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# The Rising Tide

Volume Three, Number Five

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Where Is This Man?

--see pages 1 and 2

The Rising Tide  
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# The Rising Tide

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## An Opinion

# Time of Decision For Taiwan

by Dan Fefferman

Former Chinese nationalist-turned-Communist Fu Tso-yi's invitation to Taiwan to participate in unity talks on the mainland signals an intensification of the dilemma of the nationalist Chinese over whether or not to declare independence from mainland China.

Issued just days after Presidential advisor Henry A. Kissinger's visit to the mainland for consultations with Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung, Fu's statement included the following telling remarks: "Nixon has had the courage to see the error in containing China and (to) realize that only when the U.S. restores normal relations with China and coexists peacefully with it on the basis of the five principles (of coexistence) is it possible to maintain peace in the Asian and Pacific region and the world at large." (The "five principles of coexistence" as delineated by Mao include the recognition of Communist China's absolute sovereignty over Taiwan as an "integral part" of the historical Chinese nation.)

"Of late," Fu continued, "Kissinger further said the U.S. favored the peaceful solution of disagreements between mainland China and Taiwan. It is obvious: how long can Taiwan rely on the United States? Absolutely not long."

Last year (Vol II, No. 6, April 24, 1972) FLF President Neil Salonen wrote in THE RISING TIDE that, because of the dubiousness of the U.S. defense commitment and the climate of the international situation, Taiwan had a "moral duty" to declare independence from mainland China.

"When the very substance of (our) alliance is in decay," Mr. Salonen argued, Free China "cannot take the sole responsibility to repel the Communist tyranny from the mainland; but, as a voice of conscience to the world, she must confront such nations as the U.S. with their historical duty, and courageously demand that we fulfill it."

"In helping a reluctant Nixon Administration to clarify our moral commitment to and perspective on freedom, Free China would be performing an historic role," Mr. Salonen continued. "The attempted (U.S.) detente with Red China clearly has been at the expense of Free Asia already. Forcing the U.S. to stand openly on the side of an independent Republic of China or Taiwan may be the way to recover those losses."

The principles involved today

are basically the same as those about which Mr. Salonen wrote a year ago.

As much as we hate to admit it, Fu Tso-yi is probably right. Free China simply cannot continue to rely on the United States. At least as long as Taiwan continues to claim to represent the entire Chinese people, the U.S. is not going to be a reliable source of support.

We have already sacrificed too much in Southeast Asia and have allegedly gained so much from the Peking-Washington detente that we would quite possibly let Taiwan fall, "peaceably," as it were, into the hands of the Communists rather than continue to support a Free Chinese government which claims to represent the people we now recognize as being controlled by the Communist regime in Peking.

An independent Taiwan, however, would force the American hand. This not only safeguards free Taiwan as the only possibility and tangible symbol of hope for the 800 million Chinese people; moreover, it may well be the catalyst needed to get the U.S. to once again declare its commitment to freedom on the Asian continent. It would be the real test of peace "with honor" in Vietnam. To use Mr. Salonen's characterization: "Although the Nixon Administration could be expected to gag a little, such a tonic now, like cod liver oil, might just forestall a fatal case of ideological influenza further down the road."

Nor would such a formula necessarily hurt our chances of using our "detente" with the Chinese Communists as a tool for bettering our strategic situation vis-a-vis the Russians, who are still, it must be recognized, our foremost opponents in the ideological war. We could continue to play the Chinese against the Russians, and, through a solid alliance with a free Taiwan, increase the chances of liberalization and eventual liberation of the Chinese Mainland.

Clearly, however, the responsibility for such a decision rests with the free Chinese. To break diplomatic relations with Taiwan in order to bring pressure to bear on the Chiang government—a move for which even hard-line foreign policy leaders like Henry Jackson have been calling—would be morally indefensible and would only further undermine the already very dubious credibility of the American defense commitment in Asia.



# Will They All Return?

by James Cowin

The Vietnam "ceasefire" has created a new problem for the U.S. government and for the American people—that of assured repatriation of American prisoners of war. The Communists have accounted for a total of 666 American captives in Indochina, while over 1,300 are still listed as "missing." Of these, at least 53 were on former North Vietnamese POW lists, and a full accounting of these men should be called for in the near future. The possibility that other American listed as "Missing in Action" are probably prisoners is one that Americans of all political views must investigate.

## Enemy Tactics

The Communists have a long history of deliberately mistreating POW's for political reasons. In the Korean War and in the case of the Pueblo, American prisoners were malnourished, beaten, and tortured to break down their will in order to secure confessions of "war crimes" or statements questioning the morality of U.S. military resistance to Communism. Communist-front anti-war groups, such as the Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in Vietnam, visited the North and brought back anti-war statements from U.S. prisoners and glowing praise for the Communists in obvious disregard of the rock solid evidence that the prisoners were being tortured and mistreated.

Of equal impact was the enemy's refusal to announce the names of POW's and to let the POW's write letters home, thereby creating additional anguish among the families of the 2,000 POW/MIA's. This was to generate a feeling that the Defense Department had not done enough to support the prisoners, thereby alienating an important segment of the American people from the government and creating a situation which the North Vietnamese felt they could exploit at a later date in order to bring additional concessions from the U.S.

## Some Progress

The North Vietnamese, hearing about the massive anti-war demonstrations, felt most Americans did not support the government and would not protest the mistreatment of the prisoners. They were wrong, however. Millionaire H. Ross Perot's 11,000 mile trip to Vientiane in Laos in 1969 in a vain attempt to secure better treatment for the POW's galvanized Americans into action. A series of home-town letter-writing and petition campaigns were initiated, culminating in millions of signatures mailed to the North Vietnamese delegation at the Paris Peace Talks, and many letters to the President, Senators, and Congressmen of all political views united in protest statements to the North and broadcast demands for humane treatment of POW's over Radio Free Asia. American delegations in Paris forced the North Vietnamese to hear their demands. Treatment for the POW's improved.

## National League of Families

In 1970 the POW's obtained a supporting organization. The National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia began a campaign to secure both humane treatment and the release of all U.S. POW's together with a full accounting of all missing men at the earliest possible date.

A non-profit, non-partisan organization, the League was founded on the West Coast by Mrs.

Sybil Stockdale, wife of former POW Captain James B. Stockdale, USN. The group has expanded to over 3,000 members, with five regional coordinators and state coordinators in fifty states.

League delegations have travelled throughout the world to meet with heads of governments, international news media and Red Cross leaders. Included in their itinerary were sessions with Mrs. Indira Ghandi and Pope Paul VI, UN officials, and journeys to South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

## The Future of MIA's

Now the League is preparing for "M Day," when they will begin an all-out offensive to focus public attention on the 1,326 Americans still missing. Vowing not to let the MIA's be forgotten, the League is preparing documentary evidence on discrepancies in the North Vietnamese official list and photographic evidence of the capture of men never listed as POW's by the North.

The League is delaying its protest until the end of the sixty-day waiting period on March 28 so as not to disturb the initial prisoner release and to allow for the possibility of receiving supplemental lists of additional POW's before a full-fledged campaign can begin.

A poster campaign and an advertising campaign are planned to "publicize the faces of missing POW's throughout the nation," to keep the issue alive until all men are properly accounted for. Slide presentations are also being prepared for talks by regional and state coordinators. Members are urged to send public opinion messages demanding a full and satisfactory accounting of the missing. Finally, the League plans to send representatives to Southeast Asia to observe the establishment and operatives of the organization which will account for the prisoners.

