

# THE RISING TIDE

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## COMMUNISM: A Social Science Perspective

By Dan Graydon Fefferman

It is obvious to any objective observer that communism is no longer a monolithic political movement with a unified direction. Some analysts believe that the fragmentation of the world Communist revolution invalidates some of the fundamental assumptions of American foreign policy regarding the "threat" of communism.

The Communist movement has changed, and our response to it must be flexible. Nevertheless, despite significant internal

contradictions and a degree of "liberalization," the Communist pattern of assumption of power, elimination of political competition, complete control of the mass media, forced mobilization of its population and subversion of other systems continues to repeat itself; communism remains today the greatest single threat to the growth of world freedom.

In analyzing the Communist movement, therefore, it may be helpful to develop a typology of Communist systems for the purpose of comparison, explanation and prediction of events, past, present and future.

### WFI Opens!

The first World Freedom Institute (WFI) Fall workshop and conference drew delegates from across the nation to Washington, D.C. over Labor Day weekend. The first of its kind, the conference marked the beginning of a new level of FLF participation and commitment, as well as the launching of FLF's Leadership Training program through the WFI.

Highlighting the conference were seminars on Marxist theory and its historical development, area studies by the FLF research staff, strategy and goal-setting sessions, films, regional reports and workshops in techniques of organization.

On Labor Day afternoon, many conference delegates participated in a demonstration sponsored by the Christian Political Union (CPU) urging President Nixon to clarify his position on China and warning him that his trip to Peking is likely to do more harm than good unless he makes it clear that he plans to do more than pay tribute to Mao.

Culminating the conference were two scholarly and inspirational orators, Prof. Justus van der Kroef and journalist Allen Brownfeld, who spoke on Communist China and the crisis of the American spirit, respectively.

Conferees returned to their home cities with a renewed commitment and broadened perspective, confident that something *can* be done to reopen channels for rational dialogue on the campus, expose the wrong ideas resulting from the permeation of Marxist thinking in our society, and eventually win the intellectual and ideological victory over the despairing attitudes which threaten our country's survival as a responsible world leader and champion of freedom.

The WFI staff looks forward to more such successful conferences, provided that the necessary funds can be raised. That's where you come in. FLF needs to raise \$50,000 by the end of the year for the WFI program to continue. All contributions are tax-exempt, so please give as generously as you can—TODAY—We need your help now.

### MORE NAMES

FLF wants to expand the circulation of *THE RISING TIDE*. If you know anyone (or several people) who might like to receive a complimentary copy, please send us his or her address as soon as possible.

### TYPOLOGIES WITHIN THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM\*

**CLASSICAL:** The classical Communist system is based upon an advanced industrial society in which the socioeconomic revolution has projected the working class into power as a result of natural dialectical processes culminating in the dictatorship of the proletariat (including large elements of the rural and urban bourgeoisie). Privilege and parasitism are gotten rid of by the leveling of wealth and inheritance through a state-controlled economy in accord with the will of the vast majority of the people. No existing system fits or even approximates this model, nor is there any substantial evidence to suggest that such goals are even being approached in existing Communist systems.

In **THE BOLSHEVIK MODEL** an elite revolutionary "vanguard" inherits an existing national state structure through violent rebellion. Power remains in the hands of the educated urban elite, which seeks to conduct a one-generation socialist industrial revolution to establish the necessary pre-conditions for the transition to communism. A one-party structure, the government develops along technical-bureaucratic lines, resulting in a static rather than dynamic governmental sector. This model is, of course, relevant to the Soviet Union, but also to some East European systems.

The mainstream **EAST EUROPEAN MODEL** is characterized by the influence of external (Soviet) power to gain or maintain control; united front politics manipulated legally,

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# Economic Progress in Taiwan

By Edwin K. Ang

*The current radical line on Nationalist China considers Taiwan a corrupt puppet regime and a decadent outpost of American imperialism fighting against the benevolent rule and Great Thought of the beloved leader Chairman Mao. Taiwan, say the radicals, only survived because it is propped up by American dollars. It will eventually collapse, and the "people" (as represented by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party) will triumph. We hope this article offers a more substantial and objective perspective.*

The remarkable success of Taiwan's economic development is currently drawing the thoughtful attention of public administration officials, economists, and businessmen from the developed and developing countries in both the Communist and non-Communist world. Three major reasons may be cited. First, from a condition of economic backwardness characterized by rampant inflation, critical shortage of basic necessities, rapid population increase, a heavy defense burden, war-crippled industries and infrastructure, and social and political instability, Taiwan has emerged in the early 1960's with a healthy and vigorous economy maintaining a yearly growth rate of over 9% in real terms. Secondly, Taiwan has the distinction of being one of the few developing countries to have terminated U.S. concessional aid on account of a successful transition to sustained development. Thirdly, the success is generally attributable to the government's policy of taking a pragmatic and ideologically non-dogmatic approach to development, and of fostering individual initiative in agriculture and industry. The response of private enterprise to the market mechanism and its incentives has contributed much to Taiwan's growth.

