

In This Issue

Diego What?!

An obscure island comes to the center of strategic policy debate.

U.S. Youth Council On Africa

Southern Africa is focus of recent seminar in USYC foreign policy series.

A New Political Spectrum

We have long known the inadequacies of the right-left spectrum. An alternative.

For Amber Waves of Grain

Consequences and implications of East-West trade.

Creating A Peace

Indochina is now in a crucial transitional period which could lead either to a new era of peace and stability or to an intensification of the war within the next two or three years. America's level of support for Cambodia and South Vietnam during this period will be a key factor in determining which way the balance will go.

The cease-fire so far has achieved a rough but tenuous balance of forces. Territorial and population control have changed little over the past year. The governments of both South Vietnam and Cambodia still control most of their countries' population, remaining stable enough to have turned back Communist military and political pressures.

In Vietnam, combat deaths, while still substantial, have declined to their lowest level since 1965—down 75% from 1972. Some 500,000 refugees have been resettled. Virtually all pre-cessfire civilian detainees and POW's—at least on the government side—have been released. The land reform program is making progress. President Thieu's authority and popularity face no major challenge. A measure of his support is that he frequently travels throughout the country mingling freely with the populace without intensive security precautions.

In Cambodia, the war passed onto a new level of terror with the Red Khmer shelling of Phnom Penh over the last two months, causing over 750 civilian casualties and leaving thousands homeless. However, the shelling

failed to cause enough disruption to bring down the Lon Nol government, as the insurgents had hoped. The Khmer army recently pushed the rebel guns out of range of the city, taking advantage of its shorter supply lines and the vacuum created by the Red Khmer concentration around Phnom Penh to regain much territory. The insurgents suffered an estimated 3,000 killed and wounded in the Northwest of Phnom Penh alone, with an additional ten to thirty per cent lost through defection or illness, leaving less than half of the original Communist consignment around Phnom Penh.

More importantly, the Communists are now undercutting their primary base of support, the rural population. To support their all-out effort against the capital, they apparently instituted draconian measures in the countryside, including forced conscription, communalization of food production, and oppressive taxation. They even resorted to repression of Buddhism which, for the devout Cambodians, is a major crime. As a result, the villagers began a mass exodus into government territory. In February, some 45,000 civilians streamed into the provincial capitals, many voicing their bitterness toward the Communists.

Because of these multiple problems, the Red Khmer are wavering in their resolve and enthusiasm for aggressive combat operations. On the other hand, the Khmer army's morale and combat effectiveness appears to be improving.

(continued on page 7.)



The Rising Tide

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

Vol. 4, No. 6

25¢

April 8, 1974

The Tottering Alliance

Amid the destruction of crumbling cities and ravaged countryside, "prosperity" seemed like a forgotten dream to the hungry and desperate populations of war-torn Europe. The growing shadow of the Red Army, already covering the ancient capitals of Eastern Europe, threatened to block out the first rays of peace in the newly liberated nations of Western Europe.

Forged in dire need and danger, the Atlantic alliance restored the prosperity and secured the peace of Western Europe. For nearly twenty-five years the alliance has been the bedrock of West European peace and prosperity.

Today the role of the Atlantic alliance in American and European affairs is in serious question. At issue is the relationship between military, cooperation on the one hand and political-economic cooperation on the other.

Military and Economic- Political Cooperation

The Europeans take the view that collaboration on military affairs by NATO members does not mean that the European Economic Community, or individual nations within the Community, must co-operate with the United States in political and economic affairs. The point came home when the nine-nation European Common Market voted unanimously to open talks with twenty Arab nations on ways to promote economic and technical exchange, without including or con-



sulting the United States.

The United States protested that this decision violated the spirit of the pledges made at the 13-nation Washington Energy Conference for close co-operation between Western Europe, America, Canada and Japan on all matters relating to the energy crisis.

In a nationally televised question-answer session President Nixon said: "The Europeans cannot have it both ways," enjoying American defense support while encouraging "confrontation" or "even hostility on the economic and political fronts."

Undoubtedly American troops are in Europe to protect the United States as much as Western Europe. In a speech last week the President said, "It is in the vital interests of peace in the world, and the interests of the security of America, as well as Europe, that the alliance continue and that there be no reduction of American forces in Europe."

But he added, perhaps referring to the demand coming from some quarters of Congress for a reduction of U.S. troop levels in Europe, that "if their policies in the political and economic fields appear hostile to us, it is going to be hard for any President to get through Congress the necessary appropriations to maintain their security and ours."

The heart of American policy, according to Henry Kissinger, is the belief that "political, military, and economic issues are linked by

reality, not by our choice nor for the tactical purpose of trading one off against the other."

In accordance with the Kissinger-Nixon formula for military, economic, and political co-operation among alliance partners, the U.S., over the past year, has sought to convince the Europeans to draw up a "new Atlantic Charter" to deal with Atlantic problems comprehensively.

European reaction to the proposal for a "new Atlantic Charter" ranged from indifference to open hostility. To many Europeans, especially France, the new initiative represented an attempt by America to exercise economic and political hegemony over Western Europe.

European opposition, led by France, first split the Charter proposal into two parts in order to emphasize the separation of military and political-economic issues.

The defense portion went to the 15-nation North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the political-economic section was sent to the European Economic Community for consideration.

The Statement of Principles drawn up after a year of what Henry Kissinger called "jurisdictional, doctrinal, legalistic dispute," emphasized the need for America and the Common Market countries to co-operate as "equals" but not as "partners."

Plainly disappointed with the Charter and irritated by Europe's in-

dependent dealings with the Arabs, President Nixon cancelled a trip to Europe scheduled for this month. The visit was planned for the purpose of signing the new Atlantic Charter and honoring the 25th Anniversary of the Atlantic Alliance.

Reflecting the seriousness of the disagreement, Secretary of State Kissinger called it "the biggest problem in American foreign policy."

Intra-European Friction

Of course, serious disagreements mar intra-European co-operation and unity as well. Contrary to popular expectation, experts see no convergence of political and economic interests among West European nations. A top Belgian Foreign Ministry official noted, "The Germans no longer need Europe, not even economically, for markets. The French fear that any new progress towards unity will only mean the loss of hard-won economic and political advantages. The British government knows that most English dislike the Community."

Ironically, one source of friction is Europe's relationship with the U.S. Most European nations, West Germany and Great Britain especially, favor close economic, political, and defense ties to the U.S.

Britain's new labor government strongly endorsed President Nixon's complaints over the decaying state

(continued on page 7.)

Free Vladimir Bukovsky!

The young Russian poet Vladimir Bukovsky, 31, may soon die from deprivation and mistreatment in an unheated Soviet prison cell. Friends and relatives have not heard from Bukovsky in a long, long time. And even his lawyers have been denied the right to communicate with him, a right guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution.

Already suffering from a heart murmur and kidney disease, the result of three earlier internments, Bukovsky cannot live much longer if the treatment he is receiving now continues. Bukovsky's mother fears that he may already be dead.

Vladimir Bukovsky was last arrested in 1971 because he told a Western correspondent in Moscow

about the uses made by the KGB of Soviet mental asylums to illegally incarcerate and repress political dissidents.

"Don't threaten me," he once told a Communist prosecutor after an interview he had given Holger Jensen, an Associated Press correspondent, in which he spelled out the details of life in Soviet prisons and psychiatric hospitals. "I am not afraid. If my last speech was not enough, there will be a second one...and after my release, more material for another interview."

Evidently the Soviet authorities are determined to stop that interview from ever taking place in the

(continued on page 7.)



Open letter to the Seventh World Anti-Communist League Conference

by Dan Graydon Fefferman

Secretary General, Freedom Leadership Foundation

Despite the signs which lead many conscientious people to despair, we stand on the threshold of what could be a new and glorious age for all mankind. We do possess, for the first time in human history, the scientific and technological potential to provide for the material well-being of the entire population of this earth. Two critical problems, however, now beset us. The method and the efficiency with which these problems are attacked will determine whether or not the new age which awaits us will fulfill the prophecies of glory or those of doom and despair. These problems are 1) the continuing menace of Communism and the lack of a leading ideology in the free world to overcome it and 2) our own lack of trust, cooperation and guiding principles to provide for the commonality of purposes and ideals necessary to bring about world brotherhood and peace.

All of us concerned enough with the problem of Communism to have been involved in the World Anti-Communist League recognize the problem. Most of us, too, are ultimately concerned with the second problem and would agree that mere anti-Communism is not enough. What we really want is peace. And for us, peace necessitates freedom, which cannot be achieved without victory over the tyranny which Communism inevitably creates. But what kind of victory are we talking about? What kind of means will we use to overthrow it? And what kind of world will emerge after that victory is won?

Marxism-Leninism is more than a methodology of social change or a theory of political and economic development. It is at once a cosmology, a philosophy, a political methodology, an economic theory, and a style of government. Its approach is totalitarian. Moreover, it is utterly atheistic, materialistic and tyrannical in its style.

The kind of victory we are looking for when we oppose Communism, then, is ultimately spiritual, and, moreover, liberating. The means we will use to achieve this victory, ultimately, will be peaceful. What fighting we do, will be in self-defense. And we must under no circumstances fall into the trap which led so many perhaps idealistic and well-intentioned Marxists into the justification of terror, extortion, murder, hatred and wholesale slaughter of innocent people: the trap of believing that the ends justify literally any means. The means we use must be based on love, with malice toward no person, but with the swift vengeance of truth against the false concepts which have led that person into his distorted state.

The world which emerges after our victory must be a world of peace and brotherhood. Some anti-Communists argue that there can never be peace; and there will never be world brotherhood. What we need, they say, is to come to this realization and fight simply to preserve the individual freedom which 'true believers' so often destroy. This view would be valid if it were not for the fact that we are on the threshold of a new age, an age unprecedented in human history. The Communists also believe this, and they are not wrong in doing so. They are wrong because they believe that man can and must achieve this new world without cooperation from or reliance upon God; and because they propose to impose their new world on people by force.

What we need then, is a unifying world vision which includes both freedom and God. Religious, racial and national bigotry have no place in the world to come. We believe, moreover, that they have no place in WACL, if WACL is to be a meaningful institution in the struggle for freedom and peace.

Let us then resolve together, to broaden our vision toward the goal of the achievement of a world of unity and love. Then alone can we hope to inspire the trust and commitment of the young generation which seeks so desperately for the realization of this very vision.

Perhaps what we have really forgotten in our 'anti-Communist' struggle is that Communism is the enemy of both our brother, man, and our Father, God. With this in mind let us not fulfill the dictum of Cain who asked 'am I my brother's keeper?' but rather the prophecy of Isaiah, who foretold 'and a little child shall lead them.' Beyond the sweat, blood and tears in the mounting struggle, a world of peace is indeed waiting. Children of the world, unite!

National Day: Cambodia

From Kingdom to Khmer Republic

by Gaffar Peang-Meth

On March 18, 1974, the Khmer Republic celebrated the fourth anniversary of its Revolution.

It was on March 18, 1970 that the Khmers of all walks of life rose up to put an end to the Khmer monarchical regime which, for 2,000 years, had kept them in slavery. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, former King and later Head of State was removed by the people from his functions, and his excessive abuses of power as well as his feudal and dictatorial methods were terminated.

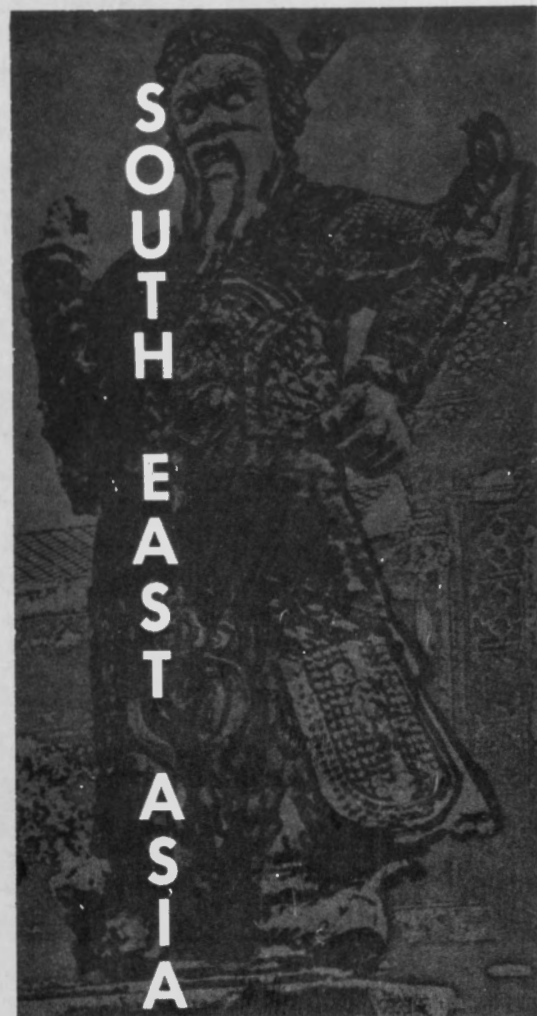
In the words of Prime Minister Lon Nol in 1970:

"Liberty, which we just found again, is good for all Khmers. We shall use this Liberty, to reorganize our economy, our society, and our culture, to make *Kampuchea* a country where the exploitation of one man by another, or the enslaving of the poor by the rich, does not exist, and where each citizen actively participates in the economic, political, and cultural life in brotherhood and mutual cooperation according to the hopes of our people."