The success of the League depends on the unity of Americans behind the POW issue. One thing appears clear at this time. The U.S. government will not compromise on the return and accounting of all POW's. For example on February 26, when the North Vietnamese in an apparent effort to blackmail the U.S. into forcing the South Vietnamese to rigidly comply with the terms of the ceasefire while the North was still carrying out offensive operations announced that they were suspending the release of other POW's until the U.S. complied with their wishes. President Nixon's response was refreshingly swift and forceful. He bluntly warned the North Vietnamese on their ceasefire violations, suspended U.S. troop withdrawal from South Vietnam, instructed Secretary of State Rogers to boycott the Peace Talks, and called off minesweeping operations off the coast of Haiphong.

The North Vietnamese caught the message and quickly announced a list of prisoners to be returned shortly.

The U.S. government has already begun a campaign similar to that of the League. A list of 14 men, known to be POW's but not listed by the North Vietnamese, was presented to the Communists at the Paris Peace Talks by Deputy Ambassador in Charge of Negotiations Haywood Isham in January 1972. Many Senators and Congressmen have listed the return of all POW's as one of their primary concerns. It is possible that the League will receive the full support of the government so that justice can be done for all Americans who have served their country by spending up to eight years in captivity.

See bottom of page 2.



Chiang Kai-Shek

# Revolution And Detente

by James Cowin

The outcome of the March 4 French national elections will have serious international repercussions. A leftist coalition of Socialists and Communists may win a victory over the complacent but scandal-ridden Gaullists. Termed a "threat to France's democratic institutions" by Gaullist President Georges Pompidou, the left has aroused the sympathies of the French voting public and has led in the public opinion polls by up to 11 percent.

## Implications of Communist Power

The coalition platform contains some provisions which would do grievous harm to France and to NATO. Among the planks is a proposal to take governmental control of all banks and major industrial corporations, increase workers' benefits without raising taxes, spend more on education and home building, and at the same time increase economic growth eight percent a year. President Pompidou has pointed out that these policies would mean the French withdrawal from the Common Market.

Of greater concern to the West is the coalition's proposal to abolish both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Western alliance would be destroyed, but the Soviets would maintain control over their satellites through bilateral military treaties. Also, the leftists seek the elimination of France's nuclear strike force and the decimation of the French armed forces.

The effect on Western security would be immeasurable. A left-leaning France would enable the Soviets to fulfill the 28 year-old aim of breaking up NATO and of prodding the Western European nations away from the U.S. A less sympathetic Europe which no longer allowed U.S. bases on its soil would mean an open way to the long-awaited Communist goal of the conquest of Europe and the U.S.

Western observers have not yet sounded the alarm because of the persistence of the popular belief that the need for trade with the West and the fear of Communist China would compel the Soviets to preserve the detente. It is also pointed out that the Soviets are wary of any new Communist government whose leaders may challenge Soviet authority, as have the Chinese.

The West may have to re-evaluate its conclusions, however, as Soviet theoretical writings do not consider detente and revolution mutually exclusive. In an article published in the October 1971 issue of "Kommunist" (magazine of the Central Committee



Socialist leader Mitterrand (Time).

# Future of France Brings Issue Close To Home

of the Soviet Communist Party) entitled "Problems in the Theory of the World Revolutionary Process" (reprinted in English by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security), Boris Ponomarev, an important member of the world Communist movement and a candidate for the Soviet Politburo, encourages revolution by world Communist parties and asserts that the time for such revolutions is fast approaching.

Ponomarev asserts that the collapse of the Western democracies is inevitable because of the "Irreconcilable antagonisms between socialism and capitalism, the growing instability of capitalism as a social system, and the growth of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements." As evidence Ponomarev cites U.S. economic troubles, the containment of U.S. "imperialism," and the worldwide trend toward the left.

## Last Days of the West

Ponomarev quotes *Time's* conclusion that "The war on inflation.... turned out to be as unsuccessful as the war in Vietnam..." and asserts that inflation caused the decline of the industrial growth rate of the U.S., Britain, West Germany, Japan, and Italy in 1970-1971. Of particular interest to him was George Meany's statement that President Nixon's wage and price controls froze wages but not prices while the workers were further burdened by the continued rise in the cost of living. Also, he concludes, the EEC nations and the Japanese have now become economic imperialists and are competing with the U.S. for world economic domination. Hence, the U.S. economy is further weakened.

To Ponomarev, these economic woes are symptoms of capitalism's "Last Days" and will increase in accordance with Marx's predictions. Eventually, he says, the capitalist system should not be able to support itself.

Politically, the capitalist nations are suffering equally as much as "imperialist" possibilities are becoming ever more restricted. A strong Soviet foreign policy is partly responsible for this development, but Ponomarev asserts that much of the opposition to imperialism comes from within "imperialist" countries. He speaks of the "serious erosion of the international prestige of the U.S. and of its growing moral isolationism... huge anti-war demonstrations in the course of which war veterans are throwing away their orders and medals, unparalleled actions by the youth and fighters for Negro equality... America has never had this before.... (The) mass struggle against the arms race, unbearable military expenditures and aggressive actions" has spilled all over the world and has weakened the determination of the imperialists to fight.

Also connected with this process is the worldwide move towards the left. Ponomarev points out that many European Social Democrats are now closer to Marx's ideology. He points out that Catholic political organizations, trade unions, and the voting public now are influenced more by Marxist-Leninist theory than ever before. Finally, the New Left, for all its "adventurism" and immaturity, has played a major role in the weakening of "imperialism."

## The Third World

The Third World nations, with their anti-imperialist feelings, are another bastion of socialist success, according to Ponomarev. New nations, he says, favor socialism as the system by which to surmount

economic backwardness. Also, the "revolutionary democrats," or non-Communist revolutionary leftist leaders, find it advantageous to cooperate with the Communists, as the Communists provide models for their attacks on imperialism. "Gravitation toward the Soviet Union is a characteristic feature of many national democratic (anti-Western) socialist countries in Asia and Africa."

Latin America plays a strong role because of its strong conflicts, such as in Uruguay, but mainly because of the model of Allende's National Unity Bloc in Chile. Facing much resistance, it is grateful for the strength of the Soviet Union in deterring counterrevolutionary moves instigated by the U.S.

The final outcome of the struggle should, however, be decided not by arms but by ideology. Ponomarev implies that the capitalists, recognizing the power of the socialist ideology, have tried to fight it militarily but have failed.

Now they are trying to propagandize the world into thinking that capitalism is the better system. But Ponomarev asserts their effort is doomed. "Capitalism does not have the type of spiritual resources which would enable it to be successful in the universal battle for the hearts and minds of the people. Even capitalist leaders have admitted that capitalism is rich in commodities but poor in spirit."

This "lack of spirituality" can be observed in capitalist society. French Communist leader Georges Marchais is quoted as saying "Whether it is a question of monetary problems, oil, politics, youth or traditional values, the diagnosis is the same: French society is in a state of crisis." Also mentioned is the comparison between the "current situation in the capitalist world and the decline in the Roman Empire."

With these optimistic predictions Ponomarev concludes that the day of decisive class battle is coming, and that Communists throughout the world should be in the forefront of the struggle. "The Communists always remain.... a party which never tolerates the capitalist order and is always ready to lead the struggle for the total political power of the working class and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another."

A look at the world situation indicates that Ponomarev's views should be taken very seriously. The Communists have achieved much success in breaking down Western unity. Terrorists and guerillas armed and trained by the Communists have struck continually; no effective international counter-organization exists. Communist arms, economic aid, military and technological advisers, and anti-U.S. propaganda have turned much of the world away from the West.

Communists have played leading roles in the instigation of the wave of

# Theory Is Key To Communist Intentions

At the dawn of the modern Communist movement, when the fight for the establishment of the first revolutionary proletarian party of a new type was being waged in Russia, V.I. Lenin promoted an idea which became a guiding rule for all Communists: There can be no revolutionary movement without the revolutionary theory. This formula expresses with extreme aptness the role of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in the world revolutionary process.

