and, in fact, every day they have never failed to come out, and pick up a piece of our literature, taking it back into the embassy. On one occasion, Labor Day, they actually came out and took several feet of film of my partner and me passing out literature in front of the embassy. On that same day, one of the officials registered a strong protest in Russian. We feel that public pressure is mounting against the Soviets and that they cannot continue their camouflage of their repression of intellectual and religious dissidents."

Fournier says his group will serve as a go-between for all Americans, nationwide, who want their protests to be heard.

FOURNIER "Most recently an additional aspect of our vigil is the beginning of the circulation of what we call 'a petition of Solidarity' for Soviet dissidents like Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov. We want it known to the Soviet Government that we support strongly a policy of democratization of its totalitarian regime. And we feel that as long as the Communist regime maintains its efforts at suppression of any voices that it finds incompatible with Marxist-Leninist ideology, true detente cannot exist. Our petition is aimed at urging the government of the Soviet Union to relinquish the intolerant arbitrariness and repression of the intellectual, religious and ethnic dissidents in the Soviet Union."

From the Freedom Leadership Foundation of Washington, D.C. - an expression of solidarity with fellow humans struggling against the dark night of repression in Communist Russia.

From the American Security Council's Washington Report of the Air on WAVA-FM, broadcast September 19, 1973. Commentator was Mr. Philip C. Clarke. (See below also)



Louis Fournier at the Soviet Embassy

## Constantin Boldyreff on the Dissident Movement

BOLDYREFF: The Soviet Union, by the very nature of its system, is hopelessly saddled by two interconnected, insoluble problems: economic and political. Even in a country as rich as Russia, the unwieldy machine of state planning is simply unable to provide the necessities of life to the population. Particularly so, since it spends up to 30% of its National Income on armament.

It is true that dissatisfaction stems not only from economic hardships, since men do not live by bread alone. But where the ordinary citizens are concerned -- the so-called "masses," to use the Communist terminology -- economic hardships constitute a highly explosive factor. Let me cite the demonstration for meat and milk, which flared up into a full fledged revolt in Novocheboksak in 1962, as an example.

It is against this background that the potential of the dissident movement in Russia should be evaluated. This is why the relatively small group of open -- and in fact not really disloyal -- critics of the regime assumes such seemingly disproportionate importance. And this is the reason why the Soviets have unleashed their witch-hunt campaign which we observe today. What the Soviets are trying to achieve is to recreate the situation which existed in the thirties when foreign specialists were building up the Soviet industry in absolute isolation from the people.

By dangling the carrot of "detente," the Soviets hope -- with the help of the West -- to patch up their economic difficulties, reducing thereby one of the major sources of

popular discontent. At the same time, by dealing harshly with the leaders of dissent, they wish to set an example in the hope to stamp out, or at least silence the opposition. They know that this will provoke protests in the West. But they are pretty sure they can tough it out, just as in the case of Czechoslovakia. Indeed, how quickly the rape of Czechoslovakia was forgiven and forgotten!

What we observe today is a sort of "internal Soviet Czechoslovakia." Sensing this, people like Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn and Maximov have -- in a last ditch effort -- raised their voices in desperate warning. So far Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov were protected by their world-wide fame. But so was Dubcek in his time. In linking them with the current trial of Yakir and Krassin, the KGB is paving the road for their arrest. With one eye it carefully watches the reaction in the West. Only a vigorous campaign in their defense, including strong pressure from Western governments, may eventually save them.

Nobody could accuse Dr. Sakharov, the author of the "Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom," of being a "cold-war warrior." Yet it was he who warned the world that unqualified acceptance by the West of Soviet detente overtures "would mean cultivating... a masked country that hides its real face." And he stressed the danger of living "next to such a neighbor, especially one who is armed to the teeth."

This statement may cost Sakharov his freedom, possibly even his life. It would be a crime to leave it unheeded!



# Ideology

## How Mao Benefitted From Myth

by Reed Irvine

Lenin taught his followers to use any deception that would help them achieve their objective. They have followed his instruction and example. Deception as to their true objectives was an important part of the Communist tactics in bringing about the Bolshevik coup of November 7, 1917. The Bolsheviks shouted that they were going to bring about greater freedom and more democracy than existed under the Kerensky government. Their true intention was, of course, to bring about a dictatorship.

The Chinese Communists were apt pupils of Lenin in this respect. Mao Tse-tung promised in an article he wrote in 1941 that a government under his control would not confiscate capitalist private property other than large-scale enterprises such as railroads and banks. He said he would not restrict the development of that capitalist production that "did not control the life of the people." With respect to the land, he said he would confiscate the land of the big landlords and distribute it to those peasants that were without land or had too little of it to realize Dr. Sun's slogan "land to those who till it." He said this was different from establishing a socialist agricultural system for it only turned the land into the private property of the peasants.

