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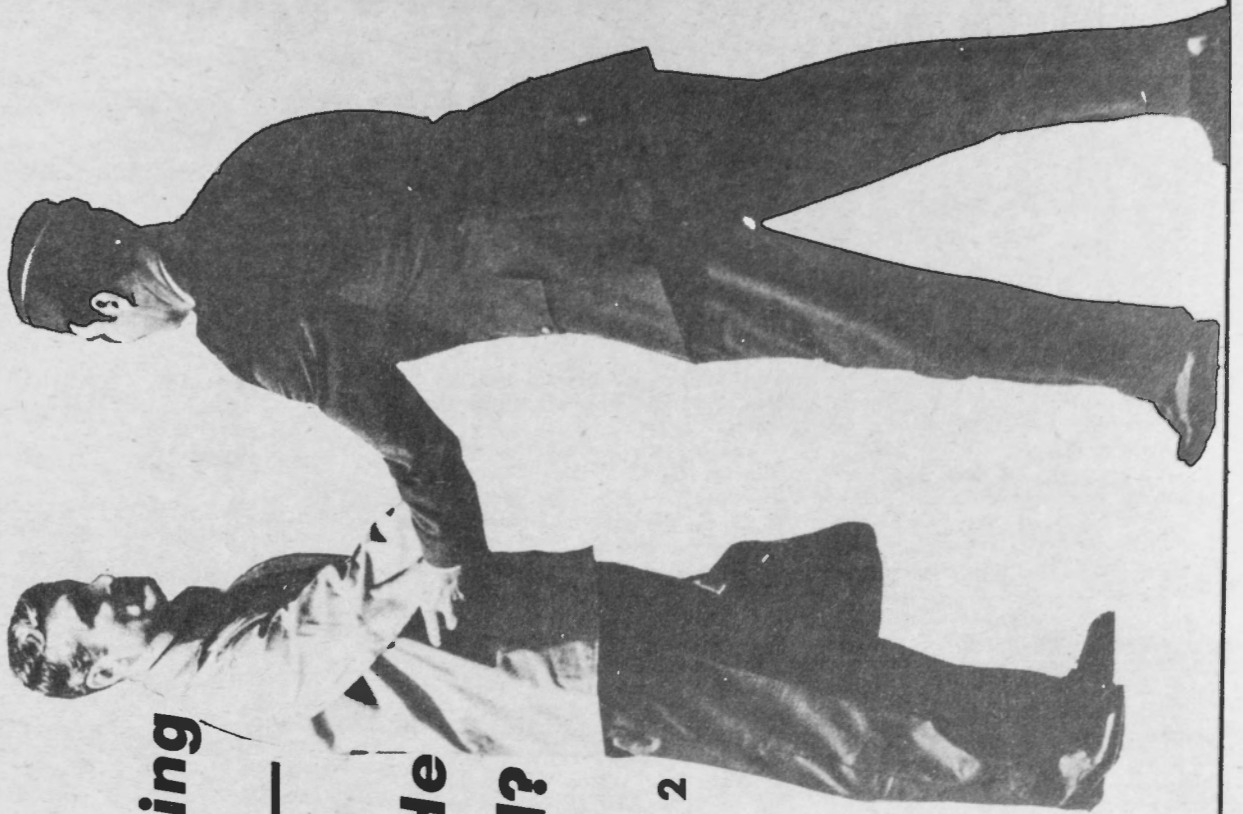
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# The Rising Tide

Volume Three, Number Eight

April 23, 1973



**The Returning  
POW —  
What Has He  
Endured?**

—see page 2

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# The Rising Tide

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## FLF Greet Nguyen Van Thieu

More than 70 Washington area Freedom Leadership Foundation members received South Vietnam's President Thieu at his arrival at Andrews Air Force base on Wednesday, April 4. Carrying welcome signs and Vietnamese flags, they shook hands with President and Mrs. Thieu and Vice President and Mrs. Agnew.

A hard rain changed the President's original plan of landing on the Ellipse in a helicopter. But the weather cleared and brought a crowd consisting of several hundred Vietnamese and a hundred Americans gathered by FLF - including students, government workers, and professors. The President was greeted by red carpet and a bugle fanfare. After being welcomed by Vice President and Mrs. Agnew, he began to shake hands with officials. FLF staff member Judy Barnes then presented him with a bouquet.



JUDY BARNES

Judy Barnes, originally from Denver, Colorado and now Administrative Assistant at FLF, recalls: "When President Thieu first got off the plane, he observed the crowd. After he appeared to be satisfied, he waved. At first his face was straight, but then he broke into a smile." After he and his wife were presented with flowers by Miss Barnes and a Vietnamese student, "he walked happily to the crowd and began shaking hands. It must have been a nightmare for the Secret Service!"

The reception received nationwide coverage through UPI and major networks.



President Thieu leaving airport.

The Freedom Leadership Foundation was honored with an invitation to attend the reception given by the Vietnamese Embassy to commemorate President Thieu's visit. Present at the reception were many officials from the State Department and foreign embassies. Also attending were Congressman and Mrs. Philip Crane, Mayor and Mrs. Walter Washington, Miss Eleanor Schlafly, director of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation; Harry Goldberg,



Madame Thieu at April 6 reception.

Asian affairs specialist of the AFL-CIO; General Thomas Lane and Dr. Walter Judd of the American Council for World Freedom, Reverend Richard Wurmbbrand, Dr. Carl McIntyre and two POW's.

The reception, held at the Washington Hilton, offered an excellent opportunity for friends and supporters of President Thieu to meet and



Mayor Walter Washington greeting President Thieu.

talk with him. President and Mrs. Thieu slowly made their way around the ballroom, personally greeting everyone.

Representing FLF were: President and Mrs. Neil Salonen, Gary Jarmin, Secretary General; Patricia Hannan, Executive Assistant; Michael Leone, Special Assistant; and Louise Berry, Editor, *The Rising Tide*.



Cong. Phillip Crane and Louise Berry.



President Thieu arriving at Andrews Air Force Base.

## To Build A Nation

by James Cowin

The United States has built up a strong system of international alliances by helping the economic recovery of friendly nations who have exhausted their resources in past wars. The nations supported the United States in later confrontations with the Communists. Three and a half billion dollars of Marshall Plan aid helped Europe increase its strength to where NATO and the EEC are the strongest Western military and economic alliances. The Republic of Korea, recipient of three billion dollars from the U.S. after the Korean War, is a strong bulwark against Communism in the Far East.

### Broad Reconstruction

The South Vietnamese wish to become as strong an ally as the nations mentioned above, but their economic strength, bled white by the war, must be developed as a pre-requisite. Large areas of the country must be reconstructed. Cities such as An Loc and Quan Tri, levelled by artillery and air bombardment, must be rebuilt, along with countless villages, schools, roads and bridges. Funds are needed to resettle the over two million refugees and to aid the well-over half a million disabled, widows, and orphans. Over half a million acres of cropland, damaged by herbicides, need to be specially treated before cultivation can be restored.

The American withdrawal is requiring further belt-tightening and transition. Dr. Nguyen Tien Hung, Associate Professor of Economics at Howard University, writes that U.S. troops provided over three hundred million dollars a year in foreign exchange, jobs for 150,000 workers and indirect support for hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese. Replacements must be found for these sources of income.

The South Vietnamese may also encounter difficulties with the upkeep of American-built facilities, according to Dr. Hung. Modern terminals such as the port of Cam Ranh Bay or Ton Son Nhut airport may fall into disrepair because of lack of funds for the development of experienced maintenance crews and adequate supplies. Refugee farmers who wish to return to their land find that they must use mechanized farming implements such as tractors and irrigation pumps to compete with present landowners. Yet they have no funds to buy these goods.

### Huge Deficit

The need for heavy imports of consumer goods such as milk, pharmaceuticals, and light machinery to supply a war-ravaged populace had created a huge balance-of-payments deficit. In 1971 the South Vietnamese imported 700 million U.S. dollars worth of goods while exporting only twelve million. In 1972, they imported 650 million dollars worth of goods and exported 23 million. They would like to export 632 million by 1980.

Finally, the presence of an estimated 145,000 to 175,000 North Vietnamese troops in their country and the continued Communist offensive in Cambodia will require the heavy burden of maintaining the 1.1 million South Vietnamese armed forces, a cost requiring almost 70 per cent of their national budget.

To meet these needs, the South Vietnamese have asked for a total of over four billion dollars in aid spread over a ten year period. Approximately 750 million dollars a year would be required for three years, with the aid demands levelling to only 95 million by 1980.

The South Vietnamese began planning for a post-war reconstruction in 1969. Plans by the ministries of Agriculture and Public Works for reconstruction in their areas were drawn up and revised in 1971 and 1973. A comprehensive

national plan is now being developed. The plan calls for two years reconstruction and eight years capital development in which South Vietnamese industries would be expanded. Emphasis would be placed on agriculture, forestry, and light manufacturing. The aim of this plan is to make South Vietnam totally self-sufficient by 1980.