The characteristics of the contemporary world revolutionary process face the Marxist-Leninist theory with important tasks. Today, more than ever before, they must be able to combine specific analysis of characteristic and rapidly developing events with broad summations enabling them to detect the principal trends shaping up the world circumstances and affecting the international and national conditions of the revolutionary struggle.

The 24th Party Congress leads us toward the creative utilization and development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The congress and its documents are a model of creative approach to modern reality. They indicate to the social scientists the basic directions to be followed in developing the most topical problems.

Such problems cannot be resolved separately from the requirements of the revolutionary practice and the sharp ideological struggle which is developing, among others, in terms of the theoretical problems of the socialist revolution. The triple task of our theoretical cadres is to refute the bourgeois falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism and right and "left" wing revisionists, creatively to develop the problems raised by life and extensively to disseminate the Leninist ideological heritage and the and the theoretical accomplishments of modern Marxist science.

crippling strikes which have plagued Europe over the past few years. Also the New Left, with its attraction for youth, has so undermined confidence in Western values that Americans are so preoccupied with their own problems that they ignore the Communist military buildup and the increased power and influence of Communism throughout the world.

Finally, Communists are intensifying their campaign of anti-Western propaganda inside Communist nations to bolster the state of mental preparedness in anticipation of future struggles. A high-level re-evaluation of the theory that "the Cold War is over" is in order.

Cover: Lieutenant Ron Dodge was captured in North Vietnam on May 17, 1967. Thus far his name has not appeared on any lists issued by North Vietnam. This photo also appeared in a recent issue of the "Voice," publication of Voices in Vital America (VIVA). VIVA's activities will be covered in a later issue of the Tide.

# Social Democrats Issue Hard Line On Communist Aggression



Future of Europe in question.

The Social Democrats U.S.A., having changed its name from the Socialist Party in order to distinguish its form of democratic socialism from the totalitarian Communist brand, issued a statement at the beginning of the new year warning against the abandonment of U.S. international responsibilities and urging "firmness against Communist aggression" as a prerequisite for the establishment of a last peace.

Calling for a "realistic assessment" of the world situation, the document, released in the January issue of the AFL-CIO *Free Trade Union News*, notes improved prospects for peace, but cautions that these prospects are derived "not from peaceful Soviet intention or the passing of the Cold War but from the more or less successful containment of the Soviet Union over the last quarter century and the growth of polycentrism in the Communist world."

"The cause of peace," the statement continues, "will suffer in the long run if the ideal of international freedom is abandoned."

The document decries the recent upsurge of anti-American and anti-Western sentiment. It claims that much of this could be changed by an American policy of "anti-colonialism" and trade-union development. It states that "until American policy becomes as enlightened, we will constitute a loyal opposition, fighting policies we disagree with in such a way that doesn't undermine our democratic objectives by strengthening totalitarian forces."

## Soviet Eurasian Push

"A dominant trend in recent years has been the steady expansion of Soviet power along the southern and eastern flank of Eurasia," the statement charges. It then begins a detailed analysis of current actions, motivations, and strategy, from which we quote at length: "Where vacuums have been created by the withdrawal of Western influence, it has filled them. Where divisions have existed, it has exploited them. Where divisions have not existed, it has tried to encourage them, acting on the principle that political instability and tension serve the interests of 'socialism' by hastening the ultimate Soviet triumph over the West."

The Social Democrats warn against any illusions of Soviet cooperation: "Despite the recent arms limitation agreement and the prevailing atmosphere of detente, we see little reason to believe that the Soviet Union has altered its objectives in Europe. These objectives include the recognition by the West of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, the elimination of the American presence in Western Europe--and the un-

dermining of NATO, and ultimately, the achievement of Soviet predominance in all of Europe."

They go on to examine specific Soviet strategy. "The Soviet call for a European Security Conference is designed to achieve the first objective--the formal recognition of Communist territorial gains made after World War II. The USSR's stated goals are peace and 'collective security.' But if the Soviet Union were interested in a genuine relaxation of tensions in Europe, it would not be so adamantly opposed to Western proposals for a freer exchange of ideas, and it would be easing up on dissidents rather than intensifying internal repression. The invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the enunciation of the 'Brezhnev Doctrine' for the entire Soviet Bloc clearly demonstrated that the USSR intends to maintain its domination through brutal force. It is highly significant that immediately following the recent West German elections, in which Willy Brandt's policy of Ostpolitik gained broad approval, East Germany's Erich Honecker publicly declared that Germany will never be reunited and that the Berlin Wall will remain standing."

## Warsaw Pact Buildup

"We look in vain for genuine indications of peaceful Soviet intentions. The Warsaw Pact now spend almost three times more per capita on military affairs than NATO. American military forces in Europe have decreased by over one-third during the last decade while the presence of Soviet divisions in the Warsaw Pact countries has increased by one-fifth."

An interesting perspective is offered concerning "detente." "The intensification of repression is a consequence of the mood of detente which encourages liberal dissident elements within Communist countries as it reduces international tension. The Communist leaders thus have little stake in seeking detente as an end in itself. They see it as a potential Trojan horse transporting Western political and cultural influences into their closed totalitarian system, and they fear that their own population may interpret the relaxation of external tension as a harbinger of a similar liberalization internally. The political and economic factors which motivate their current interest in detente, therefore, have little to do with a serious interest in peace. Just as war always strains the fabric of a democracy, peace undermines totalitarian tyranny."

The Party's warning about the future of Europe is strong: "There is a real danger that if present trends continue, Western Europe will fall increasingly under Soviet

dominance. It could in time be forced to recognize the superiority of Soviet power, accommodate to Soviet wishes, sever its alliance with America, and ultimately become part of the Soviet sphere of influence."

The document concludes with a plea for strength in negotiating with Communists in Asia (the Vietnam ceasefire agreement had not yet been concluded). Ruling out a "surrender to Communist force disguised in the form of a coalition government," the statement advises "socialists and others seeking peace and freedom in Vietnam must continue to insist on a political and democratic solution."

The Socialist Party merged in 1972 with the Democratic Socialist Federation; the decision to adopt a new name came after a debate in which it was determined that "Social Democrats" more accurately describes the organization's political philosophy. The Social Democrats have maintained a consistently hard line against the Soviet Union and have been a uniquely effective anti-Communist educational force within the democratic left.

# An Appeal for Soviet Jews

The following statement printed in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* on February 14 is signed by 41 prominent judges and lawyers, including the deans of the Harvard, Yale, and Columbia law schools. It is addressed to President Podgorny, Premier Kosygin, and Secretary Breznev.

"We are jurists, professors of law, and practicing lawyers in the United States, of various racial origins and religious persuasions, who join in this appeal to Your Excellencies for the granting of amnesty, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the USSR, for Soviet Jews who are imprisoned or otherwise confined."

"The Soviet Jews for whom we appeal for clemency are those whose actions grew out of their desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union to join their families in Israel or to exercise fully their right to live in the Soviet Union in accord with Jewish culture and religious heritage."

"The right of people everywhere to free emigration, to free speech and assembly and to live in accordance with their cultural and religious tradition is explicitly provided in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved by the United Nations."

"These rights are expressly recognized by the constitutions of both of our countries. In our appeal for amnesty, we are en-

couraged in that the USSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium has granted a partial amnesty in connection with the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR for Soviet citizens convicted of certain offenses. Regrettably, this amnesty does not extend to activists such as these Soviet Jews."

"Our appeal is based upon humanitarian grounds and is in no way motivated by hostility to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a great power and a proud nation, and it is precisely because of this that we appeal to her today in the interests of humanity to broaden the amnesty decree to include the Soviet Jews still imprisoned."

"All of us who join in this appeal are dedicated to peace, wish to lessen international tensions, and support the growing detente between the Soviet Union and the United States. We sincerely believe that this detente would be furthered by the amnesty we seek."