This was how Mao acquired the reputation he had in the West of being just "an agrarian reformer." It was not that the foreign journalists who spread this myth deliberately lied about Mao's intentions. Many of them were simply so naive that they took Mao at his word. They assumed he was telling the truth when he told an American correspondent in July 1944 that his objective was to realize democracy on a national scale by giving the people fundamental liberties and a government of the people. Some writers even used Marxist scriptures to prove that Mao would not try to destroy capitalist free enterprise in China. One of these, Philip Jaffe, made the case in these words:

"Perhaps the best way to explain the position of the Chinese Communists is to say that they accept the Marxist interpretation of a country's political and economic develop-

ment. According to this interpretation, a semi-colonial and industrially backward country cannot possibly achieve communism or socialism without an intervening stage of development, and it is not in the power of any group of people to disregard this historical truth."

In other words, because Mao was such an orthodox Marxist it was unthinkable that he would try to communize China. All he wanted to do was "win freedom from foreign domination" and "free the peasants from their semi-feudal relations to the landed gentry class." According to Jaffe, "Chinese Communist leaders contend that the attainment of these two objectives requires a democratic political system that will allow all sections of the people a voice in the government and will also grant full opportunity to private initiative and free enterprise in the development of China's economic resources."

Thus the myth that under Mao the Chinese people would enjoy perfect political freedom was created and spread throughout China and the outside world. This deception was buttressed by what Mao actually did in the parts of China that were already under his control. He actually encouraged private enterprise and had avoided the confiscation of land, in order to avoid antagonizing the landlords. In November 1941, Mao summarized his program in the areas under his control in this way:

"Regarding agrarian problems, on the one hand we advocate a policy of reducing rents and interest so that the peasants can have clothing and food; on the other hand, we are also carrying out a policy of recognizing the payment of rents and interest as obligatory so that the landlords can also have clothing and food. Regarding the relation between labor and capital, on the one hand we are realizing the policy of helping the workers so that they have food and clothing while on the other hand we are also carrying out a policy of industrial development, which will provide the capitalists with profits."

There is one very striking similarity between Mao and Castro. They both rode to power on the basis of false pretenses. Their promises were precisely the opposite of the policies adopted once they were firmly in the saddle.

Mao was not so universally welcomed by Chinese intellectuals as Castro was by the Cubans. One reason was that he was a self-declared Communist, and there were a good many Chinese who were not taken in by the pretense that he was also a Jeffersonian liberal. However, he did enjoy wide support in the Chinese intellectual community, especially among the young people.

It is not as clear in the Chinese case as in the Cuban that the poverty of the people played no role in the revolution. For one thing the country was ravaged by runaway inflation, causing deep resentment in all strata of society. Moreover, the Chinese masses, unlike the Cubans, were unquestionably mired in deep poverty. One plant in Mao's program—that of agrarian reform—was intended to appeal to the poorest of the peasants. However, it is highly significant that the Communists did not actually venture to do more than control rents and interest rates in the areas under their control for fear of losing the support of landlords prior to their total victory. This strongly suggests that their appeal to the landless peasants must have been considerably muted. Like Castro, Mao placed stress on the establishment of a more liberal and democratic government, and the elimination of corruption. Like the Russian revolutionaries, he had the advantage that comes from fighting a government that had been engaged in a long and costly war.

The Japanese invasion of China ultimately benefitted the Communists. A truce, albeit an uneasy one, between the Kuomintang and the Communists was declared. Chiang Kai-Shek's efforts to secure undisputed control over the entire country had to take second place to resisting the Japanese.

Like Castro, Mao enjoyed a good press in the non-Communist countries of the West. He was widely portrayed as a great hero. Chiang, on the other hand, was portrayed as undemocratic, bureaucratic, inefficient, unpopular and corrupt. After the war, the U.S. applied considerable pressure to get Chiang to take the communists into the government, but being well aware of their perfidious nature he demurred. He

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by Sang Hung Lee

The view that quantity of labor equals exchange value is not only theoretically erroneous but has brought about many problems in actual economic practice. This can be clearly seen in the Soviet Union, where to this day there has been much production of low-quality goods and the accumulation of stock. The Soviet economy has been operated, unlike the capitalist system, according to Marx's labor theory of value. Thus, a great deal more importance is placed on the aspect of labor quantity than on that of the use-value in dealing with commodity value. The commodity's efficacy in relation to the consumer has been almost disregarded; because the production of profit is considered the cause of the contradiction in capitalist society, it has necessarily been completely eliminated from the socialist economy.