### Groundwork Laid

During the war the groundwork for modernization was laid. Through AID programs the South Vietnamese farmers modernized to the point where they increased rice production by ten percent from 1971-1972. The introduction of better irrigation techniques, tractors, and chemical fertilizers and other mechanized techniques made it possible to introduce "miracle rice" and mass production of chickens. The farmers who left their home villages for cities and other villages created a mobile work force. The Land to the Tiller program of 1970, which distributed free land to tenant farmers, set the stage for a social revolution in the rural areas. Despite disputes over titles, about half the land was reported distributed to the peasants by the time of the Easter Offensive.

The most far-reaching of all programs was the Economic Reform Program of 1971. The program, which streamlined key governmental procedures, was set up to create an administration which could handle a modern, sophisticated economy and would guarantee economic self-sufficiency by 1980.

The program simplified administrative procedures which had been arbitrarily determined. For instance, there were 55 different tariff rates left over from the old French system. ARVN troops used special commissaries with artificially low prices. The exchange rate of the piastre was set artificially low. The complicated and often unrealistic procedures provided ample opportunity for bribery.

The new reforms simplified tariff rates and licensing procedures, cutting down on opportunities for graft. Bank interest rates were increased to twenty percent, where a profit could be made. The banks could explain their services, giving the people an alternative to the street vendors who charged fifty-to-sixty per cent on their loans. The new exchange rate, determined by the market demand, is designed to eliminate much of the enormous black market that plagued the country in the height of U.S. involvement. Simplified tax codes were set up to be enforced by local villages. According to Vietnamese sources these reforms were carried out even during the Easter Offensive.

### Attracting Industry

After reconstruction the South Vietnamese plan is to export mainly rice and rubber and then proceed to light industry. Their laws have been modified to attract industry, and the Feb. 1973 *Investment News from Vietnam* lists industrial opportunities in agriculture, forestry, manufacturing and transportation, construction, and special services which are eligible for tax privileges.

The South Vietnamese plan to trade mainly within Southeast Asia, but they have made studies to determine export markets in Japan, West Germany, the United States and Singapore. A trade agreement already exists with the Republic of China.

The South Vietnamese appear to have exhibited the desire and potential necessary to fulfill their economic needs. From the standpoint of moral choice and from return on U.S. dollars spent, South Vietnam seems like a good investment.

# POW's -- Their War and Victory

By Neil Salonen

The completion of the release of the 562 U.S. P.O.W.'s acknowledged by Hanoi has enabled the returned prisoners to tell their full stories without fear of retaliation against fellow inmates. Their stories revealed the North Vietnamese to be extremely cruel prison wardens.

American P.O.W.'s were held in five prison camps around Hanoi, the "Hanoi Hilton" downtown, the "Zoo," named after peepholes in the doors through which North Vietnamese would stare at the prisoners, "Briarpatch," "Dogpatch," and "Plantation Gardens." According to *US News and World Report*, a member of the International Commission on Control and Supervision described the facilities as "pretty grim." Prisoners slept on wooden pallets and straw mats. Holes in the floor served as toilets.

Prisoners lived on two sparse meals a day, consisting of cabbage or pumpkin soup with bread or rice, rarely meat. Prisoners were not allowed to receive Red Cross parcels of food, but most appeared healthy even though some lost up to 50 lbs.

The prisoners told repeated stories of torture, degradation and humiliation. Some were put in solitary confinement for up to three years. Prisoners experienced continued indoctrination attempts — reports of antiwar demonstrations, racial conflicts and unemployment at home, as well as battlefield news which indicated that the U.S. was losing the war. All such attempts were ineffective, however.

The Communists also restricted prisoner mail to only a few token letters. *US News* reported that letters containing bad news were delivered almost immediately, while letters containing good or reassuring news were delayed for months or not delivered at all.

Most P.O.W.'s survived their maltreatment through religion, exercise and communication. Prisoners held services once or twice a week and many prayed daily, especially when being tortured. Exercise prevented boredom and kept their bodies from running down. Through Morse Code tapping on the wall, prisoners undergoing serious torture were strengthened. The prisoners' ordeal, termed the "Battle of Hanoi," is a testimony to the strength and determination of Americans to hold out under extreme adversity.

A report recently written by the Senate Committee on Internal Security, subtitled "Communist Treatment of Prisoners of War," describes Communist motives: "P.O.W.'s are not human beings but political pawns — to be broken psychologically so they can be used against their own country and to be exploited, without pity of any kind, as instruments of political warfare..."

Air Force Colonel Robinson Risner reported at a press conference that the prisoners were severely tortured — first for military information, then to force the prisoners to "submit totally" to the will of the guards, to make radio broadcasts, and to condemn the U.S. Government at special press conferences.



ROBINSON RISNER

Examples of torture included: tightly binding the prisoners with ropes into grotesque positions which caused their arms to fall out of their sockets and jamming their feet into their mouths; attaching 60-lb. iron bars to the ankles and tying the prisoner to a stool so that his legs would hang down until the weight of the bars crushed his ankle bones and nerves. Prisoners could thereby contract blood poisoning or lose their feet from lack of circulation.

The tortures, especially the bindings and the iron bar, would last until the P.O.W. would agree to write what the Communists wanted. In an interview with Kathryn Johnson of the Associated Press reported in the *Washington Star-News*, Navy Captain Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr., senior P.O.W. officer at the "Zoo" in 1965 and 1966, reported that the Communists wanted him to



Officers awaiting release at Gia Lam Airport, North Vietnam.

write an autobiography. They tortured him for six nights and seven days. "I was like an animal... not even a healthy animal... I was pretty much of a vegetable... mentally I was at about 5% at the end of the torture." He finally gave in and wrote a harmless autobiography. Colonel Norman C. Gaddis reported that he was the first senior officer to be captured by the North Vietnamese. They thought that, due to his rank, he had access to all the war plans against the North Vietnamese. To obtain this "information," they interrogated him for three weeks. He was tortured four times during the first 48 hours, including eight hours with the 60-lb. ankle bar. After his torture he required medical treatment for a month and needed almost eight months for recovery. After his interrogation, he spent the next thousand days in solitary confinement.

The "Battle of Hanoi" was clearly one battle the Americans won. Capt. Denton in his interview said that the P.O.W. resistance to Communist demands "forced them to be brutal with us. This policy was successful in that the consequent exposure of their brutality ultimately caused U.S. public and official pressure to bear so heavily on our captors that treatment was eventually improved (in 1969) and our honor was preserved."

Captain Denton himself helped lead the way. He revealed in his interview that the Communists had been torturing him to weaken his will for a press conference in April 1966. The torturers had been preparing him through all-night political sessions (in which he was told that 'the Russians won World War II by defeating the Japanese, the war in the South was to be decided not by bombing but by land warfare and that the United States was butchering the North Vietnamese people').

At the "conference," a Japanese reporter "obviously oriented to their side gave me this long talk designed to put me in the position of either endorsing the killing of civilians... or condemning my government."

He said he thought of his wife's comment about the "press conference" American U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers had been forced to hold in Moscow after he was shot down by the Russians in 1960, that it would have been "great" if Powers had found the

courage to sabotage the propaganda show by saying nothing.

He replied to the reporter, "...Whatever my government is doing I agree with it and I will support it as long as I live." He said almost the same thing in another interview, argued with Australian Communist Wilfred Burchett and "rudely walked out" on a Chilean Communist reporter.

He was of course retortured for "misbehaving." His legs were so tightly shackled that "it was like getting a sprained ankle every second. It was the closest I ever came to losing my mind... I got through that long night by praying, just lasting one minute at a time, a second at a time."

The Communist goal, isolating the prisoners to break down their morale, was thwarted. Prisoners would whistle Morse Code under the cell doors or would tap code on the walls. After a prisoner was tortured, "somebody... would get on the wall and thump through to him and say, 'We're with you buddy... We know what they're doing to you. God bless you. Hang on. It'll be over one of these days...' You were able to take a lot more and come back quicker for another dose."

Americans captured by the Viet Cong suffered far worse than those in the North. Major Floyd Kushner, the captured U.S. medical officer, bitterly described his "starvation" diet. There was a "complete lack of protein." Prisoners ate "red, rotten, sandy rice, full of weevils... that had been hidden in the jungles for years."

Malaria was quite prevalent, and so was dysentery. The men were too weak to reach the latrine so they dropped their waste all over their cells. Kushner said that after six to eight months in captivity a man had lost 40-50% of his body weight, had chills, swollen internal organs, feet, and ankles. He had running sores all over his body, suffered horribly from dysentery and was unable to work. But to survive he did slave labor and carried hundred-pound bundles over mountains.

Kushner said that from 1965-1971, when the camp disbanded, 27 Americans passed through it. Ten died in his arms, two because "it's just too hard to live." Three out of five West German nurses also died as a result of the harsh jungle conditions.