Why?

It is beyond doubt that for many years Prince Sihanouk conducted policies laced with corruption which led the nation to near ruin. The Prince's brand of socialism yielded bitter results: state enterprises showed deficits, the economy regressed, the country's standard of living declined. Yet during the last few years, at a time of hardship for his people, the Prince was very much preoccupied with extravagant spending in the construction of large, luxurious buildings--motel, hotels, casinos--producing more movies, organizing more film festivals. To hide failures and show "successes," a blacklist was instituted barring foreign journalists--the potential "trouble makers"--from entering Cambodia. A rigid conformity was imposed on those who were permitted to enter. As far as the Khmer Government and Parliament were concerned, they were rendered mere tools to further the Prince's policies; those who opposed them were simply repressed.

In July 1969, when the congress of the Sangkum Reastr Niyum (People's Socialist Community) was convened in Phnom-Penh, Prince Sihanouk acknowledged Cambodia's extremely precarious



economic situation and looked for a new government to redress the country's economy. After first rejecting the Prince's offer to assume the post, Lon Nol received strong endorsement from the National Assembly and "concessions" from the Prince for freedom of the General's government in its work, within the framework of the Khmer Constitution. On August 14, 1969, the government of Premier Lon Nol was instituted by the National Assembly, and given the title "Salvation Government" by Prince Sihanouk himself.

In reviewing Cambodia's policies, the "Salvation Government" concluded that Cambodia's economy, and especially her trade balance, was seriously injured by Prince Sihanouk's dealings with the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese. For example, the failure of the rice campaign in 1968-69 caused a serious shortage of that vital staple. As substantial acquisitions of Khmer goods by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese were accomplished through smuggling, Cambodia's rice supply was critically depleted. Smuggling occurred in such volume that the resulting loss of duty payments was detrimental to the economy. The "Salvation Government" decided that this situation must be corrected.

The "Salvation Government" further believed that if the country and the people were indeed to be "saved," a number of other things must also be corrected, particularly the use of Khmer territory by the armed forces of the Vietcong and North Vietnam.

It is an undeniable truth that Khmer territory has been used by these troops. The areas of the land estimated by Khmer authorities to be under the occupation of the Vietnamese communists in early March 1970, covered 3,500 square kilometers, spreading from the Khmer-South Vietnamese border to the areas surrounding the Great Lake. Evidence of this occupation had been available long before Prince Sihanouk was removed from power. Khmer Parliament members had repeatedly made public reports to the National Assembly of the occupation of their provinces, illustrated by the safe-conduct passes issued by the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese to Khmer citizens in various parts of their electoral districts. General Lon Nol himself came under Vietnamese Communist fire while touring the country in the capacity of Defense Minister in 1969. From Peking, on April 20, 1970, Prince Sihanouk admitted that "True, there had been armed members of the F.N.L. who were brought into our territory sometimes in the necessities of the war."

Since March 18, the Lon Nol government has charged that an estimated 40 to 60,000 Vietnamese communist soldiers occupied Khmer soil. The U.S.-South

Vietnamese intervention (April 30-June 30) produced evidence of elaborate and sophisticated military bases containing bunkers with hospital facilities and central gathering areas and supply dumps. The new Khmer government also revealed that agreements were made between Prince Sihanouk and the Vietcong-North Vietnamese, bypassing the Government and the National Assembly, allowing these foreign armed forces to conduct transit operations in the Kingdom: weapons, ammunition, medical and food supplies, and other material necessary for the conduct of the Vietnam war were dispatched to the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese bases through Cambodia's ports and airports under numerous guises. Prince Sihanouk himself confessed to Henry Kamm (The N.Y. Times, July 4, 1973) that he made his troops transport these war materiel for the NV/C. "Two-thirds for the Viet Cong, one-third for yourself - at that rate one sells oneself. So that was my end, that was my end. There is the truth."

As Khmer deputies and provincial governors reported that the situation got worse in their electoral districts and Khmer soldiers on patrol reported deadly ambushes and widespread unrest, it became obvious that the territory which Prince Sihanouk permitted the Vietcong and North Vietnamese to use as "sanctuaries" in their war in Vietnam was also used against the Khmers. In many areas, Khmer citizens could not travel safely within their provinces without safe-conduct passes from the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese, reducing the relationship of Prince Sihanouk's Cambodia with North Vietnam to that of step-child of an imperialist neighbor. As foreign forces behaved in Cambodia more and more like conquerors, an explosion of resentment and anger on the part of the natives became unavoidable.

It was precisely that reaction that triggered the anti-Vietcong and anti-North Vietnamese demonstrations and riots in Cambodia. Their important significance, which has unfortunately been widely misinterpreted abroad, was the reaffirmation of Khmer will to have Khmer territorial integrity respected; and a Khmer refusal to tolerate the military occupation of their soil by foreign armed forces, regardless of their ideological camp.

Appeals for Arms Aid

Ironically, the Prince has frequently declared that he has no love for power; yet his actions after his deposit indicate just the opposite. He publicly announced his unshakable determination to return to power with the aid of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese armed forces, even at the cost of destroying his country's independence and neutrality. With the Prince on their side, the Vietnamese communists emerged from

their sanctuaries, marching westward, deeper into Khmer territory. The Khmer armed forces, oriented toward ceremonial functions under the Prince, found themselves unable to counter the battle-ried aggressors. History will record constant Khmer appeals for help to all nations, regardless of ideological conviction.

Finally, on April 14, Prime Minister Lon Nol first issued to the world an urgent appeal for arms. At no time did he suggest he wanted foreign troops to be introduced to bolster the Khmer Army. The decision to request arms was made only after the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese troops had penetrated deeply into Cambodia. When Saang, a town 20 miles from Phnom Penh was seized by enemies on April 19, the Khmers feared a final takeover of Cambodia by the Vietnamese Communists. Since the Khmer appeal for arms on April 14 received no reply, and with the situation getting ever more critical, on April 21, premier Lon Nol sent a direct appeal to President Nixon to help Cambodia.

It was the refusal of Vietcong and the North Vietnamese to negotiate over the issue of withdrawal of armed forces from Khmer territory, their increasingly aggressive invasion, and the lack of response from other countries in assisting her with the arms she very badly needed that led Cambodia and her people to feel relief when the American forces entered Cambodia on April 30, 1970. (The Americans completely withdrew their troops on June 30, 1970.)

The Khmer Government and the people themselves know that in the final analysis, it is they--the Khmers--who will bring victory to their country. Accordingly, they reserve this honor for themselves.

With pride, therefore, Khmer nationals who have long been living in Dampuchea Krom, South Vietnam, and Thailand, have entered their motherland, offering to serve in the fight to keep Cambodia free.

The Republic Will Live

The Government of the Khmer Republic has done its utmost to find peace despite the intransigence of the enemies--in offering a six-point peace proposal on July 6, 1973, which was reiterated on September 24 and December 28 of the same year. It will continue to double its efforts to find peace for its people.

Facing the strong determination of the Khmers to remain free, the Communists resorted to the most inhumane acts by shelling the population areas of Phnom Penh in order to terrorize the Khmer people and bring down the Government of their own choice. As CBS-WDAU Radio of Pennsylvania editorialized on February 21, 1974:

"Red gunners have been pouring rocket and artillery shells into the heavily populated city in cruel and wanton fashion."

"The cannonading of the helpless multitudes in Phnom Penh represents inhumanity and barbarism at their worst. Yet where are the voices of protest? Where are the handwringers who invoked the entire lexicon of censure against the United States when we were bombing well-defended military targets in North Vietnam? Yes, where are the churchmen, the congressional doves, the virtuous of the media, the UN Secretary General, Jane Fonda and all the others who held this government up to world defamation because we tried to frustrate Communist aggression?"

Regardless of the hardships, sufferings and atrocities the Khmers have faced during these four years of war of aggression, the true patriots of the Khmer Republic are not shaken--they are looking to the future with optimism.

They have adopted a Republican Constitution in a national referendum on April 30, 1972. They have elected their first Republican President in universal and direct suffrage on June 4 of the same year. On September 3 and 17, 1972, the National Assembly and the Senate were duly elected. Then followed the creation of many other republican institutions.

Surely, during these four years, the Khmer Republic has faced some reverses--and there will be others--but the true Republicans will go on building a new society for themselves.

The Khmer Republic will live because these true Republicans are determined to achieve the ideals of the Khmer Revolution as proclaimed on March 18, 1970. To build a neutral, independent and stable society, a dignified nation whose people will find their place in society and who will remain free of foreign domination.

And the true Republicans will go on searching for peace for their fatherland, because such peace entails peace in the region and the world.

"The People, the Congress, and the Presidency"

"The People, The Congress and the Presidency" was the theme of a weekend student symposium attended by several FLF staff members March 29-31 at the Sheraton International Conference Center in Reston, Virginia. About 300 students and observers participated, under the sponsorship of the Center for the Study of the Presidency directed by Dr. Gordon R. Hoxie of New York.

Keynoting the conference was Vice President Gerald R. Ford, who emphasized the role of youth in determining the country's future, noting what he called a "general distrust" of government, which, he said is not limited to the Presidency. He cited a recent Harris survey which indicated even less popular confidence in the Congress (21%) than the much more widely publicized low degree of confidence in the President (25%). "What we need is new blood," Ford told the students. "And you're it. There is no better way to make government more responsive and moral than for young people like yourselves to get involved in the political process."

Highlighting the symposium were three round table discussions featuring noted experts in the field of government, diplomacy, education, the military and journalism. Well-known participants included Comptroller General Elmer Staats, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs Carol C. Laie, Deputy USA Director Eugene P. Kopp, Illinois Congressman John B. Anderson, White House aide and former USA film director Bruce Henschensohn, and deputy National News Editor of the New York Times Robert Semple, Jr. A closing plenary address was delivered by Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen, a possible contender for the 1976 Democratic Presidential nomination.

Discussions were heated at times, especially during the Saturday evening session, when Air Force Lt. General Daniel James, Jr. confronted hostile questions from the more radical elements of the symposium with characteristic strength and candor. "I am a warrior," James declared, "and I make no apologies for it." James is the highest ranking black officer in the U.S. Air Force.



FLF Secretary General Dan Fefferman queried USA Deputy Director Kopp as to why Kopp's agency did not take a more forthright stand in the ideological struggle against Communism.

"Why is it that on the one hand the U.S. public is prohibited from seeing award winning USA-produced films on, for example, the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and on the other hand the Soviet public is prevented by U.S. policy from receiving the full text of Solzhenitsyn's letter to Secretary Brezhnev through Voice of America broadcasts -- when Brezhnev himself has declared that periods of detente are accompanied by an intensification of the ideological war?" Fefferman asked.

Kopp replied that it was U.S. policy not to distribute USA materials to the domestic public, as this might be construed to constitute "propagandizing our own citizenry." He said he believed the USA had done an adequate job of publicizing Russian underground activities within the context of detente, but admitted that "a very serious debate" over the wisdom of the current character of detente is now in progress.

The three round-table sessions, with small group discussion periods following them, covered the subjects "Congress and the Presidency as viewed by Education and the Media," "Formulation of National Security Policy", and "The

Presidency and the Congress: Future Organization and Relationships."

The first round-table, "Congress and the Presidency as viewed by Education and the Media," set out the broad range of problems confronting the Presidency as an institution -- Robert Semple, an articulate moderator concluded that the man in the White House is confronted with an adversary press, an overweight bureaucracy, a general erosion of moral values, a politicized press and Congress, and an unresponsive and flawed system. Student Co-chairmen and discussion group moderators organized and coordinated the symposium under the directorship of Dr. Hie.

