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United States Hosts Successful WACL Conference

A distinctive array of speakers, diligent work by the American Council for World Freedom, and the participation of 400 delegates and observers, many of them distinguished leaders in their countries, worked together to create the very stimulating World Anti-Communist League Conference. The conference, seventh of its kind, was held in Washington, D.C. on April 8-11.

The WACL grew out of the Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League in 1967 with the goal of uniting "all the freedom-loving people of the world to check and defeat Communist aggression and subversion." The seventh conference, the first in the United States, was hosted by the American Council for World Freedom, an umbrella organization uniting groups concerned with the "advancement and preservation of freedom for all peoples throughout the world."

Worthy Cause

The keynote address on the opening day of the session,

delivered by Bruce Herschensohn, Deputy Special Assistant to the President, focused on exposing irresponsible criticism of United States' policy in Southeast Asia. "The majority of this nation overrode the morning and nightly bombardments by those who were irresponsible within the national media, and our commitment was not surrendered," said Mr. Herschensohn. "Our history of that decade should be recorded that while the weak yelled for peace at any price, the strong were dying for the cause of freedom, and the great majority of this nation knew that the cause was worthy."

Asia was also the focus of Admiral John McCain's discussion with the WACL. McCain, Commander in Chief of the Pacific forces with special responsibility for Vietnam, spoke on the "Communist Military Threat." "America cannot get out of the world," emphasized Admiral McCain at the end of his presentation. His son, accompanying him,

was a POW for 5 1/2 years and the subject of a lengthy article in *U.S. News and World Report*.

Central and South America were well represented. General Anastasio Somoza Debayle, Nicaraguan head of state, addressed the conference on Central America's anti-Communist measures, stressing the cooperative efforts achieved through the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance in the fields of military, communications, and disaster aid.

Allende's debacle was detailed by Senator Sergio Onofre de Chile. Said Onofre: "In the light of all the existing evidence, no one in good faith can argue that the Popular Unity Government was a constitutional government. It was constitutional in its origins, but it lost its legitimacy when it abandoned the legal channels and when it trampled over the political Constitution and the rights and freedoms of the people. The rebellion of Chileans was a legitimate act, as it has always

been legitimate throughout history to fight for one's country's liberty and independence."

Other speakers included Congressman Richard Ichord (see page 5) and WACL participants Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang, (Honorary Chairman of WACL), Yaroslav Stetsko (on "National Liberation in the USSR and Satellite States") and youth leaders Neil Salonen (FLF), Roger Stone (Young Republicans), and Ron Robinson (YAF). Outgoing WACL President Raimundo Guerrero, ACWF President Thomas A. Lane, incoming WACL President Fred Schlafly, and WYACL President Ibarra also spoke.

Avraham Shifrin, Anatoly Radygin, and Mario Lazo spoke from their experiences as prisoners in the Soviet Union and Cuba for the panel discussion on the human cost of Communism. Excerpts from the panel "Will the Free World and the Communist World Converge?" appear on page 3.

The shirt-sleeves work of the conference took place during several resolution-making sessions, as did the airing of national and ideological differences. Most resolutions dealt with commonly-held goals -- support of free China, Southeast Asia, and the captive nations, etc.

In an attempt to clean up the League, the United States introduced a resolution to ban anti-Semitism and other forms of extremism, with provisions for expulsion of organizations not living up to the League's goals. Later in the proceedings, the Bolivians, supported by other members of Latin American delegations introduced a resolution suggesting that the military take over the government of the U.S. in response to perceived leftist trends. Supported by the Latin American bloc, they were able to link the voting on the Bolivian resolution to that on the U.S. resolution, meaning that a defeat for one would mean a defeat for both. Despite an impassioned speech by

U.S. acting delegate Lorenzo Gaztanaga informing the assembly of the folly of a military takeover, the maneuver was accomplished without serious obstacle. Both resolutions were rejected.

At the official closing session of the conference a similar anti-extremist resolution proposed by the United States was again brought before the floor and was passed. This was a portent for a more united WACL in the future, laying a foundation for clearing the stigma of anti-Semitism from the WACL (see editorial of this issue and of two previous issues). U.S. delegates also considered it a victory over alleged high-handed methods employed by the Latin Americans which they used to their advantage in the WYACL.

Rally

The conference ended with an afternoon's session of regional reports, a large rally, and a final session during which the resolutions and the final communiqué were presented. Main speaker at the rally was William F. Buckley, Jr. Excerpts from his speech, as well as additional relevant details on WACL will appear in later issues. Freedom awards were presented to Ukrainian prisoner Valentyn Moroz, Cardinal Mindszenty, and Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

Occasionally WACL participants saw more of Washington than the inside of their meeting room. Trips (Continued on page 7)

Whither France?

by G.F. Willis

History has a way of destroying great dreams. This is especially true when man's vision of the future is based upon narrowly nationalistic and chauvinistic principles. Such has been the fate and error of Charles de Gaulle's plans for modern France.

The late President and heir of de Gaulle's France, Georges Pompidou, presided over the erosion of the hopes raised by General de Gaulle, especially in foreign policy. With the death of M. Pompidou last week the Gaullist era of French politics and policy, in many respects, ended.

End of the Gaullist Line

The Gaullist line, formulated in the early 50's by General Charles de Gaulle and carried into the 70's by Pompidou, stood upon two main points. The ascendancy of France in the world, especially Europe; and the ascendancy of the President within France. Today both dreams are failing.

Whatever pretensions may be left among old line politicians (and certainly presidential aspirants will at least pay lip service to the principles of Gaullism in the upcoming elections) the influence of France in the world-at-large today amounts to nearly nothing. The last vestiges of the once mighty French Empire died violently at Dien Bien Phu and Algiers.

Pompidou's recent go-it-alone economic policy in the Middle East was designed to assert French power and independence by beating America and other Western nations to Arab oil and influence. It backfired.

At first France indeed made significant inroads with the Arabs, far surpassing those of the DeGaulle era. The Arab governments welcomed French arms and support against Israel.

Nonetheless, the Arabs remained skeptical of France's ability to supply finished industrial products like airport facilities, tanker fleets, and petroleum products on a competitive basis with Great Britain, West Germany or the U.S.

Since the embargo ended last

month the Saudis have abandoned the French in favor of stronger economic ties with the U.S. As the prospects for peace brighten many Arab governments may follow King Faisal's example.

Europa

Under Pompidou, the Gaullist notion of a united Europe under French dominion stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals dies also. The East-West detente, invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the admission of Great Britain into the Common Market have destroyed de Gaulle's ideal of a "Europe for the Europeans", at least for the foreseeable future.

And today a debate rages across the Atlantic between France on one side and Washington - London - Bonn on the other. The debate revolves around two central issues: economic policies that favor France, such as the Common Market's joint agricultural program; and the exclusion of the U.S., at France's insistence, from the decision-making apparatus of the nine-nation European Economic Community. At stake in the debate is the future of political and economic integration in Western Europe.

Le Roi Est Mort

If the death of Georges Pompidou comes at a time of great strain in the Atlantic alliance, the stress his death will put on the French political system is easily as great. The end of the Gaullist idea in French politics will likely accompany the end of the Gaullist idea in foreign affairs.

The late general's concept of the role of the president in French politics will inevitably lose ground in the next election. De Gaulle's concept, carried on and in some ways improved upon by Pompidou, casts the President in the role of supreme arbiter of French politics and spokesman for the French people.

De Gaulle saw himself as the incarnation of France, the symbol of everything France stood for. By virtue of reforms instituted by De Gaulle, French presidents reign for (Continued on page 7)

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Happy 2518!

The Khmer Republic (Cambodia), like many victims of Communist aggression with whom America has become involved, is known to Americans mainly through scenes of war, violence and devastation. This is never a fair perspective in which to properly appreciate a country, so it was refreshing and enlightening to experience something of the real Cambodia at the Khmer Buddhist New Year celebration at Georgetown University on April 13. That is the date when Khmers traditionally celebrate the Buddhist new year, which is now the year of the Tiger, Buddhist Era 2518. The Khmers gave us much of their culture, as well as a richly warm and enjoyable evening.

The hall at Georgetown was jammed with at least 400 people of all ages. Many had received formal written invitations, others came along with friends or by verbal invitation. The event was sponsored by the "Khmer Solidarity Association," an organization made up of Cambodian students and

residents in Washington, D.C. Khmer Ambassador Um Sim greeted the arrivals at the door, obviously elated at the larger-than-expected turnout. Tables had been laid out displaying Khmer handicrafts and artifacts--works of silver, bronze, stone and rattan of excellent craftsmanship.

The program consisted of Khmer classical and folk dances, performed by the young people of the Khmer Solidarity Association, and a film of the Royal Ballet. The classical ballet, as danced by a very small and beautiful young woman on stage and as shown on the film, revealed a concept of dance completely different from the muscular Western style. The Khmer ballet showed a slow, serene, and controlled grace evoking a sense of timelessness and ethereal beauty. The poses that the dancers struck often looked exactly like the angels, demons, soldiers, and noblemen carved on the intricate friezes of Angkor Wat more than a thousand years ago.

Complementing the ballet, two

lively folk dances were performed which are traditionally danced for fun by the Khmer people, young and old. The young performers obviously enjoyed themselves in the dance, and their enjoyment communicated itself to the audience.

They pranced and moved their hands and feet in an animated version of the classical dances, more free and at the same time more graceful than Western folk dances. Both dances were humorous, especially the masked dance with traditional drums, which involved a snappy and obviously funny verbal repartee between the performers. The humor had a gentle, fun-poking quality, so different from the more aggressive Western slapstick.

After the performances, a buffet dinner of traditional Cambodian dishes was served, followed by dancing to the tune of a Khmer pop band which played in a "Cambodianized" rock style. The guests found themselves dancing with the (Continued on page 7)

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One Step Ahead for WACL

by Dan Graydon Fefferman, FLF Secretary General

The 7th World Anti-Communist League Conference in Washington D.C. proved to be a step forward—but, as expected, it also uncovered some serious problems which must be squarely faced if the WACL is to become a truly effective international organization.

Perhaps the greatest victory was the resolution, unanimously adopted at the last moment, which condemns anti-Semitism and extremism in general, providing for the expulsion of organizations or individuals found to be acting not in accord with the WACL Charter's adherence to the principles of "freedom, democracy and equality." The resolution, passed by acclamation, was explicitly supported by the two organizations most prominently accused of anti-Semitism: The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and the Mexican Anti-Communist Federation (FEMACO). Thus, an important step has been taken. But it must be recognized as only one step in a series; the goal of clearing WACL's name and providing for effective international action against Communism is still beset by several significant obstacles.

First is the fact that there do remain in the WACL several organizations of a very dubious nature. Despite its official denial of anti-Semitism, for instance, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is allegedly riddled with former Nazi collaborators who have not, according to expert testimony, renounced their former quisling leaders nor fundamentally changed their anti-Semitic and ultra-nationalist outlook. Several Latin American groups, too, remain a subject for scrutiny, especially considering the strong-arm tactics they used to try to push through their resolutions. Moreover, at least one delegate from Western Europe has been identified as a leader of a neo-Nazi organization whose publication declares: "If we do not destroy Judaism, Judaism will destroy us."

Organizations of the latter type are clearly unacceptable as members of a League which stresses the importance of religious freedom and human rights in the struggle against Communist totalitarianism. Such organizations should be expelled at the next conference or sooner. Otherwise it would be extremely difficult for our own organization, or any other with a similar concern for universal freedom, to remain. Expulsion of extremist elements, moreover, would ultimately mean broader representation, since more democratic anti-Communist groups representing similar regions would then feel free to join.

Beyond the question of dealing with fanatics and extremists, however, is another problem of even greater long-run importance: how to create and maintain a working unity among responsible groups with divergent yet legitimate interests. In some cases this will necessitate setting important issues aside. It would be foolish, for instance, to expect the WACL to take a stand one way or the other on the Arab-Israeli war, since the League contains both Arabs and Jews. It also contains Khmers and Vietnamese, Serbs, and Croats, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, Buddhists and Hindus, Koreans and Japanese, and many more potentially antagonistic elements. Given its goals, the League cannot be expected to solve or even act on many of these problems.

But one divergence must be overcome so that the organization might become truly effective. Some of the groups are of what we would call a *narrowly nationalistic perspective*. Others are more universal in their outlook. For most nations represented in WACL, strong nationalism is a pre-requisite in their anti-Communist struggle. And *patriotism* is surely a virtue for people of all nations. But in today's world, Communism poses a *global*, as well as a national threat. The immediate threat is to the nation, and that threat must be met with nationalistic strength and patriotic fervor. But the ultimate threat is to all of civilization. This threat must be met with both international solidarity and universalist counteraction and concern.