"Such a decree would be in keeping with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and with the Constitution of the USSR, and would enhance the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union. It would, we are confident, receive universal approval and contribute to better understanding among the Soviet Union, our own country and all other peace-loving nations and peoples." (From "Near East Report," February 21, 1973)

## Capitol Report

# Signs of the Times

by James Cowin



Nations rise and fall in proportion to the ability of national leaders to recognize the signs of impending crisis and to rally their nation to weather the storm.

A look at the world reveals the approach of such a period for the U.S. and indeed for the world in general. Heavy fighting in Indochina continues after the ceasefire. The Communists continue to develop new weapons systems while U.S. efforts are bogged down in cost overruns. Leftist anti-U.S. governments may be elected in Europe, forcing the U.S. to eventually abandon its military bases. Even now anti-Americanism is rampant among European youth as a result of ten years of North Korean and Communist Chinese propaganda efforts. Soon much of that continent, as well as Africa and South America, may be unsympathetic to the United States.

Air piracy has made even domestic travel unsafe, and the Black September terrorists continue to commit bizarre murders. Finally, the chances of a general Sino-Soviet clash continues to increase, and likewise the chances of U.S. involvement.

This is the time for a hard look at the U.S. role in the world. There is need for a rebuilding of national confidence and of determination to persevere through difficult times. For this to happen, illusions must be cast aside; they are too costly in the nuclear age.

Twentieth century societies have been reduced to ashes as a result of persistent refusal to face reality. Before World War I, Europeans felt that a general war was not possible because it would ruin society as they knew it. War broke out, however; neither Europe nor the world has

ever recovered from that catastrophic upheaval. Before World War II, war was thought to be barbaric, yet man soon created a hell on earth in which sixty million people died and Europe was devastated. Today, war is unthinkable--the earth would literally be wiped out. Yet all-out war is possible.

What would motivate a national leader to risk such a horror? The desire for expansion at the expense of one's neighbors. In 1914, Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany was consumed with the idea of a Central Europe and Middle East dominated by Germany. Hitler's ambition was to create a Master Race which would rule the world for a thousand years. Today, according to Communist ideology, world revolution is inevitable. If the Communists pursue it as quickly as possible (especially through internal subversion) it could be achieved with a minimum of bloodshed. The strains caused by constant strikes and protests would eventually destroy the will of capitalist governments to resist.

The Communists regard their ideology as the absolute truth, and they see enough economic and political crises in the Western nations to believe its validity. Hence, they are willing to continue to pressure the free nations in order to speed up the process. With the world situation going as it is, the "pushing" could have serious consequences.

Our legislators, therefore, should be alert and seek to warn the American people that we are approaching a crossroads in our history. Our performance in the near future will decide whether our nation stands or falls.

# What?!

Typical reporting (?) of "The People's Korea." "Marshal KIM IL SUNG Visits KIM IL SUNG Military University and Congratulates Soldiers on Their Red-Letter Day"

FROM THE SPOT, February 8 (KCNA)—Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great Leader of our Party and our people and the benevolent father of the officers and men of our People's Army, visited on February 8 Kim Il Sung Military University and congratulated the soldiers on their red-letter day.

The teachers and students of the university who had the great honour of significantly celebrating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the heroic Korean People's Army in the presence of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved Leader, great military strategist, ever-victorious, iron-willed brilliant commander and genius of revolution, were filled with unbound

ded emotion and joy. The university was astir in a festive mood from the early morning.

The teachers and students of the university and their families lined up in the compound of the university overflowing with the boundless joy of directly meeting the fatherly Leader and showing him how they are reliably prepared to be a match for a hundred, a thousand.

Floating high in the blue sky above the university were big balloons from which were suspending slogans: "Long Live Marshal Kim Il Sung!" "Long Live the Workers' Party of Korea!" "Long Live the 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the Korean People's Army!" and "May the Leader Enjoy a Long Life and Good Health!"

At 9 a.m., the great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, arrived at the university amid the loud strains of welcome music.

Stormy cheers of "Long live the great Leader Marshal Kim Il Sung!" rocked the sky and earth.

The teachers and students of the university and their families enthusiastically welcomed the fatherly Leader, shouting "manse" (hurrah) at the top of their voices and waving bunches of flowers above their heads.

And on the occasion of his election:

Dear Comrade Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved Leader.

We received with infinite emotion and boundless joy the news that the respected and beloved Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the peerless hero, genius of revolution, sun of salvation for all the people, founder of the immortal *Juche* idea, most prominent thinker and theoretician of the present times and great leader of the world communist movement and working class movement, had been elected the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

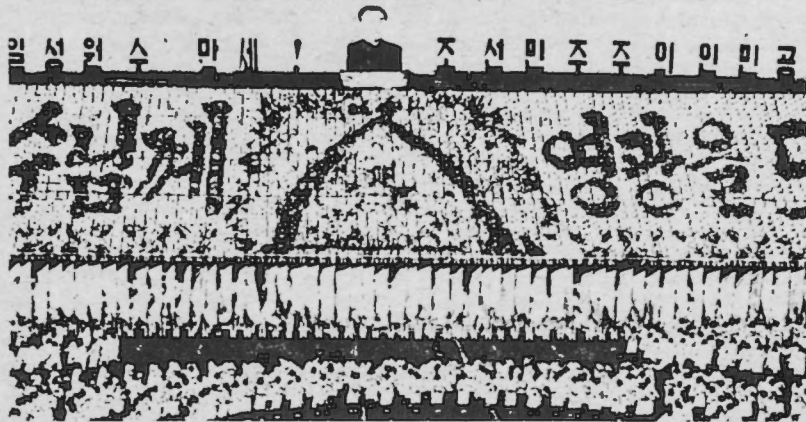
The election of the Leader as President of the Republic at the historic First Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly is an expression of infinite adoration for and absolute trust in the respected

and beloved Leader and a reflection of the unanimous aspiration, will and desire of us revolutionaries and people of all strata in the south to make revolution and enjoy happiness, following only the Leader for ever.

The undying revolutionary exploits performed by the respected and beloved Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung for half a century are immortal feats that will eternally remain recorded and shine in the human history of liberation struggle.

The immortal revolutionary exploits of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the sun of the nation, are associated with the ardent love for the people and typical communist virtues of the Leader who treasures people most and shares life and death, weal and woe with them.

It is because of the great revolutionary ideas of the Leader and the sagacity of his leadership and his lofty communist virtues that our nation is deeply aware through its life experiences of the great benevolence of the great Leader that will shine through all ages and sings of it with high pride and entrusts its all wholly to the Leader.



Placards spell "Glory to Kim Il-sung."

## North Korean Polemics Reminiscent of Pre-War

by Dan Fefferman

Trouble may be brewing again in Korea. In many ways it looks like a repeat of the situation in early 1950, just before the start of the Korean War.

The North Koreans were then waging a successful "peace offensive"—accusing the U.S. of preparing to unleash an aggressive war, propagandizing the American public through Soviet-supported Communist front groups in the U.S., fostering divisions in the South; forcing the R.O.K. government to take severe repressive action. At the same time it persistently calls for the "peaceful reunification of the fatherland" based on the proposals of the "Great Leader and iron-willed ever-victorious commander, Comrade Kim Il-sung."

Today, with two notable exceptions, the situation is very much the same.

### Peace Offensive

The North Koreans again have been waging a peace offensive for several years. Beginning in the middle sixties, however, Kim Il-sung began a program to "arm the people of the northern half morally and materially so that they can always support the South Korean people in their anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and actively meet the great revolutionary event."

Nearly all light and middle industrial development was scrapped for the sake of heavy military-related industries. By 1970 the process was complete. The whole population, from schoolgirl to octogenarian, had been armed and organized into military or para-military units. Fortification systems were constructed throughout the North Korean country, especially in and around Pyongyang. "The entire country," wrote the North Korean propagandists, "has been turned into an im-

pregnable citadel," with the "great *juch'e* idea of Comrade Kim Il-sung etched deep in the hearts of the masses with an immense charismatic force."