We find, however, that under the wartime Communist system in the first stages of the Soviet Revolution, a part of the capitalist economic system was borrowed and Russia enforced the self-supporting counting system with the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy). However, it is true that this can be thought of as a bonus system rather than a profit system.

Thus the Communists have neglected the efficacy and profitability of commodities; commodities have only use value and value (labor quantity). Consequently, in commodity production, utility and labor quantity were decided by the National Planning Committee (Gosplan) and from there the directives went to the factories. Every manager was only required to follow directions. The workers had only to work a definite length of time and were expected to have produced commodities with the same use value and labor quantity as had been expected by Gosplan. But in reality, the process of production produced fewer commodities than expected and those that were produced were below standard quality. In order to change this situation, Stalin forced excessive work under the guise of production contests such as the Stakanov or Tishayuk movements. Nevertheless, even after these efforts, the expected

results were not achieved. "It is said that the accumulated stock in the Soviet Union in the year of 1964 amounted to 30 billion roubles" (*Communism is Wrong*, D.C. Wang). And it is a known fact that Soviet leaders have been seeking a means of solving the problem of low quality and low quantity production ("Dispute in Marxism" by Zentaro Wada).

### Role of Profit

Then why does the production fall short of expectation in quality and quantity? Needless to say, it has resulted from the establishment of their economic policy based on the false labor value theory. To produce better selling goods the quality must be improved to be suitable to the desire and tastes of the consumers. The entrepreneurs in the smallest units instead of the officials in the central units have to take on the responsibility of technical development. Furthermore, these small units have to receive additional profit motive. Desire for profit comes from basic human desire. Marx, however, looked upon profit as surplus value and the cause of exploitation. We find, then, that in the socialist system of the U.S.S.R. the profit motive system has been eliminated (in fact the profit is produced but is possessed by the Communist Party).

### Unequal Distribution

Strictly speaking, capitalist exploitation is not caused by profit but by its unequal distribution. The exploitation does not center around the laborers but in the monopolization of the profit itself. The desire for profit comes from the basic human desire; unless that desire is satisfied, we cannot expect the morale of the workers and entrepreneurs to be raised. But by the labor theory of value, it is absolutely impossible to allow the entrepreneurs to make a profit. In the first place, the theory looks upon commodities as having only use value and labor quantity. In the second place, the theory of surplus value, which is based on the labor theory of value, looks upon profit as an exploitation of labor. Only when commodities are seen in terms of efficacy and profitability can the profit motive be allowed and hence

the laborers and entrepreneurs come to improve the profit. To make profit, commodities should be in great demand and sell well. To do this, efficacy will have to be elevated so as to be suitable to the consumer's tastes. Hence the quality will improve.

We see, then, that only when there is a profit motive can the quantity of production be increased and stock backlogs prevented. However, the U.S.S.R. realized this too late. Russia was then forced to adopt the profit motive to prevent a great deal of human and material loss due to stock backlog and low-quality production. The profit motive was introduced at the suggestion of Professor Lieberman. He held that to keep the Soviet economy from stagnancy, every enterprise should be allowed to make a profit. At first there was a severe dispute about adopting this assertion because of the danger that it might lead to a denial of the labor value theory. But as the economy was very strained, the Soviet leaders put more importance on actual results than theory. The profit suggestion was finally adopted in 1965, with the disclosure of "Basic Plan for Economic Improvement" by Premier Kosygin, a profit system was enforced in over 6,000 factories. In the beginning most of the factories reached the goal, but after some time stock accumulation due to low quality work and under-production again appeared. This was because the government had given the profit motive alone and disregarded making any changes in the social structure in order to raise the efficacy of commodities.

Profitability cannot be independent of efficacy nor can efficacy be independent of profitability. In order to raise profitability, efficacy must be raised, which means constantly improving the quality. Every producer must take into consideration the kind, quality and quantity of the commodities that the consumers request. For this to happen, a free market system must be put into force with guaranteed freedom of enterprise activity, because only through the free market are the desires of the consumer most exactly met. In a free market, the necessary machinery

(Continued on page 8)

### Book Review

## Kissinger: Portrait Of A Mind

By Allan C. Brownfeld

Henry Kissinger, according to his friend, Professor Stephen Graubard, is a unique public figure in America at this time for a number of reasons. He is, initially, an intellectual, who has spent the greater part of his adult life in a university. He is a scholar, who has never been satisfied to live entirely within the academy. He is a European, "sensitive to tradition and history, accepting of the possibility of tragedy - but also an American, aware of certain forms of power, not infrequently preoccupied with moral issues."