Because of its small size, the island is necessarily limited in the quantity and variety of natural resource endowments as well as in the domestic market. Resources consist mainly of agricultural land, timber land, fisheries, coal, dolomite and natural gas; and efforts are constantly under way to further develop these resources at economic cost. Taiwan will increasingly continue to import raw materials, and minerals. The disproportionately large number of technical, professional, and administrative personnel from the mainland have been able, with the cooperation of a well-disciplined and adaptable labor force, to use these resources effectively. In contrast to most developing countries, which seek to solve their trade problems through import substitution, Taiwan has made export promotion a cardinal principle of its trade and development policy. No effort could have been so richly rewarded, however, without the powerful effect of U.S. aid that was injected into the economy at a crucial junction in a highly fluctuating economic, military, and political milieu.<sup>1</sup>

The Taiwan economy has in the post-aid period maintained a very high rate of growth, despite adverse effects from typhoons in 1967 and 1969. Real Gross National Product rose by 10.14% in 1967, 10.10% in 1968, and 8.66% in 1969. These high growth rates were again sustained by increased investment, rapid expansion of agriculture, industry, and foreign trade.

Long-term positive economic trends have continued while U.S. AID funds are being displaced by funds from the U.S.



An FFLF associate in Berkeley, Mr. Ang is currently completing his doctoral studies at the University of California. This article was excerpted from his Ph.D. thesis: *An Econometric Evaluation of the Economy of Taiwan*.

Export-Import Bank, World Bank and Japanese yen credit agreements.

In 1969, Taiwan's national product is estimated at NT (New Taiwan dollars) \$164.1 billion in 1964 prices, representing an annual growth rate, measured in constant prices, of more than 8% over the past 15 years. The engines for this remarkable expansion have been investment and exports. During 1960-1969 exports and gross domestic investment have increased in real terms at an annual rate of 19.0% and 16.2% respectively. Gross National Product by 1979 is expected to exceed NT \$415.9 billion, in 1964's prices, for an average annual growth rate of more than 9%. This exceeds the 7% growth rate projected in the Chinese fifth four-year plan, (1969-1972) and may be somewhat optimistic. Much depends on the size of the military burden and also upon the investment in urgently needed housing, both of which subtract from capital available for agricultural and industrial expansion.

The next ten years will see Taiwan progressing toward a higher level of industrialization. The government's fifth four-year plan emphasizes the advanced industries requiring heavy capital equipment and modern technology, such as petrochemicals, shipbuilding, automobiles and tractors, machinery and metals. Continued attention will be directed toward the future development of labor-intensive manufactures, such as electronics, building materials, and canned goods. With this economic resource and activity base, Taiwan will be able to expand its international market as advanced countries such as Switzerland, Belgium, Israel, and Japan have done in a comparable stage of development.

<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of U.S. aid in Taiwan, see Neil H. Jacoby, *U.S. Aid to Taiwan: A Study of Foreign Aid, Self-help and Economic Development*, 1967)

## THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL FISHING

Dale Frayer, FLF Research Intern

*While the United States softens its commitments to its allies and reorders priorities to alleviate the tense situation at home, the Soviet Union continues to build toward military superiority and has gained significant advantages in many areas (see TIDE last issue). This article examines one aspect of this phenomenon: Soviet fishing policy and its relationship to international naval power.*

### *What's that, Fidel?*

The August 16 edition of the *Washington Post* reported on a recent speech by Fidel Castro chiding the U.S. about its relatively poor showing at the recent Pan American Games in Cali, Colombia.

Castro, the *Post* reported, said that in the past the United States earned more medals at the Pan American Games than all Latin American countries combined. But this year, due to the Cuban victories (Cuba finished second to the U.S.) the total Latin American medals topped the American medals. "Castro added that Cuba had made no secret of the fact that the country had received aid in sports as well as many other things from 'brother Socialist countries.' And he said he hoped in the future that other Latin American countries would develop the same conditions for sports that Cuba now has."

Wrote the *Post*, "Sports in Cuba, like most of life in Cuba, is often depicted as one unending struggle against the United States. And Castro reflected this approach in his speech. 'In spite of all the efforts of imperialists, in spite of all their crimes against our country to try to frustrate her efforts in favor of man, our country is prospering and advancing.' The spirit of the Cuban team reflects the spirit of the Cubans who staved off the Bay of Pigs attack and the spirit of the Cuban revolution, Castro said."

On August 18, another (much shorter) *Post* story gave a slightly different perspective. The lead paragraph of that story: "Bogota, Colombia, Aug. 17 (UPI). Four Cubans who defected from their country's team at the Pan American Games in Cali have asked for political asylum in Panama, it was reported today."

