

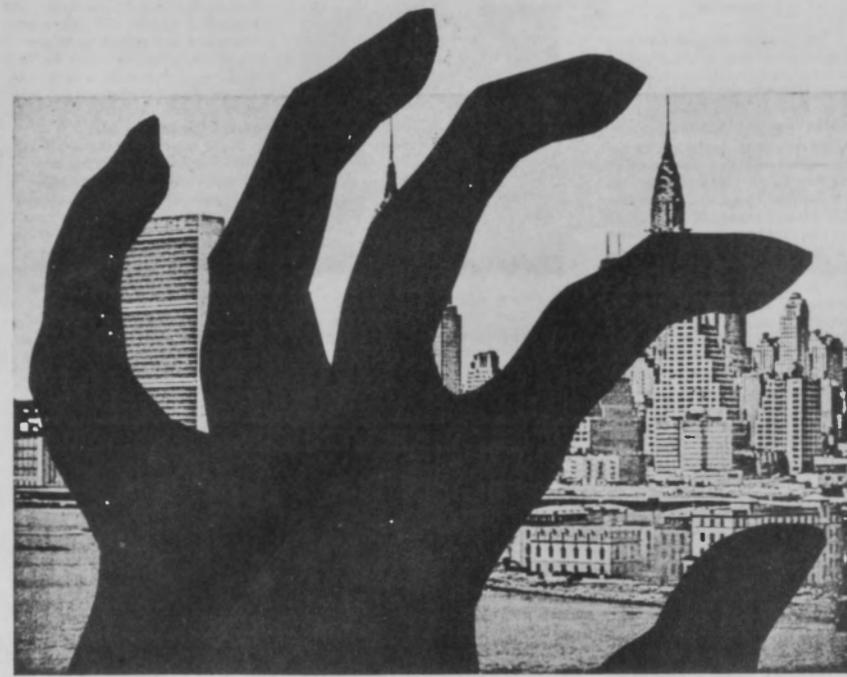


# The Rising Tide

“...America's  
fastest growing  
freedom  
newspaper”

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## Terrorist Threat Grows

by Jay Mallin

*From testimony given before the House Internal Security Committee, May 29, 1974.*

We live in a vulnerable society. We live in a society which is highly susceptible to terrorist attacks. We are vulnerable today. We are becoming increasingly vulnerable as time goes on. The horror of terrorism has been starkly brought forth by the massacre at Ma'alot and other mass killings along the Israeli-Lebanese border, by the mass murders at Lod, Rome and Athens airports; by the assault on the Twentieth Olympic Games.

The greatest terror campaign of modern times was conducted by the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. It is estimated that over 30,000 people were murdered in the period 1961 through 1970. In Ireland more than one thousand people have been killed by terrorists. In Argentina there were approximately 170 known kidnappings last year alone, and more than \$100 million paid in ransoms over a two-year period.

Businessmen and diplomats kidnapped in Mexico, Russian doctors kidnapped in Burma, Cuban exiles killed in Miami and New York. The prime minister of Spain killed by a bomb.

The United States has not escaped terror. The Patricia Hearst affair—hesitate to call it a kidnapping—has held the headlines. But there have been other kidnappings, as well as bomb explosions and the killing of police officers.

### Weapon of the weak

Terrorism is the weapon of the few against the many, of the militarily weak against the militarily strong. Unable to meet his foe in open combat on the battlefield, or even in the forested or mountainous areas preferred by the rural guerrilla, the terrorist strikes stealthily at his enemy's vulnerable spots. These may not be militarily important—hence are unguarded and susceptible to attack—but they provide the terrorist with the opportunity to discomfort and embarrass his enemy and to publicize his cause and his activist presence. After having seized and destroyed three jet airliners in September 1970, Arab extremists boasted that “the headlines have shown that our cause is now clearly publicized.”

With much of the world's population concentrated in or moving toward urban areas, guerrilla warfare has also moved into the more heavily populated regions. The fundamental precepts of rural guerrilla warfare—hit, run, and hide, or as Thomas Edward Lawrence, Lawrence of Arabia, said, “Tip and run, no pushes, but strikes”—have been adapted for urban guerrilla conflict.

For the extremist (or militant, or activist)—call him what you will), urban guerrilla warfare offers clear advantages over rural guerrilla warfare. If he is a city youth he can remain in the cities and need not meet the rugged demands of rural and hill-fighting. In the cities there are a plethora of potential targets. The countryside offers few targets. In the cities there are opportunities for militant actions (such as the surreptitious placing of bombs) which do not necessarily entail direct personal and immediate conflict with the police. In the countryside, guerrillas must eventually prove themselves by combat with units of the regular army. In urban areas guerrillas can commit spectacular acts and, if they

have not been identified by the authorities, can return to “normal” lives until the time comes for their next violent action.

### Psychological war

Psychological impact is the key element in the thinking and planning of terrorists.

The members of the July 26 revolutionary movement in Cuba in the late fifties were masters in using terrorism to attract attention to their organization.

On one occasion a mighty explosion destroyed part of a vital electrical conduit, and downtown Havana was blacked out for more than two days. Another day, forty bombs exploded around Havana within a 15-minute period. Again this makes quite an impression on the population. On still another occasion Juan Manuel Fangio, the world auto racing champion, was kidnapped and held for several days. No demands were made; the kidnapping in itself served the rebels' purposes. And in another action, guerrillas led by Raul Castro kidnapped and held no less than 48 Americans and two Canadians. This, too, created quite an impression, not only nationally but internationally as well. The Americans were seized to protest supposed U.S. arms deliveries to the Cuban government. There was also a considerable side benefit in that the mass kidnapping demonstrated how powerful the rebel forces had become, controlling extensive territories which the government forces could not enter.