What makes Dr. Kissinger even more special, however, is the fact that it is very difficult for Americans to judge most of their public men. In America today, writes Dr. Graubard, "It is difficult . . . to have a very precise sense of the intellectual and moral qualities of many of those who have achieved national prominence. The public learns about its leaders largely through information disseminated by the mass media . . . To know what a public man has thought and to know it at the time he holds office - is to be privileged; this situation is so uncommon that it would be churlish to ignore the opportunity it offers."

Yet, in the case of Henry Kissinger, a man who has written books and articles, given lectures, and made his own view of foreign

policy well known - his own thought and philosophy have been largely ignored. The press is concerned with the "confidential," with publishing leaks, and classified material. It would do better, noted Dr. Graubard, to be more "attentive to the vast stores of information available in the public domain." To understand why Henry Kissinger acts the way he does - and why American foreign policy may be moving in the direction it is - the best path is to examine Dr. Kissinger's beliefs and philosophy about foreign affairs.

This is what Dr. Graubard has done in an exhaustive survey of virtually everything Henry Kissinger has ever written about serious matters, which are the only kind Dr. Kissinger ever discusses - in public.

"Like Thucydides whom he quoted," the author declares, "Kissinger believed that the present, while never replicating the past, must invariably resemble it; so, also, must the future."

In his doctoral dissertation at Harvard, Kissinger considered the role played by Metternich and Castlereagh in challenging Napoleon and establishing almost a century of peace in Europe. Metternich, in Kissinger's mind, had one profound insight: he knew Napoleon to be a "revolutionary" and realized that it was impossible to satisfy such a national leader. Nothing - neither compromise, concession nor



KISSINGER: PORTRAIT OF A MIND. Stephen Graubard, W.W. Norton, New York.

alliance - would satiate Napoleon's hunger. Metternich acknowledged that Napoleon might, through the use of force, succeed one day in conquering the world and, believing that Napoleon could not be bought off, he set out on a course that intended to achieve two results: the defeat of Napoleonic France and the survival of Imperial Austria.

Far from being an uncritical admirer of Metternich, Kissinger understood his problems and shortcomings. Napoleon was defeated, but Imperial Austria could not survive in the era of nationalism ushered in by the 19th century.

Kissinger saw clear analogies between the revolutionary thrust of Napoleonic France at that time and the revolutionary thrust of international Communism at the present period. He believed that there were lessons to learn concerning how a revolutionary force should be confronted. In his book *Nuclear Weapons And Foreign Policy*,

Kissinger wrote that Lenin had seen negotiation as "one tool among many others in the conduct of the international class struggle, to be judged by its utility in advancing Soviet objectives, but without any inherent moral value in itself." He lamented the fact that Americans placed a much greater value on negotiation; at times, it seemed almost an end in itself.

Kissinger also challenged those who constantly argued that the Soviet leaders did not really mean it when they said that they would "bury" capitalist America. Graubard discusses Kissinger's view in these terms: "There was simply no advantage to be gained from arguing that such statements were simply rhetorical. Kissinger criticized the American habit of talking about the conflict with the Soviet bloc as a temporary aberration, likely to be terminated by some great breakthrough." Kissinger declared, "History demonstrates that revolutionary powers have never been brought to a halt until their opponents stopped pretending that the revolutionaries were really misunderstood legitimists."

In addition to believing that Communism represented the same kind of threat to world peace and stability as did Napoleonic France, Kissinger lamented America's

(Continued on page 8)

# Marxist Metaphysics: The Materialist Miracle

Coming Soon  
to the Rising Tide  
Bookstore

This is a continuation of Louis Fournier's previous article: "The Odd Couple - Psi and Soviet Ideology." It discusses further implications of the research described in *Psychic Discoveries Behind the Iron Curtain*.

Ask any one what the basic goal and desire of every person on earth is and the answer, if it comes from a sound mind, will be a variation on "To get the best out of life." The philosophical communion among all ideologies is: how do you reach the best possible life-style, the highest and most fulfilling state of being possible to attain? People share a significant existence: they are all people, and with that kind of unanimity there must be a fundamental origin, history, evolution and goal inherently part of the collective consciousness of all mankind. In this lies the hope and aim of every philosophy, ideology and religion; what draws the ugly barrier of disunity across the fragile delineations of political postures of the world is an equally fundamental unawareness of the internal affairs of God and man. Man's spiritual blindness is behind all his fear, misunderstanding and suspicion of others of his kind. The greatness of the optimistic man is his sense of the supreme - a deep, driving yearn for an absoluteness in life, an eternal and unchanging value that is sure to be the trademark of a final truth so clear and resolute that it cannot be denied by the most sophisticated and scientific mind; around that truth the common goals of all beliefs will find their resting place. The world of polarization and bitter differentiation as we know it today is the result of hatred of the doomed evil that possesses fallen man, and a lack of agreement on what precisely the absolute End is. Unity will arrive at the same crossroads where ideologies discover the common thread of desire running among them through the emergence of a complete veracity.