FLOYD KUSHNER

The stories about torture of the U.S. P.O.W.'s cut the righteousness out from under anti-war radicals, who had praised the Communist North. Smith Hempstone in the April 7 *Washington Star-News* ridiculed Jane Fonda and Ramsey Clark for their statements about the good health of the prisoners. Fonda was described as another Tokyo Rose and Clark as Lord Haw-Haw, the Axis radio propagandist of World War II. Clark's intelligence in particular came under suspicion; Hempstone was puzzled that a man of such high office could be so duped by the Communists.

Leftist anti-war leader Tom Hayden was justifiably blasted for calling the freed P.O.W.'s "liars, hypocrites and pawns of President Nixon."

In April the *Washington Post* reported that Jane Fonda was burned in effigy while addressing a crowd of 1,200 students at the University of Southern California.

Cover: Air Force Major Hubert Flesher is welcomed home by Colonel Emil Wenzel. (Photographs courtesy of U.S. Defense Department)

# American Council for World Freedom

The American Council for World Freedom, coordinating group of representatives from the country's most prominent anti-Communist organizations, held its annual meeting in Washington, D.C., on April 6-7. The meeting was opened Friday night with a speech by Reverend Richard Wurmbbrand, a Lutheran minister who had been imprisoned by the Communists for many years. Reverend Wurmbbrand is the founder and director of "Jesus to the Communist World," which helps support underground churches behind the Iron Curtain.

According to Patricia Hannan, FLF executive assistant, Reverend Wurmbbrand "gave a really beautiful and inspiring speech about the absolute necessity that we love the Communists." Reverend Wurmbbrand gave several examples of what he meant. One woman, for instance, whose son was tortured to death, continuously prayed for the torturer. One day when she was standing guard outside a barn where a group of Christians were secretly worshipping, a soldier came by surprise and grabbed her. She instinctively knew that he was her son's torturer. She said, "I've waited and prayed for you so long." He couldn't resist this love. She took him into the barn; everyone was, of course, horrified. But she said, "Only his uniform is Communist. His heart is newborn Christian."

According to Reverend Wurmbbrand, one way to conquer Communism is to spread the word of Jesus so that the people can no longer believe in Communism. To do this, his organization sends Bibles behind the Iron Curtain. Some Bibles are disguised to look like Communist books; many are placed in plastic bags and dropped into off-shore waters so that they will wash up on the beaches and be picked up.

Reed Irvine and J.A. Parker were elected to the Board of Directors at the Saturday business meeting, replacing Dr. David Rowe and John Fisher, who have resigned. Miss Eleanor Schlafly, director of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, opened discussion on the prospect of having the 1974 World Anti-Communist League conference in the United States. This was well-received and supported by many organizations, including FLF.

Activity reports were then made by the Council Against Communist Aggression, Young Americans for Freedom, the Captive Nations Committee, the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, the Committee for Free China, the Senate and House Internal Security Subcommittees, the Pink Sheet, the Free Asia Speakers Bureau, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, *Twin Circle*, the Church League of America, the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, the Institute for American Strategy, the American Security Council, and the Freedom Leadership Foundation. In reporting for FLF, President Neil Salonen highlighted the *Rising Tide*, the World Freedom Institute, and the acquisition of a new headquarters office with expanded facilities.



Rev. and Mrs. Richard Wurmbbrand

# Dealing with Dissidents --One Way or Another

## A New Way Out

When the train from Moscow creeps into the northern terminus in Vienna and the latest contingent of Russian Jews leave their carriages, it is apt to happen nowadays that a man will walk up to the representative of the Jewish Agency who has come to welcome the new arrivals in transit to Israel and say, "I am not a Jew. I have left Russia against my will."

### Wise to Leave

Early in February Pyotr Jakir turned up. He is the son of General Jona Jakir, who was a victim of the Stalin purges. More recently 23-year-old Andrej Dubrow, a journalist from Moscow, arrived by Aeroflot, and he subsequently gave an interview to the Vienna weekly *Wochenpresse* which throws a little light on the present situation in the democratic opposition, of which both Dubrow and Jakir were leading members. The arrest of Jakir, said Dubrow, was a severe blow to the opposition. The "organized movement" is very small although opposition as such is widespread. Jakir had warned his comrades that if subjected to "intensive treatment" he would inevitably succumb and reveal their names, and this is what happened. But to start with, to avoid international repercussions, the authorities took a relatively soft line. Last autumn Dubrow was first of all told that he would be wise to leave the country for Israel -- this is to all intents and purposes the only existing route into the capitalist world.

How eager they were to get rid of Dubrow can be seen from the fact that the authorities waived the usually obligatory (though varying and inconsistently imposed) migration tax, which is a refund of the cost of education. He was actually standing on the airfield last November when his passport was whisked away from him. He was to give evidence for the prosecution in the trial of Pyotr Jakir but refused and was put into a lunatic asylum. But his fate changed once again. Without the

slightest warning he was given his papers, brought to the airport and popped into the plane for Vienna. He has now left for the U.S.A.

### Pessimistic

Dubrow was pessimistic about the outlook for the democratic opposition in Russia. "The persecution of the democrats" he said "is considerably more severe than the harassment of people held to be Zionists, who can be accused of nothing other than that they wish to leave the workers' and peasants' paradise." He said that Alexander Solshenitzyn (whose brother-in-law Juri Stein, incidentally, arrived in Vienna not long ago) had no direct contact with the democratic opposition, but is highly respected by its members. Until recently it was Solshenitzyn's opinion that members of the resistance, like himself, should stay on in Russia at all costs. But he has now saying that when faced with the alternative (as Dubrow was) of Siberia or leaving the country, he could understand it if people were to choose the latter.

*Die Wochenpresse* reports that a recent prominent emigre, Victor Perlmann, former member of the editorial staff *Literaturnaja Gazeta*, had this to say about the relationship of patriotic Jews to the democratic underground movement. There had at one time been a very close contact between them. After the Six-Day war in 1967, more particularly after the occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Jews had given up all hope of liberalisation in the Soviet Union. As a result they broke off contact with the opposition in order not to give the authorities one more charge against them: that they were not only Zionists but counter-revolutionaries as well.

## Another Lunatic

### Leonid Plyushch

Like General Pyotr Grigorenko before him, another of the leaders of the civil rights movement in the USSR



Yesenin Volpin—a former victim.

has now been found insane and sentenced to indefinite detention in a mental asylum.

He is Leonid Plyushch, who was declared to be mad because he suffers from "ideas of reform making." By this standard Plyushch has been "insane" for at least five years, because it was in 1968 that he first came to prominence in the movement for reform.

Plyushch was born in 1940 and is a mathematician, like Yesenin-Volpin, who has also frequently been declared "insane" but who was at last allowed to emigrate in 1972. In 1968 Plyushch protested against the misconduct of the Galanskov-Ginzburg trial in a letter which he sent to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. It explained precisely why he found that the description of the trial in *The Chronicle of Current Events* was much more convincing than the published record. Needless to say, his letter was not published by *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

### Proof of Insanity

In 1969 he gave further proof of his "insanity", when he joined sixteen other leaders of the civil rights struggle in a declaration of solidarity with Czechoslovakia. It said:

"On 21 August of last year a tragic event took place: Czechoslovakia, a friendly country, was invaded by Warsaw Pact troops. The aim was to put a stop to the democratization in that country. The whole world had been following the post-January developments there with hope. It seemed that the idea of socialism, which had been discredited under Stalin, would now be rehabilitated. The Warsaw Pact tanks destroyed this hope...."

By this time Plyushch had joined the Action Group for the Defense of Human Rights Commission asking it to investigate the violations by the USSR of the right to hold independent beliefs and to propagate them by legal means. Plyushch was one of the fifteen signatories of this letter.

As a result, the KGB began an attempt to break up the Action Group in September, 1969. Interrogations of six of the members began in Moscow and in October, 1969, house searches by the secret police began at the homes of Gorbanevskaya and others.

In Kiev, the Ukrainian KGB simultaneously carried out a search of the flat belonging to Plyushch in the hope of finding evidence against Oleg Bakhtiyarov, a Ukrainian student who had been arrested under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Manuscripts written by Plyushch were confiscated and he was interrogated at length both about his letter to the UN and about the case of Bakhtiyarov (the latter's crime was to have been found in possession of some of the works of Berdyayev). On both counts Plyushch refused to testify, but even so in 1970 Bakhtiyarov was sentenced to detention for three years.

In 1969 the Action Group in Kharkov had one member, Genrikh Altunyan, and eight supporters, all of whom were engineers. On the day after the trial of Altunyan, in November 1969, the flat of one of the engineers, Nedobora, was searched at a time when both Plyushch and Irina Yakir were present. They were both detained, and after a personal search, reports of the trial of Altunyan were confiscated from them. Altunyan was sentenced for the manufacture and circulation of documents discrediting the Soviet political and social system. He was given three years in a labour camp.