Despite a degree of tension, the discussions and plenary sessions were generally orderly and respectful. FLF President Neil Albert Salonen attributed this to a "changing mood among American young people." He said American youth is now "more constructively oriented" than during the emotional era of the Vietnam war. "The symposium reflected a real concern for the future of America," Salonen said. "A high degree of sensitivity was manifested, particularly in the area of domestic affairs. If this can be matched with regard to foreign policy, then America may well be on the road back to strength, service and moral commitment in foreign affairs by 1976."

America is a great country -- founded upon the highest ideals, tested by time and turmoil, and able to bear the privilege of safe-guarding freedom.

America is a good country -- twice sacrificing herself for the sake of the world in the first half of this century alone, and the only sure moral bulwark against tyranny.

America can fulfill her greatness and her goodness on the foundation of her citizens' love for freedom and willingness to sacrifice.

Therefore we stand in unity with those in America and abroad who are working for the ideals of democracy, freedom, brotherhood, justice, and morality.

We hereby express our faith that in this country, at this time, with the help of God, we can accomplish these ideals on behalf of all mankind.

Partial Listing:

Accuracy in Media

AFL-CIO

American Friends of Cambodia

Automated Correspondence

Constantin Boldyreff

Chase Studios

Staunton Calvert

Mary Ann Christiansen

Dorothy Coffman

*Czechoslovak National Council,
Washington D.C. Chapter*

Embassy of the Republic of Vietnam

Istvan Gereben

Hungarian Freedom Fighters

Reed Irvine

Dr. Walter Judd

General Thomas Lane

Dr. Charles Moser

Col. Bo Hi Pak

J.A. Parker

Laszlo Pasztor

Polish-American Congress

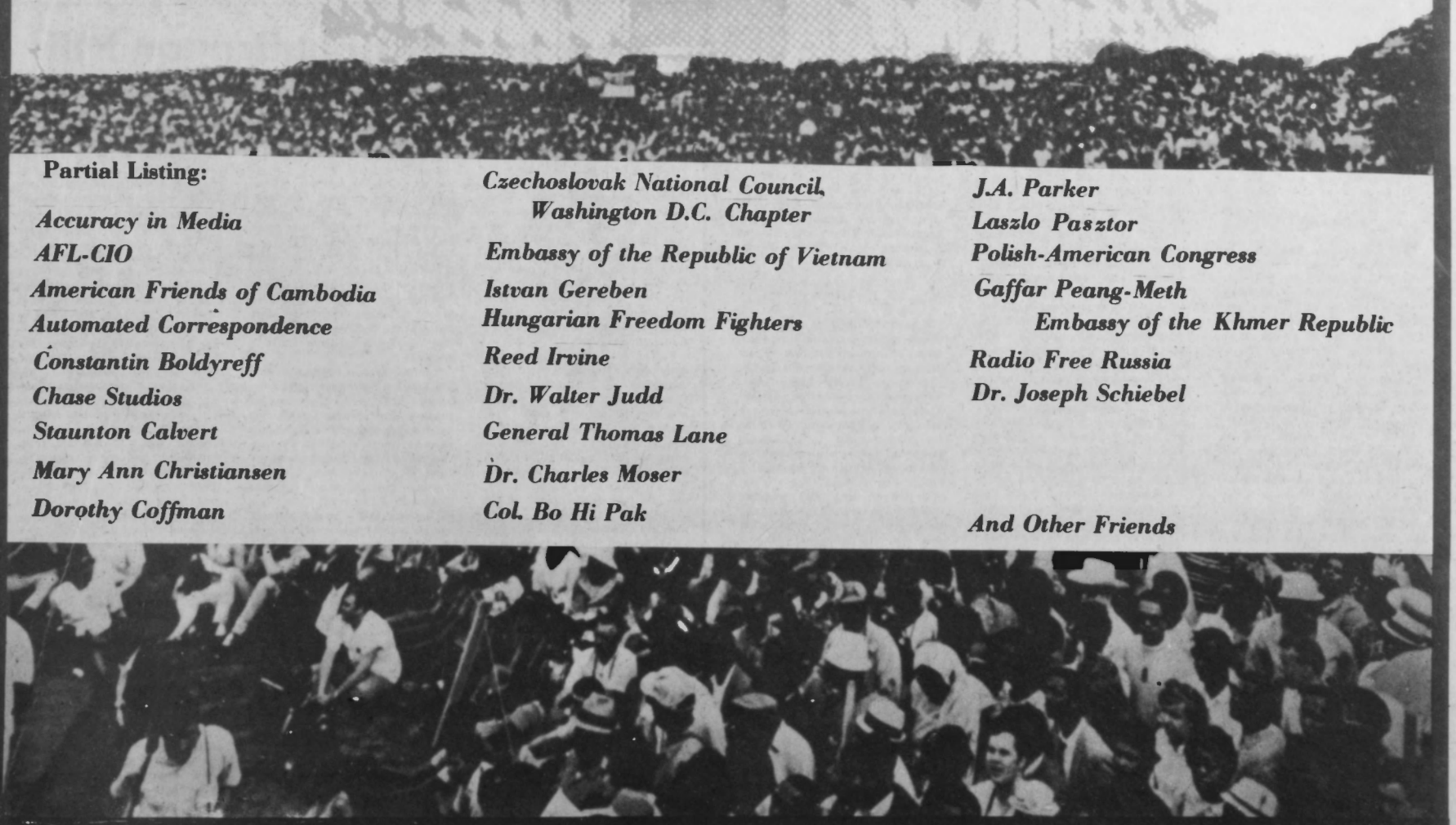
Gaffar Peang-Meth

Embassy of the Khmer Republic

Radio Free Russia

Dr. Joseph Schiebel

And Other Friends



"Detente" by any other name...

"Two full marches to northward, at the fall of the second night,
I came on mine enemy Adam-zad all panting from his flight.
There was a charge in the musket -- pricked and primed was the pan
My finger crooked on the trigger -- when he reared up like a man

"Horrible, hairy, human, with paws like hands in prayer,
Making his supplication rose Adam-zad the Bear!
I looked at the swaying shoulders, at the paunch's swag and swing,
And my heart was touched with pity for the monstrous, pleading thing

"Touched with pity and wonder, I did not fire then
I have looked no more on women -- I have walked no more with men
Nearer he tottered and nearer, with paws like hands that pray --
From brow to jaw that steel-shod paw, it ripped my face away!

"But (pay, and I put back the bandage) this is the time to fear,
When he stands up like a tired man, tottering near and near;
When he stands up as pleading, in wavering, man-brute guise,
When he wells the hate and cunning of the little, swinish eyes;

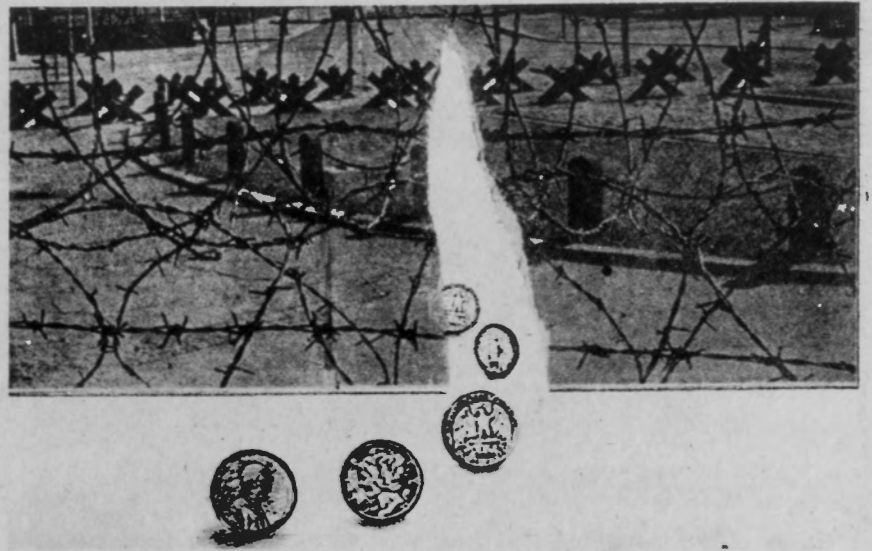
"When he shows as seeking quarter, with paws like hands in prayer,
That is the time of peril -- the time of the Truce of the Bear!"

Rudyard Kipling

Despite the concentration of the Congress and mass media on Watergate, an even more critical question is now being debated by American leaders at every level: the question of defining the underlying principles of foreign policy in the relations involved in detente.

Detente, everyone agrees, is a desirable thing. The debate arises over defining detente's limits and objectives. The Russians have been clear on this matter. And the Chinese equally so. For them, detente and coexistence are a) temporary periods in which opposing forces find relative equilibrium but which are inevitably followed by an abrupt leap to higher stage, signalled by the defeat of 'capitalism'; and b) periods of intensification of the ideological struggle. Thus in both the Soviet Union and in China we have witnessed a tightening of ideological controls in recent months, coupled with continued attacks against the West through vast official and covert propaganda networks utterly dwarfing the increasingly watered down efforts of the USIA and other Western information agencies. The travesty of the Wheat Deal, the U. S. acceptance of nuclear inferiority at the SALT talks, similar prospects for the talks on European troop reduction, the Soviet arming of Egypt and Syria, and now Solzhenitsyn's forced exile have forced the American public and policy makers into a rude awakening: the Soviets are using detente for their own strategic advantage; and their give and take

(continued on page 7.)



Business As Usual?

by Ray Mas

Although the fury over detente seems to have died down, the flurry of its unusual brand of advocates has not. From avid Russians to "get rich quick" American businessmen, the parade goes on. Yet the very nature of this onslaught suggests an air of desperation.

For the Soviets, it is the first occasion in many years to be concerned over Congressional action. With that concern comes a wave of Soviet

Along with the Soviets are their strange bedfellows, the corporations. Leading the way have been Armand Hammer's Occidental Petroleum and Don Kendall's Pepsi-Cola. For several months now, Hammer, a former friend of Lenin, has been making huge promises to the Soviets, adding up to about \$555 million - worth in contracts. Hammer's major difficulty is the financial status of Occidental. At present, over 52% of the company's capitalization is in lobbyists discreetly but emphatically stating the Soviet version of detente.

debt. This has come on the heels of two straight years of heavy losses, \$87.3 million in 1971 and \$8.8 million in 1972. Nevertheless, the Soviets treat Mr. Hammer with the same deference as they do Kissinger. A good part of the reason for this treatment is a letter which Hammer received from Lenin in 1922, when the young industrialist came to see the 'new Soviet experiment. "I beg you to give assistance to the bearer, Comrade Armand Hammer, an American comrade, who has taken over the first

(continued on page 7.)

U.S.-Soviet Trade

by G. F. Willis

When John F. Kennedy offered to open U.S. granaries to Soviet buyers in 1963, it was Richard Nixon who stepped forward to oppose the move. "I think," said Mr. Nixon, "that this will turn out to be the major foreign policy mistake of this administration, even more serious than fouling up in the Bay of Pigs. What we are doing is subsidizing Khrushchev at a time when he's in deep economic trouble. This will allow him to bring more economic pressure on his allies and divert the Russian economy into military sectors that he would otherwise have to keep in agriculture."

During the 1968 Presidential campaign Richard Nixon further denounced as "soft-headed wishful thinking" the idea that "all we need to do to get along with the Soviets is to meet each other and know each other and trade with

variety of loans, trade credits, and joint ventures to develop Russia's natural resources.

The attempts by members of Congress to use trade as a "weapon," by requiring the Soviet government to ease immigration restrictions for Soviet citizens as the *sine qua non* for normalizing trade relations, have so far been blunted. According to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, "Our foreign policy should not be dependent upon any particular feature of the Soviet domestic condition. The two superpowers should explore ways of living together without trying to alter the domestic policies of one another."

Gain?

The strategic, economic and moral considerations relating to this sudden reversal in the outlook

wheat in the United States.

The disastrous wheat deal should underscore the conclusion reached by the experiences of this and other nations in over fifty years of dealing with the Soviet regime: The Soviet Union is simply not the best or easiest market in the world to make money. Businessmen here in America, nonetheless, describe the potential for trade with the Soviet Union in glowing terms. David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Chase-Manhattan Bank and outspoken proponent of East-West trade, predicts that trade between the free and Communist worlds may approach \$250 billion by the end of the century.

Reaching that kind of figure, most businessmen agree, initially requires a large investment by American capitalists. Presently, according to David Rockefeller, Russia is primarily interested in "long-term loans, transfers of technology, the ability to export to the U.S., and long-term joint ventures that would involve large-scale investments and slow rates of return; i.e.: natural gas that would be produced in Siberia." An initial investment of \$10-\$12 billion worth of equipment and technology in the Siberian project may in five or ten years, for example, yield \$20 billion worth of natural gas for U.S. companies. Thus, in order to trade with the Soviets the U.S. companies must give billions in equipment and machinery, under terms which allow only tenuous protection, for returns over twenty years in the future.