So man has launched his multifaceted campaign to reach the unreachable and establish nothing less than a perfect, united earth. This is the clear-cut intention of Communism, which projects the materialist Utopia, the workers' paradise where at last class exploitation is crushed and the omnipotent process of production of commodities lies firmly in the guiding hands of the downtrodden laborers. And the perfect classless society lives on, presumably until the light of our dying sun finally casts its last day and the earth shrivels into a cosmic artifact that marks the deathbed of a pointless and miserable history scrawling a tortured contortion across the universe. Before this inspiring finale the Communist dream is portrayed as a life of physical ease and material benevolence to comfort the oppressed worker until he dies--and to the dialectic materialist, when you die, you die for good. This dismal scenario fashions the fabric of daily life under Communist regimes, evaporating the dew of faith in spirituality under a ruthless totalitarianism: it is small wonder that a renewed religious awakening is sweeping steadily through the Iron Curtain nations.

Where overt religion is suppressed, science envelops the Soviet quest for a higher expression of life. Most notably, Russian science, as we reported in our last issue, is investigating in great detail every area of psychic



Kirlian photography (subject photographed under high-frequency electrical field): Energy discharge pattern from the human chest.

phenomena, from UFOs to suggestopedia, a Bulgarian educational system based on the power of hypnotic suggestion. The Soviet scientist finds himself more and more caught up in a wide-sweeping wave of profound implications on man's view of the world. As he pursues the strange, elusive realms of psi (the general term used for the whole field of the paranormal), he discovers his findings increasingly at odds with the state theory of man and the universe. Desperate for a fuller realization of the inner yearn, he sees in paranormal science an open door to unknown avenues of man's consciousness. He becomes a materialist theologian, carving out a new cosmogony from the ruins of atheism. The renowned American parapsychologist Dr. J.B. Rhine said, "The inspiration of the Communist movement centered on a new understanding of the nature of man, but it only got through to a certain level. Now the Russians may be ready for a larger science, a new and more spiritual understanding of man. This new Soviet work in parapsychology at a high scientific level could be very hopeful."

The Soviet scientist has discovered that there is an all-pervading intangible force that links all things in the universe together, living and non-living. Penetrating into what they refer to as "primary perception," they feel that everything has a cycle, a frequency vibration emanating from an invisible energy-body around each thing that is in constant contact with every other thing. They conducted startling experiments with baby rabbits aboard a submarine deep beneath the ocean, keeping the mother rabbit on shore above. It is well known that no waves of electromagnetic

energy can pass through a submerged submarine to the surface; yet with sensitive scientific instruments the Soviets discovered that upon killing each of the baby rabbits successively, the mother registered a pronounced simultaneous reaction on the surface. Expanding their experiments, they concluded that there exists a force-field of a hitherto unknown energy circulating throughout the bodies of living things and around inanimate objects. They called this psychic intercommunication "mind-link, body-link"; its discovery instantly revolutionized every previous concept of the interrelatedness of the universe.

Leading Soviet researcher Dr. Vladimir L. Raikov is a foremost exponent of the theory of artificial reincarnation. A master hypnotist, he puts his subjects deep into a hypnotic trance, then tells them to believe that they are famous people of the past. A subject will become convinced that he is, for example, Raphael the painter, and under that influence he actually begins to paint much like Raphael, although he has had no previous artistic training. After a series of trance sessions, he emerges with a heightened talent acquired through believing that he was someone who lived long ago. Raikov conducts numerous "creativity consciousness" classes with startling success, and reports have it that a spiritual base lies behind it--that Raikov really places his students in contact with the deceased spirits of famous men.

One of the most noted Soviet astrophysicists, Dr. Nikolai Kozyrev, propounds a theory of time as an energy force. Time has not only a pattern of flow, but also a rate of flow. Time as an energy flow moves at various speed; this rate is the difference between

cause and effect. Time, says Kozyrev, moves in a circular fashion that adds energy to the universe. He feels that time will ultimately be revealed as the causal force of all energy emissions and the source of the mysterious "energy-body" that prevades life.