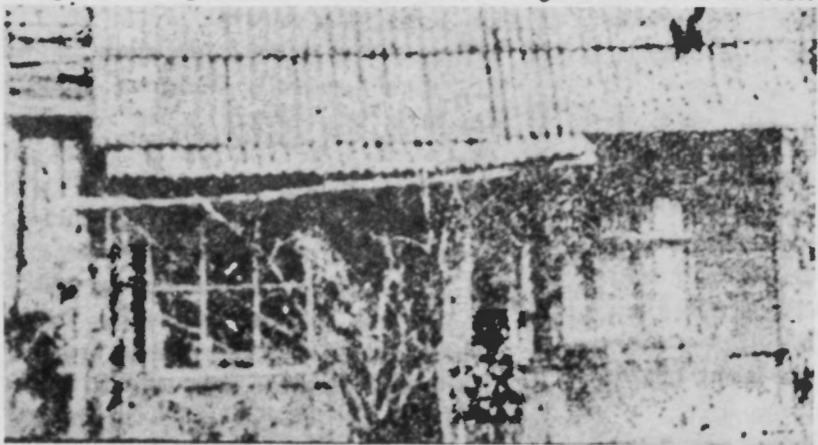
### Arrested Once More

On 14 January, 1973, Plyushch was arrested by the KGB in Kiev and charged under Article 62 "anti-Soviet activity". Nine of his supporters, including five members of the Action Group circulated an open appeal to the Soviet authorities for his release in which they wrote:

"In our state only the madman dares to fight against its shortcomings, only the lunatic speaks out about violations of his rights."

As if to confirm the truth of their bitter sarcasm, a court in Kiev has now sentenced Plyushch to indefinite detention in a mental home. The trial was held *in camera*.

*East-West Digest, London, March 1973, pp. 230-233.*



## Medvedev Defends Solzhenitsyn

Zhores Medvedev has responded to an attack on Solzhenitsyn appearing on the Op. Ed. page of the *New York Times*. The critic, a "Soviet Commentator," charged the Solzhenitsyn was a wealthy misfit. Medvedev's reply to the *New York Times* said in part:

"On Jan. 8, 1973, The New York Times published an article by Semyon Vladimirov on Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's financial and personal affairs. If Semyon Vladimirov can publish in The Times such false stories about my good friend, shouldn't I answer him with the simple truth?"

"Vladimirov wrote that Solzhenitsyn owns a 'sturdy, two-storied building on the bank of a picturesque river' not far from the town of Narofominsk, and that pictures of this house have been published by the magazine *Stern*.

"In reality, Solzhenitsyn has a small house near Narofominsk, and I have visited him there many times. Here is the real photograph, taken in 1969, of this 'two-storied building.' The picture

needs no comment. However, I would like to say that this house has one small room, and state regulations do not permit any heating systems in such summer 'houses' and do not permit their use for living, but only as a place to stay during summer....

"Vladimir did not mention the name of the 'picturesque river' and I understand why. It is not a river at all, but a narrow stream a boy can jump over. Nobody can find this 'river' on a map of the Moscow region. The nearest small river, the Nara, is about ten miles from Solzhenitsyn's 'house.'"

"Everybody knows that Solzhenitsyn has not received a 'Moscow residence permit' (propiska) and Vladimirov certainly understands that if the writer came to live with his 'real' wife, N. Svetliva, in her four-room flat (but not four-bedroom flat -- where she lives with her three sons and her father and mother) for a period of more than two-three days, he would be fined for the first offense and sentenced in the case of repeated violations of this police rule...."

## No Exit Without a Price

by Dumitru Danielopol

Nicolae Ceausescu is practicing a racket with Romanians who want to leave the country that is just as obnoxious as that employed by the Soviets.

### A Profitable Business

Like it or not, there is real money in the sale of people and passports from all Eastern Europe, and would-be emigrants are bled dry.

Here is how it operates in Romania.

An application for a passport costs 170 lei. The value of the lei in relation to the dollar varies so much that it is impossible to translate it accurately in terms of U.S. purchasing power, but it should be remembered that the average salary in Romania is around 2,000-2,500 lei per month. One passport application costs about two days work.

If the passport is refused, the fee is not returned - any new application costs another 170 lei. Requests often are refused six and seven times so the game can be very costly.

Two additional fees are required. They total 55 lei each time and if the passport itself is approved it costs 300 lei, part of which is in hard currency.

Since no Romanian is entitled to have foreign exchange, the would-be

emigrant must request it from a friend and relative abroad.

If the emigrant is lucky enough to get his passport on the first try he will have paid 525 lei, or roughly a week's pay. Then comes another swindle.

When the passport is approved every person must make an application for a renunciation of Romanian citizenship. That costs 1,000 lei. Now the "ante" is up to 1,525, well over two weeks pay.

### The Cost of a Person

Even this doesn't end the story. Romania is still practicing a remunerative "white slave trade." Its hard-cash agents used to operate from London but now they have moved to West Germany.

People in Western countries who have hard cash can negotiate the release from Romania of friends and relatives. The price fluctuates in accordance with the means of the purchaser. In 1972 the bottom price per person was \$3,000. This year it has gone up to \$5,000 per person.

There are differences between Soviet and Romanian tactics but the principle -- or the lack of it -- is consistent with Communist dogma. People are only chattel in any Red system.



## Their Path to Freedom

Guillermo and Maria Rodriguez live in a big old house in Takoma Park, Maryland, near where he works as a maintenance man. In his spare time he takes photographs. Not an unusual life. Except that it has had some unusual interruptions.

Mr. Rodriguez' life was similar in Cuba in the early 1960's. He was a professional photographer and was going to a seminary to become a Seventh-Day Adventist minister. In 1965, he applied to come to the United States. Nothing happened. Then the seminary was closed several months before he was to receive his degree. Mr. Rodriguez continued to work in his photography studio and did what he could to help his friends leave Cuba. Still nothing happened.

Then one day in 1969 he got a notice to report to the police station. He thought maybe at last he could come to the United States. So he eagerly went. When he got there, he found 3,000 men in the jailyard. "You are the worst people in this country," said a voice over the loudspeaker. "The really good people work hard to help Cuba. You must also work hard before you go to the United States. You will work on a sugar plantation starting now." They were loaded into 30 trucks. Mr. Rodriguez had no way to get in touch with his wife, who had to wait quite some time before finding out what had happened to him.

"I don't know where we went," said Mr. Rodriguez. "There were no houses — only sugar cane. There was an area in the middle of the field with a roof over it which was to be our home from then on. After we started to work an old man said, 'We are in prison. I think the best thing to do is pray.' He asked me to pray. In the middle of that open field I prayed: 'God, we don't know anything! Please help us.'"

Mr. Rodriguez explained that theoretically he was given a wage for cutting cane. But the quota was high, and he had to pay for his food. As a result, he owed the plantation money at the end of each month. "The food was very bad. We had Russian meat, which was full of fat, for dinner. For breakfast and lunch we had water and sugar in it and a piece of bread. For just this we had to pay \$1.00 a day."

Mr. Rodriguez cut cane for over a year. As soon as he got used to one plantation, he was moved to another, with worse conditions. "This was happening in all provinces," he explained. "I was one of thousands." The plan was to break the will of anyone wanting to leave Cuba. "If anyone said, 'I don't want to go to the U.S., I want to stay in Cuba,' he could leave the plantation, go back to the city, and get his job back. But I said, 'No, I am ready to die here if necessary.' When one has faith, it makes it easier."

One day Mr. Rodriguez escaped, made his way back to his family, and relocated in another province. There he lived without disturbance for quite some time. When he was coming home from work one day, however, a car pulled into his way. Some police got out, yanked Mr. Rodriguez out of his car, and shoved him into the back of their car, holding a gun to his back.

Then began an ordeal of imprison-

ment and interrogation. Mr. Rodriguez did not clearly indicate why this happened — it was not specifically related to his disappearance from the sugar plantation. He thinks that they suspected him of being a CIA agent because of his skill in photography and in speaking English. He was in reality guilty of having helped people escape from Cuba — a "crime" punishable by seven years in prison.

"They put me in a very dark place. I felt like Jonah in the whale. I prayed, 'I'm going to tell only the truth. But please take their minds away from asking me anything which would incriminate me or anyone else.'" Mr. Rodriguez got his wish. The interrogators asked him only about people and events that he had no connection with.

Mr. Rodriguez will never forget two of his fellow prisoners. A rich lawyer in jail for transporting arms to be used against Castro always slept next to Rodriguez on the floor. "We spoke for many days, and I often prayed with him. He said, 'The first day I am free, the first thing I will do is go to church.' But he is still in jail, after 12 years..."



"I was one of thousands."