Such concern was expressed eloquently by men such as Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang, Rev. Raymond De Jaegher and our own President Neil Salonen. It is summed up in the belief that "a world united in love" is not an empty ideal nor simply a Communist slogan. "A world united in love" is a universal ideal living deep in the heart of every human being. It is, moreover, the desire and ultimate will of God. The purpose of the nation is important...important enough to die for...important enough to devote one's life to its fulfillment. So much more so is the purpose of the whole world.

The upcoming conference in Brazil should prove even more critical than the one just concluded in Washington. It is hoped, first of all, that the extremists will be rooted out and, secondly, that a working unity can be achieved among the strictly nationalist and the more universalist elements. Particularly important will be the degree of cooperation among the Latin American and U.S. contingents. If such cooperation is maintained, not only will the WACL be saved but it could be another important step toward the ultimate solution of inter-American and international problems.

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"The Devil Wears Gloves in the West..."

An interview with a formerly imprisoned Soviet Jew

by Judy Green

Avraham Shifrin is a 51-year-old former Soviet citizen who spent 10 years in Soviet concentration camps because of his Jewish heritage. Shifrin was decorated by the U.S.S.R. for bravery in battle during WW II, yet he was later imprisoned and then exiled as an "American Israeli spy." Shifrin has worked since his release to gather and spread to the world the facts about the nature and use of the Soviet prison system; he testified at length in 1973 before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. Shifrin is presently in the United States for several speaking engagements and was interviewed on April 11 during meetings of the World Anti-Communist League.

Mr. Shifrin, how were you able to leave the U.S.S.R.?

I went out officially. After 10 years in the prisons, and four years in exile, I came to Odessa, and we organized there a Zionist group. In '70 we organized a big gathering on the shore of the Black Sea to learn Hebrew, to dance Hebrew dances, to sing Hebrew songs — it was open action. The KGB was astonished, and they sent me from the USSR because they had no power at this time to arrest us. It was at the time when Brezhnev came to power. He did not have enough power to kill our movement, so he preferred to send us to Israel. Now they send people to concentration camps. Today, they would send me to prison again, but it was in '70, and that's why I'm here. Thanks to God.

What were the charges that the Soviet government brought against you, and why do you believe you were really imprisoned?

I know very well that they put me in prison because I am a Jew. They sentenced me to death with the charge that I was an American Israeli spy, but you must remember that it was in the days when there was the greatest wave of arrests of Jews in the USSR. They began it in '52, and I was in the last group of Jews which was arrested in Moscow in '53, after the death of Stalin. Stalin was dead, but his work goes on and on in the USSR. The KGB also arrested people, and that's why we must understand that even if Stalin has died, and Khrushchev has died, now Brezhnev works in the same way. Nothing has changed in the USSR from the days of Stalin.

Many writers describe the present Soviet system of dealing with religious and intellectual dissidents as neo-Stalinism. But Stalin shot dissenters; how do the Soviets deal with dissent now?

Nothing has changed in the USSR from the days of Stalin, only now they work in a more "democratic" way. In the days of Stalin they shot people, sometimes without sentence; now they try to kill people in extermination camps in other ways. For example, I can tell you about concentration camps number 7 and number 19; they have now, in 1974, prisoners working in these camps. They polish glass mirrors, and in the shops where they work they have no ventilation. They work 10 hours each day and they breathe this dust, dust of glass. After this ten hours of work they go to their cells, which are in the same big building. Twenty-four hours a day they breathe the same dust; you must understand that after a year or two, these prisoners may be dead or ill. They want to kill Bukovsky and others in this way.

What has caused the Soviets to change their methods of suppressing dissent?

You see, times have changed. Now there is a big movement in all the world against these killers, and that's why they want to kill people not with the noise of shooting, but in such a way.

Mr. Shifrin, many people in America believe that Communism no longer represents a threat to the West, if it ever did. The Communist Party runs can-

didates for office, like any other political party. If Communism is a real danger, why don't we see an active Communist Party in the U.S. attempting to overthrow the government?

Maybe I can explain this way. The devil never can catch pure souls with dirty hands, and that's why devils came to pure youths in the West with white gloves. They came to you with slogans of "brotherhood," of "struggle for mankind," with slogans about peace in all the world, and then when you go with them, they try with your hands to kill your society. That devil comes to a pure soul and asks him, "Do you want to save mankind?" He answers, "Yes, what must I do?" "I love people; go with me." And when these people go with the devil, he brings them to the point where he tells them, "Kill these people, and in this way we will save mankind." This is the very specific way of Communism.

Why are you opposed to Communism, Mr. Shifrin: for economic reasons, humanitarian reasons, spiritual reasons?

Well you see, I have maybe a little more complicated way. First of all, I understood this system when I was a child. They arrested my father, and they killed him in a concentration camp. My father was arrested in '37 in the Great Purge, without any crime. After his death, in '58 they sent my family a letter that he had been rehabilitated after death. And that's why I understood the system of Communism. I understood who is this Stalin, and what is this Communist regime, and so on. That's why all my life I have been in one way or in another in the struggle against Communism, because I know it's only a band of killers which has caught the government in Russia and which tries to rule in this country, by frightening people, and killing people, and making them liars, and making them traitors, and making them cowards. That's why I oppose this way of life. I know that Com-

munist is Enemy Number One of all the world, and I know that the free world is not going in the right way. We in the USSR understand that they operate in a very specific way.

Many Americans feel that Communists are not much different from capitalists these days. Brezhnev, after all, sits down at a table to bargain like any other head of state. Do people in the Soviet Union still believe the Communist ideology?

People in the USSR don't believe absolutely in the ideology of Communism. They know that all these false slogans are only slogans. That's why they cannot understand people in the west that go the way of the New Left, with Communists, and socialists, and so on. People in the USSR understood long ago that Communism wants to rule this country in the specific way of frightening and killing people; people in the USSR live in the face of these killers. That's why they cannot oppose them straight, and that's why youths in the USSR sometimes tell the press that we're democrats — they cannot tell them we're anti-Communists. You must understand that when people struggle with Communism in the USSR with slogans of socialism or democracy, they are in reality pure anti-Communists, but they cannot work in this way openly or else they will be sent to concentration camps immediately.

Mr. Shifrin, young people of the American New Left believe that Marxism could bring an ideal social order, but that no one has ever applied it properly. Thus, they do not regard the hard realities of life in the Soviet Union as evidence against the correctness of Trotsky or Mao. How do people in the Soviet Union feel about the hopes of the American new left?

In the USSR we understand very well that the New Left and the Trotskyite movement in the Free World are organized from Russia. They sent money for all these organizations. In the USSR they

will never permit the democrats, the liberals, the new left, the Trotskyites to do their work, but here in the West they try in these ways to destroy your society, and then they will catch the government in their hand. In the West they will kill the left first of all. Try to remember that they killed in Russia all the revolutionaries after '17 immediately. People that struggled against tsarism were killed first of all in the USSR. Then they killed pure Communists, because they know that they would be opposition. Try to remember that in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Hungary, and in other countries, they killed all the left organizations, all Communists — Slavsky and other people. It's the way of Communism, first of all to destroy society with the hands of the left, then to kill all the opposition.

Mr. Shifrin, how does the Soviet government respond to requests from Jews to leave the USSR for Israel?

When a Jew goes to the KGB and asks permission to leave Russia and go to Israel they fire him from his work, they frighten him, they frighten his family and don't permit them any work. They now permit some thousands of people a year to go to Israel; at this rate, we will need approximately 200 years to take our Jews from Russia to Israel.

What happens to dissidents who leave a history of prisons in the USSR for Israel — do they try to forget, or try to change things in the USSR?

We have organized in Israel an Amnesty International group of all former prisoners, which will do research to investigate the concentration camp system in the USSR. We want to show to all the world the real news and the real picture of concentration camps, prisons, special prisons, secret prisons, mental prisons, women's prisons, and children's prisons in the USSR. And only with professional work from day to day can we meet such a goal. That's our task now.

WYACL:

Broader Vision Needed

by Lorenzo Gaztanga and Hal McKenzie

The Fifth Conference of the World Youth Anti-Communist League (WYACL - youth affiliate of WACL) held in Washington April 5 - 7, was characterized by stormy disagreements between the Latin American and United States delegates, resulting in the official withdrawal from active participation in WYACL of the Freedom Leadership Foundation (FLF), which together with the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) made up the U.S. delegation to WYACL. FLF Secretary General Dan Fefferman, expressing "general disappointment with the direction of the current WYACL conference and the WYACL in general," officially terminated FLF's participation on the second day of the conference, citing as his main objection a clause inserted in the new WYACL charter forbidding open discussion of the ideology, racial policies, or political activities of member units.

After the conference was over, a YAF delegate stated that he would recommend that YAF withdraw too, on the grounds that the WYACL no longer represented world anti-Communism, but had rather become a "regional and ideological interest group." All U.S. delegates objected to what appeared to be a clear attempt by the majority Latin American membership to dominate the WYACL, steering it along narrowly nationalistic lines.

Mistrust

From the earliest preparations for the conference, communications breaks and considerable

mistrust developed between the Latin American and U.S. representatives. An American who was elected Secretary-General of the WYACL at the Mexico Conference in 1972 resigned last year after admitting irresponsibility in his duties. This incident, together with the United States' erratic policy towards Communism and the leftist bias of the U.S. press, compounded the latent anti-U.S. feelings of the Latin Americans. The U.S. WYACL delegates agreed that many of the Latin Americans' misgivings were justified, but felt that these feelings were exploited by opportunists within WYACL for their own purposes, to the ultimate detriment of the world anti-Communist cause.

The WYACL conference officially began on April 5, at a meeting of the eleven-man Executive Board. At this meeting the issue of electing the next president came up for discussion. Traditionally, in both WACL and WYACL, the presidency goes to a member from the country hosting the conference, which in this case was the U.S. However the Executive Board, containing a majority of Latins voted not to necessarily follow that tradition this year. Also the Executive Board voted a 3-year term for themselves.

(Continued on page 8)



Lorenzo Gaztanga challenging WYACL

"To Be Free, We Must First Of All Eliminate Slavery..."

from Opening Address of Honorary WACL Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-kang

For this WACL Conference, we have advanced "Peace is...Freedom and Justice for All" as our guideline of determined endeavor. In so doing, we have pointed out to all the freedom and peace-loving people of the world a broad avenue that they should faithfully follow. This is to say that we must staunchly resist Communist aggression, strive for final victory, and attain a durable peace with freedom and justice for all. Our endeavor is based on the fact that to be free, we must first of all eliminate slavery and avoid being enslaved; that justice demands due respect for free people's common wishes, interests, rights and dignity; and that peace, to be possible, requires the pooling of forces for freedom and justice to fight against aggression and eliminate the very sources of troubles. The WACL at the present stage should concentrate itself on further rousing the freedom- and justice-loving people to a concerted crusade for an enduring peace for all of mankind. History is now about to witness great changes as the surging anti-Communist situation is taking a new shape. At this crucial moment, WACL leadership is ever more urgently important. For this reason, we must now move as follows:

First of all, we must establish the principle of freedom with justice. Since anti-Communism calls for consistent effort in a domain involving both ideology and action, we must, if we are to achieve an anti-Communist victory, launch a full-scale spiritual mobilization of all the free people for the enunciation and application of a common principle for the promotion of justice and safeguard of freedom and human dignity. With this end in view, we firmly advocate the following:

—The despotism of the Communist hierarchy and the Communist system of enslavement must be forever eliminated from the history of man.

—The Iron Curtain that confines people in servitude and prevents free exchange of visits should be torn asunder.

—The results of Communist aggression should under no circumstances be recognized as accomplished facts.

—Freedom is indivisible and can never coexist with slavery.

—Full support should go to the enslaved people's struggle for freedom from fear and oppression.

—The Communist plot to corrupt and poison the free world with narcotics and other means should be completely foiled.

—Peace should be sought only under the conditions of national independence, racial equality and freedom of the people.

—Differences and disputes among the free nations should be effectively talked over and settled. Individual needs of the states should be accommodated for the good of the whole.

—All the freedom-loving people, irrespective of race, nationality, religion, creed and profession, should promote unity and cooperation in good faith and strive together to the very end for winning the freedom based on justice.