Then the "peace offensive" began, culminating in the now famous talks between North and South and, of course, the joint communique of July 4, 1972.

### Accusing U.S. Again

In early June 1950, the North Koreans were accusing the U.S. of using Syngman Rhee to "unleash an aggressive war," while at the same time calling for peaceful unification and dialogue with the South. Within months, their Russian-built tanks rolled over Seoul in an operation which captured documents revealed to have been planned at the same time they were calling for peace and elections.

For some months in 1973, the two Korean sides have been talking about unification. Both have toned down their usually vitriolic rhetoric against the other. But recently, in its February 14 issue of *The Peoples Korea*, the North Korean Central News Agency launched what appears to be a new rhetorical attack and a very thinly veiled outright threat.

Citing "frantic preparations for a new war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea," the agency quotes North Korea's Foreign Ministry as saying: "If the U.S. imperialists persist in their maneuvers for the provocation of a new war, defying our repeated warnings, they will be held wholly responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom." The "frantic preparations for a new war against the DPRK" are a series of naval maneuvers and other military exercises involving the mobilization of U.S. troops stationed in Korea.

Harkening back to the days of Stalin's public relations campaigns in the 1940's-50's, Moscow-oriented

and other Communist groups have initiated a significant propaganda effort to influence both Americans and Koreans residing in America.

### South Korean Situation

As in South Korea in 1950, the situation today is characterized by a tightening of government control and the suspension of many civil liberties in fear that the Communists will use any opening to sow the seeds of division which would lead to South Korean President Park Chung-hee's demise.

The North Koreans have taken full advantage of Park's moves to bitterly attack him through their propaganda agencies. Park's toughness has, it will be admitted, alienated many Koreans, especially those living in the U.S. But it should be pointed out that few Koreans outside of the North would compare Park's authoritarian "reforms" to the totalitarianism of the North under Kim Il-sung.

To protect against "fascist suppression stepped up in South Korea with each passing day," North Korean Central Committee Secretary General O Jin U called for the thorough establishment of the "unitary ideological system of the Party," the "strengthening of solidarity with international revolutionary forces (including Palestinian guerrillas) to fight resolutely against U.S. imperialism" and "the complete victory of socialism and independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland."

### "Peace"

It is important to note what the "unitary ideology" of North Korea has to say about the "complete victory of socialism" vis-a-vis the "peaceful" reunification of the fatherland.

North Korean propagandist Kim Byong-sik clarifies that national reunification "presupposes the removal of political and economic

barriers separating South from North Korea and the establishment of a single social and economic system throughout the country."

"The DPRK's stand on peaceful unification," he continues, "is based on anti-imperialist struggle and has nothing to do with a compromise with the United States or with the theory of 'peaceful transition' of the social system."

Thus the North Koreans may be for peaceful reunification but only after the victory of socialism, which cannot, according to them, be achieved by peaceful means.

Moreover, Kim Il-sung proclaimed in 1970 that it is the "lofty national duty" of the North Korean people to "liberate South Korea and unify the fatherland by pooling strength with the South Korean people."

Thus it cannot be said for sure whether current North Korean strategy for "peaceful reunification" includes the fostering of a Vietnam-style revolution in the South or an outright invasion.

### Mitigating Factors

Two factors, however, make a North Korean invasion less likely than before. First, the climate of the international situation is such that the North Koreans can expect strong support neither from Communist China nor the Soviet Union if they did attack. And second, in 1950, the U.S. did not include South Korea within its perimeter of defense; it does today.

It is also not outside the realm of possibility that the North Koreans could be persuaded that unification does not necessitate a violent revolution in the South—though this would mean giving up an important principle of the ideology upon which they base so much.

In any case, U.S. support for the South will continue to be an important factor in staving off any North Korean-sponsored insurrection and a likely subsequent invasion.



Signing of July 4 Communique.

# NTS -- Underground Vanguard of "Peaceful Offensive"

Our planet used to be considered boundless, but that was a long time ago. Soon it will become densely occupied and overcrowded. The peoples of the earth are slowly being welded into one whole. But they can either become united under the communist flag — thus with a total loss of freedom, or they can become united on the basis of universal solidarity — thus preserving freedom and even acquiring greater freedom. And it depends to a certain extent on us as to which of these forces in this process will finally win. To what extent does it depend on us and what can we do?

The idea of "peaceful coexistence," which has been and is being proposed by the communist leaders, sounds somewhat paradoxical. For one of the main aims of communism is a total destruction of the non-communist world. Communism always uses methods which are either advantageous or easily applied at any given moment in its advance on the Free World. Thus "peaceful coexistence" for communism is a state when there is no open struggle. "Peaceful coexistence" as understood by communism should be interpreted as "peaceful advance of communism."

There exists a conception in the West that because the Free World wants peace and does not wish to harm anyone, the communists need only be told patiently and convincingly that the West has no intention of attacking them, and that if this is said often enough the danger of communist aggression would be overcome.

But the communist authorities are well aware that no one has the intention of attacking them. It is not the "capitalist" world's aggressive intentions which are a danger to communism, but its very existence. The Free World is guilty in the eyes of communism because processes foretold by Marx are not taking place in it, because the "proletarians of all countries" are showing no sign of wanting to unite under the banner of communism.

The Free World and especially its public is a great potential force in the struggle for freedom. The shortcoming of this force lies in that it is static, in that the Free World is apt often to underestimate its own strength in this respect.

This force, in our opinion, should be directed at the piercing of the Iron Curtain. The communist system cannot exist without the Iron Curtain, although it is, at the same time, one of its most vulnerable points. The existence of the Iron Curtain, the isolation of Soviet citizens, cannot be justified from the point of view of communist ideology. The communist authorities know this and therefore blame the West for their own actions, alleging that it was the West that created the Iron Curtain.

"The people and the party are one" Soviet propaganda alleges. If this were really so, there would be no reason for isolating Soviet citizens from the rest of the world. On the contrary, they should be sent to that other world in order to preach the "all-vanquishing idea of communism." The Russian people, however, have no desire to fight for communism; on the contrary, they are the system's main victim and main enemy. Therefore the Iron Curtain is necessary.

The elimination of the Iron Curtain would mean the elimination of the artificially created mistrust and lack of understanding which exists between the peoples of the West and the USSR. The acknowledgement of the simple fact that people in the West and in Russia are all alike would be a strong weapon in the struggle against communism. If people are all alike, why this division? The indivisibility of

the world and of freedom will then become all the more clear, and the role of those who divide the world and keep their people in isolation all the more disgraceful.

A peaceful offensive of freedom, which we call upon the people of the Free World to undertake, would be an essential support to the revolutionary forces active within the communist bloc. A unification of efforts would oblige communism to go on the defensive and bring it to its downfall. The enslaved peoples would acquire freedom, and the freedom in the West would only be strengthened, for freedom is indivisible.

(The above is excerpted from "The Peaceful Offensive of Freedom and the Free World Public" by NTS member V.A. Trushnovich)

by Gary Jarmin

For a long time I have been interested in following the activities of the underground in Communist countries. Recently and unexpectedly I came in contact with one of the largest and most significant underground organizations existing both inside and outside of the Soviet Union--Norodno Trudovai Soyuz (NTS) or, roughly translated into English, the National Alliance of Russian Solidarists.

The NTS is a group of Russian exiles and their children whose goal is the eventual overthrow of the totalitarian Communist control gripping Russia. Mr. C.W. Boldyreff, spokesman for the NTS in the Washington, DC area, emphasized that the NTS was "seeking to unite all the various underground activists" in the Soviet Union toward their common goal of changing the Communist government in Russia with as little bloodshed as possible.