One day the guards called a prisoner by name instead of by number and asked him to disrobe and follow them out. His family had come to see him and was waiting right outside the prison walls. But instead they led him to his execution, within earshot of his family. After being killed, he was shot in the head at close range and photographed. This was then used as a psychological weapon against the prisoners. "You know what happened to him," the guards would say, showing the picture. According to Rodriguez, the authorities had a collection of several thousand such pictures.

Finding no evidence against him, they let Rodriguez go after 36 days. Rodriguez got a medical disability discharge from the sugar cane plantation. Soon the family received notice that they could go to the U.S. They packed up and moved out of their house. Then they waited three months and were told that their places were given to people who needed them more. So they waited another year and a half. Then they finally got their tickets. They still faced obstacles. They had no way to get to the airport and gas was strictly rationed. But one of their friends had saved his gas ration to take them to the airport. Once there, they found people who had been delayed at the airport for months. But they were lucky and left almost immediately. That was in 1971, six years after they had applied.

"We are happy here," Mr. Rodriguez concluded. "The U.S. will be our home. Even if Castro falls, we will stay here. There are too many bad memories in Cuba." —Louise Berry

## Asian Future — A Cautious Prediction

"The Vietnam War was no Vietcong victory!" declared Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of the city state of Singapore in his speech at National Press Club luncheon on April 6. The Prime Minister, on a private visit to the U.S., captivated the audience of two hundred with a mixture of wit and perceptiveness in analyzing the outlook in Southeast Asia.

Once described by former Secretary of the Treasury John Connally as "the head of the best-run country in the world," the Prime Minister is an example of a leader of an underdeveloped nation who has helped it surmount its problems. The head of the People's Action Party, he was elected to office in the early 1960's in the midst of strikes and turbulence led by Communist dominated labor unions. He is one of the few leaders who formed a coalition with the Communists in order to be elected and then successfully crushed them once in office.

### Communist Victory Not Inevitable

Prime Minister Lee approved of the way the Vietnam War ended. He said that the achievement of a cease-fire without a Northern Vietnamese victory "broke the hypnotic spell" which stunned people into thinking that Communism was the wave of the future. Lee said that the inevitability of a Communist victory was disproven even though stopping it required a heavy cost. He emphasized however, that if the North Vietnamese "Easter Offensive" had succeeded, their victory, built on top of success in North Korea in 1945, China in 1949 and Indochina in 1954, would have convinced the rest of Asia that resistance was useless.

The Prime Minister foresaw three future paths for the Communists. They could honor the agreement, de-escalating the struggle into a political contest, and engaging in "low level violence". Or the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong may combine for an all-out offensive as soon as they feel strong enough to conquer the South. But Lee believed the probability of American retaliation made that choice too risky for them. Finally, the Communists could take the middle ground, with the North honoring the Paris Agreement while building up Viet Cong forces until they were ready to make a grab for power.

Prime Minister Lee was doubtful of Communist capacity to wage an all-out offensive, but he noted that they could so tie down the South Vietnamese forces through continued "mosquito attacks" that economic recovery would be impossible.

Prime Minister Lee mentioned the already serious situation in Laos and Cambodia. He remarked however that the Asian psychological climate is different than it was after the French surrender at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and that "a Vietcong victory in the mid-70's would not necessarily mean the collapse of Southeast Asia." He said

that Southeast Asians are now waiting to see if South Vietnam can defend itself and develop economically under the provisions of the Guam Doctrine of 1971.

The Prime Minister closed his speech on a note of optimism, but voiced caution based on years of experience in dealing with the Communists. He remarked that Southeast Asians are "psychologically adjusting" to a situation heavily influenced by the Soviets, the Communist Chinese and Japan as well as by the U.S. But he was wary of great power competition between free nations and Communist nations. He said that when free nations compete, friendly relations persist even though there are disagreements. Competition from the Communists, however, weakens the "free world by eroding its economic base," as nations turn their backs on the West.

### China - A Granite Rock

Most questions concerned the balancing acts in relations between Singapore and great Asian powers. When asked about relations with Peking, the Prime Minister quipped, "It is important for a small country to know where big hard granite rocks are, so we can avoid them." He expects proper relations now, but is waiting to see what happens when Communist China gets a second-strike capability. He judged that the Communist Chinese would be tied down for some time while attempting to settle their differences with their Soviet neighbors.

When asked whether the Soviets and Communist Chinese would exercise the "restraint" necessary for tiny Singapore to prosper, the Prime Minister said that "the Chinese had already given assurances; the Soviets had said nothing." He noted, however, that the Red Chinese navy is not yet a bluewater fleet, so "their words mean nothing." He said he was waiting to see the Chinese attitude when their fleet becomes more powerful.

The Prime Minister appeared to be hedging when talking about the Cambodian crisis. Answering a question concerning President Thieu's statement that the Communist advance in Cambodia means a whole new war, he answered that the risks of taking over Phnom-Penh outweighed the benefits to the Communists because of American bombing. He felt the Communists were content to "starve" the city.

He did not, however, express alarm at the advance itself—no leader, perhaps, wants to predict a revival of large-scale fighting in Indochina.

Prime Minister Lee's speech would be quite instructive to the American public in its emphasis on strong action to thwart the Communist power drive. Most Americans, exposed to the barrage of left-wing anti-war propaganda, would be pleasantly surprised to hear a genuine expression of warmth and gratitude for the American sacrifice in Indochina.



Lee Kuan Yew

# U.S. -- Chinese Friendship How Does It Affect Japan?

"China was elevated to a world power not on her merit, leading to the U.N. Taiwan episode and to the anger and concern of those Asian countries close to the U.S.," commented Harry Goldberg, Asian expert for the International Affairs department of the AFL-CIO. The future of Japan as affected by recent U.S.-Chinese friendship was the main topic of his talk given in Washington, D.C. at the invitation of Young Peoples Socialist League several weeks ago. He outlined a critical situation of shifting power worth serious consideration by all Americans committed to the freedom of Asia.

"The shock of Japan was the greatest," said Mr. Goldberg regarding her response to Nixon's first overtures to China. "Then there was the spectacle of Nixon going to Peking -- not even communicating with Japan until the last minute. This left Japan in a state of worrisome anger towards the United States." From the Japanese viewpoint, the U.S. could not be trusted to continue her Asian policy, making it necessary for Japan to take an independent stance. "Japan was left adrift, saying, 'We have to look for a new way out...' Now Japan is the central target of maneuvering of China, Russia and the United States."

Japan's immediate reaction, according to Mr. Goldberg, was

to mend fences with China. The Chinese have been willing to respond, partly on the basis of cultural ties and partly because China, realizing her economic weakness, is "dreaming of latching onto the know-how of Japan." At the same time, "the Soviet Union has made a determined effort for Japan." Of central concern to Japan is the return of her northern islands in Russian hands; Russia would like Japan to help her develop East Siberia, particularly to help gain access to its underground gas supply. Throughout all of these shifts, he said, Japan's relationship to Taiwan has remained relatively undisturbed -- Japan does not want to sacrifice her trade with Taiwan.

Mr. Goldberg went on to discuss significant changes in Japanese domestic policies affecting the U.S. He described the December national election, giving Communists significant gains, as the second greatest shock for Japan and as "disastrous for moderates." Also gaining was the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP), more overtly violent than the Communists and closely related to Sohyo, large trade association with Communist members. According to Mr. Goldberg, the position of the anti-Communist and more conservative Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) has deteriorated, also affecting its supporting non-Communist

trade association, Domei. Mr. Goldberg mentioned that he has been concerned for quite some time that moderate parties would yield to pressure from the left. "Unfortunately, I was correct," he commented. One of his worries, however, a coalition of opposition parties (including the Communists) has not been achieved.

Questions brought out Mr. Goldberg's articulate expression of opinions based on over twenty years' experience in international relations. Was there anything to be gained by the U.S. move towards China? "It is silly to believe that the purported shifts of China and Russia are anything but temporary. The Soviet Union will remain what it is... There was nothing gained in the shift. We have euphoric illusions; our guard is down... We are in a lot of trouble. Our touchstone is always the question of freedom, liberty, and equality. If we lose sight of that, we are bound to lose, and we take a slap against the life and being of the oppressed." What about achieving "detente"? "This will bring grist to the mill of rampant illusion and will result in the opposite. You know what happened in Czechoslovakia." What if there is no alternative? "I know that it's difficult to find an alternative. But beware of false logic. Even if I don't find an alternative, I say that it's not good and I won't do it!"

# Beyond ITT and Allende

There has been considerable noise-making in the press recently about the alleged intervention of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT) to help defeat Salvador Allende in Chile's 1970 presidential election. Other reports from ranking official sources also admit that the CIA and the State Department spent some \$20 million dollars to help Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei defeat Allende in 1964. One generally gets a negative feeling from reading about such capers, but probably for the wrong reasons.

U.S. opposition to the election of a Marxist candidate was indeed a correct and moral policy. However, the means employed in doing so -- using undercover agents and secret funding by the CIA, etc -- were lacking in strategy, courage and vision. Without a doubt, the ITT and CIA involvement will be about as helpful for any future anti-Allende candidates as the Watergate scandal will be for any Republican nominee in 1976.