—Philosophical thoughts and cultural patterns of the East and the West should be amalgamated through adequate interflow and mutual enhancement, combining the Western humanism with its concepts of freedom, equality and fraternity with the Eastern humanism—loyalty, filial piety, fraternity, faithfulness, propriety and peace.

Secondly, we must promote the grand alliance of free nations. The failure of militarism, Nazism and Communist aggression—in the two World Wars, in Korea and in Vietnam—was all because the close relations of allies were made to generate a high degree of power for freedom. The free nations are now under threats of global communism drives mainly because moves for negotiated peace have seriously hampered the free world's moral courage and *esprit de corps*, exposing the entire democratic camp to dangers of self-destruction. Thus, the urgent task before us is to turn the deplorable trend stemming from mistaken free world tactics, advance bilateral and regional alliance of free nations, and bring about overall coordination to achieve collective power.

We recognize that in this promotion of grand alliance of the free nations, the United States should particularly intensify its effort for superiority in strategic arms development and for maximum expression of its traditional national spirit. What all the other free nations look for to the United States today is leadership in securing and uniting the power of freedom both inside and outside the Iron Curtain to deliver a shattering blow to the Communist forces beset with contradictions and confusion.

We also solemnly affirm that all the free nations should cast aside neutralism, isolationism, non-alignment and other illusory thinking about conciliation with the Communists. We should especially give up secret diplomacy, which is inconsistent

with internationalism and which sacrifices the rights of the medium and small states. Instead, we must strive for the establishment of the grand alliance and vigorously unfold a campaign for self-salvation through mutual salvation.

Thirdly, we must adopt superlative global strategies for safeguarding peace. For peace to be

secure, free nations must be able to preserve their own security and to take effective counter-measures against aggressors. Politically, free nations must be strong enough to foil the Communist united front schemes and institute a stable order on the solid foundation of a democratic society. In the economic field, our moves must be

for mutual benefit and common prosperity so that gaps between the poor and the rich can be narrowed down and overall growth rates are heightened through all-out development. Our global military, political and economic strategies must be thus established and effectuated.

We declare positively that to

uphold freedom and security, free nations must take the road of total defense rather than precarious negotiated peace. Also to be abandoned is thought about multipolar check and balance that has in fact served to break up the freedom camp.

We also declare positively that free nations must hit back at the Communist united front stratagem to set up and utilize a "third world" through maneuvers at the United Nations. The anti-Communist alliance of the people should be elevated to the level of solid governmental unity.

We further declare positively that the post-war U.S. economic aid policy for the other free nations should now be greatly strengthened. At the same time, all the other developed countries should also provide capital and technical assistance for accelerated industrialization of developing countries.

Science has made so much progress that man now can conquer space. But our human society is still beset with problems of tyranny and of men enslaving fellow men. In this controversy, mankind should find stinging shame as well as looming dangers. Squarely facing our responsibility to safeguard and promote man's freedom, we of the World Anti-Communist League must now call upon all those who do not wish to relegate themselves to be Communist slaves to rise gallantly to the occasion and together strive to usher in a new era of lasting peace based on freedom and justice for all.



Convergence?

from a panel discussion

Suzanne Labin

If we had to figure out a regime located truly half-way between our democracy and their Communism, then we ought to imagine -- that they reduce their concentration camps to a half, while we build the same number; that they set half of their peasants free, while we put half of ours in collective farms; that they tear down their iron curtains along one half of their borders, while we erect an iron curtain along half of our own borders; that they suppress their rationing cards for bread, and we introduce them for cars; that dissenting writers will be confined no more in lunatic asylums, but, on both sides, in nice farms for nervous people, etc.

Under the glitter of convergence, we are, in fact, invited to betray our past and desert our future. How can this be? We have made man free and master of his destiny. Should we converge with tyranny? We have given equal law and justice to all...should we converge with the KGB? We have unchained thought...should we converge toward lunatic asylums for dissenting writers? We have allowed every man to travel freely on the earth; should we converge with the builders of iron curtains? We have assigned the search for truth as the supreme goal of science; should we converge with the Politbureau who orders science to lie at its service? We have driven out the old spectrum of poverty...should we converge with their underdog economy?

James Dornan

It is an often-unarticulated conclusion of the convergence school that as the societal structures and political values of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. evolve in parallel fashion, the principal causes of the hostility which has characterized their relations in the international arena will evanesce; in time, peaceful cooperation will replace confrontation and competition as the hallmark of those relations. This conviction, also, is simplistic at its core, resting as it does either on the belief that all advanced industrial societies pursue foreign policies of cooperation, or that in today's world only ideological differences divide the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Thucydides long ago provided us with a fitting rejoinder to both. The interests of states, he taught us, tend to expand with their power. In a multi-unit international system, with no overarching center of authority to maintain peace and

order, nations are compelled to seek power, if only in self-defense; as the power of states expands, the opportunity and will to use it almost invariably increase as well. Hostility and conflict among nations are the inevitable result. Thus even if the ideological conflict between East and West has evaporated -- and there is no reason to believe that this has occurred to any decisive extent -- there would be few reasons for believing that we were about to enter Kant's era of permanent peace. Even in the absence of enduring ideological differences, the potential for serious conflict among nations is deeply embedded in the nature of international politics, as clearly revealed by the history of the European system from 1648 to 1914.

Huang Van-chi

The Communist World has been recently divided by some minor ideological differences, but as a whole it remains a Marxist World, and Marxism contains a most sacred dogma - the third law of Dialectical Materialism which is The Negation of Negation. This third law of Dialectical Materialism denies democracy and promotes violence. Soviet Russia and Communist China are at odds with each other, but neither of the two has ever abandoned its opposition to democracy and its policy of violence.

The so-called Free World does not present such an ideological homogeneity. If we disregard minor variations, we may say that the non-Communist World is divided into two main spheres of culture. On the one hand, we have the Western Culture characterized by democracy and a long tradition of violence, and the Oriental culture characterized by a lack of democracy and a traditional philosophy of non-violence. All the three leading Oriental philosophies (Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism) preach harmony and reject violence.

It is in my view that our present world is divided into three cultural spheres, each presenting two characteristics:

1) The Communist sphere, characterized by an opposition to democracy and a policy of violence.

2) The Western sphere, characterized by democracy and a long tradition of violence.

3) The Oriental sphere, characterized by a lack of democratic tradition but with a traditional philosophy of non-violence.

Convergence occurs only when either of the three changes its inner characteristics. For one minute, let's suppose that Soviet Russia suddenly opts for democracy. It

will then become quite similar to Western countries. Similarly, let's suppose, also for one minute, that Mao Tse-tung rejects violence and revives the spirit of non-violence contained in Buddhism which once flourished in China, or the spirit of softness from Taoism, or that of harmony from Confucianism, then the People's Republic of China will be similar to Imperial China in many respects.

Although an exchange of culture is possible and such an exchange happened many times in history, in many places, cultural exchange is ruled by the same law which prevails in money exchange, and that is: The bad money chases the good money away. I mean to say that whenever two different cultures come into contact, the bad characteristic of either one always tends to expand into the other one, while the good characteristics are not likely to be absorbed with the same ease. This has been demonstrated by the process of cultural exchange which took place between East and West during the past century or so. Efforts in transplanting Western democracy (a good characteristic) into Asia rarely succeeded, while on the other hand, through films and TV Western violence has been spreading into many Asian lands.

It is our hope that when we think about an eventual convergence, we wish to see the Communist World move either to the democratic system in the West, or to the spirit of non-violence in the East. We never think about an eventual collapse of the Democratic system in the West, or a complete disappearance of the spirit of non-violence in the East. We do not think about such an eventuality, simply because we do not want it to happen. Rationally speaking, movement in either direction is always possible, and a shift from democracy to Despotism, or from harmony to tyranny is always easier and more likely to happen than the movement in the opposite direction.

It is my opinion that we should not expect the Communists to move toward our side. Such a chance exists, but for the present moment, it is still too remote. On the other hand, we should rather concentrate our effort on preventing our side from sliding into their side. In other terms we should uphold democratic institutions in the West and revive the spirit of non-violence in the East.

To resist Communism more successfully, another step should be taken. To implement Western democracy wherever it is still lacking, and to spread the Oriental spirit of non-violence wherever a tradition of violence still prevails. In so doing, both East and West will have two weapons to resist Communism instead of one, or

none in many cases.

The task is certainly difficult, but it is not impossible. In Asia, Japan has successfully implemented Western Democracy while pre-



Suzanne Labin

serving Buddhism, and India has maintained both democracy and her traditional spirit of non-violence. This has been, in my view, the reason why these two countries resist Communism somewhat better than many others. One should also note that the spirit of non-violence has lately made some progress in the West.

To conclude, I hope that someone or some group of scholars will work out what I should call an ideology for peace and freedom which is most urgently needed everywhere in our present world. Perhaps an international seminar must be organized for that purpose, and scientists of all denominations, from all countries should meet, discuss and find out some ways to combine Western liberalism and Oriental moderation into one single philosophy, that of peace and freedom.



Dr. Ku Cheng-kang

Challenging The Main Thrust of Communism

Address of Neil A. Salonen,

FLF President, April 8

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates, friends: I'd like to express my gratitude for this opportunity to address the members of the Seventh WACL Congress and my particular sense of joy that this meeting is being held here in Washington, D.C.

The Freedom Leadership Foundation was formed in 1969 in response to the wave of negativity sweeping America's campuses. We realized that a fundamentally ideological struggle was going on and that the very materialistic, conflict-oriented ideology of Marxism (and its various derivatives) were giving the momentum and "feeding" the struggle. Therefore, to change the situation in America, we had to confront the problem on an ideological level.

FLF has been a member of the American Council for World Freedom since 1971. From the very first, we have been in favor of having this international congress here in Washington. Because the threat of Communism is international, the free world nations must be willing to unite in

response, no matter what difficulties. We must cooperate to guarantee the freedoms that we already have and the environment which will enable us to continue the work of extending these freedoms, both within our nations and throughout the world. America, as one of the leading nations in the world, should not only be willing to host such a conference but to officially sponsor many such conferences and educational programs.

Unfortunately in many capitals of the world, including this very city, Communism is not perceived of as an ideological threat as clearly as we may speak of today at this conference. Often, because the threat is misperceived merely as military, economic or social, the response has been military, economic or social — rather than ideological. We've erected military barriers against the spread of Communism by putting troops in different parts of the world, but these haven't been able to stop the spread of Marxist ideas coming out of our very own campuses. We've

tried economic and diplomatic sanctions against various countries but we found that these, also, have been ineffective. Yet, frankly speaking, Communism has continued to spread despite the efforts of this WACL organization and many others because we failed to take the responsibility of challenging the main thrust of Communism — the falsehood of its ideology. We must remain unwilling to accept those values or let such ideas go unchallenged.

However desirable it may be to adopt a policy of detente, continuing cultural exchange programs, diplomatic relations, etc., with the Communist nations, we must not in so doing ignore the goals of their ideology. We must not make the mistake of letting our love for the Russian people, the Chinese people, or the people of any of the Communist nations confuse our unalterable opposition to the goals and the aims of that very small dictatorship which is running their government and setting their policies.

FLF has felt that the most appropriate contribution we could make to the struggle against Communism is in education. So the efforts of our organization have been aimed at promoting an awareness of the real nature not only of the policies of Communist governments but of the very ideology itself. When any nation seeks to cooperate with other nations it is, of course, to be commended. We must determine the motivation for such cooperation, or "detente," on the part of the Chinese or Soviet governments. Although they profess a desire for peaceful coexistence to the world, they still maintain a tight ideological grip on their own citizens. Brezhnev and others have said that peaceful coexistence is just a period during which they would continue to prepare for the ultimate, inevitable conflict. Taking advantage of our open society, they distort the vision of our own people with a certain amount of propaganda, while our nation will not officially respond to it. Then there is a great danger that, although a noble goal, the policy of detente could be responsible for confusion and the very undoing of our nation.

In Proverbs it says: "Where there is no vision, the people perish." We feel that every government has the responsibility to make sure that the vision of all citizens remains clear. We are committed to the freedom

of all nations, perhaps even more committed to the struggle for freedom within Communist countries because they suffer so at its loss. It is precisely because of this that we are unalterably opposed to their ideology.

Oliver Wendell Holmes said, "A mind once stretched by an idea can never return to its original shape." As stated previously, in the absence of any official programs and policies promoting the ideologies that will keep America free, FLF has accepted that responsibility. We publish a biweekly newspaper, *The Rising Tide*. The *Tide* is not meant to just speak out against the policies of particular Communist nations but to stimulate dialogue for freedom by giving alternate points of view an opportunity to be expressed and widely disseminated. *The Rising Tide* was recently given the 1973 Freedom Award from the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation for its contribution to world freedom.