Experiences

Companies like Fiat or Krupp of Germany already know what long-term investments in the Soviet economy can be like. Fiat, after five years, barely broke even. Krupp went bankrupt. Israel, Yugoslavia and Austria know even more clearly what dealing with the Soviet government can be like. All three had contractual agreements broken by the Soviets because of political differences.

This experience is not unlike U.S. experiences with the Bolsheviks in the early 1930's. At that time the Russians unexpectedly expropriated American investments. No one can say that it will not happen again in five or ten years. Indeed, if the experiences of the past fifty years of dealing with the Communists means anything at all, we can say that it will.

Thus, from a purely economic point of view the United States does not stand to gain much from trade with the Soviet Union. Perhaps some day, trade with these nations may prove fruitful--surely the huge land area and population of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China offer tremendous investment and marketing opportunities. Today, however, the more economically and politically developed countries, like Canada

or South Korea for example, offer bigger markets and safer investment opportunities.

Consequences

Economics, however, is not the motivating force behind the promotion of trade between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. This Administration believes that trade will help promote a permanent peace between the superpowers. This writer believes, however, that unrestricted trade with the Soviet Union actually will have just the opposite effect.

Trade has never reduced differences between hostile nations. Trade between Romans and Carthaginians did not stop Roman Senators from demanding, "Burn Carthage to the ground." Trade between Japan and America in the early months of 1941 did not

prevent the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Likewise no amount of trade with the Russians will gain the U.S. a moment of peace once the Soviet Union gets the upper hand. Indeed U.S. trading policies and proposals may hasten the day when the Soviets challenge the West for world supremacy.

The U.S. Congress recognized the dangers inherent in trading with Communists in the 1948 Export Control Act. The Export Control Act prohibited the export of goods to the Soviet Union that would enhance their military or economic potential. A follow-up law in 1954 banned the sale of agricultural or technological commodities. Both acts recognized the threat of a strong Russia to world freedom.

America's recent actions seem to justify Marxism's own scorn of capitalism. Without regard to moral or ideological issues, U.S. businessmen are fueling the Soviet domestic economy, providing them with advanced technology and production techniques, and freeing money and manpower hitherto tied up in the domestic sector, to work for the military.

George Meany recently charged, in addition, that U.S. capitalism may be financing Soviet slave labor. Evidence suggests that one American financed truck factory is being built by Soviet concentration camp inmates.

The time has come to realize, as President Nixon so succinctly stated in 1968, that "the Soviets use trade as a weapon." And that indeed we are at war.

*Trade with the Russians,
contrary to widely held myths, makes little,
if any, economic sense.*

each other." He continued, "They use trade as a weapon. We must recognize that trade is one of our greatest assets in this game, and we must use it in the same way."

Changes

In spite of the above premonitions, trade between the United States and the Soviet Union has reached, under the leadership of Richard Nixon, an all-time high of 1 billion dollars yearly and may climb to 3 billion in the next several years. In computers, aircraft, trucks and tractors, the U.S. will export in 1974 to the Soviet Union more than any other free world competitor. Japan and West Germany notwithstanding.

What Richard Nixon warned against in 1963 came about in 1973. U.S. wheat subsidized Brezhnev at a time when he was in "deep economic trouble" and allowed him to "bring more economic pressure on his allies," and "divert the Russian economy into military sectors that he would otherwise have to keep in agriculture." The "wheat deal" baited Brezhnev's government out of a crisis brought on by poor policies in agriculture, and so allowed the Russians to continue devoting double the percentage of G.N.P. that the U.S. government spends on its military--at a cost of \$300 million to the American taxpayer.

Meanwhile, operating under the abstract theory of "detente"--that all we need to do to get along with the Soviets is to meet each other and know each other and trade with each other--the U.S. government has undertaken to subsidize the Soviet

and policy of the United States need to be carefully examined.

The first and foremost question to most Americans is, "What does the United States stand to gain from trade with Communist countries, the Soviet Union in particular?" To truly understand the stakes involved, "What do we stand to lose?" must be answered as well.

Trade with the Russians, contrary to widely held myths, makes little, if any economic sense. Symbolic, perhaps, of what the U.S. government and business community may expect in any trade agreement between the Soviets was the exchange of gifts between President Richard Nixon and Soviet Boss Leonid Brezhnev at the Summit Conference held in Washington last year. As a token of goodwill President Nixon gave Brezhnev a Lincoln Continental. In return, Nixon received a silver tea set.

Likewise the United States got the raw end of the deal in what Henry Jackson calls the "Great Grain Robbery." In 1972 the U.S. government extended \$750 million worth of credits to the Soviet Union to help them purchase American wheat. The Russians bought up an additional \$1.1 billion worth of grain from the open market behind the backs of U.S. officials--all at the going market price of \$1.63 per barrel.

Since then the price per barrel of wheat on the world market has skyrocketed. According to reliable sources the Russian government last month offered to sell some of the wheat back to the United States--at a profit of over \$100 million. Whatever happens, however, the American public is sure to feel inflation's pinch this summer caused by a shortage of

New Internationalism on Hill

Capitol Hill is feeling the first gusts of a typhoon of new controversy about foreign policy. The efforts of Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda to promote complete withdrawal of support from Vietnam and a new American isolationism, using California Congressman Ronald Dellums' office as a support facility, have received widespread publicity. Little space has been devoted to contrary pressure. A new mood of concern in response to the Russian Wheat Deal, detente, and the plight of Soviet dissidents would come as a surprise to many.

Such a cross current is blowing, both in the thinking of staffers interviewed at a recent Democratic Campaign Seminar, and in the letters they respond to daily from their districts. Pressure toward a new international concern is also being applied tangentially by such Democratic Party strategists as Richard Scammon, whose promotion of a Jackson candidacy for the presidential nomination carries with it a commitment to a stronger international posture. Furthermore, Senator William Fulbright's fight to retain his seat against popular Arkansas Governor Dale Bumpers represents an implicit battle over chairmanship of the powerful State Foreign Relations Committee, which would go to the more internationally-minded Senator John Sparkman in the event of a Fulbright defeat. A crosscurrent deeply ingrained in the American character as well as in the traditions of the Democratic Party is emerging after more than a decade of growing isolationism.

Staffers Discuss Concerns

Several young staffers of Democratic Members of Congress ex-

plained their concern and that of the "folks back home" during breaks in a March 30th Campaign Seminar hosted by Capitol Hill Young Democrats, a fast-growing and active social and educational organization composed largely of Congressional aides and staffers. Mark Stout, a Vietnam-era veteran and a legislative aide to Congressman Nix of Pennsylvania, calls detente a "house of cards" and strongly supports the Jackson Amendment, which would deny Most Favored Nation trading status to the Soviet Union unless it removes all restrictions on free emigration.

Larry Meyer, a legislative aide specializing in agriculture for Senator Bentsen of Texas, reported a heavy flow of letters criticizing the Russian wheat deal on ideological as well as economic grounds. "I'd rather stop eating bread than make any more deals with the Russians" has become a common statement in letters from Texas housewives. While many of these letters focus mainly on the impact of the Wheat Deal on the American standard of living, Meyer reports a sizeable volume objecting to future friendly overtures on grounds that we should not offer such advantages to Communist regimes.

Not all staffer sentiment was unanimous about foreign policy. A young woman who works for Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia took a line which, she would probably be surprised to know, echoes the Administration position as expressed at a recent press conference about Soviet dissident Alexander Solzhenitsyn, she said, "If someone in America engaged in activity so destructive to the country, we'd expel him,

too." Her position generally opposed any policy or activity which interferes in the affairs of another country; "they've got their system and we've got ours." She has received virtually no mail from West Virginia on detente, though some expressions of concern about the wheat deal have come to her attention.

An increasingly widespread sentiment was expressed by Kerry Pourciau, a young black staffer for Louisiana Senator Russell Long. Pourciau feels that the costs of recent foreign diplomacy in time, money, and energy have been very great, and that these resources could have been deployed to improve the condition of black Americans. Yet he feels that what American diplomacy has accomplished is important, that the bringing together of these men, "one-on-one at a table," representing the major powers of the world, could ultimately have a great impact for peace. Pourciau credits President Nixon for this accomplishment, on the grounds that only his former strong anti-Communist line made it possible.

Pourciau emphasized freedom as the central vision behind his coalescing views on foreign policy. He favors the Jackson Amendment even though he believes that it could seriously injure detente, because in the final analysis, it is "a simple restatement of those things that this country is all about." Pourciau does not agree with the school of thought which recommends withholding judgement on the politics and policies of other nations, saying, "We have to pass judgement on other people's form of government." He offered South Africa

(continued on page 8.)

Diego What?!

by Judy Green

Battle lines have been recently drawn in the U.S. Congress concerning the future of a little island less than 5 miles wide and 14 miles long sitting squarely in the middle of the Indian Ocean. Its heated consideration in six separate Congressional committees has caused many an observer to wonder what's really going on behind the scenes. The island is Diego Garcia, an uninhabited part of the British Indian Ocean Territory, which the United States previously arranged by executive agreement to use as a "communications center." The immediate cause for dispute is a \$29 million line entry in a supplemental military appropriations request, to be used for deepening the harbor, lengthening the runway, and improving and expanding warehousing and maintenance facilities. In question is not only a rapidly coalescing controversy over the Indian Ocean policy, but also the future of the relationship on foreign policy between the executive and legislative branches of the American government.

Congressional Testimony

Testimony before Congressional committees in recent weeks has had a tendency to confuse rather than clarify the issues. Considerable publicity has been given to hearings conducted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 12, during which Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Ad-

miral Thomas Moorer first affirmed, then denied, Diego Garcia's potential for use as a B-52 bomber base. The confusion seems to have arisen from an honest misunderstanding on Moorer's part of a question from Senator Stuart Symington. As planned, the improved runway will be neither wide enough nor strong enough to support frequent use by loaded B-52's. However, it will support regular use by KC-130 tanker planes which are used to refuel B-52's. Nonetheless, the primary use of the improved facilities, according to U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Spokesman J. Owen Zurhellen, Jr., is "to facilitate the operations of our ships in the Indian Ocean, principally by supplying fuel, communications and repairs...."

Further Congressional scrutiny has focused in three areas: whether Diego Garcia represents a new or expanded American presence in the Indian Ocean, its potential impact toward a new round of competition with the Soviets, and the response of littoral and other nations.

Historical Precedent

In testimony before the House Subcommittee on Near East and South Asia, State Department Director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs Seymour Weiss traced the precedent for U.S. presence in the Indian Ocean back to the days of 18th century New

England whaling vessels. Contemporary American presence dates from the establishment of our Middle East Force (MIDEASTFOR) in 1948. Operating out of the British port of Bahrain, MIDEASTFOR consisted of a flagship and two destroyers on periodic rotational deployment from the Atlantic Fleet. A SAC base was also maintained for a period of about ten years at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

However, the major substance of U.S. presence in the region was economic assistance, supported by bilateral security arrangements. American influence was used during that period to "dampen regional hostilities," as exemplified by our arms embargo against India and Pakistan following the 1965 war.

An established pattern of regular visits of U.S. Navy vessels into the region was disrupted by the Vietnam War. Nonetheless, on the basis of this precedent of past involvement in the region, the State Department argues that no expansion of American presence into a new region of the world is in question. Senator Claiborne Pell rejects this argument, and has introduced an amendment to deny funding for Diego Garcia.

American Expansion

It is clear, however, that American interest in the region has been considerably heightened since the October Middle East War of 1973 and the subsequent Arab Oil



Embargo. Deputy Secretary of Defense William P. Clements, Jr. testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 12 that a major lesson of the October War is the need to improve American readiness, including "maintenance of such things as ships and aircraft, having adequate stocks of ammunition and other supplies, and having the ability to deploy men and equipment rapidly wherever needed." At present, the United States has no "assured port facilities closer than the Western Pacific." Due to a refusal by West European allies to refuel and resupply American aircraft during the conflict, the Defense Department has become increasingly concerned to develop independence from allied support during time of

crisis.

In his report on United States Military Posture for FY 1975, Joint Chiefs Chairman Moorer commented, "Without the cooperation of Portugal, which consented to the use of Lajes, the resupply operation which made Israel's survival possible could not have been conducted without great hazard and almost prohibitive cost."