### Lack of Strategy

The major fault is a lack of strategy by the U.S. government to ideologically and politically fight against Communism. As Henry Kissinger stated, he was having a hard enough time trying to understand the motives of our own government let alone those of the Communists in North Vietnam. There is probably no consensus within the government about our strategy in world affairs. The Nixon doctrine is little more than a guide to ambiguity and is lacking in any goal other than a so-called "generation of peace."

If the U.S. were really making an open and honest effort to go on the ideological offensive against Communism, there would be little need for the ITT and CIA to get involved whatsoever. It is precisely the lack of such a program that forces either the CIA to do the "dirty work" or multinational companies, because of their economic interests, to become crudely involved.

### Ambiguous Involvement

The bankruptcy of this course of action has been clearly demonstrated in the Bay of Pigs fiasco and in our clandestine operations in Laos. In the case of the Bay of Pigs, it was clear our government's policies and those of the CIA were not well-coordinated. What we attempted there should have had absolute political and military support from the US government. Instead we botched the whole affair by making it an exclusive CIA operation. And in Laos the same holds true. Rather than sending in the American military after blatant Communist violations of the 1962 Geneva agreements, we again tried to foolishly hide our more-than-obvious support by making it virtually a CIA show and in the process discrediting our involvement anyway. This is not an indictment of the CIA for failing in a mission they could barely hope to succeed; it should have been an open and full effort by the US government in the first place.

And why not? Today the Soviets are spending 2 billion dollars a year on propaganda while the US has only allocated 200 million dollars for the same purpose. Soviet embassies contain 2-3 times more personnel than do American embassies; they are there specifically to carry on propaganda and espionage activities.

The fact is that we are in the midst of a propaganda or ideological war; we are unfortunately losing it. To leave the sole responsibility in this struggle to the CIA and private corporations will, as it has in the past, only bring us future disasters. It is time for our government to quit dealing from the bottom of the deck and to go on an all-out ideological offensive against Communism. Anything less will never do.

—Gary Jarmin

## Capitol Report



# Myths Revealed

by James Cowin

History is asking the United States to remember a war it wants to forget. The Canadians have charged the North Vietnamese with openly violating the ceasefire agreement after they shot down two International Commission for Supervision and Control helicopters. Communist forces may also overrun Phnom Penh, and President Nixon has declared that Communist positions in Cambodia will continue to be bombed. The U.S. could easily become more deeply involved.

The war would be easier to remember if American legislators understood the enemy. The Communists, however, have won the propaganda war "hands down," as the *Detroit News* has noted. The North Vietnamese successfully portrayed themselves to the world as a small nation fighting to free its people from foreign rule--first against the French and then against the U.S. Many Americans have guilt feelings about the war -- we think of ourselves as bullying a small boy.

The North Vietnamese Easter Offensive and the resulting counteroffensive revealed that the opposite is true. The North Vietnamese and Viet Cong are fighting not to liberate their Southern cousins, but to conquer them in accordance with Communist goals.

### Attacks on Refugees

Several myths were punctured by the spring campaign. First, the myth that the Indo-China War is a civil war, and that the Communists are fighting the South Vietnamese government and not the people. North Vietnamese troops decimated Southern refugee columns with heavy artillery and massacred pro-government civilians in occupied areas. The South Vietnamese declared their feelings by fleeing en masse from Quang Tri Province in the north to safer areas nearer Saigon, far from North Vietnamese troops. The unexpectedly determined resistance at An Loc, Pleiku and Kontum also demonstrated the desire of the Southerners to

die rather than submit to Communist rule.

Recent statements from returned POW's should have dashed almost all belief in the "sincere humanity" of the Communists. Reports of continuous torture, intended not simply to obtain military information but to break the prisoners' spirit and make them tools of their captors, aroused many Americans. Hopefully, they will remember that the South Vietnamese have suffered far worse, and they desperately need U.S. aid to preserve their freedom from Communist rule.

### Exaggerated Bombing Damage

Finally, the North's last trump card has been found to be a bluff. The Communist claim of U.S. "extermination bombing" has been found by U.S. reporters to be false. The *Detroit News* recently reported that 28 U.S. journalists in Hanoi witnessing the release of the last POW's checked on the bombing damage. One reporter from the *Washington Star-News* noted that "the city is hardly touched."

The *Detroit News* stated that the reporters found many examples of American precision bombing in which civilian houses as close as 25 yards from heavily damaged targets were unscathed. The Bach Mai Hospital complex, lamented by the North as destroyed, was off-limits to the reporters. The *News* stated that "...according to other reports only one building...suffered damage, having been hit inadvertently when bombers struck at a machine factory...placed right beside the hospital."

Legislators should view the war in light of this recent information. Unfortunately, a new appraisal may be necessary because of North Vietnamese violation of the ceasefire. Legislators should face this problem with clear vision and determination; Communist behavior has shown it to be a great threat to civilization, and stopping it can only be regarded as a necessity for world peace.

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# Basic Concepts of Marxism

The following excerpt from "Communism: A New Critique" by Dr. Sang Hun Lee, is a general overview of basic Marxist concepts. Detailed explanations and critiques of each of these concepts will be presented in later issues of *The Rising Tide*.

Marx, in his strong protest against the social situation, realized that it was necessary to unite the laborers tightly in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie and continuous struggle was required. For this it was urgent to ignite the 'laborers' minds with revolutionary consciousness and to organize them. In order to do this, a consistent system of thought had to be built. He had to prove that it was a necessary historical task to overthrow the capitalist class. He had to revolutionize the traditional view of history, which had been idealistic. Thus Marx finally formulated his ideology under the banner of proletarian liberation and Marxism appeared on the stage of history.

According to the idealistic view, history develops by God's providence through the power of outstanding leaders. Therefore, the social system of one's time is sacred and closed to change. For instance, during the ancient time of slavery, the greatest philosopher, Aristotle, asserted that the system of slavery was divinely ordained and therefore eternal. Thomas Aquinas, the chief philosopher at the peak of feudalism, maintained that the feudal hierarchy, with the Pope at the top and the serfs at the bottom, was the eternal social system.

## Idealism Inadequate

It seemed to Marx that idealistic historians defended capitalist society in the same way. According to the idealistic view, all men are equal. Therefore, laborers and capitalists are equal and free men. With their free will, they made a contract with each other whereby one party works and the other party pays his wage. Therefore inequality cannot exist. Thus idealism defended capitalism by ignoring the facts of exploitation and domination. For Marx idealism was an intolerable

reactionary view, and it was impossible to fulfill his historical task without destroying that idea. The first thing he undertook was sharp criticism of idealistic history. To do this he applied Hegel's dialectic to history.

Dialectic materialism is Marx' philosophy. He saw the world not as completed and static but in the process of constant change. Marx viewed the world as a complex body of things which are in the process of creation and extinction, progression and regression, and growth and decay. He didn't view individual things independently, but always in conjunction with the whole. Diverse changes occur through the struggle and union between contradictory elements. Each thing has contradictory elements within itself. These elements interact in process of union and struggle, which causes each thing to change and develop. For instance, an egg contains a fetus, which is a contradiction to the egg. These two contradictory things continue to unite and struggle, and the fetus grows gradually and fills the inside of the egg. Finally it breaks the shell of the egg and the chick emerges. The result is neither egg nor fetus, but a new creation: a chicken. According to Marx, everything in the natural world develops in this way.

Marx applied that law to general social development. Each economic society has had elements within itself which struggle against each other. The two fundamental elements are production relationship and the power of production. While production power continuously develops, production relationship will hinder the development of production power at a certain stage of social evolution. Hence the struggle between these two elements starts, causing that society to collapse and a new economic society to appear. Therefore, capitalist society inevitably will decay according to the law of historical development and a new society will arise. This, according to Marx, will be the proletarian society or Communist society. This is the Marxist view of history.

Marx was not content with that alone. In order to prove the historical

inevitability of the decay of capitalist society, he made a detailed analytical study of the capitalist economy, *Capital*, based on a theory of labor value which he developed from the English classics of economics written by Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Through this study he proved that within the capitalist structure several economic laws were operating which would eventually bring capitalism to destruction. At his time no one else had dreamt of such a thing. Lenin praised Marx' materialistic view of history, saying that it was no longer hypothetical but had now become a science.