Opposing Communism can only be effective by promoting an alternative vision. In other words, it's not difficult to get people to agree that they're against Communism. But unless we have a vision of the society that we want to create, it's impossible to actually forge common actions and adopt policies which have weight behind them so that they can be implemented.

Even though we agree on the tremendous injustices and treacheries of the regimes we oppose, we have been unable to agree on the first step we should take. Many good ideas have been aired in these last seven WACL congresses. I think it's important that such ideas now be forcefully adopted and implemented.

The ideology that we must proclaim must recognize the integrity of the individual and the basic spiritual nature of man. Man gains his freedom and value not because it is or isn't the majority decision of his state, but because he was created by God; as such, he has certain inalienable rights as an individual. Unless we can establish a society and a world community which recognizes those rights and protects them, there is no future in our struggle against Communism. Even if we could be effective in opposing the currently existing Communist nations, we could not continue to be effective in opposing other totalitarian regimes as they would inevitably arise. Therefore, our commitment has to be a basic commitment to the freedom and integrity of the individual — the fulfillment of our Christian ideals.

Alexis de Tocqueville said: "I sought the greatness of America in her harbors and mines, and commerce and fertile fields, but it was not there. It was not until I entered her churches and found her pulpits aflame with righteousness that I understood the greatness of her power. America is great because America is good, and if she ever ceases to be good, she will cease to be great." Those words were written more than 100 years ago; today they apply not only to America, but to every nation in the free world. It's only on the foundation of our moral righteousness that we can continue to enjoy freedom and prosperity.

If we agree to compromise, if we mitigate the application of those standards of righteousness anywhere in the world, we don't deserve to have the blessings of freedom and liberty even within our own countries. So our commitment has to be a universal one.

I earnestly hope that we can continue to work — not just by discussing among ourselves — but by offering strong outreach educational programs. We must sponsor seminars and conferences, not only for delegates of already committed organizations, but for people who are as yet uncommitted or unaware. They can receive for the first time a clear and definite perspective of the realities of the struggle for freedom in the world today.

Unless we as WACL member organizations can carry our message to our meetings outside, we cannot be effective, and there will be little purpose in our continuing to meet within.

This organization is at a vital crossroads — we must either become effective in substantially influencing the public or lose the very reason for our existence. In Matthew 7:16 it says: "You will know them by their fruits." If we want to be known as an effective organization, then we have to make a redetermined effort now in our discussions. We must take the responsibility of educating not only ourselves, not even our governments alone, but the people of our nations, who can then effectively demand governments responsive to the reality of the world situation. Thank you very much.



Freedom Leadership Foundation Chorale at Freedom Rally



Neil Salonen (left) being introduced by Lee Edwards

Looking at the Orient...

Admiral John McCain, Jr.

The Peoples Republic of China army of approximately 2.5 million officers and men is the largest standing army in Asia, and it is equipped with modern weapons. China's air force numbers about 4,000 combat aircraft, including Mig-21's and other sophisticated weapons systems. The Navy is limited but growing, and includes the world's third largest fleet of 40 attack submarines and a growing missile patrol boat force. Another half-million men make up an impressive paramilitary force.

The Chinese forces appear at present to be defensively oriented in make up and deployment. Today Chinese missiles could cover most of south and east Asia and a substantial part of the Soviet Union. By 1975, the Chinese could begin deployment of intercontinental ballistic missiles with a range of 3,000 nautical miles or more. China is progressively developing an ICBM capability. Two Chinese satellites launched since mid-1970 and a dozen nuclear tests since 1964 indicate a high degree of sophistication in both missile and warhead development. Deployment is not likely before 1975, with 10 to 20 missiles available by mid-1976. The Chinese also are interested in nuclear submarine technology and probably will develop a prototype

in the next several years. Ballistic missile submarines are not likely to be available until the last half of the 1970's.

The point that must be stressed is the continued need for air and naval power in the Western Pacific with the army as the strategic reserve. As we reduce our forces, we must place increasing reliance on air and naval power to maintain a credible presence in Asia.

There is another major task ahead for the free world in Asia and that is the vital role it must assume in nation building activities to give internal strength and security to the more than 200 million free people of the area. Business and industry have a tremendous stake in this venture and a great opportunity, too.

We've got to remain a Pacific power. As President Nixon has stated, the United States is a Pacific power and it will continue to maintain a presence in Asia as a vital national interest. I have no doubt that our assistance will be required and will be forthcoming in Asia in the years ahead. Our ultimate goal is the encouragement of strong, viable economies and democratic political processes in the nations of the region.

Since the second World War,

there have been a number of crises involving the United States that called for a different type of response by our forces. The only two wars we have fought during this interval have both been in the western Pacific. And we have been successful in pursuit of our national interests in east Asia. South Korea is free. And it is a fact that South Vietnam has an excellent chance of survival. We have helped to prevent external conquest and encouraged internal progress and regional cooperation in this vital area of the world.

The task ahead is formidable. Some of our countrymen are immune to the realities of the war in Indochina. Many are tired of strife and seek an easy way. My conviction, formed by four decades of military service in war and peace is that there is no easy way. History will record that America's sons and daughters served freedom well in Southeast Asia. They have helped defend 200 million people of the free nations of this area.

Our nation must not be turned aside from its proper course in Southeast Asia. The pressures of some public frustrations with the war must not, I repeat, must not cause our people to abandon what we have helped to win for the free people of Southeast Asia.

the same year, but many universities have not yet been reopened. In 1966, there were over 700,000 students enrolled in 500 universities but from 1970-72 only 200,000 students were admitted to 231 universities and in 1973 only 153,000 were admitted. On the basis of the figure announced of 200,000 college graduates in 1963, it can be seen that there has been a loss of over one million potential college graduates because of the cultural revolution. The closings of schools and universities is not only an undeniable waste of new talent but also of the desperately needed experience and wisdom of the faculty members.

To us, these figures mean much more than just numbers, for the persons involved may well have been our relatives or friends, or people we knew from our hometown. In any event, they were all our brethren and they certainly had to pay a terrible price. Nor were their lives the only price.

One of the most glaring crimes of the Communist regime is the terrible squandering of talent. All of the schools on the mainland were closed the same year the Cultural Revolution movement was launched. Most elementary schools reopened in February, 1967 and most middle schools in March of

Dr. Han Lih-wu

Those of us who study the developments on the mainland know what a terrible price has been exacted from the people of China in terms of forced labor, concentration camps, outright murders, extermination campaigns and the like.

Casualties under the sponsorship of the Sub-Committee on Internal Security of the U.S. Senate and published by that sub-committee on July 27, 1971, a study made by Prof. Richard L. Walker on the "Human Cost of Communism in China" produced total casualty figures ranging from 34,300,000 to 63,784,000.



Senator Jesse Helms with Mr. Osami Kuboki, President of Japanese branch of the International Federation for Victory over Communism and WACL delegate from Japan.



Consultation of Dr. Raimundo Guerrero, past WACL Chairman, with Dr. Walter Judd.

"Is Detente Worth the Price?" asks Congressman Richard Ichord



FLF Delegates Dan Fefferman and Neil Salonen



Dr. Hernandez is presented a Certificate of Appreciation by FLF member Barbara Mikesell.



General Anastasio Somoza Debayle speaking on "Central America's Anti-Communist measures."

The world today is still locked into a life-and-death struggle between the forces of freedom and the forces of tyranny. I strongly believe, in conformity with the Founding Fathers of the United States of America, that man has a God-given right to be free. No man ever chooses to live in slavery! Those living in totalitarian societies at this very moment would long to be here with us today if they had the choice to do so. Perhaps there are those living in the world who have never known the taste of freedom and would be hesitant to venture away from the only life they have known, but I feel that only a small portion of those living in Communist lands would fall into that category.

I am very concerned, however, that all too many of those living in the luxury of freedom have never known what it is like to lose this precious gift of God do not really appreciate the liberty they enjoy. Freedom -- like good health -- is a treasure that many people don't really appreciate until they lose it. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, a man who knows what it is like from firsthand experience to live without freedom, made this very astute observation in the seventh section of "The Gulag Archipelago":

"Oh, freedom-loving 'leftist' thinkers of the West! Oh, leftist Laborites! Oh, progressive American, German, and French students! For you, all (that I have written) counts for little. For you, my entire book amounts to nothing. You will only understand it all when they bellow at you -- 'hands behind your back' -- as you yourselves trudge off to our archipelago."

We must consider the fact that the world situation has changed drastically in the past twenty years and the balance of military power has shifted. We may not want this to be so, but we have to face the realities of the matter. At the time of the Korean War, the uprising by the Hungarian freedom fighters, the Berlin crisis, and the Cuban missile crisis, the United States of America was the unchallenged military power in the world with absolute strategic superiority. At that time U.S. policy was that we could best preserve peace in the world by maintaining military superiority. During the course of the 60's our military policy changed from superiority to parity and "assured destruction." In other words, the powers that be in the high councils of government made the determination that we could control the Soviet nuclear threat; by maintaining the ability to retaliate in kind if they launched a nuclear attack. The balance of military power in the world is in a very precarious position with the Soviets now holding superiority in virtually every area except in the most advanced technology.

Yet the struggle between the free world and Communist bloc countries has never been limited to a simple military struggle; the economic and political struggles are certainly of equal if not greater importance. We have to some degree understood the basic military, economic, and political conflicts between the free system of government and the communist system, but we have never quite understood a fourth dimension of struggle -- the psychological struggle for men's minds and loyalties.

This brings us down to the practical point of asking: What do we want from detente and what can we expect to obtain? What do the Soviets want from detente and what do they expect to receive? What price have we already paid for detente? How great are the prospects for detente leading to a lasting peace? and what price should we be willing to pay for the goals that we hope to achieve?

It is quite obvious that the Soviets are seeking economic gains and military concessions. They want American goods, credits, and technology to expand and improve their staggering economy. They also hope to receive similar military concessions in SALT II as they received in SALT I. The United States, on the other hand, appears to be striving only for political moderation and cooperation from the Soviets and a slowing down of the arms race together with an eventual, mutually balanced troop and arms reduction.

How is each side faring in their pursuits? Based on the evidence I have been able to obtain the Soviets are coming out much better than we are at this point in time. Let's look at the record on July 8, 1972, the Commodity Credit Corporation agreed to loan the Soviets \$750 million at 6 1/8% interest to purchase \$750 million worth of wheat from private U.S. exporters. This sale of wheat to the Soviets at a subsidized price and interest rate saved the Russians from a famine, allowed them to withstand the pressure to reform their system of collectivization of the farming industry, and cost the American taxpayer some \$300 million in subsidies in addition to a tremendous inflationary rise in the cost of food.

Secondly, in a secret agreement on October 18, 1972 the Administration agreed to loan the Soviets up to \$500,000,000 in Export-Import Bank credits at a 6% interest rate before we would require the Soviets to submit financial information required for all EXIM Bank transactions. Most of the requested loans have already been granted and preparations are being made for even larger loans and exportation of American technology. Thirdly, it now appears clear that the eagerly sought Soviet signature to the first installment of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) may have locked the U.S. into second place in strategic power. I would conclude based on these facts that the Soviets are coming out very well in the initial stages of detente.

What about our side? What concrete expressions of cooperation and friendship have we experienced from the Soviet side? Honesty would compel me to speculate that the Russians probably did offer some

tain the military strength we need to defend ourselves and the free world. As a matter of fact, I have consistently fought for more money for research and development in order that we do not lose what advanced technological lead we have over the Soviets. But what I am saying is how can we justify loans and assistance that will make them better able to divert even more of their money and resources to military matters and then have to spend even more ourselves to keep up?

My standard approach is to ask why we spend over \$80 billion dollars for defense in the first place. Surely we are not worried about some military threat from Cuba, India, North Vietnam or even Red China! No, we are worried about the Soviet military threat. The Soviet Union is now engaged in the largest peace-time military buildup in the history of man. By the Soviet Union's own suspect figures they are spending as much or more on military matters as we are, which would

Soviet Union while that Communist tyranny and its satellites continue the persecution of the peoples of Eastern Europe for their intellectual, political or religious beliefs.

Thanks to a relatively few brave men and women who have had the courage to write and to speak out despite the awful prospect of confinement in labor or concentration camps, mental hospitals or one of the scores of Soviet prisons, we have been able to verify the dimensions of the terror that has gripped the U.S.S.R. since Lenin's time, destroying or crippling tens of millions of people.