The question of the energy-body or second body holds vast philosophical promise to the Soviet scientists. Living things as seen in the remarkable Kirlian photographs, have two bodies: the physical body that everyone can see, and another body made up of what the Soviets call bioplasmic energy (sometimes called the plasma body). The second body is not, they learned, merely a radiation of the physical; rather the physical seems to mirror what occurs in the energy body. In 1968, Soviet doctors Inyuskin, Griaichenko, Vorobev, Shomiski, Federova and Gibadulin issued an official scientific statement: "All living things--plants, animals and humans--not only have a physical body made up of atoms and molecules, but also a counterpart body of energy we call the Biological Plasma Body... The bio-luminescence visible in the Kirlian pictures is caused by the bio-plasma, not the electrical state of the organism... it is specific for every organism... The energy of any living thing is made up of energy from its physical cells and the more mobile energy of bioplasm."

Bulgarian scientist Dr. Georgi Lozanov pioneered a new branch of surgical anesthesia with his method of thought anesthesia. He uses suggestology, a form of hypnosis that keeps the subject awake and alert while in trance. "Anesthesia by the mind," he says, "is superior to using drugs. Not only does it make surgery painless, it decreases blood loss, speeds healing of the incision, reduces danger of infection, and there are no aftereffects."

Breakthroughs like these bespeak a dawning of an awakened society in Communist lands. The researcher laboring under Marxism cannot ignore the mounting evidence of a substantial reality lying beyond the subsiding edges of our physicality, despite the official party line on psychic phenomena that all such occurrences fall, somehow, within the bounds of scientific materialism. Semyon Kirlian built a machine that shows the energy body of living things and the Communist regime declared it a natural physical phenomena. But what will the government say if one of its technicians constructs a device that looks into a spirit world and shows the spirits of long-dead men? Even Communism, with its notoriety with innovative arbitrariness, would be hard put to dismiss a living soul as a by-product of the activity of man's brain cells. The Soviet man of science is speculating on thoughts like this; his search is sure to lead to that inevitable blockade of a theory that instantly disproves its validity: self-inconsistency. A truth can never contradict itself, or else it falls into the heap of discarded notions shot through with abandoned hope. The Communist mind approaches that bottomless pit with every step it takes toward immaterial metaphysics while the world is anxious for that final miracle of the human heart, the alchemy of the soul that will transform base ideology into supreme truth, beauty and goodness.

**COMMUNISM**

a critique & counter proposal  
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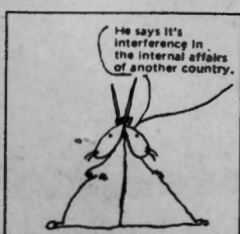
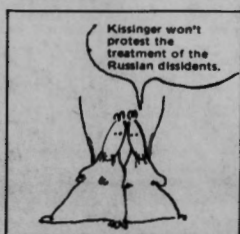
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## THE RATIONALISTS

by Alexius Jerome Burgess



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## South's Protest

(Continued from page 1)

areas so that in the future those airfields could be used for civil air operations. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam plot to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Viet Nam is clearly contrary to the 1954 Geneva Agreement as well as commonly accepted international law and cannot be accepted.

"The above facts clearly prove that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has the intention to seriously violate every agreement that it has signed. More than that, these actions confirm that the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is working hard to prepare to wage a new and more atrocious war with the objective of destroying the peace and security of South Viet Nam in particular and of Southeast Asia in general.

"This is a provocation of the people of South Viet Nam and an underestimation of world public opinion. From the day of the signing of the Paris Agreement until now, the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam constantly abided by the principles of peace and respect for international law and is determined to carry out seriously the Paris Agreement, all related protocols and the Joint Communiqué of June 13, 1973. However in the face of a serious menace of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam shall reserve the right to carry out every measure of self-defense and to protect the security of its territory, including its air space.

"The people and the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam sternly condemn and strongly protest the attitude of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and request the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to immediately cease its illegal infiltration and to immediately cease all repair work and expansion of airfields in South Viet Nam. The government of the Republic of Viet Nam also demands that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam must immediately dismantle and remove from South Viet Nam all weapons, equipment and war material which has been installed at all of these airfields.

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Viet Nam presents its highest consideration to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam."

As Minister Thinh read the prepared statement, reporters examined a display of aircel reconnaissance photographs of some of the twelve airfields cited as Communist strategic points that clearly revealed the extent of North Vietnamese buildup at those areas. Particularly striking were the indications of SA-2 Soviet-made anti-aircraft missile sites at the Khe Sanh, formerly a major U.S. base. The SA-2 is a highly sophisticated surface-to-air missile system that would virtually insure prevention of bombing by the South Vietnamese air force.