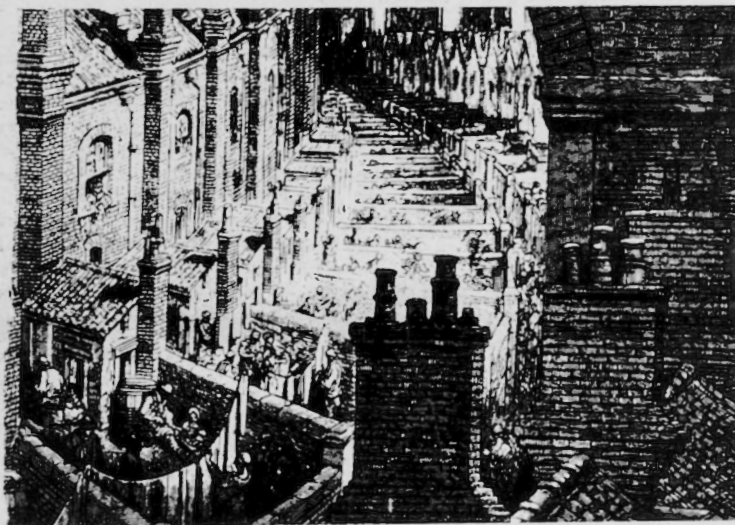
## Laws of Economic Development

Marx' laws of economic movement are the following: (1) The law of concentration of capital; (2) The law of diminishing profits; (3) The law of increasing poverty. Marx' laws are derived from the theory of labor value and the theory of surplus value. To summarize, in capitalist society individual capitalists will inevitably compete with one another. As a result of that competition, profits will become less and less and finally small capitalists will be forced out. The wealth will then be concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists. On the other hand, laborers will become poorer and poorer and their number will multiply until they form the majority of society. Because of this, the capitalist economic structure itself will fall.

What is the final, decisive moment to cause the capitalist society to fall? It is

proletarian revolution. Marx maintains the following: "as the number of capitalists increases, poverty, oppression, slavery, corruption, and exploitation will also increase. However, at the same time, the protest of the labor class intensifies. The concentration of the machinery of production and the socialization of labor will finally reach a point at which they can no longer co-exist within the capitalist structure. At that point the capitalistic framework will be broken. Then the bell will sound announcing the end of capitalistic possession. The exploiter will become the exploited." (*Capital*, Vol. I, Part 7, Chapter 24) Marx succeeded in establishing a materialistic view of history and firm economic theory to destroy the capitalist system.

Marx' doctrine became the most effective weapon for the class struggle and imported strong revolutionary consciousness and firm conviction of victory to the proletarian heart. Marx' doctrine was not formulated as a mere theory, but even in the beginning its purpose was to prepare revolution and to serve as a guide for revolutionary action. This was Marx' strong point as well as his detrimental weakness, for his thought was formulated wholly to achieve his purpose of justifying violent revolution. Therefore his theory could not be a universal truth but was only a product of his epoch. It was destined to be discarded in time. Marx' thought was applicable in his time, but today many errors in his doctrine have been exposed, and it is now only a relic of history.



Urban conditions in Marx's time (The Meaning of Communism, Time-Life)

# Ideology: What Is Human Nature?

by Gary Jarmin

An article in the June 9, 1972 issue of *Peking Review* entitled "The Struggle Between the Theory of Classes and the Theory of Human Nature in Literature and Art," attempts to prove that the idea of "men with human nature" is merely a bourgeois concept having no foundation in reality.

The report states that in artistic expression, "the proletariat advocates that efforts should be made to depict worker, peasant and soldier heroes, whereas the bourgeoisie advocates the 'quest for true man with human nature.'"

## Humanitarians--Traitors or Exploiters

Who are these people who aspire to the realization of "true human nature"? The article goes on to describe that there are actually two different kinds. "One is the devil in 'human' skin who gives himself up to the enemy," (an apparent attack on Liu Shao-Chi, Lin Piao and company). The other type are those whose "clothes are of the workers, peasants, and soldiers but the souls are those of the landlords and capitalists." Evidently, in this narrow definition, those who "oppose the theory of classes and substitute humanitarianism for communism" must be either "traitors" or "exploiters."

One Western reporter quoted a Chinese professor as saying: "I worked in my father's old mine," where he was sent for "corrective labor" after the

Cultural Revolution. "It was at that point," he said, "that I realized there was no such thing as human nature. There is only class nature."

## "No Human Nature in the Abstract"

Concerning this subject, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Is there such a thing as human nature? Of course there is. But there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature in the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of class character; there is no human nature above classes."

This false concept that man's nature is totally dependent on his class background is the crux of Marxist philosophy. Marx himself claims: "Productive life is, however, species-life," and, "The object of labor is therefore the objectification of man's species-life," meaning that his human nature is created through the act of producing.

What Marx and Mao are trying to say is that man's nature has no real innate qualities but his "human essence" is formed as a result of the production relationship, i.e., relationships between capitalist and worker.

## A Shallow Understanding

To limit man's only true life activity, that which creates his "species-being," to the act of labor ignores the broader potential of human nature. The fact is

that before man becomes a being of labor he is first an ethical being. From the time we are born until we become an adult or a worker, our lives are a maturation process in ethical relationships and personification of certain moral values. During this time our whole existence is primarily centered on love relationships in our family and among our peers. If we interpret Marx literally, we can conclude that before actually becoming workers, our lives from childhood to maturity have little value in terms of developing our human essence. In fact, most modern psychologists admit that the first seven years of a person's life are the most crucial in terms of developing one's character and personality. (512)

"Take 'love' for instance," the article continues. "Men of different classes love entirely different things because their thoughts and feelings are different." In a superficial sense this may be true in that a wealthy man may love caviar and Mozart while a poorer man may love chewing tobacco and Johnny Cash. However, each shares the same intensity in loving their wives, children, or a beautiful sunset.

## "Class relationship is the essence..."

Why do the Communists emphasize class nature so much? It is because they believe in the contradictions between classes and want to intensify class struggle. "The so-called theory of 'in-

fluence of human feelings' preached by the revisionists eliminates class contradictions and class struggle...Class relationship is the essence of relationship between man, and of all the complex contradictions, while struggles, whatever form they may take, are in the final analysis class struggle."

To imply that man's nature is basically similar, regardless of his class, would be a heresy in strict Marxist doctrine. The Communists want to emphatically deny that any real contradiction is between good and evil men or between good and evil within each man. Rather they want to propagate the childish idea that the bad guys in black hats are the capitalists whereas the good guys in white hats are the peasants and workers. They have carried this idea into practice to such an extent that today it is nearly impossible for the child of a former capitalist, land-owner or so-called reactionary (Christian, Moslem, nationalist, Jew, etc.) to ever hope to get a higher education or advance in the Party in many Communist countries.

It is quite evident that today many within Communist countries are beginning to realize or have always realized the fallacy of this view of human nature. Fortunately man's longing to realize his true human nature is an irresistible desire--a desire that will inevitably overcome the oppression propagated by Marxist falsehoods.

## August 1914

The following is from a review of August 1914 by Alexandr Solzhenitsyn written by Erazim Kohak, professor of philosophy at Boston University. It appeared in the February 28 issue of New America.

To the best of my knowledge, no major critic in the West has attacked Solzhenitsyn outright. Solzhenitsyn is, after all, a very major writer who has paid a high personal price for his literary courage. Yet while heavy-handed ideologues like George Lukacs are enjoying something of an intellectual vogue, critics have largely passed over Solzhenitsyn's major work, *August 1914*, with bland praise, doxographic pedantry and oblique attacks on allegedly outmoded style and dreadful translations. Many Western critics, it would seem, are finding *August 1914* somewhat embarrassing.

The reticence over Solzhenitsyn may well reflect a tacit recognition that *August 1914* challenges much of the conventional wisdom about the Russian revolution which has dominated Western thought. That conventional wisdom has its "reactionary" and "progressive" version. According to the first, the Russian revolution was unnecessary and therefore bad, its consequences simply confirming the initial error.

According to the latter, the revolution was necessary and therefore good -- regardless of consequences, the revolutionaries were progressive, heroes of a noble experiment. In both versions, however, the question concerns only the pros and the cons of "the revolution," and takes it for granted that only two positions are possible, for or against.

The trouble with *August 1914* may well be that it simply does not fit either alternative. Solzhenitsyn cannot be written off as a reactionary because he clearly recognizes that revolutionary change was in fact necessary. *August 1914* describes a classic revolutionary situation -- a ruling class which has lost both the will and the ability to rule, a nation no longer willing to be ruled. But Solzhenitsyn refuses to draw the conventional conclusion that since the revolution was necessary, it was good and idealistic, regardless of its nature.

### Two Revolutions Possible

Rather, his perceptive portrayal of Russia in 1914 makes it clear that two very distinct revolutions were possible. The semi-feudal Czarist aristocracy had to be replaced, but it could be replaced either by the pragmatic, technologically oriented intelligentsia represented in the book by Colonel Vorotynsev, or by the ideologically oriented revolutionaries represented by Ensign Lenar-tovich.

The alternatives represented by the technicians and the ideologues are not the alternatives of stability or revolution. Both represent a revolutionary change. But they diverge sharply in their estimate of what genuine change means. For the first, it means replacing autocracy with democracy, orthodoxy with a pragmatic approach to social issues. For the second, change is first of all a change of ideological content rather than of

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social structure -- replacing reactionary autocracy of the Czars with the revolutionary autocracy of the Soviets, the reactionary orthodoxy of the Church with the progressive orthodoxy of the Party.