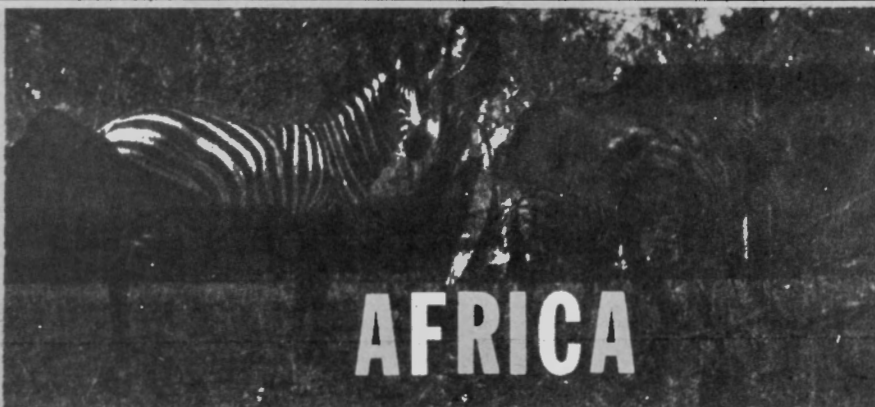
Patrol Reestablished

Because of our interests in the region and the instability of Arab-Israeli relations, Secretary of Defense Schlesinger announced on December 1st of last year the reestablishment of regular U.S. Naval visits in the region and fur-

ther added that "we expect that our presence there will be more frequent and more regular than in the past." In view of the great distance of the Indian Ocean from either coast of the United States, the need for support and maintenance facilities for such expanded presence becomes clear.

The desirability of such an expanded U.S. presence in the region has been questioned by a group of Senators who consistently oppose American military presence abroad. Raising the spectre of another Vietnam, they demand that requests for funding for the region be submitted in a form which would allow a full-scale investigation of the area's strategic

(continued on page 8.)



Youth Council Discusses "What Should We Do?"

by Hal Mckenzie

"The world is watching us in South Africa," said Dr. Roy Godson. "The nations of Africa are saying 'if you are really sincere about us, about this question of equality, let's see how you behave toward the southern African governments.'"

United States' behavior in southern Africa was the main topic and bone of contention at the latest in a series of foreign policy seminars sponsored by the United States Youth Council. About 25 young people attended the two-day seminar at George Washington University, on March 29-30.

The seminar, "Perspectives on Southern Africa," was originally intended to present opinions from all sides. White South African representatives were scheduled to speak, including someone from the North American office of the South Africa Foundation and a minister from the Dutch Reformed Church. However, as Dr. Godson explained, "Initially they accepted, but when they saw the balance in the program--we told them there would be some--the South Africans withdrew." This left the field open for the anti-apartheid advocates of change; but the kind of change and how to bring it about were questions which generated plenty of lively, sometimes heated, discussion.

Strategic Overview

Dr. Roy Godson, assistant professor of Government at Georgetown and Director of Georgetown's International Labor Institute, opened the program with a strategic overview of United States' interests and options in the area.

He said that the U.S. has so far been interested primarily in the highly developed areas of the world: the major centers of military-industrial power of America, Western Europe, Russia and Asia, (Japan and China). America's primary goal is to prevent these centers of power from falling into the hands of any single power hostile to the United States.

Southern Africa, therefore, is not the most strategic area of immediate self-interest for the U.S. However, southern Africa is vitally important to Europe and is therefore of concern to America because it is necessary for the security of our allies. The Middle East, of course, is

important because of its oil. But of equal importance to the Europeans is the route by which the oil gets to Europe, the "Cape Route" around the Cape of Good Hope. This route, strategic in ancient times, is even more so now after the closing of the Suez canal.

Eighty per cent of Europe's oil comes through the Cape Route. On any given day as many as 2,000 ships are within ten miles sailing distance of the South African port of Simonstown. South Africa is the only country in the area having the industrial capacity, such as shipyards, docks, and food production, sufficient to handle the 25,000 ships that pass by each year.

South Africa's natural resources and industrial capacity are another strategically important factor. South Africa has only six per cent of Africa's population, but 22 per cent of the GNP and 40 per cent of the industrial capacity. South Africa, having the largest naval presence in the area is self-sufficient in arms, even manufacturing its own jets. Therefore South Africa's impact on Africa is similar to the United States' impact on the world.

Rhodesia shares with Russia the position of being the world's major source of chrome. South Africa is a primary supplier of platinum to the United States. Europe depends on South Africa for zinc, copper, uranium, chrome and platinum. "South Africa takes up only one per cent of U.S. investment overseas but accounts for 8 to 10 per cent of overseas investment for Britain, Germany, and other European nations. Therefore, American economic disengagement from South Africa would do no great harm to America, but it would be a critical loss for Europe."

Politically, South Africa is important to U.S. interests because, as Dr. Godson said, "the world is watching us" in southern Africa. America's relationship with a very large part of the world will be influenced by how we behave there. Also of important political significance is the widespread concern for social justice in South Africa.

Dr. Godson also outlined significant threats to U.S. interests in South Africa. The Soviet Union and China see in southern Africa an "Achilles' heel" of the West. It is

one of the few remaining areas where they can "beat the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist drum," linking the United States, Europe, and Israel with colonialism and racism. Russia is interested in increasing its naval power in the area, and is looking for bases. The Chinese have 13,000 soldier-workers in Tanzania building a railroad. Both powers spend millions arming and training the "liberation" movements in the area.

The southern African regimes themselves present a threat to the U.S. in that they are engaging in anti-democratic policies which, in the long run, could be detrimental to U.S. interests. If the white governments continue to suppress the aspirations of the majority of

South Africa, having the largest naval presence in the area, is self-sufficient in arms, even

manufacturing its own jets.... South Africa's impact on Africa is similar to that of the United States on the world.

Africans, "how long would it be before the liberation movements engulf the whole area?" Dr. Godson asked. "Will we be faced with another Vietnam?" If that is to be the case, the U.S. has some hard decisions ahead.

Dr. Godson concluded by outlining three broad options open to the U.S.

1) Help topple the white minority governments through boycotts, sanctions, and support of liberation groups;

2) Option number one is impractical: South Africa is too strong. Besides, sanctions and revolutionary war would only hurt the blacks in the long run; therefore, it is better to make allies of the regimes in power;

3) Communicate with the regimes to help them bring about rapid change within their own countries, through American companies upgrading benefits for black workers, helping to organize labor

unions and other democratic groups, etc.

Boycotts, Sanctions, and Revolution

The next speaker, Rev. Kenneth Carstens, was a passionate advocate of option number one. A white native of South Africa, Rev. Carstens is now Executive Director of the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (North American Committee).

In introducing a film about South Africa, Rev. Carstens spoke out against the hypocrisy of nations who say in the United Nations that they "abhor" apartheid but actually perpetuate the regime by not "becoming involved more overtly." He said that "humanitarian intervention" in

said the plan of establishing semi-autonomous "bantustans," is the most "fiendish trick" of all, trapping the black South Africans into "rural slums" where they can be kept perpetually divided and weak. He advocated an enforced "hands off" policy toward South Africa, involving strictly enforced economic sanctions, which will allow the liberation movements to follow their own course. Another film shown later, "La Luta Continua (the struggle continues)" was a clearly Marxist-oriented documentary about the FRELIMO in Mozambique.

State Department View

John A. Lineham, Public Affairs director of the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs, presented his bureau's view on Africa. He said the State Department supports sanctions against Rhodesia and self-determination for the people of Namibia (Southwest Africa), calling South Africa's control over that territory "illegal." He said the State Department "made it clear" to the Portuguese that the U.S. supports independence for the Portuguese territories, although the U.S. supports Portugal, as a NATO member, with aid. Military aid is given to Portugal "with the assurance" that such aid will not be used in Africa. But others at the seminar insisted that some U.S. weapons are used against the guerrillas by the Portuguese. The State Department policy is to "Neither encourage nor discourage" U.S. investment in South Africa. "We find the question of (corporate) withdrawal impractical. We cannot force, without legislation, any company to withdraw from South Africa. The possibility of getting such legislation is just about nil." Faced with that situation, the State Department opts for urging U.S. industries in South Africa to upgrade pay and benefits to their black workers to encourage change. Mr. Lineham said, "I personally think we have done more than any other power in helping the process of change in South Africa."

Change through Involvement

In the concluding session three black speakers, advocates of various forms of communication and cooperation in South Africa, gave their views, followed by a panel discussion open to questions from

the audience.

Percy Ferguson from Botswana, president of the Botswana Bank Workers Union and Chairman of the Botswana Labor Education Center, spoke first. He described what life is like under apartheid, calling it "worse than 'discrimination' man is being dominated by another man." Originally from Botswana, his family moved to South Africa to escape unemployment. In 1954 the government evicted them from their home under the "Group Areas Act," which allowed the government to dispossess blacks' homes and property and move them to black "townships" like Soweto, where Mr. Ferguson's family went. Soweto itself was divided by the government into districts according to trivial language, "so blacks can never get together." He went on to describe, sometimes in a humorous vein, the daily restrictions of the apartheid system.

Harry Johnson, a black American, and community affairs director for Polaroid corporation, talked about how his company was trying to bring some changes by increasing wages and benefits for their black workers in South Africa. He said that his "gut feeling" was "to get the hell out," but realistically he felt that wouldn't help. He described the increased benefits Polaroid was giving the workers -- doubled wages, an educational and scholarship fund -- but charged that Polaroid and other companies could do "a lot more" within the framework of apartheid laws than is in fact being done.

The third speaker, Mrs. Maida Springer Kemp, long-time activist for the ILGWU and worker for the African Labor Council, said, "the only way we can live with 'communication and change' is by basing it on the criteria of what the U.S. does." She said the State Department and Congress could do more to bring about change. Through her labor union experience, she felt that constant "confrontation and negotiation" can bring about change. The seminar closed with a discussion of what we can do to help bring about change in South Africa. The panelists agreed that more had to be done to educate Americans to the situation in Southern Africa, creating a "constituency" to help the U.S. congress and State Department bring about constructive changes.



Towards a True Political Spectrum

Edward Haskell, chairman of the "Council for Unified Research and Education" (CURE) spent most of his life developing a comprehensive theory to unify the sciences into a single discipline — "Unified Science." The result of his more than thirty years of research is introduced in "Full Circle, the Moral Force of Unified Science," available from Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, New York. In the following excerpt, Mr. Haskell examines the political spectrum in the light of Unified Science.

by Edward F. Haskell

For thousands of years, Arnold Toynbee has shown, the seven great religions have displayed positive value-bias. That is to say, they have advocated and stressed mutual help and class cooperation in various ways, degrees, and idioms. With the rise of modern science since the 15th century (studying, as it had to, parts of systems), values were subjectively confined to the humanistic and literary sub-culture. However, what the rising scientific sub-culture actually adopted was a value bias, namely the zero value-bias. It claimed, subjectively, to have nothing to do with values. And since its various specialists dealt largely in isolated parts of systems it confused its zero value-bias with no values, and banned discussions of morals from its leading societies.

Then, in the 18th and 19th centuries, emerged the negatively biased misinterpretations of history, advocating class conflict on the far and extreme left, race and national conflict on the far and extreme right.

Traditional scientists (who study just system-components), having renounced values, are helpless to interfere with ideologists in any effective way. Traditional men of religion—speaking, as Bishop Robinson affirms, in the no longer effective language of pre-industrial civilizations—have been engaged in mere rear-guard actions for over a century. And so, as the conflict-spreading propaganda apparatus penetrates the world's mass media—its films, television, radio, and press—the traditional spokesmen and their followers, the great majority, fall silent. For in a culture whose dominant value-premise is becoming negative, as it is now in ours, the people with positive value biases become deviant; and deviants tend to become silent, even when they are the majority.

What Unified Science now asks mainly of scientists (who are the best equipped to get the thrust of this question) is the following: Can we accept a frame-of-reference—a coordinate system such as, for instance, the so-called political spectrum—without considering the way it has been formed?

Consider the case of physical

scientists before Einstein's Theory of Relativity emerged and corrected their only locally correct Newtonian frame of reference. Would it be realistic to consider social scientists immune to similarly incorrect micro-centric points of view? I quote from a paper I presented at the Second International Congress for the Philosophy of Science.

"Einstein has shown that in physics, ideas of local physical phenomena are generalized into theories of the universe (A perpetually rotating room or free-falling elevator, he shows, would give rise in its inhabitants to specially biased kinds of physics.) Similarly, autocratic and predatory cultures on the one hand, democratic and symbiotic cultures on the other, have given rise in their inhabitants to specially biased kinds of political philosophy. These intellectual biases we call logo-centrism.