"The real control is in Moscow," Mr. Boldyreff says. "The sooner we can end Communist rule there, the sooner Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and all of Eastern Europe can be liberated."

It is toward this ultimate liberation of their homeland that the members of NTS have been working since their first meeting in Belgrade in 1930, when many young Russian exiles gathered together to plan a new course in the struggle to free their country. Realizing that neither the supporters of the old Monarchist regime nor the Mensheviks could provide a viable alternative to Communism, they concluded that a more progressive and positive ideology was needed to overcome the false, conflict-oriented ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Their new ideology became known as "Russian Solidarism." This ideology is a blend of socialist and free enterprise concepts with a particular emphasis on individual and political freedoms.

"Up until Stalin eliminated the New Economic Policy," says Boldyreff, "many people were idealistic about the outcome of the revolution. But upon seeing the mass murders of the Kulaks (peasant farmers) and the famine that followed, many people were ready to go against the government. Many armed rebellions took place between 1930-1933, but without outside assistance, they were doomed to failure."

Finally in 1937 the NTS sent their first group into the Soviet Union to begin underground activities. Of this party three were killed on the frontier and one had to turn back. Only two got through, first to Minsk and then to Moscow. More groups of two or three were sent in until, in 1939, the NTS claimed to have over fifty centers of resistance within the Soviet frontiers.

However, the outbreak of World War II presented the NTS with a dilemma. Hitler was fighting Bolshevism on the one hand, but he was in-

vading their homeland on the other. The problem was compounded when General Andrey Vlassov, the defender of Moscow against the Nazis, was captured. He eventually formed a Russian Liberation Army, which, the Nazis thought, would help them defeat the Red Army.

Mr. Boldyreff commented that there were many pragmatic German officers, several of whom later conspired to assassinate Hitler, who saw the value of an independent, non-Communist Russia. They were the ones who assisted Vlassov in forming this army. Vlassov, however, became daringly anti-Nazi as well as anti-Soviet. Finally, Hitler angrily threw Vlassov, his generals, and many NTS members into concentration camps. "It was only in 1944, when defeat seemed inevitable," adds Boldyreff, "that the Nazis decided to allow Vlassov's army to fight against the Soviets."

According to Boldyreff, there are only two actual engagements that Vlassov's army fought. "The first was near Frankfurt, on the Oder River, in November 1944, when Col. Sakharov confronted the Red Army and, without firing a shot, won them to Vlassov's side. The second was when Vlassov's army liberated Prague from Nazi control and then later attempted to surrender to the Americans but were decimated by the Red Army instead." Vlassov and several of his men were taken prisoner and returned to Moscow where they were hung as "traitors."

"The NTS supported Vlassov," Boldyreff remarked. "In fact, his army openly embraced the NTS ideology and goals. This is why Vlassov and hundreds of other NTS members were arrested by the Nazis." Boldyreff himself has been imprisoned at least twice in Nazi concentration camps.

The War aided the NTS in many ways. First, many Russians ended up in Europe, which caused the NTS ranks to swell enormously and in addition, made it easier for several thousand NTS members to penetrate into the Soviet Union.

Boldyreff says that NTS' "major goal is to create a common front among the three different underground factions in the Soviet Union." They are: 1. the political front of intellectuals and others seeking democratic freedoms; 2. the religious opposition composed of Moslems, Christians, and Jews; 3. the national movements, including Ukrainians, Lithuanians, etc.

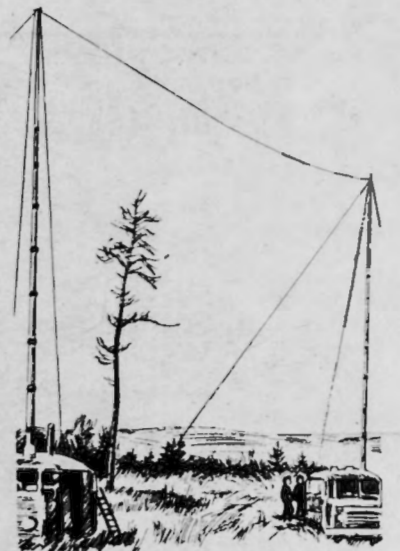
To build its underground organization, the NTS first began using as its guidelines the "Molecular Theory of Revolutionary Organization," having three basic aspects: 1. the goal; 2. organizations; 3. unified action. "The most important thing," Boldyreff emphasizes, "is to create unity, not in terms of organization, but in action!" This is to be done by reducing organization to a minimum, increasing the commitment to the idea or goal (overthrow of the Communist government), and developing unity in the methods of the various factions. Although this method is still applicable, it has become easier for the NTS to create broader support and alliances among different factions.

NTS members don't have to know each other in order to act together. According to Boldyreff, all one does to let others know he exists is to paint a trident (the NTS symbol) in some conspicuous place. "This helps to build the confidence of other NTS members," he commented, "while eroding that of the KGB agents."

Mr. Boldyreff also had on his shelves many books and pamphlets printed by the NTS in Frankfurt, which are smuggled into the Soviet

Union continuously. Through this literature, the NTS hopes to develop an awareness among the people of its existence and that the possibility of uniting together to end the injustice of Communist rule is indeed a very realistic and moral goal.

While Mr. Boldyreff was talking to me about the NTS, I couldn't help thinking how ironic it is that they should have their headquarters in Germany. It was the German dictators, under Wilhelm II, who once helped an impoverished exile from Russia named Lenin to fulfill his goal of creating a Communist revolution. And one day, God willing, the NTS will finally bring true freedom to the Russian people, who have known for too long the tragic failure and oppression of Communism.



Radio Free Russia transmitters.

## Activities

In *The House of Secrets*, a book written about the NTS by Gordon Young (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce), are many accounts of the methods used by the NTS in carrying out their revolutionary struggle in Russia. Some of them are quite dangerous and others are even humorous. Most admirable is the tremendous ingenuity demonstrated by the NTS in devising unique methods of publicizing its cause within Soviet borders.

For instance, on one occasion a member of the NTS in Italy thought up the idea of sending plastic oranges containing the message: "Russian people! Fight for freedom with the NTS" intermixed with real oranges. Customs officials in Odessa noticed the false oranges and made an amusing spectacle of themselves by slashing all the oranges in half. The word quickly spread throughout the entire city, making a laughing stock of Soviet officialdom.

The amount of printed propaganda the NTS had been able to smuggle into the Soviet Union is quite impressive. In a single year over 13,349,910 leaflets; 1,529,475 newspapers and periodicals, and 453,300 special books were distributed.

One publication circulated in East Germany is called "The Freedom Messenger." It is actually two papers in one. The back half is titled "Soldier's Truth" and is printed in Russian. The German reader who gets a copy is encouraged to pass it on to a Russian soldier or friend.

Another newspaper NTS puts out is called *Sovietskaya Armiya*, which is an exact replica of the Red Army's official newspaper. The headlines are very ambiguous: "Stop the Aggressor," "Strengthen Our

See NTS, page 6.

## Heroism: Ideology-Dependent?

by Dan Fefferman

An article in a pro-Soviet East German newspaper recently compared Soviet and American astronauts. The Americans, it said, could not really be considered "heroes," because what they had done was strictly in the interests of the U.S. ruling class. The Soviets, though their achievement may have been of a lower order, were the real heroes because what they had done was in the interests of the people.

Behind the absurdity of this analysis a serious lesson is to be learned about the Communist world view.

The purpose of Marxist-Leninist ideology is the development of class consciousness in which the individual comes to view society in terms of the irreconcilable struggle between opposing economic classes. Good and evil are defined not in terms of any absolute moral standard but in terms of what furthers or hinders the cause of the "socialist" revolution. Lenin therefore called such things as terror, mass murder, extortion, lying and suspension of civil liberties "good" since he believed they were necessary in order to wipe out the vestiges of the old capitalist order and ring in the

new era of socialism and Communism.