We know that the same cruel oppression exists in Communist Cuba and the Communist-run states in Asia -- mainland China, North Korea and North Vietnam. We know it was about to occur in Chile under Salvador Allende until the people themselves, aided by their Army, brought that ill-starred regime to an end last September.

It is most fitting that the World Anti-Communist League is honoring, in this convention, several of those who have fought so long and hard against their oppressors and who, in their fighting, have alerted us all to the menace of Communism.

Unquestionably, the single most influential spokesman for freedom in recent years has been that great Nobel prize winning novelist, Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Yet in honoring Solzhenitsyn, we must not forget Andrei Sakharov, the brilliant nuclear physicist who has confronted the Soviet leadership repeatedly in his clamor for freedom.

This convention pays homage to Cardinal Mindszenty who has been a symbol to people of every religion for his stubborn resistance to the atheism of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist dogma. Yet in our hearts and minds we can never forget the dramatic effect the Jewish effort to emigrate from the Soviet Union to Israel has had in mustering an international outcry against the Kremlin's denial of religious freedom and the right to emigrate.

We also are honoring that great Ukrainian teacher, historian and writer, Valentine Moroz. But we must not forget that just as Moroz languishes in prison today, so, too, does Vladimir Bukovsky who is reportedly near death in his cell and whose mother has begged the Soviet authorities to let her take her son's place so that he -- a brilliant poet -- may survive in freedom.

There are so many more, both among the living and the dead, who are deserving of our recognition and appreciation for their heroic contributions to the cause of freedom. Consequently, I must assume that in honoring Solzhenitsyn, Mindszenty and Moroz, we are, in effect, honoring all.

Were we to do less, Solzhenitsyn's inspiring essay of February 12, 1974, entitled "Live Not By Lies" might come to apply to all of us. In the essay he wrote:

"We have been so hopelessly dehumanized that for today's modest ration of food we are willing to abandon all our principles, our souls, and all the efforts of our predecessors and all the opportunities for our descendants -- but just don't disturb our fragile existence. We lack staunchness, pride and enthusiasm. We don't even fear universal nuclear death and we don't fear a third world war. We have already taken refuge in the crevices. We just fear acts of civil courage. We fear only to lag behind the herd and to take a step alone -- and suddenly find ourselves without white bread, without heating gas and without a Moscow registration."

And both Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov have signalled this clarion call to us: do not make trade and military concessions to the Soviets until and unless they make concessions on granting their subjects basic human and civil rights. Do not -- say repeated messages from the oppressed -- make it easier for the masters of the Kremlin to continue their oppressive policies by yielding to Moscow's requests for credit and technology which will give the Soviet Union in an instant what 50 years of Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism was incapable of achieving.

Frankly, I am far more inclined to heed the advice of those who have experienced the suffering of the oppressed under Communism than the rather wishful thinking that I sense among those who argue that detente is so beneficial that we should extend the credit and technological knowhow of the United States as a concession for detente's continuation.

Those of us who believe in freedom must remain unrelenting in our determination not to pay the high price of detente presently being demanded by the Communists. If the Communist world wants to pick America's brains and pocketbook, it is up to them to pay the price and that price is no higher than the simple, clear granting of those inalienable rights of Man -- those freedoms -- which are fundamental to any free society.



assistance in the Vietnam settlement. However, this may not have been much of a concession for them since it still appears that we are in great danger of losing South Vietnam in the long run. The Soviets certainly were of no help in the Middle East crisis -- they armed the Egyptians and Syrians to the hilt, their threatened intervention in the war caused us to put our troops on worldwide alert, they not only made no contribution to the cease-fire agreement but criticized the Egyptians for signing the treaty, they urged the Arabs to continue the oil embargo against us after the cease-fire, and they encouraged the Arabs to use their oil won dollars to disrupt Western currencies. The Russians have all but scuttled the European Security Conference aimed at a reduction of forces between the NATO and WARSAW pact countries and, as I mentioned earlier, have taken advantage of the SALT I agreements to engage in a new arms race.

How can we offer the Soviet Union huge loans of American money -- at low interest incidentally -- and make our modern technology available to them and yet have the President turn around and request a record-breaking \$85 billion plus budget for defense? Now I certainly am not opposed to spending \$85 billion or whatever we need to main-

represent over 12% of their GNP. When you consider that the United States spends some 55% of its defense budget for manpower compared to 25% of the Soviet budget for manpower, this means that they are spending at least \$20 to \$25 billion more each year on military weapons systems and hardware than the United States is spending. In the face of all this, on January 8, 1974 the Soviet Defense Minister called for the strengthening of the Soviet military might and additional military spending. This would lead me to conclude that detente is not working in the most important area.

I intend to insist that provisions are included in the Export-Import Bank legislation that will extend and preserve congressional control over the policies of the Bank. I will further insist that any future loans to the Soviet Union be contingent upon a re-ordering of priorities on their part from a military-oriented economy to a domestic economy. If they want our money and technology, let them abandon their aggressive ways and show signs of working for peace in the world. This leads me to another point that those of us who love freedom cannot ignore.

A source of constant concern to a bi-partisan majority of the Congress is the matter of granting concessions or otherwise extending favors to the

Unsung Heroine



Mary Ann Christiansen with Dr. Walter Judd

A lot of hard work went into making the 7th WACL and 5th WYACL conferences into a reality. Many of the dedicated laborers received prominence as chairmen, secretaries, delegates, or observers. But behind the scenes a faithful few never ceased to work 18 and 20 hour days for the success of the week-long conference. Amongst them were those working for the American Council for World Freedom staff: Joan Sweetland, Joe Silva, Joan Lawton, Joan Weber, Bob Heater and Lo Ann Wagner.

Yet if we at *The Rising Tide* were to issue an *Unsung Heroine*

Award, this would go to Mary Ann Christiansen. Mrs. Jack Christiansen had the responsibility to provide the accommodations, feeding and general well-being of about 150 people, several of whom could not speak English.

With her determination, strong character, gentleness and generosity, she succeeded in coordinating her responsive and varied staff in serving so many guests at the WACL.

All of us who worked with her during those hectic days wish to acclaim: Bravo, Mrs. Mary Ann Christiansen!

ATTENTION ALL ARMCHAIR TRAVELERS!

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Final Communiqué of the Seventh WACL Conference

As the Seventh Conference of the World Anti-Communist League convened on April 8-11, 1974, in Washington, D.C., Capital of the United States of America, we, 128 delegates and participants representing 52 nations and 8 international anti-Communist organizations, jointly reviewed the world situation and mapped out anti-Communist strategies and guidelines to champion throughout the world the cause of peace based on freedom and justice for all mankind.

The current objective of WACL's struggle is to strengthen the determination of the free peoples and promote their solidarity in opposing elements detrimental to mankind -- Communist thinking, slavery system, and totalitarianism, etc. -- for the preservation of freedom, democracy and peace in the entire world. Through seven years of joint efforts, the WACL has made extensive and firm contributions to heightening free peoples' vigilance, promoting the solidarity of freedom forces, and providing assistance to the enslaved peoples' struggle against Communism. The WACL has thus shaped and enhanced the main current of this age for the preservation of freedom and democracy.

Careful examination of the present confrontation between the forces of freedom and those of Communism results in the following unanimous observations:

--The present confused international situation is mainly due to two major factors: Communist military aggression and its united front stratagem for expansion, combined with the free nations' mistaken policy of appeasement and negotiation. The WACL has been consistently of the view that confrontation of freedom forces against Communist forces is fundamental and can never be removed through negotiation. Facts have proven that talks with the Communists have without exception met with failure.

--The Russian and Chinese Communists still share the unchanging common goal of world communism and the enslavement of mankind. This has not changed despite the contradictory views and confrontations between the two regimes, and irrespective of their internal power struggles. Although the Russian and Chinese Communists are still continuing their diplomacy of smiles, their expansionist moves and attempts to create disorder in the world have never ceased.

--In the fluctuating struggle between freedom forces and Communist forces, more people have now awakened to the need to protect freedom and justice and, because of the continuous growth of strength for freedom, the tide of appeasement is being checked and turned back. With the surge for freedom gathering momentum across the world, Communist totalitarianism is now beginning to disintegrate from within. As history has repeatedly testified, tyranny is destined to perish and freedom shall ultimately be victorious.

In view of these facts, we of the 7th WACL Conference now call for the further growth of the new anti-Communist situation and for the accomplishment of the great mission to bring peace with freedom and justice for all, as follows:

1. *Freedom is indivisible and cannot coexist with slavery.* A world that is half free and half slave is intolerable and is charged with unavoidable dangers for man's society. The WACL Conference, therefore, solemnly declares that efforts to reach peace should be guided by the principle of freedom. Peace must be built upon freedom and justice for all.

2. *The whole human race must be free from slavery.* The Iron Curtain that curtails man's freedom should be torn down. Against the terrorist means of suppression perpetrated by the Russian and Chinese Communists, the free world should raise its indignant voice of reproach. The Chinese Communists should also be condemned for their current campaign of criticism against Confucius and of praises for Shin Huang-ti, despot of the Chin Dynasty. Encouragement and support must be given to the anti-Maoist and anti-Communist actions on the Chinese mainland and to the national independence campaigns of all peoples behind the Soviet Iron Curtain as well as to the rising tide of liberal thinking in all the satellite countries. Political asylum and other effective assistance should be afforded to all those fleeing the Iron Curtain for freedom.

The WACL Conference supports the actions of the European Freedom Council and associated organizations which demand from Western Governments that they declare to the USSR at the European Security Conference that they:

a) Condemn Russian colonialism as being inimical to security and world peace;

b) Demand the right of every nation within the USSR and satellite states to re-establish in freedom their national independence with their own government, social and political system, culture and religion;

c) Protest against all manifestations of russification and obliteration of national identities;

d) Give notice that failing immediate and satisfactory Russian response to these demands, Western Governments should officially recognize national liberation movements within the Soviet empire (in the same way that the Russians support various movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America) which seek to remove the Russian colonialist yoke and re-establish democracy and national independence.

Only a policy of liberation of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism can and will guarantee a just and lasting peace in the world. Therefore, the 7th WACL Conference expresses its solidarity with and in Bulgaria, Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Latvia, North Caucasus, Czechia, Rumania, Slovakia, Croatia, Poland, Albania, Cuba, and



WACL delegates from the Khmer Republic

other subjugated nations for their national independence and human rights, the reunification in freedom of Germany, Vietnam and Korea, and the liberation of mainland China from Communism.

The 7th WACL Conference sharply denounces and protests against mass imprisonment and harsh sentences meted out to cultural leaders and fighters for national independence and human rights in the countries subjugated in the USSR and the satellite states, especially in the Ukraine, against Russification and barbarous internment of political prisoners in psychiatric clinics (e.g. poets Z. Krasiwskyj, O. Terela, General H. Hryhoranko) and prisons and concentration camps of the most severe regime (e.g. Valentyn Moroz, Yuriy Schuchewych, Swiatoslav Karavanskyj, Iryna Senyk, Iryna Kalynets, Nadia Shumuk), demands the placing of this matter on the agenda of the UN General Assembly for discussion and decision, and appeals to the patriotic, humanitarian and religious circles of the whole world to stage mass actions for the liquidation of concentration camps, and the release of political and religious prisoners who exceed more than two million in the USSR concentration camps alone.

The WACL Conference notes that it was the Soviet Leaders who clamoured for a European Security Conference, yet it is they, with their illegal and immoral occupation of formerly free nations, who pose the real threat to stability and true peace in Europe. The time has come to arraign Russia in world courts for the crime of colonialism, of which she has not only accused others for more than half a century, but remains herself almost the sole example today. Russian double standards have been tolerated for far too long and even excused in international forums.

After nearly 30 years the Kremlin has finally ratified the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, merely to utilize it to subdue dissidents who are increasingly demanding their constitutional rights. There is in the USSR a total derogation of even those human rights which are supposedly protected by the Soviet Constitutions, and the Russians employ the U.N. Charter to suppress any opposition whatever to their dictatorship, which opposition they classify as "a threat to state security." No economic aid should be given to any state consistently violating human rights.

3. *Results of Communist aggressions should never be accepted as fait accompli.* Such aggressions are continuing without letup in such

areas as South East Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, Europe and Africa. Free nations should discard their wishful thinking about negotiations and detente with the Communists. Also to be cast aside are neutralism, isolationism and policies of non-alignment. Similarly to be abandoned are secret diplomacy and power politics that contravene international morality and sacrifice the rights and interests of small nations. Also to be regarded as harmful is the so-called balance of power politics among big powers which the Chinese Communists, for example, are, in their own words, using to aggravate "the contradictions" within the camp of free nations! The Chinese Communists have stated that "It is for making the people of the United States a major target of ours that we invited Nixon to China."