"The same principle has been shown...to operate on feelings and emotions. Societies with emotional 'climates' of overwhelming fear and hate produce, in their inhabitants, philosophies of universal conflict and danger, societies with 'climates' of friendly cooperation produce in their inhabitants equally biased philosophies of universal friendship. These emotional biases we call patho-centrism.

The greater the proportion of conflict and falsehood in a political

philosophy, the greater the isolation necessary for its continuation. As, in Einstein's hypothetical falling elevator or rotating room, opaque walls are essential to the maintenance of the inhabitants' special kinds of physics, so in the Two-Ideology system an 'Iron Curtain' is necessary to maintain the inhabitants' mis-interpretation of the world and of history. The 'Curtain' exists in fact."

The profound and pernicious incorrectness of the one-dimensional "political spectrum" has been sensed by political scientists for nearly fifty years. "Some scholars," says Allardye, "had already connected facism and bolshevism in the 1920s, almost from the moment that the Blackshirts appeared on the Italian scene. Being for the most part men of liberal and democratic opinion, they associated Mussolini and the Bolsheviks with a common assault upon five institutions and open societies. It appeared to some of them that the terms 'Left' and 'Right'—descriptions which had never been very satisfactory anyway—no longer defined political reality, but rather seemed to obscure it."

What obscured political reality is not the terms *Left* and *Right* which correspond to fundamental cultural structures, but the failure of that 18th century frame-of-reference to group together the *symbiotic* (center) left and right, to group together the *synnecrotic* left and right, and to separate these fundamentally diverse pairs of phenomena from each other.

The political scientists' schools array themselves just as neatly as schools formed during the crises of other sciences: those ideologies which Digby Baltzell groups under "The Ideological Defense of Caste" fall on the right of center; those which he classes under "The Intellectual Counterattack on Caste" fall on the left of center. The right center schools stress evidence connecting social status to genetically determined, hereditary traits, and minimize evidence connecting social status to environmentally determined factors. The left center schools, on the contrary, minimize evidence connecting abilities and social position to genetically determined hereditary traits; and emphasize evidence relating environmental factors to social position, low and high. Those leftist ideologists holding positions up to and including the moderate left are egalitarian and culturally relativistic

(that is, anthropologically egalitarian); those up to and including the moderate right believe in what Thomas Jefferson called *Natural Aristocracy*; namely, that people born with outstanding talent and virtue (like himself) should, and usually do, occupy controlling social positions.

Motivation

What these schools share, however, is far more important than that which separates them. Namely,

This is, as Americans characteristically put it, an entirely *different ball game*: the extreme left and extreme right are playing for keeps, with no holds barred. They understand each other, and they fear and respect each other's ruthlessness and cunning. They are, of course, utterly contemptuous of the trustfulness, tolerance, and relative truthfulness of all center parties. (They call them "naive, sentimental, vacillating, reformist, hypocritical," and so forth.) They enter transient

The greater the proportion of conflict and

falsehood in a political philosophy, the greater

the isolation necessary for its continuation.

the positive value-bias summed up in the commandment, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." All the political schools of the center listen to each other's view and evidence respectfully (though sometimes reluctantly), credit each other's sincerity, and trust each other's loyalty to the principles of free speech, press, assembly and the ballot. Symbiotic freedom is the expression of love, of positive coaction. That makes inequality, which is fundamental throughout the universe, *creative*. Hence the term "creative center." At the center, left and right are convinced of their common positive value-bias and thus of their loyalty to each other in opposition. These are the criteria of the most important political system.

As we proceed toward the left and right extremes of this frame of reference, however, we note ever increasing vehemence and violence, ever decreasing interest in and respect for evidence, and ever decreasing mutual respect and trust. At a certain point, called "loss of legality", a quantum change occurs, sudden and immense: suddenly the man, whether of left or right, finds himself not with just a vested interest, but with his very freedom and survival themselves, or those of his enemy, dependent upon his own political control. Under these circumstances, the life, liberty and happiness of both the left extremist and the right extremist leaders depend upon the other's destruction, and upon the incorporation of his opponents' followers into his own system.

"united front" alliances with center parties against each other. They also enter temporary alliances with each other against center parties, each closely watching for the opportunity to stab his well-understood, highly perfidious "ally" in the back.

The almost certain outcome is that of the two ideology system's most famous case, the Stalin-Hitler pact: mutual devastation or, as biologists put it, *synnecrosis*. In a great historian's terms, this is called *disintegration* of civilization. Conversely, the probable outcome of continuous symbiosis of the creative center—as developed, for instance, in Switzerland or in Benjamin Franklin's Pennsylvania—is dynamic peace, prosperity, and *genesis* of civilization.

This mapping shows that the difference between the creative center and the two-ideology system is very much greater than the difference between extreme left and extreme right. (The one-dimensional "spectrum" indicates precisely the opposite, seriously confusing political thought.) According to Allardye, "To interpret the fascists as a right-wing phenomenon, to seat them beside the monarchists and reactionaries in parliaments, and to consider them a radical extension of die-hard conservatism was to be blind to the remarkable similarities between Mussolini and his communist 'enemies.' With the rise of fascism, it appeared, the heat and passion of both ends of the political spectrum had resulted in a fusion of political extremes—the ends had met, completing the circle of political beliefs."

Until the rise of Unified Science, the one-field sciences' background theory, it has been impossible for all but the most astute and imaginative centrists and extremists to understand each other or credit each other's actual existence. Each had developed strong *logo-centrism* and *patho-centrism*, and there was no concept-system in terms of which to grasp and evaluate this self-blinding fact. The extremists, Communist and fascist, could not conceive that class cooperation, race cooperation and overriding respect for evidence exist in reality rather than as mere propaganda. The centrists—republicans or conservatives, and democrats or laborites—could not, for the same reason, conceive of the genuine contempt, treachery and cynicism with which they are viewed and treated, as a matter of course and of policy, by almost all extremists, left and right. Only personal, often-repeated field-experience inside both political cultures—such as I encountered in ten countries in the mid-Thirties—can, in the absence of Unified Science, make *logo-centrism* and *patho-centrism* a visible, observable, and formulable phenomenon. Unless you are an Einstein, you have to have lived in the free-falling elevator, rotating room, and on the solid ground—and to have moved back and forth several times from one to the other—to acquire and codify the coordinate systems of people who have spent their whole lives in only one of these windowless systems.

Book Review

Operation Keelhaul

by Freda Utey

Operation Keelhaul By Julius Epstein. Devin-Adair. 221 pp. \$8.95

In October, 1945, when *Time* magazine wrote that "Europe had emerged from history's most terrible war into history's most terrifying peace," few people in the West had any conception of the crimes against humanity which the victors were perpetrating. There was a conspiracy of silence then and for many years after, not only concerning the Yalta-sanctioned expropriation and expulsion of some 12 million Germans from their homes in Eastern Europe, resulting in the death from exposure or starvation of an estimated 4 million men, women and children. Little or nothing was reported concerning the forced repatriation by America and England of at least 2 million Russian prisoners of war and civilians to be executed or die a lingering death in Stalin's slave camps.

Now at long last this shameful story is told by Julius Epstein, who has devoted 20 years to ferreting out the details despite the Pentagon's still existent top secret ban on Operation Keelhaul — the suitable code name adopted by our Armed forces for their deportation by brute force of the Russians who resisted repatriation to the land where no one is free. (To keelhaul in the British Navy of yore meant trussing a man up with ropes, so that he could not swim, throwing him overboard and hauling him under the boats, during which torture he usually died.)

In our Western version of Keelhaul, officially described as "forcible repatriation of displaced Soviet citizens," American soldiers were ordered to shoot to kill the Russians who resisted repatriation, whether from "liberated" Europe's prisoner of war and displaced persons camps or from our own POW camps in America.

Some managed to commit suicide; others were blackjacked into insensibility, had their cut arteries bound up, were shot in the feet so that they could not run, or were drugged in order to be

delivered to the merciless Soviet government. Most of them perished, as Solzhenitsyn relates, in Soviet Russia's slave labor camps; those who survived are still living out their lives in the extreme north of the Soviet Union.

No wonder Solzhenitsyn writes in his Gulag Archipelago that: "In their own countries, Roosevelt and Churchill are honored as examples of statesmanlike wisdom. To us in Russian prison discussions, their systematic shortsightedness and stupidity stood out as astonishingly obvious..."

As Epstein himself says: "The crime was committed not against the enemies of the West, but against the enemies of communism. It was committed not in compliance with existing law, but in violation of all existing domestic legislation and international law."

"It did not serve the interests of Western democracies and freedom, but only and exclusively the interests of Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Union, and world communism." "Operation Keelhaul" was the direct result of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and the overriding desire of Washington and London to carry out their "obligations" to Stalin whether or not he honored any of his commitments. Russians were deliberately excluded from the freedoms promised to everyone else.

In the Handbook issued by Headquarters, U.S. Forces, European Theater in September, 1945 it is written:

"No United Nations national, stateless person, national of a neutral state or persons persecuted because of race, religion, or activity in favor of the United Nations will be compelled to return to his domicile except for a criminal offense. Liberated Soviet citizens uncovered after 11 February 1945 are excluded from this policy in accordance with para. 4 above."

The importance of this book today cannot be overestimated. Few writers of our time have the diligence, courage and ability not only to tell the truth about the past, but to envisage the consequences for the future of our past

crimes and follies. As Epstein writes:

"This unadmitted and therefore unredeemed crime is still poisoning our spiritual relations with the millions under Communist oppression in Europe and Asia."

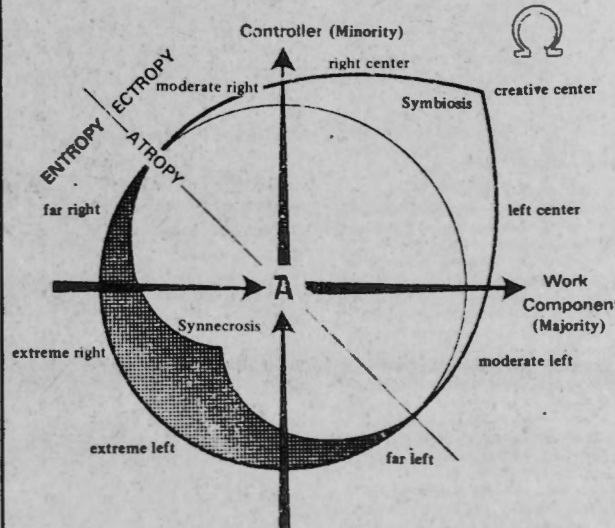
I knew Julius Epstein well in the '40s, when we were fighting "the battle for Germany" in opposition to the Communists and Morgenthauists who almost succeeded in driving the Germans in despair into Moscow's arms.

In Berlin during the blockade in 1948, while gathering material for my book, "The High Cost of Vengeance," I was summarily deprived of all the privileges enjoyed as a guest of Gen. Lucius Clay, because I had remarked at a cocktail party that there was no crime the Nazis had committed which we or our allies had not also committed. I suffered only the cancellation of my lecture at Amerika Haus, residence at Harneck House and the use of a car Gen. Clay, who was in no way responsible for my loss of V.I.P. privileges, enabled me to stay on in Germany as a correspondent for the *Reader's Digest*. I cite this personal experience only to show how difficult it was at that time to speak the truth as it still is today.

One hopes that the author of this invaluable book will write another giving the full story of the tragic fate of General Vlasov and his followers, told in one chapter of this book. The brilliant Russian general, who had defended Moscow against Hitler, defected after becoming convinced of Stalin's ineptitude as a military leader who callously sacrificed Russian lives, said "The Russian people did not want to fight and die for Stalin and Bolshevism. For the first time in their history, the Russian people surrendered into captivity and deserted en masse, using any trick to remain the areas 'occupied by the German army.'"

The doomed General thought it might be possible to overthrow Stalin's tyranny with the help of the Germans, which might well have been possible had not the Nazis, by reason of their own non-sensical racist theories, enlist the support of the victims of Communist tyranny.

Shall we repeat their mistake?



The diagram above illustrates the "Periodic Coordinate System," a basic conceptual tool of Unified Science. It is applicable to all natural systems, but is shown here with the "political spectrum" mapped into it. Symbiosis (mutual aid) between leaders and followers is shown resulting in "ectropy" that is, progress and development, represented by the line turning outside of the circle. Synnecrosis (mutual destruction) between leaders and followers results in entropy (breakdown and disintegration) represented by the line turning inside the circle. The circle, labeled "atropy," represents the state of neutrality or equilibrium from which change is determined.

Copyright 1972 by Edward F. Haskell. Used with permission.