When a good Communist who has developed a high level of class consciousness analyzes space exploration, it is no wonder that he comes up with the above-mentioned explanation. U.S. astronauts further the capitalist cause; they cannot be considered heroes. Soviet astronauts further the socialist cause. They are "heroes."

What is frightening is the implication that this is the official outlook of the Communist Party. And perhaps here is the explanation for the intransigent Soviet attitude at the European Security Conference and the talks on mutual and balanced forces reduction (MBFR). The Soviets will not do anything anywhere that they think is going to hurt their long-run chances for victory over capitalism. They are just as committed as ever to their ideology. And their ideology states very clearly that *coexistence is only a temporary phase; it will be followed inevitably by the destruction of "capitalism" and the victory of Communism world-wide.*

Several years ago the academics whose analyses turned out to be a few years ahead of their times in terms of acceptance were talking excitedly

about an Era of Negotiations and the End of Ideology.

The Era of Negotiations has obviously begun, but, tragically, it is only the West (U.S.) that seems to have ended its commitment to its ideology. While we soften the tone of our international speeches to omit every reference to the ideological struggle, the Communists proclaim that the Era of Negotiations really signals that struggle's intensification as a critical factor in international relations. Where we declare we would not be opposed to a Communist takeover in South Vietnam by "peaceful and democratic" means, the Communists secure an agreement from us in Laos which gives them a 50-50 coalition government in the areas they do *not* control and assures them absolute sovereignty over the areas which they do. While we have cut back on our already minimal programs to educate the Soviet-bloc peoples about the reality of the world situation, the Soviets have effectively intensified their propaganda campaigns in Europe to create an unprecedented wave of anti-Americanism that is helping to lead many former anti-Communist social democrats into dangerous coalitions with the Communists.

We cannot hope even for the containment of Communism as long as we allow them to wage unanswered

war on us on the ideological front in order to maintain the new "balance" we have achieved on the other--political, military, and diplomatic. And, more importantly, why is it we refuse to think of victory in the ideological struggle? If freedom, God,



Astronauts Cernan, Evans, Schmitt.

and democracy are really better than slavery, state atheism, and Party dictatorship, then we should struggle more intensely to spread our ideals now, not sacrifice them for the sake of political or economic expediency.

There have been serious losses on many fronts, but it is far from too late to project our ultimate victory in the ideological war. We needn't be ashamed to proclaim it!

## NTS Has Vital Ideology, Far-Reaching Activities

NTS, from page 5.

Comradeship." The text, however, is full of NTS propaganda and news.

Many leaflets have a gummed backing so they can be stuck up quickly on walls. One shows a line of angry Russians advancing with three-pronged pitchforks and carries the text: "As long as the Communist regime exists, there will be collective farms, socialism, and poverty; there will be terror and lawless government; there will be NO decent life for the working man. There is only one way out -- the People's Liberation Revolution."

One leaflet circulated at the time of the Hungarian revolt showed a burned-out Red Army tank with dead Soviet soldiers lying beside it and asked the question: "Who is guilty for the fact that these men are dead on foreign soil?"

The NTS has also made great use of high-flying balloons to smuggle large quantities of literature into the Soviet Union. To the balloons are attached triggering devices that release the literature at different intervals. Reports indicate that the balloons have often reached as far as Finland, Turkey, Siberia, and Seoul, Korea.

This method, although fairly hit-and-miss, has been quite successful. In fact, once a football match in East Berlin between a German team and the Moscow Dynamos was interrupted by a shower of NTS literature over the playing field and spectator stands.

One of its most important methods of reaching Russians is through radio broadcasts. Through these emissions the NTS can also broadcast coded instructions to their agents. So effective have been the broadcasts of "Radio Free Russia" that the Soviets have tried to blow up the building housing the monitoring station of Radio Free Russia and the families of the operating personnel. The explosion destroyed most of the building but fortunately nobody was injured. Despite this aggressive act, the transmission of Radio Free Russia still continues.

The real work of the NTS, however, is done on the front line by their agents in the Soviet Union. In the early days, many NTS members were killed by the Soviets. Today many have been arrested and imprisoned by the Soviets. On one occasion Soviet agents tried to assassinate Nikolai Khokhlov, a former member of the MVD (the Soviet secret police). It so happened that Khokhlov was originally sent to assassinate Georgi Okolovich, the chairman of the NTS

executive bureau. Khokhlov gave himself up and began to work with the NTS. Later, he was poisoned, but through emergency medical attention his life was saved.

The dangerous operation of smuggling men into the Soviet Union has diminished in recent years, according to NTS leaders. Today they claim that, since there are so many Soviet citizens who are NTS supporters, there is no longer any need to run the risk of crossing frontiers from the West. Not only in Russia but also in other Eastern European countries the NTS has gained much support. NTS has been quite successful in recruiting supporters. The Russian people themselves, it is claimed, are now gradually becoming more and more the NTS "front-line men."

## Ideology

The greatest thing the NTS has going for it is its own ideological alternative to Communism. From their earliest days, NTS members realized that mere anti-Communism could not overcome the powerful ideological influence of Marxism-Leninism. They, like many others, know that the heart of the struggle is not merely between economic or political systems but between opposite views of man's nature and value.

The ideology which the NTS has formed as its counterproposal to Communism is called Solidarism. As its name implies, Solidarism does not see a world made up of inherently contradictory opposites in perpetual clash with one another; rather they see a world progressing through cooperative, harmonious interaction. Thus the NTS stresses that solidarity should exist among classes, each working together for mutual benefit.

Gleb Rahr, one of the leaders of NTS, explained that Solidarism is "the application of Christian morals to social and political life...We emphasize first of all the dignity and value of human personality," he said. "But solidarism regards the personality not as egoistic, locked within itself, but as a unique unity with freedom of will." This personality, he said, is regarded as being morally obligated to seek not superficial self-satisfaction but creative sacrificial service to one's occupation, one's family, one's country, all mankind and to God--as well as constant self-

development.

Such creative activity of the human personality, the Solidarists argue, is impossible without individual freedom; that is why freedom must be sought and struggled for. This is not only a negative "freedom from" as an end in itself, but also a "freedom for"--the chance for every man to fulfill his own individual destiny.

Solidarists believe in a hierarchy of values, the highest of which is that creative fulfillment of each individual's highest spiritual aspirations. This view is in accordance with FLF's Unification Ideology. Both see man as a free and creative spiritual being pursuing moral self-realization. Contrary to this is Marx's materialistic view of man's nature, which sees him as the product of the economic and social forces. All philosophy, religion and ethics, according to Marx, are unnecessary bourgeois concepts. This materialistic conception of man has consequently led Communists to impose external controls of all kinds in a futile attempt to transform human nature.

Ironically, the only successful communal societies are based on some spiritual belief or ideal. The Puritans, the Mennonites, the Kibbutzim in Israel, and religious monasteries are perfect examples. The common element of mind or spirit makes it possible for men to unite, rather than the mere act of producing things, as Marx would advocate.

What happens when the Revolution is over? The NTS members have drawn up a formidable document based on the directing ideas of justice, liberty, and the right to work.

Regarding justice, the NTS charter emphasizes such points as: "The establishment for all of a standard of life worthy of the human condition, the equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law, the equal rights of all citizens in such matters as the organization of their private life, work, education, and relaxation, and access to positions in the public life of the country."

In the section on liberty are listed all the basic freedoms we Americans now enjoy, including: the protection of private property, the right to work, the right to learn, the inviolability of the home, freedom from arrest without trial, and the abolition of the "hostage" system, making a whole family responsible for the actions of any one of its members.

The NTS charter also lays down the basic principles that "labour should be organized in harmony with the basic interests of all levels of the population...The harmonious development of society demands the ousting of all narrow class psychology. The workers should be citizens well-established, free and equal in rights with all others."