4. *Free nations should establish an alliance of universal brotherhood* for the preservation of freedom, justice and peace. Strong and mutual measures of military defense should be enforced against Communist threats and nuclear blackmail. The USSR is aiming to achieve military superiority in all advanced weapons in order to vanquish and conquer the Free World. Thus they cannot be neutralized by SALT-type arms control agreements, none of which has ever worked. Freedom can be preserved only if the Free World regains military superiority over the Communist Camp.

The policy of anti-anti-Communism, which advocates weakening Western military strength in the face of the Soviet threat; weakening the ideological struggle against Communist tyranny, and profiting from the low wages paid to Soviet workers by the Communist slave-masters, will result in the ultimate destruction of civilization and the creation of a world Communist barbarian regime.

The Communists often speak of "relaxation of tensions." This may be translated as "relaxation of our guard." Detente is a policy of meeting the "barbarians" at the gates and selling them the battering rams to knock down the walls.

Regarding economy, free and developed nations should step up cooperation with free and developing nations for the acceleration of the free world's overall economic growth rates. Steps should be taken for the further formation and implementation of increasingly effective global strategies for the free world to cope with the confused and contradictory Communist bloc.

5. *With regard to the present struggles of free peoples against the Communists:* the WACL Conference expresses deep respect and support to the Republic of Vietnam and the Khmer Republic for their heroic anti-Communist fighting, to the Republic of China for its strong and unswerving struggle, to the Republic of Korea, the Kingdom of Thailand and the Republic of the Philippines for their strengthened preventive measures against the Communists; to the Chileans for overthrowing the Marxist government of Salvador Allende, to the people of Cuba for their fight against the tyranny of the Communist Castro, to the Latin Americans in general for their positive escalation of anti-Communist strength to the Japanese people and Diet Members for their powerful anti-Communist activities, and to those people in Europe and Africa who are striving hard for stronger anti-Communist determination and actions. Sincere respect goes to those Senators and Congressmen of the United States who have issued stern warnings against Communist aggressors and free world appeasers, and to the American youth for its gallant sacrifices in Korea and Southeast Asia in anti-Communist wars to defend freedom and justice. The WACL Conference requests the United States to further manifest its moral courage and traditional national spirit as it leads the forces of freedom to a brilliant accomplishment of the historic mission against the Communists.

The WACL believes that the time has come for the dissolution of the United Nations since this body has not been able to establish international peace and justice all over the world but rather has fomented Communist slavery and colonization in all parts of the globe. The United Nations is not united. It is time to replace it with a new association of peoples truly united in the belief that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should govern all men's lives.

6. *This WACL Conference declares that the absurdity of referring to Russia as a Super Power becomes evident* in the face of the proven fact that it is the free world which currently holds the communist empire together. The free world is thus subsidizing tyranny and its own eventual downfall. Numerous researches have incontrovertibly established that there is no such thing as Soviet technology. Almost all—perhaps 90-95%—comes directly from the United States and her allies. In effect, the NATO countries and the United States have built, and continue to maintain, the USSR and its industrial and military capabilities. This has been achieved through trade and the sale of plant, equipment and technical assistance. Without these crutches Soviet Russia would still have no more than an agrarian economy. This particularly applies to computer technology which should be totally embargoed from supply to Communist countries.

This Conference, therefore, condemns the continuance of such

Prayer for the Future of WACL

by Rev. Raymond J. de Jaeger

Almighty God, who created men with freedom of choice for goodness or evil, but asking all mankind to come and worship God—we come today at this rally to affirm our will to follow you, Almighty God, and ask you to help us build a better world with the spirit of brotherhood for a united world with peace and justice. Our world of today, Almighty God, refuses to recognize you as the Creator of the world.

Half of the world's people, led by a small minority of Communist Party leaders, is trying hard to enslave the world with violence and hatred.

The free half of the world does not work hard to build a better world themselves because they are selfish and materialistic and do not want to sacrifice themselves to really build a better world based on justice and freedom.

We ask you, Almighty God, to give to all those present at this rally the spirit of sacrifice—the strength to speak when we should speak and always to uphold God's principles.

Grant to us all assembled here the desire to follow the examples of men like President Chiang, Cardinal Mindszenty, Solzhenitsyn, and Valentyn Moroz. Men who will never bend in front of atheistic Communism—men ready to die for their principles—men always ready to sacrifice themselves to build a better world based on justice and freedom.

Bring a true Peace to all the countries of Asia longing for freedom. Bring peace especially to China, Korea and the Indo-Chinese countries still suffering from Communistic aggression. Bring understanding to the leaders of the world—especially to the leaders of the Near East. Bring better conditions to the countries of the Third World and more help from the wealthy nations.

During these important meetings you have given us a better spirit of understanding between all nations, all races and all civilizations because we all believe in God and all oppose Communism. We promise to you, Almighty God, that we will do everything to build up a new order for the world. The obstacle to this New Order is Communism, and for this reason the World Anti-Communist League came to Washington D.C. for these meetings. Destruction of Communism is negative—but we want a positive approach. We want to build this new order on a GOD-CENTERED WORLD.

For the Christians and the Moslems—for the Buddhists and the Confucianists, for all people believing in God—a God centered world means UNITY among all mankind—all created by God—all brothers.

Only with a human race based on God can we build a new world on spiritual and cultural values with respect for the dignity of man, freedom for all mankind and better social and living conditions.

We will respect our brothers, Almighty God, because you created all men to work together and build a better world, a new world, with You, Almighty God as its center.

We ask your blessing for all members of the WACL wherever they may be.

Amen



ACWF president Thomas Lane congratulating Dr. David Rowe, Chairman of Resolutions Committee, at completion of WACL Conference.

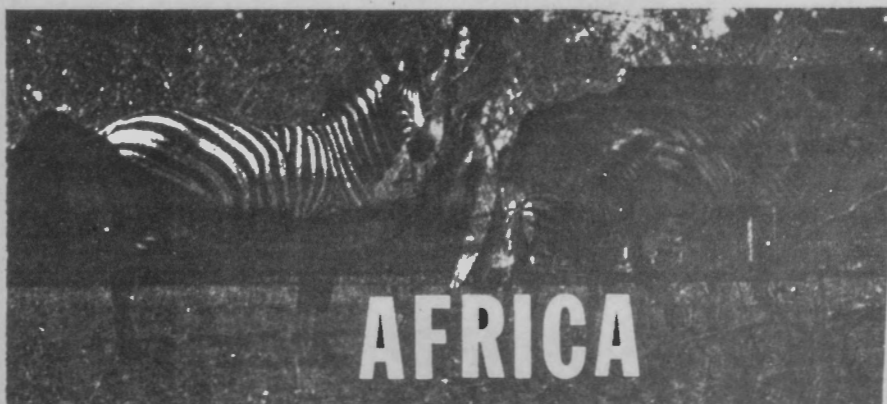
trade and aid and believes that without this assistance the artificially created and maintained Soviet empire would collapse from within through its own failures.

Russia's status, therefore, as a super power is entirely fraudulent. Similarly, Red China is a paper tiger. Communist power is growing only because the free world makes it grow.

The prolongation of the Communist system increases the risk that it will use war as a solution to its internal problems.

The WACL conferees are deeply indebted to the American Council for World Freedom for its meticulous preparations for a successful conference. Last but not the least, heartfelt thanks are due to the U.S. government and Congress, and the American people for their gracious hospitality.

The 7th WACL Conference solemnly declares that anti-Communist struggle for the defense of freedom, justice and peace is the common sacred mission of all the people, irrespective of race, locality, nationality, religious creed or occupation. All the freedom-loving nations and peoples of the world should, therefore, strive for unity and cooperation and exert the greatest combined efforts for the attainment of this holy mission.



Portuguese Colonies at the Crossroads

by Hal McKenzie

Portugal is the first and last colonial power in Africa. Prince Henry's explorers first initiated European colonization in the early 15th century in search of trade routes to the East; today Portugal is the sole remaining European power with African colonies. Staunchly resisting the winds of change which swept the former British, French, and Belgian colonies into nationhood after World War Two, Portugal has hung onto its overseas territories, despite the more than ten years of lingering guerilla warfare which has sorely drained Portugal's limited manpower and resources.

Last month, however, internal and external pressures toward independence for the colonies reached a critical point. Portugal's worst political crisis in 40 years was touched off when one of Portugal's top generals and military heroes, Gen. Antonio de Spínola, was fired because of his controversial book, *Portugal and the Future*, which calls on Portugal to abandon a "no-win" war and grant independence to the colonies within a loose Portuguese Federation.

Many authorities agree that the colonies will reach independence much sooner than later. The important question, especially for U.S. policy makers, is what form this independence will take.

Portuguese "Provinces"

Until less than 100 years ago, Portuguese control rested primarily on African ports as sources of slaves or way-stations to the East. At the end of the nineteenth century, spurred by the European competition for African land, Portuguese campaigners advanced into the Angolan and Mozambican interior. Overcoming fierce native resistance at the turn of the century, Lisbon's occupation was not seriously challenged until the guerilla uprisings of the '60's.

In 1951, under the premiership of Antonio Salazar, Lisbon's overseas dependencies — 20 times the size of Portugal and twice its population — were termed overseas "provinces" of Portugal, and attempts were made to integrate the territories economically and administratively into the metropole.

African Resistance

The insurgencies first began in 1961 with a poorly-planned rebellion in Northern Angola, followed by spontaneous disturbances plunging Angola into a state of protracted unrest. The UPA (the Union of Angolan Peoples), originally a conventional political group, established guerilla strongholds in the thick jungles of the northeastern part of the country. The level of fighting eventually tapered off, and UPA changed its name to Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile (GRAE). In 1966 the MPLA (People's Liberation Movement of Angola) and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) formed fronts of their own. The rival groups, split by ethnic and ideological differences, quarrelled among themselves, hampering the Angolan guerilla movement despite an increase in numbers and foreign assistance.

In 1962 the unrest spread to Guinea-Bissau, a tiny territory on the West Coast between Senegal and the Republic of Guinea, with assaults on Portuguese outposts.

Guinea-Bissau has no significant white settler problem (pop. 2,000 whites) nor important resources, but the guerilla position is strongest there. Guinea-Bissau is considered by both sides to be of psychological importance, the first in a row of falling "dominoes." Time reports that the guerilla group controls about one-fifth of the population and one-third of the territory and is considered to be the closest to defeating Portuguese rule. In November 1973 the General Assembly of the UN formally voted to recognize the rebel government of Guinea-Bissau by 93 to 7 (with 30 abstentions).

In Mozambique, (pop. 8,000,000), the forces of FRELIMO, (Mozambique

Liberation Front) have tied down 60,000 Portuguese troops in the Northern provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado. Starting in 1964 under the late Eduardo Mondlane (assassinated by a package bomb early in 1969), FRELIMO, most well known of the revolutionary forces, penetrated into Mozambique, setting up limited social and educational services in rebel-held areas. Under the current leader, Samora Machel, the main thrust of the guerillas is to cripple the construction of the internationally-financed Cabora Bassa dam, which will be the largest source of hydro-electric power on the continent when it is completed in 1975.

Unable to attack the dam directly, the guerillas have taken to ambushing and mining the approaches to the dam. The importance of the Cabora Bassa dam to all of southern Africa makes it likely that South Africa would be strongly inclined to intervene militarily if the Portuguese appeared unable to hold the dam against the guerillas.

Stalemate

So far, the military situation in the three territories is in stalemate. The Portuguese have not been able to subdue the rebels, and the rebels have not been able to drive out the Portuguese. In all three territories, the Portuguese control the main population centers, roads, and strategic agricultural and industrial areas, leaving the sparsely populated hinterlands to the rebels.

Unfortunately for the insurgents, the Portuguese have apparently had some success in "winning the hearts and minds" of the natives. According to Time, half of the Portuguese troops on duty in Africa are recruited from the territories themselves, and 40% are black. Special groups of yellow-beretted black troops are used to "mentalize the masses" for the Portuguese cause by living with the villagers for long periods and organizing self-help projects. Other units, known as *flechas* (arrows), are made up of rebel defectors who sometimes patrol in captured uniforms and are rewarded with cash bounties for captured guerillas or weapons. In Mozambique, three top FRELIMO commanders defected to the Portuguese last year, and the colonial authorities released 400 FRELIMO detainees as "rehabilitated." The Portuguese seem to be following the example of the highly successful "rural development cadres" and "open arms" projects used in South Vietnam. Also reminiscent of South Vietnam's "strategic hamlets" are *aldeamentos* — semifortified towns. Time reported that there are some 3,500 such settlements in the three territories holding more than 2,500,000 people.