In answer to questions by reporters following the statement, Minister Thinh indicated that the South Vietnamese government was not asking for U.S. aid to confront the Communists should military action become necessary. Asked about the probability of renewed combat with North Vietnam, Minister Thinh said, "We hope not (to renew con-

flict). We want no rash actions. We have always adhered to the Paris agreement and will continue to do so. We are only informing the government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (North Vietnam) of our intention to protect the security of our territory." Thinh stated that South Vietnam would exhaust every avenue of peaceful means before turning to forceful endeavors.

Thinh also revealed that Chinese Communist boats were unloading strategic war supplies at the North Vietnamese port of Dong Hoi. Questioned in a television interview after the Embassy briefing, Minister Thinh stated that he felt that a North Vietnamese air invasion of South Vietnam was a definite and probable danger. He added that he felt the South Vietnamese armed forces were strong enough to crush a Communist advance.

In a private discussion with an Embassy aide, we learned that South Vietnam's primary concern related to the destruction of the Communist air field build-up was with the SA-2 missile sites at Khe Sanh. "To destroy that base," the aide stated, "we would have to bomb from a height of over 40,000 feet to avoid the missile range of the SA-2. Our air force has no plane that can do that." Other sources indicated that an air war in Vietnam could throw the balance of power to the Communists because of the underdeveloped anti-aircraft facilities of the South Vietnamese defense positions. On the other hand, sources said, the South Vietnamese air force is probably superior in the air in strength and size, with the only significantly dangerous Communist aircraft being the Soviet-supplied MIG fighters.

## Kissinger

(Continued from page 6)

refusal to use its power and its tendency to be ashamed of it. He wrote that, "As a nation, we have used power almost shamefacedly, as if it were inherently wicked. We have wanted to be liked for our own sakes, and we have wished to succeed because of the persuasiveness of our principles rather than through strength. Our feeling of guilt with respect to power has caused us to transform all wars into crusades, and then to apply our power in the most absolute terms. We have rarely found intermediary ways to use power and in those cases we have done so reluctantly."

During the 1950s and 1960s Henry Kissinger was very critical of American foreign policy. He was particularly concerned about the American habit of making the Soviets seem respectable and saw no reason, for example, for President Eisenhower's having given Soviet leader Bulganin a "certificate of good conduct" by suggesting that he believed in the "peaceful intentions" of the Soviet Union. He argued against the policy of "massive retaliation," and believed that the greatest U.S. lack was preparation for limited war. He opposed disarmament plans which gave the Soviets an advantage and noted that if the potential aggressor, which would surely not be the United States, was invulnerable and the defender vulnerable, the aggressor's position would be "overwhelming." He wrote: "He will be able to choose between blackmail and military action." In either case, the intended victim would operate under a great disadvantage.

Americans falsely believed in their invulnerability and believed equally falsely in the idea of summit

meetings to solve problems. What Americans did not understand, Kissinger believed, was that "Marxist ideology... shaped the Communist view of reality. Marxism guaranteed an ultimate victory; it provided legitimacy and made international Communist discipline possible." The Communist leaders, he wrote, "had no interest in the give-and-take bargaining process, so congenial to Western negotiators. Their attitude toward these negotiations was not too different from that of Western psychiatrists toward their patients: no matter what is said, they think that they understand their Western counterpart better than he understands himself."

After reading Graubard's discussion of Kissinger's thinking, one wonders what relationship that thinking has to the policies of the Nixon administration since its inauguration in 1968.

Has Henry Kissinger, who traveled to Peking and Moscow and presided over the SALT agreements, been treating his Communist adversaries as "revolutionary" or "status quo" powers? The summit meeting this month and the continued negotiations with the Vietnamese Communist leadership in Paris indicates a belief on his part that negotiations can work.

Has Kissinger been the hard bargainer he criticized Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson for not being? The wheat deal, the SALT agreements, the Peking pronouncements - all indicate that he has been something far different - perhaps even more conciliatory than his predecessors.

Once in power, philosophy seems to have been replaced by something else - perhaps "pragmatism" - but in order to understand Henry Kissinger it is essential that his own intellectual odyssey from Harvard to the White House be followed.

Allan C. Brownfeld is a columnist for the Phoenix Gazette.

Also appearing in the Sunday Star-News, June 17, 1973

## Rights

(Continued from page 1)

may happen to such courageous people. Never before has a man of such high position as Sakharov expressed so clearly his opinion. I can only hope that a few noble men will be victorious in their struggle for freedom. I fear for their freedom."