Finally, the charter concludes: "The National Revolution will be the final completion of the revolutionary epoch begun in February 1917, which will bring with it the achievement of all the popular desires and hopes; it will be the turning point at which the Russian Revolution, which was deprived of its accomplishment of the tasks which history had dictated for it, will set out on the road toward the construction of a real new national Russia."

## Solzhenitsyn's Troubles

MOSCOW (FCNS) -- Nobel Prize-winning novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn continues to have troubles with the Soviet regime that he has criticized.

Solzhenitsyn, who has already had his novels banned in the Soviet Union and who was not permitted to leave the country to receive his Nobel Prize, came under attack on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times* from a writer for the Soviet press agency Novosti, who depicted him as a man rich on foreign earnings. Solzhenitsyn himself has said his financial situation is

desperate.

In the Soviet Union itself, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation invalidated Solzhenitsyn's divorce from his wife. The decision -- highly unusual in the USSR where divorce actions are nearly always granted -- will prevent the novelist from marrying the woman he has been living with for three years, and who has given birth to two of his sons. The decision will also prevent the writer from moving to permanent residence in Moscow, where his would-be wife is a legal resident.

# Russia: Republic Harder to Achieve than Revolution

by Dumitru Danielopol  
Washington -- Last Dec. 21 the Kremlin celebrated the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, but with considerably less fanfare than five years earlier when they celebrated the half century since the 1917 October revolution.

The reason is obvious. Soviet leaders would like to keep the spotlight away from a critical failure -- the relationships between nationalities within the USSR.

The first Union of Soviet Socialist Republics created in December, 1922, merged the Russian, the Transcaucasian, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist republics.

After the October revolution in 1917 Lenin granted various non-Russian nationalities that had been part of Czarist Russia the right of self-determination. Many of them chose freedom, including Finland, Poland and the Baltic states, the Ukraine, Georgia, Bessarabia, etc., etc.

This obviously wasn't what Lenin had in mind.

As his Bolsheviks consolidated their power, Lenin sent the Red Army into most of the newly formed independent states to bring them back into the new Communist empire.

The Ukraine was one of the early victims after a little remembered but fierce war. Hitler helped the process along in the 1930s and now the USSR is composed of 15 Soviet republics.

But Lenin's dream that internationalism, propagated by the Communists, would be so attractive that in the long run, nationalist feelings would erode and disappear has proved a fallacy. Not only did the Marxist experiment fail but nationalism survived and grew.

Today the Soviet Union is a union only in name, although the Moscow police state yields unquestioned internal power.

Even this power is sometimes challenged by Nationalist demonstrations.

They have been reported from Tallin to Tashkent in recent years. The Ukraine appears to be seething against large-scale repression. The magnitude problem has been recognized within the USSR. In a memorandum addressed to party boss Leonid Brezhnev, the maverick intellectual Andrei D. Sakharov, developer of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, reviewed a series of ills that affect the Soviet Union. One's the "aggravation of the nationalities problem."

He suggested that Soviet republics be given the right to secede. You know how far he got with that idea!

The same unrest has been apparent in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which since the 1940s have come under the Moscow boot. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria are really independent only in name. The facade serves Soviet interests; but no one can seriously doubt who is boss in any moment of crisis.

"For 20 years now Eastern Europe has remained unstable," says London's Soviet analyst, "and there is every reason to expect further convulsions there...A similar view may be taken in the Soviet Union."

Nationalist tendencies are held in check only by the power of the state and party, it says. "The demands of the people have not been faced," it claims. "This can work only in the short run. In the long run it is explosive."

# Means without an End

"What a shame!" the lion-hearted cry with virtues not squandered selfishly.

"We only sought to do the right-- knocking down the walls of night, looking out, not within, so needlessly did we murder that love and light.

"Too bright to see-- we're blinded by the shadow of evil, not of good. For truth cut through our souls to judge. Reflecting it still burned a hateful grudge against the hypocrisy. We firmly stood. Yet its reflection from our hearts would not budge.

"Why so hard to cancel sin so real which possessive self multiplied in history? Its appetite, not satisfied by power, hungers more. Only violence, we thought, would destroy its core. Its reins the masses would seize for liberty -- but we found their hatred a silent, screaming roar.

"Oh dear our ears hear! Blind our eyes to see the truth we traded for ends, forgetting means. Men's minds to perfection we sought to bend-- forgetting love of God, family, brother, friend. The free creative spirit knifed by our material dreams we cast down beneath the State, a means without an end."

by Gary Jarmin

# Is America Heading Towards Isolationism?

by Allan Brownfeld

Washington -- With the end of the war in Vietnam there remains a great deal of discussion about what the future role of the United States will be in world affairs. Will America follow its traditional course of reverting to isolationism following a foreign conflict, or will it maintain its role as leader of the free world?

President Nixon's Inaugural Address, in many respects, leaves the question open. On the one hand, he declared, "We shall respect our treaty commitments. We shall support vigorously the principle that no country has the right to impose its will or rule on another by force."

On the other hand, he stated, "The time has passed when America will make every other nation's conflict our own, or make every other nation's future our responsibility, or presume to tell the people of other nations how to manage their affairs."

Seeming to put into question the very treaty commitments he had just reaffirmed, the President noted, "Just as we respect the right of each nation to determine its own future, we also recognize the responsibility of each nation to secure its own future."

There is much sentiment in the Congress for a reassessment of America's world role. Sen. Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., the

Senate Majority Leader, proposed a new American foreign policy of "discerning internationalism" which he said would mean a greater reluctance to involve U.S. troops on foreign soil. Rep. Philip Crane, R-Ill., one of a group of young and articulate conservatives, stated, "I think it will be a long time before you ever find the U.S. committing American boys to another one of these adventures as we did in Korea and Vietnam."

There are now many calls of "No More Vietnams" and an isolationist feeling is definitely on the rise. This may be part of the weakness in the West in world affairs. In a powerful and affirmative call for a true challenge to Communism, Charles Malik, former President of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations, said some time ago that he was yet to hear one Western leader who "assured to his face that he is doomed and will be 'buried' could muster enough courage and conviction, if not to use the vulgar phrase 'bury' with respect to Communism itself, at least to use some such civilized expression as that the days of Communism are numbered."

Mr. Malik stated, "The Communists should be answered, not apologetically, not as though they were right, but in terms taking them completely off their guard. They should be

answered in human, moral, and spiritual terms."

Fortunately, there are American voices being heard to oppose the new isolationism. Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University has said, "America cannot, as some would wish, ignore the cold war or abandon the obligations it has undertaken. A sudden preemptory restructuring of the international balance of power would be destabilizing and dangerous. The fact that the United States commitment to international affairs is now on a global scale has been decided by history. It cannot be undone."

A seminar held at Princeton University by the International Association for Cultural Freedom discussed in some detail the future role for American foreign policy. Asked the question, "Can America 'disengage' from its commitments around the world -- and should it," the speakers expressed a variety of opinions. Alastair Buchan, director of the Institute of Strategic Studies of London, stated, "The United States is going to be in business as a global power for a very long time." The alternative to the "American international system," he said, would be grim. It would be "some nightmare version of the old European balance of power on a global scale, and with a number of nuclear participants."

If a new isolationism takes hold, the end of the war in Vietnam will not mark the beginning of a more peaceful and tranquil era. It may, if this happens, inaugurate a new era of even greater turbulence and tension in international affairs.

Without the American commitment to depend upon, a number of countries would make their "peace" with the Communists, seeing no viable

alternative. Other nations would develop their own nuclear arsenals, bringing the world even closer to atomic war. In no sense would such a policy produce any advantage for the United States or for the American people. In the interest of "no more war," the advocates of isolationism would be leading the world to the brink of the most disastrous confrontation in history.

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