Portuguese Reforms

At the same time, the Portuguese have moved to give the colonies a semblance of regional autonomy, designating the territories as "states" with small elective assemblies and separate economic policies, which effectively throws out the Salazarist policy of economic and political integration. Last year legislative assemblies were elected in all three territories, resulting in an all-black assembly in Guinea-Bissau, a legislature with a non-white majority in Mozambique, and one with a white majority in Angola.

Lisbon has also instituted some social and educational reforms, based on the conviction that to remain in Africa it must win African loyalty, ending some injustices to Africans which have led to the insurgencies. According to Prof. T.H. Henrikson in *Current History*, "Since the upheavals, foreign investment and expanded educational opportunities for Africans are at last bringing Angola and Mozambique into the twentieth century, but they also contribute to developing African social and political awareness." These reforms, therefore, while improving Portugal's image in the colonies, may also have the effect of stimulating the Africans' desire for increased independence.

In general, it appears that the Portuguese can hold onto the territories as long as they are willing to pay the heavy price. It is the Por-

tuguese willingness to pay this price that has been thrown into question recently.

Internal Pressure

As the poorest country in Western Europe, Portugal is the least able to afford a far-flung expeditionary force. It is currently spending up to 40% of its budget to fight the insurgencies, and no less than \$1.5 billion within the last five years on African development, taking capital away from economic development at home. Because of Portugal's poverty, an estimated 100,000 Portuguese illegally cross the frontier every year in search of better jobs and to avoid the draft. This drain is aggravated by the government policy of encouraging Portuguese emigration to Africa, offering free land and transportation as an incentive. This points out the inherent weakness of Portugal's position. Without an adequate population, Lisbon can neither maintain the war indefinitely nor settle sufficient immigrants in the colonies to hang on to Africa.

Another factor pushing Portugal toward releasing its overseas dependencies is the pressure toward increased economic integration with Europe through the Common Market. Many Portuguese economists are pushing for a Europe-first policy to break out of their economic isolation. Portugal is currently engaged in diplomatic

disputes with Denmark, Norway, and the Netherlands over their aid to African nationalists, and the Danes have stated that they will actively seek to dislodge Portugal from NATO. These circumstances were major factors in the polarization of Portuguese ruling circles over the question of remaining in Africa.

Rising Opposition

Outside the ruling circle, active opposition has appeared in the form of an underground urban movement, the Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA), which advocates social and political reform and independence for the colonies. In the spring of 1971, the ARA launched widespread acts of sabotage, blowing up ships and airplanes, disrupting communication centers and damaging NATO installations. This moved Premier Marcello Caetano, Salazar's successor, to declare a "state of subversion," empowering the government to deal more severely with its critics.

The split within the army is reflected in the rivalry of two book-writing generals, Gen. Antonio de Spínola (64) and General Kaulza de Arriaga (58), both widely respected in Portugal with experience in fighting the colonial war. General de Arriaga, in his book *The Portuguese Answer*, advocated recruitment of local forces in fighting the

guerillas, and increased African participation in the local political institutions. He also identified the challenge to Portuguese rule as a part of the international Communist conspiracy against the West in general, using the colonial problem as a springboard for the eventual takeover of the whole of Africa. He said that Portugal could not afford to compromise in its fight without betraying Western civilization, and urged full Western participation with Portugal in the fight.

General Spínola, on the contrary, wrote in *Portugal and the Future* that the colonial problem could never be settled militarily, that the wars were crippling Portugal's economy and isolating her from Western allies, and that Portugal could never hope for support from the West for its present colonial policies. He proposed that Lisbon grant independence to the colonies within the context of a loose Federation made up of Portugal, the three colonies, and perhaps Brazil.

Officers' Mutiny

The *London Observer* reported that ideas similar to Spínola's were put forward ten years ago by Marcello Caetano in a secret memorandum to the then Premier Antonio Salazar. Since assuming the premiership in 1968, however, Caetano's cautious attempts at

political and economic reform were stymied by rightist supporters. The *Observer* reports that Caetano tried to break the rightists' power by allowing General Spínola to be his "stalking-horse." However, the rightists rallied and forced Caetano to dismiss both Spínola and the army commander, General Francisco de Costa Gomes. In a statement the day after the firings, Caetano said he had "full confidence" in his country's ability to win the colonial wars.

In reaction to the firings, on March 16 rebellious young officers loyal to General Spínola led a column of 300 troops in an abortive march on Lisbon. The mutineers were blocked in their march by a loyalist cavalry unit backed by artillery and were dispersed, apparently without firing a shot. About 30 officers and 200 troops, mostly draftees, were arrested. Latest reports indicate that the country is apparently calm, and the crisis has passed for the moment.

Observers noted that the crisis strengthened the hand of President Américo Thomaz, 79, said to be a hawk on the African war. However, the continuation of the war can be expected to deepen the cleavages that have developed. Considering the widespread signs of unrest demonstrated recently, it is doubtful that Portugal can keep the lid on dissent for much longer, or be able to prosecute the war efficiently with its army divided in its loyalties.

To the Editor

The Apartheid Problem

In his first article, Hal McKenzie did an excellent job of presenting the overall view of the Southern African problem. In the second, where he takes up the very difficult subject of South Africa's apartheid, he slipped a notch but still maintained a reasonably objective position.

Mr. McKenzie makes a broad-brush reference to "the white supremacist and apartheid policy of the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese regimes." He does not make it indelibly clear that "apartheid" truly exists only in the Republic of South Africa or that the Portuguese have comparatively no racial hang-up.

Later, the article suggests that "petty apartheid" differs from the type of segregation that existed in the American southland in that the South African government has structured it into "the law of the land." Well, it so happens that separate restrooms, miscegenation, and a good many other regrettable segregation policies were spelled out in our law books and backed by the police and the courts until rather recently. For example, the so-called "Jim Crow" laws of Maryland were not repealed by the Legislature until the early 1950's.

By the mid-1960's, Virginia fought a last, losing battle to retain its miscegenation law. When it comes to segregation or petty apartheid, the Republic of South Africa is only about 10 to 20 years behind the United States, making it all the more remarkable when our politicians publicly scold Southern Africa's white leaders for not doing instantly what America failed to do in 100 years.

Finally, Mr. McKenzie's closing paragraph is most disturbing. He writes:

"However, integration would never have come to the (U.S.) South if some pressure hadn't been applied from outside — from the Freedom Riders and Civil Rights Workers. It is unlikely that centuries of inertia built up by the 'larger mentality' of the Afrikaner will be moved without some pressure from outside. America's problem is to find the right kind and degree of 'leverage' to move the Afrikaners on the way toward greater understanding and cooperation with their black brothers."

"Outside" has two meanings in that statement. In the United States, the "outside" was still "inside" the U.S.A. and the pressure was internal, not external. It was

American pressure on Americans and America, not an alien force seeking to impose its code of ethics on our country. To suggest that the only way to change South African racial policies is for the "outside" world to bring pressure to bear is to suggest that we have all the correct solutions to South Africa's problems. The fact of the matter is, we are still some way off from solving our own race tensions and we are rather Johnny-come-lately in seriously addressing ourselves to the subject. I can assure Mr. McKenzie that white South Africans are quite concerned about apartheid, are making a great deal of progress in wiping out many of the manifestations of petty apartheid, and will make considerably more progress if they do not feel pressured by an "outside" world that shows little understanding or comprehension of the magnitude of the racial problems in South Africa. The best type of pressure that can and should be brought to bear on South Africa would be for American business and industrial interests in South Africa to demonstrate through fair wages, training programs and other means that we respect the black man and will help him advance regardless of

South African racial policies. If America wishes to influence South Africa, it must set an example from within and show understanding and patience from without, not adopt a "holier than thou" posture or impose international restraints as a means of exerting "outside" pressure to "force" South Africa to change. Let us not forget that white South Africa has a long tradition of employing the democratic process where change can always take place through the ballot box, where the press is free and where disagreement on public issues is freely aired. In such a climate one can realistically hope for changes to take place.

I have taken the time to write this because of an abiding personal interest in Africa — black, white and everything else — and because there has been so much misinformation, irresponsible reporting and political demagoguery regarding African affairs that every effort must be made to give some semblance of balance to the American perspective. Mr. McKenzie is performing a valuable service in attempting to do just this.

Sincerely yours,
John F. Lewis

WACL

(Continued from page 1)

were arranged to the White House and to the Lincoln Memorial, where Nathan Ross of Liberia placed a wreath and gave a commemorative address. John Chamberlain of the King Features Syndicate hosted a dinner at the National Press Club. A Congressional buffet, hosted by Senator Jesse Helms and Representative Clement Zablocki and Philip Crane, drew more than a few members of Congress.

Results

And what of the accomplishments of the conference? Some participants commented that more time could have been well used in group discussions oriented towards developing action programs. Given the cultural and ideological differences of the participants at this conference, though, that may have been difficult.

Indeed, perhaps the real value was in the interpersonal relationships developed between sessions. The experiences of veteran freedom fighters presented formally during the conferences were also very stimulating. The several dozen FFL members acting as hosts and hostesses learned much from hearing

the experiences of many people from around the globe and were grateful to have had the opportunity to serve them.

The Seventh WACL conference, through its frictions centering upon regional and national groups, has proven that to be merely against Communism is an insufficient foundation for the creation of a viable international organization. With the explicit precondition that participants abide by the charter of working for the freedom of all people, the next conference in Rio de Janeiro should be a good bellweather for the future of WACL.

France

(Continued from page 1)

seven-year terms and do not depend upon the confidence of the parliament, though the president may dissolve Parliament at any time and call new elections.

The many referenda called during De Gaulle's term were to reaffirm the supremacy of his position. When De Gaulle lost his last referendum he retired rather than compromise that position. Thus the power of the

presidential office passed on to Pompidou intact.

Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite

The scramble now going on to succeed Pompidou, however, will inevitably undermine the prestige and sanctity of the presidency.

Ten well-known politicians, representing the entire range of the French political spectrum, have already declared their candidacy. None of them can claim to represent more than a small fraction of the whole population. To be elected and survive in office will require deals and compromises inside and outside the National Assembly. None of the men who are in a position to win the election this spring will be able to impose their own views on the parliament and people in the imperious style of General de Gaulle.

Whether France? In the constantly changing mosaic of international relations and power politics no one can say for sure.

France may be on the road to a truly parliamentary republic. On the other hand a successful coalition of socialists and Communists in the coming elections could change the form and content of French politics irrevocably.

To continue to pursue unhealthy, unwise and self-defeating policies of narrow nationalism, or to recognize

the importance of unity and cooperation within the Atlantic alliance; these are the choices before the French people in this hour of destiny.

La vision vit toujours! Nous sommes tous des freres. Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite!

New Year

(Continued from page 1)

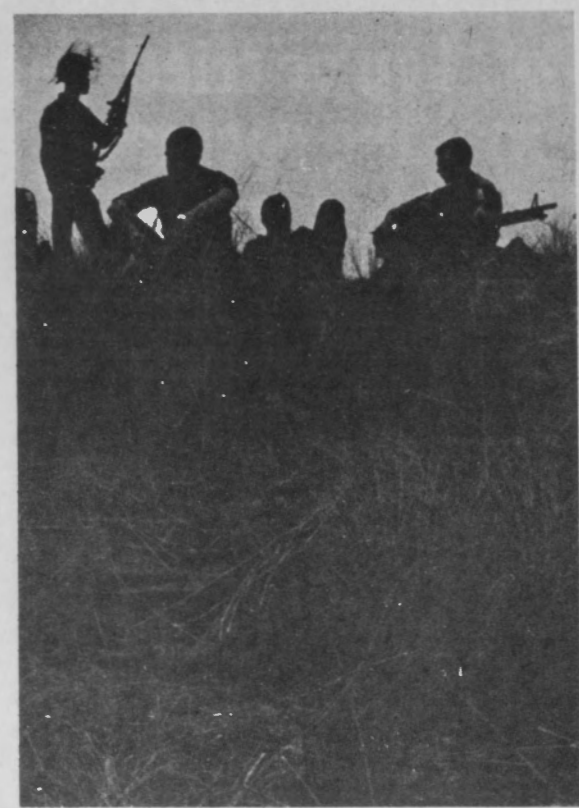
same graceful hand movements as the Khmer dancers; Western-style "rock and roll" with its jerky and violent movements seemed completely out of place. Especially enjoyable was the "Ramvong", a kind of conga line in which the guests dances in a circle, moving their arms and hands in graceful abandon.