**Detente**  
 "I cannot imagine detente without more freedom in Russia. All must go together."  
 Why he left

"I felt unable to live as a simple human being in a country where human rights are a sheer mockery...Every nationality is marked...It is dangerous for anyone to say that they wish to emigrate."  
 Most-Favored Nation status for the Soviet Union

"I can't understand it. Even Ordinary Nation would be quite enough."

When asked to comment on Kissinger's stand on Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, Senator Jackson replied: "Kissinger is dead wrong. He is stuck with a stupid administration policy made under unfavorable circumstances a year ago and now is in grave trouble."

Dr. Tarassuk, a former labor camp prisoner and victim of repression himself, closed with a comment on the value of protests on behalf of human rights. "I would otherwise not be here in the free world. Protests are most valuable to the cause of freedom. We see the results practically every day."

Dr. Tarassuk emigrated to Israel after a year of waiting for an exit visa. The National Conference on Soviet Jewry provides the following information about him.

In 1959, Tarassuk published the first part of a long article in the British *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society*; the second part followed after an eight-year interval, in 1966. In 1959, before the article came out, colleagues in the West noticed he had stopped corresponding with them. It was later learned that he had been arrested for demonstrating "pro-Western tendencies" and sent to a labor camp. Upon his release two years later he was permitted to work in his field but was reinstated at the Hermitage only in 1965.

In June 1972, Leonid Tarassuk, his wife and children and his aged mother applied for emigration to Israel, where a museum post awaited him. In July, the application was denied to all except Tarassuk's mother, whose health did not permit her to travel alone. Tarassuk and his wife were dismissed from their posts at the Hermitage. It was feared that his previous "history" would make Tarassuk a candidate for further imprisonment in Siberia.

Tarassuk's book, *Antique European and American Firearms at the Hermitage Museum (1972)*, is a handsome volume with more than 500 high-quality photographs in monochrome and color. Its withdrawal from sale occurred a few days after he applied for a visa, and the work of years disappeared as though Tarassuk had never existed. The few copies received by Dr. Tarassuk's museum colleagues in the West have attracted a lot of attention; it is regarded as one of the most notable contributions to

literature on the subject in many years.

Following the visa denial in June 1972, Western colleagues and prominent figures undertook a campaign on behalf of Dr. Tarassuk. In July 1972, a letter of appeal was signed by 42 museum dignitaries in London. Although Tarassuk was threatened with military induction in November 1972, efforts to help him obtain a visa were not aimed at attracting wide publicity. In the U.S., prominent legislators joined the campaign led by R. L. Wilson. In April 1973, Senator Henry M. Jackson appealed to Secretary-General Brezhnev, Senator Richard S. Schweiker directed a cable to Ambassador Dobrynin.

Early in July 1973, it was learned that Dr. Tarassuk and his family had unexpectedly received permission to emigrate and on July 11, 1973, the family left the USSR. A few days later, they arrived in Israel, where Leonid assumed a post at the National Maritime Museum in Haifa. He is currently visiting the U.S. under the auspices of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

## Profit

(Continued from page 6)

can be freely introduced to produce the necessary commodities, their quantities and qualities. In the Soviet Union, however, only the profit motive was allowed without the assurance of a free market system and free enterprise. For the theory of Lieberman to obtain the expected results, both the above systems and also that of private property should be permitted. But, of course, this would mean a return

to the capitalist society, and this would ruin Communism itself. Here lies the serious dilemma of the Communist economy. Consequently, the Soviet leaders are at a crossroads of either turning to liberalism or going back into the mercilessly controlled economic system of Stalin's time.

Thus Marx's labor theory of value regarding labor quantity, rather than the utility of commodities, as the essence of value has brought a great deal of confusion to the practical economic situation.

## Judaism

(Continued from page 5)

possibly know all the Answers; man is not God. Heroes and Villains are self made, not historically decreed, any man, irrespective of nationality or class, can rise to the level of "image of God," or he can sink to the level of an SS brute. Economic equality alone cannot bring the Jewish utopia, and even in the Messianic age man will be obligated to struggle against himself and involve himself in the law. In the words of Maimonides:

"Do not think that customs will change in the days of the Messiah...The Messianic age will not come so that (the Jews) will reign over the nations...and not to eat and drink and be merry, but in order to leave us free to study the Torah and its wisdom..."

Finally, there is no escape from reality (both moral anarchy and asceticism are opposed) or personal responsibility which, so unlike Marxism, is the very core of the Jewish system.

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