Conventional wisdom about the Russian revolution has always taken for granted that, given the centuries of Russian autocracy and orthodoxy, the democratic, pluralistic alternative of the technocrats simply was not possible. According to it, the only possibilities were either Czarist or Bolshevik autocracy and orthodoxy -- and since the Czarist alternative had become untenable, the Bolshevik one was necessarily progressive.

Even after fifty years of Communism, after Stalin, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, conventional wisdom regards support for the "revolutionary" regime, recently qualified in Sartre's phrase, as "critical" support, as evidence of "progressive" or "liberal" attitude.

### Another Alternative

Solzhenitsyn's description of Russia in 1914, like the work of the rebels of Prague in 1968, is embarrassing precisely because it undercuts the claim that the Communist revolution, in spite of its record, was progressive because it was the only alternative to Czarism. In a way which is far more authentically Marxist than the orthodoxy of his Soviet critics, Solzhenitsyn shows that the accelerating industrial development in Russia was in fact creating a real basis for democracy. Technological complexity demands that exercise of power be made contingent on competence rather than birth or belief, that ideas be placed to the test of practice rather than of orthodoxy. Not rhetoric, but changing productive relations were making a democratic transformation possible.

It would, admittedly, have been a difficult transformation, but it would have been a deep rooted, radical one. By contrast the Bolshevik alternative was easy -- and not very radical at all. It did not challenge the habits of autocracy and orthodoxy, but simply proposed to give them a new ideological content.

In place of feudal autocracy, it proposed a Soviet one -- the revolutionary slogan was not freedom, democracy, or socialism, but "All power to the Soviets!"

In place of the privilege of noble birth, the Bolsheviks proposed not the test of competence or popular choice, but rather the privilege of worker-peasant origin.

In place of ecclesiastical orthodoxy, they proposed not freedom but a Marxist orthodoxy in their own peculiar definition. It is not surprising that the Bolsheviks prevailed.

But if Solzhenitsyn's description of pre-revolutionary Russia is accurate, the Communist revolutionaries no longer appear as heroes, in virtue of having carried out the only revolution possible. Nor does that revolution appear as progressive on the conventional grounds that while autocratic and orthodox rather than democratic and pluralistic, it represented a step toward socialist democracy. Rather, it appears profoundly reactionary: while it substituted Communism for Czarism, it perpetuated the most reactionary trait of Russian society, its ideocratic, autocratic orthodoxy.

The reticence over Solzhenitsyn, with its bland praise, its doxographic pedantry and its oblique attacks, is altogether understandable. Reappraisals of ingrained conventional wisdom are invariably agonizing. But it may well be a most unfortunate reticence.

## "State of Siege"

By Allan Brownfeld  
Roll Call, April 12, 1973

WHEN THE AMERICAN Film Institute in Washington, D.C. decided to cancel the film, "State of Siege," from its opening night performance in the tax-supported Kennedy Center, the Institute was criticized by the film's director and distributor for attempting to "censor" it.

The film's U.S. producer, Donald S. Rugoff, president of Cinema 5 Ltd., and U.S. distributor of "State of Siege," charged the American Film Institute with "an act of bald censorship." Those connected with the film denied that it was a "rationalization" of political murder.

What exactly is the film "State of Siege" attempting to deal with -- and to say? The movie depicts the murder of Daniel Mitriane, a former Richmond, Indiana police chief and AID official by Tupamaros, a unit of the Communist Southern Guerrilla Command which operated in several South American countries. The AID official was killed after Uruguayan President Jorge Pacheco refused to agree to Tupamaro demands for the release of 187 men alleged by the Communists to be "political prisoners."

The main character in the film is named "Philip Santore," but the program distributed to this writer and others at a press showing of the film last week clearly states that, "The events in this film actually took place in a South American country."

After the film's showing, the director, Costa-Gavras, and the film's writer, Franco Solinas, remained in the theatre for more than an hour answering questions. No one who attended that question-and-answer session can doubt that the film's director and writer sought to make at least two simple points in the film: (1) The United States is in the business of training torturers in Latin America and elsewhere and (2) The Tupamaros, far from being a violent guerrilla organization seeking to Communize their country are, instead, a group of idealistic and well-meaning young men and women who were justified in murdering the American official in question.

### One-sided

The film was made in Chile and the director and writer admitted extensive conversations and communications with the Tupamaros. In fact, the film was based on material provided to them by the guerrilla group. Whether or not any attempt was made to verify the information was not stated. No evidence that the director or writer spoke with representatives of AID, the Uruguayan government, or those in Washington, D.C., whom they accused of training police officials in torture techniques--which are grimly reproduced in the film--was given.

The film shows a series of "executions" in Uruguay by the police of that country, yet the actual "execution" of Santore was not shown. The reason: they did not know "exactly how he was killed, implying that they did know the manner in which the myriad of police shootings which they depicted were carried out--or if they were carried out at all. The reason, in reality, was that to show any sympathy for the American victim, or to evoke any sympathy in the audience, would have defeated their point. One questioner asked why all the Uruguayan officials and Americans were depicted

as "bad guys" and all of the Communist guerrillas as "good guys." The response, in essence, was: "That's the way we saw the situation."

While the movie clearly states that the U.S. is training police in the uses of torture, the director and writer admitted under questioning that "we have no evidence with regard to training in torture. The only evidence is provided by the presence of American police leaders in countries where torture is practiced." Another questioner pointed out that the U.S. trains police from Israel, a Zionist state, from Uganda, a black racist state, and from Yugoslavia, a Communist state, and wondered whether, as a result, our government was training in "Racism, Communism, or Zionism." That was deemed by Costa-Gavras not to be a "question."

The movie is technically far below Costa-Gavras' former productions. Film Critic Gary Arnold of *The Washington Post*, for example, notes that "State of Siege" develops "... a peculiarly didactic personality. The filmmakers seem more concerned with ... criticizing various aspects of American foreign policy than exploiting the sheer dramatic potential in the events."

*Newsweek* critic Edward Behr termed the film "an attempt to prove that his (Mitriane's) killing was not only inevitable but justifiable... It's probably true to say that American money has never financed a more cold-blooded and rationally argued anti-American movie."

Distributor Rugoff refused to permit the trustees of the American Film Institute to even see the film and, as a result, they canceled its showing. Imagine the irony if they had not--of showing a pro-Communist film extolling political murder in the Kennedy Center, named for a man who was himself killed by a pro-Communist in a political assassination.

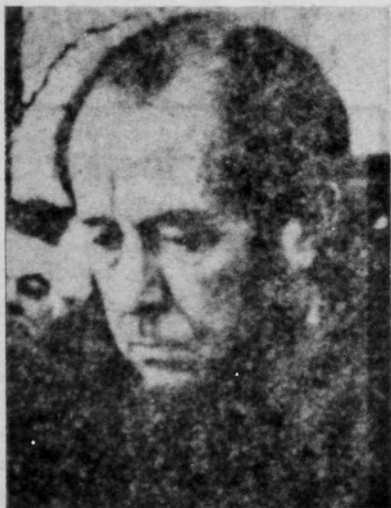
Those who seek to defend "State of Siege" or criticize the American Film Institute should do so with the full understanding that the movie's director, writer, and distributor are quite open in defending the murder they depict and in extolling the use of violence. Has American masochism gone so far that, in the wake of the Kennedy assassination and the recent brutal murders in the Sudan of two American diplomats by another radical guerrilla organization, we will give our dollars and our homage to men who romanticize such barbarism? Time alone will tell us the answer to that question.

### "A new variety of tyrant"

Costa-Gavras and Solinas have evidently read a good deal of Marx and Lenin. One wonders whether or not they have read Camus, who declared in *The Rebel*, "Has not rebellion ... become the excuse of a new variety of tyrant? Rebellion, when it develops into destruction, is illogical. Claiming the unity of the human condition, it is force of life, not of death. Its most profound logic is not the logic of destruction; it is the logic of creation. Its movement, in order to remain authentic, must never abandon any of the terms of the contradiction that sustains it. It must be faithful to the yes that it contains as well as the no that nihilistic interpretations isolate in rebellion.... Nihilistic passion, adding to falsehood and injustice, destroys in its fury the original demands, and thus deprives rebellion of its most cogent reasons."

Those who advocate violence as a means through which freedom may be more widely distributed ignore the historical contexts within which freedom has been established and extended. They would find that violence has resulted in less freedom and more repression, and violence imbued with ideology has pursued with a vengeance ends which have made means such as genocide, inquisitions, and slave labor camps acceptable. A democratic society accepts as one of its principles that means are ends in themselves.

Costa-Gavras was asked whether his next film was going to "rationalize" the Black September murders of recent days. He hadn't thought that far ahead, he said.



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