And a week later Castro announced that the U.S.-sponsored air lift transporting refugees from Cuba to the United States (which has a waiting list of tens of thousands) would be discontinued. No more Cubans will be allowed to leave the island for the United States.

What's that he said about the spirit of the Cuban revolution?

Man has always been a predator of the sea who affects the natural biological balance. Today, however, the oceanic ecological question has become an issue which demands immediate international attention. Thus, the United Nations has proposed a conference on the Law of the Sea, to be held in Geneva in 1973. However, if Soviet merchant fishing policies do not change substantially, that conference is not likely to produce the necessary agreements to deal with the impending ecological crisis.

The evidence for such a statement is substantial, particularly in the case of Soviet fishing policy off the coast of the United States. Fisheries Institute reports and recent Senate testimony indicate an alarming exploitation of red herring in the Chesapeake Bay area. Russian ships have swept up in their nets such a great percentage of this anadromous species that insufficient numbers were able to return up river to spawn. Result: present supply of red herring depleted; likelihood of replenishment remote. Haddock, flounder, mackerel and others have nearly reached extinction in some areas near the American coast, largely because of Soviet fishing policies. All of our northern coastal areas are depleted and the South Atlantic is being heavily fished right now, as are the waters off the Pacific coast and Alaska.

Despite its vast coastline, the United States has slipped as a world fishing power. Our fleets are incapable of traveling the high seas, and their equipment is geared to yielding only one type of fish. When the supply of fish of that type is depleted in their area, our boats must return to the docks. As the boats sit idle at dockside the repercussions extend beyond the fisherman's family to many facets of the marine industry. Moreover, American dealers, seemingly unconcerned with the long range results of exploitative fishing techniques, have brought into the American market an increasing number of the cheaper foreign catches.

What are the techniques which give the Soviet fleets such an advantage? The Russians use large ocean-going vessels under the direction of a mother ship. One group of these ships does the research, going ahead of the rest of the fleet to determine what areas are ripe for fishing. Each fleet includes complete processing, packing and refrigeration facilities, enabling the fleets to span the oceans without returning to port. Unmolested by net size restrictions, the Russians use nets with so small a mesh that they can literally "vacuum" the ocean floor.

Modern sonar equipment further enhances production and creates a valuable by-product. The fleets are capable of charting the ocean depths to discover Polaris and other U.S. submarine locations, as well as keeping track of their own submarines. Complementing this activity the Russian fleets perform the role of surface surveillance, often with sophisticated electronic equipment.

Thus it is clear that Soviet fishing techniques bear more than simply economic significance, extending into the area of military strategy as well. However unprincipled Soviet maritime policy may seem, one should consider that within the context of Russian Marxist-Leninist theory (which still sees human history as building toward world communization under Soviet direction), such policies are not without "justification."

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### COMMUNISM: A Social Science Perspective

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quasi-legally and illegally to produce pro-Soviet ascendancy; a relatively high initial reliance on terror as a means of gaining both submission and mobilization; and a command economy imposed usually unsuccessfully on the population (especially the peasants). This model is particularly relevant to Rumania, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia but many of its characteristics may be applied to other East European systems.

The typical *ASIAN COMMUNIST SYSTEM* emerges from a guerrilla movement and maintains guerrilla characteristics for at least its first few decades. It inherits societies with lengthy and deep-rooted social traditions but little foundation as nation-states. The Asian Communist regime must deal with a strong family-centrist tradition and consequently relies heavily on small group techniques for ideological indoctrination and political mobilization in order to replace the family with the state as the primary social unit and frame of reference. It therefore allows a lower degree of privatism and less looseness.

We are indebted to Dr. Robert A. Scalapino of the University of California at Berkeley, whose graduate seminar on comparative Communist systems produced the above typology.

Of course such categorizations have their limitations. There is considerable overlapping, and each "model" is relevant to a given society only to a certain degree and not always in every characteristic outlined. Moreover, additional categories may be necessary for "quasi-Communist" systems such as Cuba or contemporary Yugoslavia, and the newly emerging regimes such as in Chile may or may not develop within the scope of the models here presented. Nevertheless, such typologies are useful in that they offer an overall perspective which can serve as a framework in dealing with many questions relating to communism.

It should become clear through the use of such models—now accepted as valid analytical tools by most western social scientists—that communism remains a great hindrance to the growth of creativity and freedom in the societies which it has overtaken.

Freedom may be a philosophical concept and its definition depends largely on psychological, moral and religio-ideological factors; but to fail to recognize communism as an immediate if not permanent stifler of freedom—and as a system whose long-range goal is the complete elimination of alternative views of the universe by any means feasible—is to be unscientific at the very least.



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