Throughout the evening, I couldn't help feeling the tragedy that such a non-aggressive and fun-loving people as the Khmers could be caught up in a violent war. The thought of these small, brown, gentle, and handsome people fighting and dying on a battlefield filled me with the conviction that people such as these must win the fight, if peace is ever to come on this earth.

by Hal McKenzie

No Armistice Over Amnesty

by Chris Elkins



On that January evening in 1973 when President Richard Nixon announced the long awaited end to the Vietnam War a sigh of relief was felt nationwide by that small percentage of Americans vested with the responsibility of defense the draft-eligible men. The American public joyfully watched as American servicemen stationed in Vietnam began an orderly pull-out of the battlefields. And with an, as of late, unprecedented gesture of national unity America spiritually embraced the P.O.W.'s on their long awaited release from North Vietnamese prison camps. With American forces out of the war scene (including at least an attempt to recover all P.O.W.'s and M.I.A.'s) the common citizen was ready to turn his back on the nightmarish decade of the war-torn 60's. Only occasional pleas for further search into the M.I.A. situation even brought to mind the events that once had top billing for seemingly endless weeks and months. But now in the "calm after the storm" the horizon seems to be clouding once more with a war issue. Factions and tempers are again on the rise, but this time to settle the issue it will require that almost foreign concept of national unity on an historically tender situation in the aftermath of a war: Amnesty!

For on that January evening in 1973 the conflict did not end for some 580,000 draft evaders and deserters. How far, now, will the American public be willing to go in forgetting?

Forgetting

Amnesty is much more than the law's forgiving or pardoning an offender. It is the law's "forgetting" of certain acts (the word stems from the Greek -

amnesia, - meaning not remembering or purposely overlooking). Amnesty is no one's right, rather it is a discretionary act of a sovereign state. Amnesty, in effect, does not consider guilt or innocence, or whether a crime has or has not been committed. Usually applied after a change in political climate, amnesty is the government's discretionary prerogative.

Amnesty has been granted no less than 34 times in one form or another over America's 200 years of history. Presidents Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, McKinley, Coolidge, Roosevelt, and Truman all granted some form of amnesty during their terms in their presidency. Even President Washington granted amnesty after the Whiskey Rebellion.

As was previously pointed out, amnesty is not a clear-cut decision. Its moral and social implication, as well as its breadth and scope, all come to bear in this matter. Amnesty comes in degrees when legislated - but on the personal level it is much a matter of the heart in conflict with the law.

Unconditional

Many consider the Vietnam War illegal in the first place and that draft dodgers and deserters acted out of moral compulsion. For this reason many feel that a broad and all-encompassing amnesty would be the only just maneuver. These people argue that, unlike World War II, the American involvement in Vietnam had no consistently stated purpose. Since the American lives were not in danger until they were placed there, and since American sovereignty was never jeopardized directly, some feel that the American legal system cannot

justify any sentence, dishonorable discharge, or direct condemnation against evaders of the Vietnam war.

Proposed amnesty grants as liberal as waiving every non-violent offense related to military regulation (except those offenses considered criminal in civilian life) for the entire duration of the war, reversal of some 450,000 less-than-honorable discharges for nonviolent infractions of military regulation, and even removing from official civilian and military records all non-aggressive acts of protest resulting in a conviction, have been proposed and supported by such American leaders as Bella Abzug (U.S. Representative - New York), Ronald Dellums (U.S. Representative-California), and Arlie Schardt of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Schardt substantiates his views of full pardon partly on remaining consistent with America's moral and Christian foundation. He states in *Amnesty* "We (America) are so big, so strong, and so right that we can turn the other cheek. Thus it comes as somewhat of a surprise that while we seek peace with our declared enemy, there are those among us unwilling to make peace with our sons."

Recent testimony at a House Judiciary sub-committee hearing on amnesty yielded interesting counter-points. Army Lt. General Leo E. Benade, deputy assistant defense secretary for military personnel policy, declared after reference was made to his obvious tension over the matter of amnesty, "I'm up tight because of the principle involved. The 28,000 men (deserters currently at large) isn't by itself a threat. What is a threat is if men can desert with the thought that in the future they can get amnesty..." In reference to any precedent set

by past grants of amnesty, William Rusher of "National Review" stated in *Amnesty*, "...there is not a single instance of a general unconditional amnesty for wartime draft-dodgers or deserters in the entire history of the United States." Amnesty granted by President Harry Truman effected only those who deserted between World War II and the outbreak of the Korean War. Since the Korean War there has been no amnesty.

Moral Question

Provisions have been provided to handle conscientious objectors who have religious or moral scruples again participating in any war. Objectors have to convincingly prove that their objection to serving is not founded on specific objection to current situation. Many anti-amnesty supporters are quick to point out these provisions when the question of the moral issue of evaders is presented. Amnesty granted in the light of objection to current situations could carry overtones of government weakness in establishing national standards and priorities for defense.

Recent developments in the current amnesty hearings brought out the question of whether an elected official can make a moral judgment effecting a segment of the electorate. But at the same time can the public bear the responsibility of making a decision so crucial to American and domestic and even foreign policy? President Nixon has spoken strongly against amnesty as a threat to national security and a danger of future precedent crucial

in times of national crisis. And the public, so eager to forget the whole Vietnam situation may not consciously weigh the facts concerning amnesty and could perhaps hastily grant it.

Conditional Amnesty

Former Army Secretary Robert F. Froehke testified to the House subcommittee that he was convinced that Americans would never allow Congress to enact amnesty without some conditions. Froehke has taken the strongest pro-amnesty stance yet taken by a former high administration official who served during the Vietnam war.

It is widely felt among those supporting conditional amnesty that the draft evaders serving prison sentences should be granted full pardon and that their sentences should be considered as service to their country. Also, a generous review of all cases of desertion involving no criminal act is advocated. With the change in political atmosphere, many feel past judgments on draft dodgers and deserters were too harsh and that as a matter of conscience a review is necessary.

But contention arises about conditional-amnesty over substitute service for military evaders. Some feel many inequities will arise as well as bureaucratic fumbling over proper alternative service. Most cases concerning alternative service would have to be handled individually because of individual circumstances leading to an evaders decision. This procedure could take years to complete. The military sector takes a strong stand on the proposed idea of permitting deserters and draft dodgers to serve in a peace-time army. Lt. General

Benade said in reference to that idea, "The Department of Defense does not want or need draft evaders in its ranks." He also went on to say, "Those who were inducted and those whose enlistments were draft motivated might well have preferred the opportunity to serve in a civilian capacity in a public service activity, but that alternative service was not available to them under the laws they obeyed."

Future Undetermined

Brother against brother, father against son, even Christian against Christian: All of America is divided on this question. As the entire spectrum of consideration reveals itself before the House sub-committee the nation will have to search for an equitable solution. In the light of no one faction being able to produce a clear-cut precedent to follow or none having developed a convincing case to anchor their stand, the American people truly hold the balance of justice.

But an answer must rise from the turbulence. Much consideration will be given to public opinion and the side that can muster the most (or the most outspoken) support is likely to win.

Finally, though, what about the direct consequences of those evaders effected? The principle of the question does not concern them as does their very future. Will the whim of a nation decide their fate? Before the public gets involved in a philosophical war let us hope that humanitarian consideration might prevail in all discussion and decisions. Above all else justice must be served and, ideally, a solution must be conceived that all can accept. Once peace-of-mind over the moral issue of amnesty has been reached, then will we be truly able to realize the end of the war.

WYACL

(Continued from page 2)

The opening ceremonies took place on the morning of April 6. After addresses by WYACL Chairman Jose Luis Aguilar, General Thomas A. Lane, Honorary Chairman Dr. Ku Cheng-Kang, and WACL Chairman Prof. Raimundo Guerrero, the Secretary General gave his report and new memberships were presented.

After a break, the session con-

tinued with ratification of the by-laws and discussion and approval of a new charter proposed by the Executive Committee, which the WYACL Executive had drawn up in a conference in Guadalajara, Mexico, the previous year.

Serious differences of opinion arose over the inclusion of the aforementioned clause forbidding discussion of political and ideological differences among member units. FLF delegate Fef-

ferman protested that this left WYACL wide open to infiltration by extremists or even covert Communists.

"I recognize the need to maintain unity in our common struggle," Fefferman stated, "but we must remain free to discuss these matters from the floor of the conference." He proposed to amend the clause to allow examination of member units if violation of the charter's principles of "freedom, democracy and equality" was seriously suspected. After considerable debate, the FLF proposal was defeated by a large majority.

Fefferman's arguments were supported by Paraguayan delegate Carlos Podesta and FLF delegate Lorenzo Gazanaga. The main speakers against the proposal were the Brazilian, Spanish, and Canadian delegates.

The Brazilian delegate maintained that the disputed clause was written by the executive board, after long deliberation, in order to

general.

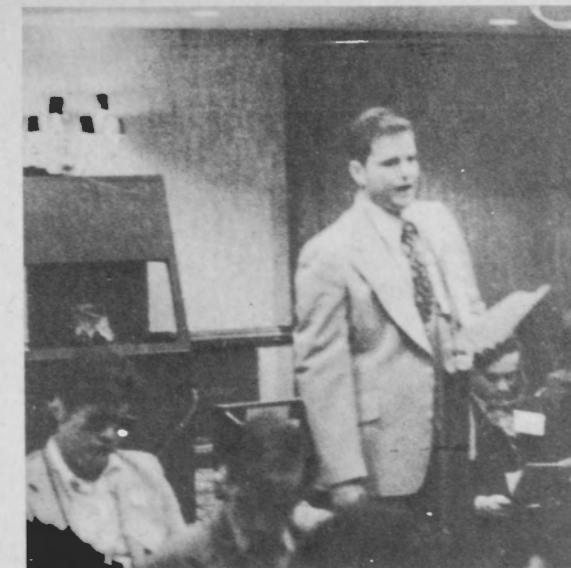
In reply, Fefferman's written declaration of withdrawal from WYACL stated, in part, "the situation in our country requires us - even in terms of our own national interests - to adopt a view which transcends mere nationalism. The greatest patriotism is to make one's nation a contributor to the world's welfare. The mission of the United States is a sacrificial one - one which implies service to the whole world, and participation in the international struggle against Communism."

Shortly after FLF's withdrawal, nominations were given for the election of the WYACL president. The Chair nominated from Guatemala; Japanese delegate Tkeshi Furuta nominated chief U.S. delegate Ron Pearson, citing the tradition of nominating the president from members of the host country. was elected, by an overwhelming majority.

The conference went on to adopt a joint communique and several resolutions. Most of the



Takeshi Furuta, delegate from the Japanese International Federation for Victory Over Communism.



Dan Fefferman giving FLF's withdrawal statement

prevent prolonged debate and disunity among anti-Communist ranks. Spanish delegate Jesus Palacios strongly attacked the proposal, associating it with pro-Communist attempts to slander genuine anti-Communists by calling them "Fascists."

A later debate ranged over the question of the value of nationalism in fighting Communism. "Since Communism is internationalist, the only way to defeat it is through nationalism," the Canadian delegate asserted. Some statements against the American proposal indirectly impugned the patriotism and anti-Communist fervor of the U.S. delegates and Americans in

resolutions were fine," stated Fefferman. "But some were of a narrowly sectarian nature in effect prohibiting the effective unity of all conscientious groups concerned with gaining victory over communism. The current spirit and direction of the WYACL is such that we cannot in good faith continue as a member."

Fortunately, the disasters of the WYACL did not repeat themselves at the WACL conference the next day. Although stormy at times, the WACL eventually worked out an acceptable compromise on the important issue of extremism. However, as long as its youth arm is not similarly resolved on the issue, the WACL will still have lost much of its effectiveness.



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Interesting Incident

Passage of the United States' anti-extremism resolution was not the only exciting event of the April 11 closing session. Unseen by most participants was an incident between a representative from TASS and a small group of Russians and Ukrainians. One young person ventured to take a photo of the TASS representative, who then tried to push the boy and the camera away. The young man succeeded, returning to join his group of friends in the rear of the room. The TASS man joined them there where there was some kind of confrontation. Soon the police and the FBI arrived. There is still considerable debate about what happened. Was he a KGB agent? Did he have a gun? Was he unduly harassed? One source holds that news of the incident has spread to high levels of the Soviet government.