"Majales"

The annual Spring Ball, MAJALES, of the Czechoslovak National Council of America, will be held this year at the Mayflower Hotel on Saturday, April 27th, in the Grand Ball Room.

The Honorable Helen Delich Bentley Chairman, Federal Maritime Commission, has accepted honorary patronage of the Ball and will be attending with her husband.

Honorary chairmen will be Senator Roman L. Hruska and Mrs. Hruska, Senator Richard S. Schweiker and Mrs. Schweiker, the Honorable Samuel S. Stratton and Mrs. Stratton and the Honorable Lionel Van Deerlin and Mrs. Van Deerlin.

In commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Bedrich Smetana, Prochotsky Ballet Theater, Inc. will present 'The Dance of the Comedians' and 'Furiant' from the opera 'The Bartered Bride' by Bedrich Smetana. Dance Music will be by Bob D'Arcy.

This year's MAJALES will benefit The American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Inc., The American University of Washington, D. C. and the Czechoslovak American Education Council.

For further information please contact the Ball Chairman, Mrs. Elen Kaspar-Paty at 560-0718.

Detente

(continued from page 4.)

with the West doesn't seem to have stimulated them to liberalize their own regime at all. Apparent resurgence of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, new Chinese sponsored exploits in Burma and increasing tensions along the Sino-Soviet border must have even Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon wondering just exactly how deep is the can of worms they have finally succeeded in prying open.

It is very probably true that the attempts at establishing detente with the Communist world by policy makers more naive about Communism than Nixon and Kissinger might have resulted in total disaster. But with political and business pressures being what they are, it is problematic whether Nixon will be able to halt the seemingly headlong rush into an embrace into what Rudyard Kipling allegorically and so prophetically called the 'Bear that walks like a man.'

Nevertheless, it appears that America, though still sleeping, has begun to awaken to the very real threat which confronts her. The tragedy is that it may be too late for her to make the moves necessary to defend herself ideologically; if we lose in the ideological war there are no alternatives outside of slavery or nuclear holocaust.

What, then, should be the objectives and limits of detente? The objectives should be the decreasing of world tensions and the expansion of freedom. Arms buildups, economic blackmail, and the status quo of a closed political-ideological system are counter-indications of detente.

Both slavery and nuclear holocaust are clearly unacceptable choices. The only real choice open to us is to win ideologically - working as if everything depended on us and praying as if everything depended on God - in order to insure the survival and victory of freedom.

Vietnam

Hanoi, meanwhile, is putting pressure on this balance by undertaking a major military buildup in South Vietnam. In open violation of the January '73 cease-fire agreement so laboriously worked out in Paris, the North Vietnamese infiltrated over 100,000 troops, some 400 tanks, 150 long-range artillery pieces, 1,000 AAA guns and 150,000 200,000 tons of supplies. They have also built or improved twelve airfields in the south, some capable of handling jets, improved their road network down the Ho Chi Minh trail, and have undertaken an oil pipeline from China into South Vietnam.

The Communists are also keeping up a steady military pressure against the South. Beginning with a land grab offensive on the eve of the cease-fire agreement, the Communists have launched several major attacks against government installations, as well as shelling and terror attacks against civilians. The government forces responded with retaliatory strikes.

This pattern led to widespread fears that the Communists would launch a major offensive this year, but now indications are that Hanoi has put off plans for a major offen-

sive this year and likely the next. Signs of this trend are a major resolution in Hanoi politburo declaring that economic reconstruction of the North is Hanoi's immediate priority and captured VC documents outlining a campaign that could last until 1980, using psycho-political and economic as well as military pressures.

Several factors could explain Hanoi's restraint at this time. One is pressure put on them by Russia and China due to the detente with the US. Another factor is the threat of US retaliation from the air, which was so devastating to Hanoi's forces during the '72 offensive. Hanoi wants to be sure that the US would be unable to respond with air strikes before they send their troops again to the attack. Also there are economic difficulties in the North due to US bombing and crop failures. North Vietnamese pronouncements in the Communist radio and press reveal a sharply rising concern for low productivity, slackness among cadres, black marketeering, and erosion of collectivization. In the South, the Communists have gained little in the past year—their political and guerilla infrastruc-

ture has been wiped out.

Hanoi's strategy now appears to play a waiting game while aiming at Saigon's Achilles' heel.

complete abandonment of South Vietnam, and organize a seminar for congressional staffers in a House committee hearing room.



Vietnamese Ambassador Tran Kim Phuong (right) greets U.S. Vietnam veterans at a Vietnam embassy reception on April 3, marking the anniversary of the release of the first group of U.S. POWs from North Vietnam last year.

Vietnam's fragile economy and the uncertainty of continued adequate US support.

South Vietnam's economy has gone into a downward trend since 1971, due to the NVA invasion of 1972, the loss of dollar earnings from the US troop withdrawal, the continued high level of fighting, and accelerating inflation of world commodity prices. The price of fuel in Saigon has been multiplied by 10 in the last two years, and inflation is running at an annual rate of 50 percent. Real wages have dropped to a third of what they were in 1964, hitting the military and civil service sectors especially hard. More seriously, inflation has undercut the effectiveness of US military aid, upon which South Vietnam depends for its survival. Under the present military aid ceiling of \$1.126 billion dollars, available military stocks are being depleted much more rapidly than anticipated. The Pentagon recently requested an increase in the ceiling to \$1.6 billion dollars, but the mood of Congress is becoming more hostile toward increasing US involvement. Recognizing this, Hanoi is pursuing the very real possibility that the Congress can be persuaded to cut into the subsidies which keep South Vietnam going.

The remnants of the "Peace Movement" have indeed been active in Washington lately. Most widely known are Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, who openly lobby for

They follow, as *The Economist* put it, "the familiar tactics of selective outrage." The Saigon government is depicted as a fascist regime incarcerating all its political opponents. "200,000" political prisoners is the figure most often mentioned, accompanied by stories of widespread torture and reference to the notorious "tiger cages." Every retaliatory military action by the South Vietnamese army, or attempt to recover lost ground in what is still their territory, is represented as a violation of the Paris accords. They argue that Saigon would only use increased aid to "violate" the Paris Peace agreement, and maintain repressive policies against its people. It is also argued that an increase in military aid will nullify Congress' attempts to put a tight ceiling on further US involvement in the "quagmire" of Vietnam.

Questionable Arguments

Facts countering these arguments are not hard to find. Following the allegations of 200,000 political prisoners in South Vietnam, the US embassy in Saigon undertook what is described as "an exhaustive and painstaking analysis" of the total prison system in South Vietnam, covering national prisons, provincial jails, and local lockups. Their conclusion, printed in a 15-page report, was that the total prisoner population of South Vietnam, comprising prisoners of all types, was 35,139 as of July-August 1973, and that the total prison capacity of South Vietnam was only 51,941. The figure "200,000 political prisoners" was found to have originated with Father Chin Tin, a well-known government opponent. One of his statements listed prisons that allegedly contain thousands more prisoners than they could possibly accommodate. The simple fact that Father Tin is free today to make his statements eloquently testifies against the charge that the Thieu government jails all its opponents.

The widespread allegation of torture of prisoners in barbaric "tiger cages" on Con Son Island has also been thrown into question by journalists (such as James Cary of the Copley News Service) and independent fact-finding groups. The Saigon government charged that widely circulated pictures of paraplegics, allegedly paralyzed through incarceration in Con Son, were actually Saigon street beggars that some unscrupulous journalist rounded up, paid to pose, and touted as "victims" of the tiger cages.

Whatever the facts of the matter, South Vietnam and Cambodia are making significant progress, with US support, in containing the insurgencies within their borders, and in winning the loyalty of the majority of their citizens.

Alliance

(continued from page 1.)

of Atlantic relations. James Callaghan, Labor's Foreign Minister, told the House of Commons that the Community cannot have a close defense alliance with the United States "without parallel cooperation on trade, money and energy."

The Washington and Bonn governments recently reached an accord that may offset the outflow of US dollars caused by the stationing of American troops in West Germany. The agreement will go a long way toward stifling critics in Congress calling for a cutback of US forces abroad due to high costs.

The French, on the other hand, maintain the need for an "authentic European personality" apart from and in opposition to United States interests. Indeed France may be seeking to establish a separate identity by "deliberately following policies which are hostile to the U.S.," according to Secretary Kissinger. For example, France last year pushed a new rule through the Common Market requiring all European political positions to be worked out in advance.

America

Nevertheless, part of the blame for the present state of affairs must go to the United States. Only America is in the position to provide the kind of moral leadership the world needs and desires. Often, however, the U.S. has been more concerned with short-term political advantage than with truth and justice.

Business

(continued from page 4.)

concession. (Hammer aided in starting mining concessions for the Soviets.) It is extremely important that his whole undertaking should be a complete success.

Riding in posh Soviet limousines, with a permanent suite in Moscow's best hotel and brandishing his coveted letters from Lenin, Hammer made a big splash among the Soviets. Unofficial reports, however, indicate that the honeymoon may be nearing its end. Strong evidence suggests the Soviets have rated him as a bad credit risk.

For the present, though, credit rating with the Soviets is not what is worrying these corporations. Rather it is their "credit rating" with the Congress that causes grave worry.

Eximbank

Probably of chief concern is the status of the Export-Import (EXIM) Bank. For a number of months, credits have been extended to the Soviets under terms requiring no financial data to be submitted, quite contrary to the normal course of action with other nations. At the same time, Eximbank has requested a \$10 billion dollar increase in their budget for fiscal year 1975, which begins this July. At present, the bank's budget is approximately \$20 billion, most of which is tied up in various other international projects.

The fate of the bank is not certain but one of three directions is likely. The first is that the Eximbank will be granted its budget hike in part. If this occurs, Congress may impose certain restrictions, especially on the use of the additional funds appropriated. Another likely possibility would be a complete rejection of any additional appropriations above the \$20 billion mark. The latter course is likely since it would be the simplest way of stopping Eximbank credits to the

Soviets. However, there is a more drastic course which is not being ruled out. That would be to let the Eximbank run its course until it has no additional funds, thereby dissolving the bank. After its dissolution, a new bank, controlled by Congressional restrictions, would be created.

Moral Integrity

But whatever the fate of Eximbank, President Nixon's promises of MFN status to the Soviets will not come easily, if at all. The recent deadlock in the Kissinger-Brezhnev talks in Moscow echos the problem. Repeatedly the Soviet leadership is asking about the President's promises; repeatedly it is not getting answers. The specter that Henry Jackson's amendment raised for the Soviets shows little sign of dissolving. At present, 77 Senators support the amendment, cutting across all manner of ideological boundaries. At the same time, a number of congressional offices have taken on the task of investigating any and all proposed trade deals with the Soviets. Senator Richard Schweiker's revelations of the blanket approval given the Eximbank last week is only one example.

The failure of the present detente, in Congress at any rate, may be due to the convulsive events surrounding Watergate. We hope this is not the case, not only for the sake of non-partisan fairness to the President, but for the sake of the moral integrity of Congress. We have before us perhaps the greatest challenge ever presented to the integrity of the United States, both at home and abroad. Let us hope that the present challenge to detente at any price can signal the beginning of renewed moral initiative in our foreign policy.

Bukovsky

(continued from page 1.)

only way they possibly can—by killing Vladimir Bukovsky.

Fellow dissidents in the Russian underground have issued an appeal to the free world to save Bukovsky.

The Freedom Leadership Foundation has joined in the effort to save Bukovsky by appealing to Congressmen and Senators on Capitol Hill to protest the KGB's treatment of Bukovsky. A letter circulated in several congressional offices by FLF members calls for an effort by American leaders to influence Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin and Soviet President Podgorny to intervene and secure Bukovsky's release.

Will you join our campaign? Just before being shipped to a labor camp in 1967 for organizing a civil rights demonstration in Pushkin Square, Bukovsky told friends, "Sooner or later we will all go to prison and insane asylums. But we will come out and fight even harder..."

Help Bukovsky win the fight for freedom and justice in the Soviet Union!

Write: Ambassador Dobrynin, Embassy of the USSR, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Save Vladimir Bukovsky!

The Rising Tide is published by the Freedom Leadership Foundation, Inc., a non-profit education organization dedicated to developing the standards of leadership necessary to advance the cause of freedom in the struggle against Communism. Editor: Louise Berry. Staff Writers: Chris Elkins, Lorenzo Gaztanaga, Judy Green, Hal McKenzie, Ray Mas, Gerard Willis. Design Consultant: Alexius Burgess.

25 cents per copy

Articles may be reprinted with attribution; please send copies of all publications in which Rising Tide material is used to FLF National Headquarters. Signed articles appearing in The Rising Tide do not necessarily reflect the official position of the Freedom Leadership Foundation.

The Freedom Leadership Foundation is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501 (C)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. All contributions are tax deductible.

President: Neil Salonen. Secretary General, Dan Fefferman. Director of Publications, Louise Berry.

THE FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION, INC.
P.O. Box 678, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044
Phone: (202) 785-3020.

The Making of a Revolutionary

ANGELA
DAVIS

J. A. Parker



A black man's opinion on
Angela Davis

A Careful Critique of
modern American revolutionary thought.

Available from

**Arlington House
publishers,**

81 Centre Avenue
New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801

Kosciusko Honored



Col. Casimir Lenard, Executive Director of the Polish-American Congress, leading the recent annual wreath-laying ceremony commemorating Thaddeus Kosciusko. Kosciusko, a Polish general, was a significant leader in the American Revolution and a founder of West Point. The ceremony, sponsored by the Polish-American Congress, drew over 100 spectators to the Lafayette Park statue of Kosciusko in Washington, D.C. Main speaker of the event was the Honorable Louise Gore, past Ambassador to UNESCO and current Chairman of the Maryland Bi-Centennial Commission.

Diego

(continued from page 5.)

importance to be followed by a policy-setting vote. At the same time, they strenuously caution that the expansion of American presence into the Indian Ocean could trigger a new round of U.S.-Soviet military competition. Senator Edward Kennedy has proposed direct negotiations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. on the use of the Indian Ocean.

Global Competition

Deputy Director Zuhellen of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency addressed himself to this question during his February 21st testimony before the House Subcommittee on the Near East. Stressing the need to consider the question of U.S.-Soviet relations in the Indian Ocean in the context of our overall relationship, Zuhellen pointed to the global nature of the competition and emphasized the need to deal with the problem on a global basis. In such a context, Soviet-American negotiations have been going on for several years, not only in the SALT talks, but also in the Incidents at Sea Agreement, signed in 1972 and amended in 1973. This agreement regulates conduct between ships so as to avoid provocative incidents. Thus, the United States and the Soviet Union have been seriously engaged for some time in negotiations aimed at reducing tensions and arms competition not only on a regional but on a global basis.

Negotiations Sensitive

Given our commitment to troop reductions in Central Europe and elsewhere, Zuhellen continued, it would be pointless for the United States to engage in activities in the Indian Ocean which might damage

serious negotiations toward that goal. Zuhellen characterized U.S. posture in the Indian Ocean as "one of restraint and regard for the considerations of others as well as of ourselves." Instead of impacting adversely on prospects for arms control, Zuhellen argued that "it is rather the maintenance of a stable military balance and a mutual concern for military restraint that is the indispensable ingredient of progress in this as in so many other areas of arms control work." U.S. concern to avoid arms rivalry in the area is not new, he continued, having been expressed to the Soviets in a 1971 communique.

"Flag Showing"

The magnitude of an appropriate U.S. presence aimed at maintaining a balance of forces in the Indian Ocean depends upon an accurate analysis of Soviet policy and deployment in the region. Since British withdrawal from the region in 1968, the Soviets have engaged in a steadily increasing number of "flag-showing" visits into ports in the region. According to Dr. Alvin J. Cottrell of the National Strategy Information Center, by 1972 Soviet ships were spending four times as much time in port, showing their flag in the region, as did American ships. Recent estimates put the imbalance as high as eight to one. The psychological importance of such visits should not be discounted, for not only do such tours represent an interest in the region clearly visible to governments of the nations visited, but they also represent time spent with the people of the port towns, developing a human bond of sympathy or political cooperation as the case may be.

This imbalance is compounded

by the upcoming reopening of the Suez Canal. At present, Soviet ships, like American ships, have to sail long distances in order to be deployed in the Indian Ocean. Their relatively compact size makes use of the Suez Canal feasible, particularly if plans to deepen and improve the Canal are carried out. American ships, by contrast, would not be able to negotiate the Suez Canal; aircraft carriers would have to make the long trip around the Cape of Good Hope. Furthermore, U.S. ships once deployed in the region would still be a great distance from a reliable support facility.

The seriousness of the Suez Canal question became apparent during the October War when, according to Admiral Moore's Military Posture Report, "The Soviet Union had a naval force of 96 ships, including 29 modern surface combatants and 23 submarines, in the Mediterranean—at their peak strength—a force equal to the total number of such ships operated out of home waters by the USSR worldwide in 1969." An improved harbor at Diego Garcia would accommodate a ship of carrier size; improved warehousing and storage facilities would make it possible to maintain a stock of supplies and maintenance equipment in the area.

Littoral States Protest

Announcement of American interest in improved facilities has met with cries of protest from littoral states and others. Australia and New Zealand have expressed concern, as have several other traditional allies. Indian Foreign Minister Swaran Singh expressed concern in a March 12 statement that increased U.S. presence in the region will "start a chain reaction

commerce. Yet with shifting trade routes and other means of transportation, the canal today is not nearly as useful.

Finally, it is asserted that the Panamanians are now technically able to run the canal. So the U.S.'s position of sole defender and protector is obsolete.

Vital Strategic Possession

The supporters of the U.S. jurisdiction feel that the canal is legal U.S. territory bought and paid for through the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. To give it up would be like returning Louisiana to France or Alaska to Russia.

Strategically they feel that there is still great military and economic value to the canal. While the allied naval situation has changed favorably in terms of numbers, new threats have arisen. They point out that the Soviets threaten virtually every major water route by the sheer presence of their navy. Already Soviet vessels based in Cuba patrol Caribbean waters. "Styx" surface-to-surface missiles are carried by Cuban boats. The absence of a strong U.S. presence in the canal would invite an easy take-over of the canal by Communist imperialists.

Economically, the Panama Canal is of substantial strategic importance. The following is a breakdown of the percentage of the world's raw materials which passes thru the canal:

18.2%	oil
15.8%	coal
11.1%	coke
7.7%	iron and steel
6.3%	nitrate, potash, phosphates
5.7%	lumber

Percentages of different coun-

tries' trade thru the canal:

Japan	10.7%
Chile	34.3%
Columbia	32.5%
El Salvador	66.4%
Nicaragua	76.8%
Venezuela	7.4%
U.S.	16.8%
Guatemala	30.9%
Peru	41.3%
Panama	29.4%

*Notice that the highest percentages came from the Latin American nations.

Panama is probably quite capable of technically running the canal. The question is, how politically stable is Panama? Panama's long history of violent coups up to the present does not speak well for its reliability. One sign of instability is the Panamanian strongman, General Torrijos. His left-leaning rhetoric and the aid he has received in this issue from Fidel Castro makes him suspect of motives other than nationalism.

State Department vs. Congress

The arguments described above are now being debated by the state department and Congress. The approval of any new treaty by Congress is necessary for the treaty to be put into effect.

The fact that Kissinger attached his name to the 8-point treaty now being negotiated without consultation with Congress angers some congressmen (See *Tide*, Apr. 5, page 8). Such a treaty, although not legally binding, implies an element of intent. The Congress' concern probably lies on 3 levels: protection of U.S. territory, protection of a costly investment, and maintenance of a world service without the major

difficulty of a Marxist government in the area.

Panama's View

Foreign minister Jose Antonis Tack pointed out that the present negotiations are not new. Rather, they belong to a continuing development on the canal issue since 1903. According to Minister Tack, Panama is now a more mature and solid state which can handle the affairs of the canal.

Naturally nationalist feeling dominates the Panamanian stand and not unjustifiably so. After all, the canal zone does cut their territory in half.

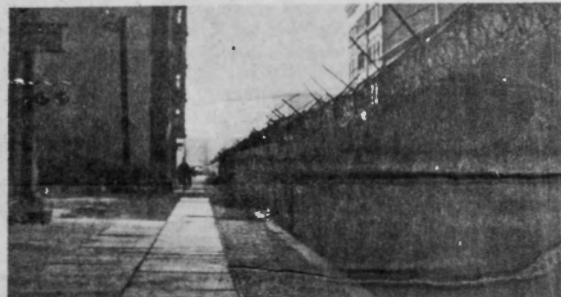
Panamanians claim that their present "rent" revenue of nearly 2 million is really low, taking into account what \$2 million can actually purchase today. They deny claims that 2/3 of their G.N.P. comes from the canal—their official figure is 12%. Panama seems to be going all the way in its attempt; it has even warned that this is to be the last peaceful negotiation about this issue.

A Final Comment

The interest of the state department is to improve relations with Latin America. However, simply giving away the canal is like giving away money to appease someone. The ideal solution to the canal problems can come when the U.S. takes initiatives at times other than when forced by riots or other disturbances.

The real issue at the canal is not so much which particular nationalistic issue has to be satisfied. Rather, the agreement should be made taking into account the very important problem of maintaining a free, efficient canal.

New Mood



(continued from page 4.)

and Rhodesia as other cases in point. While calling the idea of a detente of the spirit "beautiful," Pourciau cautioned that we have a right to philosophically support the Soviet dissidents, but not to change their situation. However, Pourciau also emphasized that when a nation whose policies are opposed to our own becomes aggressive, we must cease detente. In his view, America is responsible to balance international campaigns aimed at pro-Communist persuasion with a pro-democratic ideological response.

Rising Interest in Foreign Policy

Richard Scammon, a top Democratic Party strategist, commented that people are definitely becoming more interested in foreign policy, particularly since detente, but that it is not the issue which will move them in voting. Scammon, perhaps best known with Ben Wattenberg for their book *The New Majority* and efforts with the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, emphasized the broad-based issue and the centrist position as the key to Democratic electoral success. Commenting on the Fulbright-Bumpers race, Scammon speculated that "Fulbright may try to do something with foreign policy this time, but that's not what will make the difference. What will matter is electing the people to Congress who will take care of the voters."

Scammon makes no secret of his support for Senator Jackson as the Democratic presidential nominee in 1976, with an awareness that Jackson's strong internationalist position will not find unanimous support within his party. However, Scammon pointed out that "no unity is possible on foreign policy in the Democratic Party, particularly when there's no war on. Unity will have to come on other issues." What seems to be shaping up in the Scammon camp is a strategy of supporting a candidate with a strong internationalist position, but selling him to the party and the people on domestic issues. This is undeniably a tried and true formula for electoral success, as Scammon would be the first to point out.

Regardless of the interest of Arkansas voters in the foreign policy aspect of their senatorial contest, several aides expressed a personal desire to see a

Fulbright defeat because of his handling of foreign affairs legislation.

Fulbright-Bumpers Contest

The Fulbright-Bumpers contest may or may not be a test of the maturity of the internationalist position within the Democratic Party, but it seems likely to have greater long-range consequences for the shape of American foreign policy than virtually any other race except a presidential election. Fulbright, a long-time opponent of any form of American involvement in Southeast Asia in particular and the rest of the world in general, faces serious competition from young Arkansas Governor Dale Bumpers, first elected to state-wide office in 1970. Both men are able campaigners, and Fulbright has a history of come-from-behind successes; however, he must extend himself to overtake Bumpers, who commanded a 2-to-1 lead in a recent poll. Should Bumpers succeed, Fulbright will be replaced as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Arkansas Senator John Sparkman, a long-time internationalist. Such an event could mark the beginning of a new era in United States foreign policy. Though Bumpers has expressed no suggestion that his decision to challenge Fulbright, an incumbent Senator of his own party, was based on a difference in vision about foreign policy, a desire to change chairmen may well have figured in his decision.

Many events in the past twelve months figured importantly in catalyzing the re-emergence of this internationalist school of thought in the Democratic Party. Surely the October War in the Middle East, the decision to alert SAC, and the Arab Oil Embargo were important in arousing many Americans to our interconnectedness, for good as well as for ill, with the rest of the world. The question becomes whether this school will succeed in educating a large enough segment of the Democratic Party, the Congress, and the American people to the opportunities as well as the dangers which international awareness and commitment offer not only for this country, but also for other nations of the world which depend upon the United States to keep down our end of the balance of power. Judy Green



The Rising Tide

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

☐ Please enter my TRT subscription for one year—26 issues. Enclosed is my check for \$7.00 (student \$4.00).

☐ I would like to help support TRT. Enclosed is my check for (which includes one year's TRT subscription).

☐ I would like to sponsor the work of FLF. Please send me more information.

—General (\$15)
—Student and G.I. (\$5)

(one year subscription to TRT included in all the above.)

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

Zip _____

☐ Please send a complimentary copy of TRT to the enclosed list of names and addresses.

T-46

All contributions are tax-deductible.
THE FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION INC.
P.O. Box 678, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044

☐ I would like to promote the cause and sell TRT (and earn money!). Please contact me.