During the past few days two brave police officers have been killed in Miami. Many others have died in the line of duty in recent years in this country. During the ten-year period 1963 through 1972, 786 police officers were slain. Of these, sixty-three were killed from ambush, that is, they were the victims of terrorists.

The killing of police is not merely a

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Singing with students at Dalat University



Thousands of Khmers flee Red Zones with all their possessions.

## Khmers Reject Communists

If the North Vietnamese and

Vietcong withdrew from our country, the Khmer people could easily settle their differences among themselves by talking,” said Thuong Lin Huong, Cambodian Undersecretary of State for Information, at a press conference in Washington, D.C. on June 3. Secretary Huong was in the U.S. for one week as part of a tour to explain Khmer Government policy to Khmer nationals living abroad.

Speaking through an interpreter, Mr. Huong described atrocities committed by the Communists against the Khmers in the Communist controlled zones, and the harsh conditions of life under Communist rule. He said that most Cambodians living in the Communist zones were looking for the “golden opportunity” to escape, and many thousands have done so already.

### Restrictions and hunger

Mr. Huong said that any Cambodian accused of obstructing Communist rule is summarily executed, usually by clubbing with a pickaxe, after the accused had been forced to dig his own grave. Mr. Huong also mentioned wide

spread execution of Buddhist monks by drowning.

The life of the people under Com-

munist rule is characterized by restrictions and widespread hunger.

Mr. Huong said Movement from one village to another is restricted, requiring a per-

mit which may take as long as 3 weeks to get.

The Communists ration rice—“one

small can per day—and the people are left with little but “fish soy, salt and pepper” to eat with it. Fish is available

only to those lucky enough to live near a lake or river. Material for clothing is

unavailable except for black cloth,

which is also strictly rationed. Cambodians are forced to dig trenches and other

works for the Communists, and sickness and disease often go untreated for lack of

medicine.

Unwilling to live under such condi-

tions, tens of thousands of Khmers have

fled the Communist zones. “More than

30,000 fled last month from the area

around Kompong Thom,” Secretary

Huong said. “Yesterday 66 families fled

from Svay Rieng—304 people in all.”

The refugees are being taken care of by

the Khmer government with the help of

international aid and charitable agen-

cies.

### Khmers can settle it themselves

Questioning Secretary Huong's

contention that the Cambodian fighting

is a result of North Vietnamese and

Vietcong aggression, one reporter asked,

“since most of the fighting is now being

done by the Khmer Rouges, even if the

Vietcong and North Vietnamese with-

drew, wouldn't the fighting still con-

tinue?” Secretary Huong replied that

even though some fighting might con-

inue, the Khmer people would eventual-

ly be able to settle their differences

peacefully.

Secretary Huong did not state in

response to reporters' questions how

much U.S. aid the Khmer Republic

needed, or how much they were to re-

ceive, but he said he believed that the

United States “would not abandon”

Cambodia. Mr. Huong said that the

military situation had improved, and that

the Communist insurgents had gone on

the defensive. “In general, the army of

the Khmer Republic is in better shape

(Continued on page 7)

versity students, as well as with labor youth and with a group of Viet Cong and North Vietnamese who had defected to the South.

The war's destruction was most plainly seen at Quang-Tri, a devastated area populated by 85,000 people before the 1972 spring offensive. There the delegation could look across a narrow river to Vietcong territory. Postwar reconstruction was seen firsthand at two refugee resettlement projects, a Rural Development cadre training center, an experimental rice farm on the Mekong Delta, and a U.S.-funded craft center.

While more aware of the difficult problems facing Vietnam, members of the delegation left feeling that Vietnam has the potential of becoming, with some help, a very stable and progressive country. A full report is forthcoming.

## FLF Tours Vietnam

FLF staff members Dan Fefferman, Lorenzo Gatzanaga, and Louise Berry have just returned from a ten-day fact-finding trip to Vietnam. As part of a nine member delegation of leaders of U.S. youth organizations, the FLF members met representatives of major youth and student organizations of Vietnam as well as with a good cross-section of Vietnamese society.

Led by FLF Secretary General Dan Fefferman the delegation, in addition to the FLF members, consisted of Ron Robinson, Robert Heckman, and John Buckley of the Young Americans for Freedom; George Curran of the Young Peoples Socialist League; Victor Roberts of the Young Republicans; and Raisa Petroff of the Russian-American Congress.

As guests of the Republic of Vietnam, the delegation travelled extensively throughout Vietnam, staying in Saigon and visiting Hué and Quang Trí in the north, Dalat in the central mountainous area, the Mekong Delta, the Vung Tau area near Saigon, and Con Son prison.

The delegates met with government and military officials on the national and local levels, leaders of the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor, prominent Buddhist leader Rev. Thich Tam Chau, student leaders, and U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin. Most of Vietnam's universities were visited at the invitation of student leaders: Saigon University, Hué University, Dalat University, Van Hanh University, Can Tho University, and the Military Academy at Dalat. The delegation had lively discussions with the uni-



General Lam Quang Thi, with tour coordinator Dan Fefferman, lead youth delegation through the Imperial tombs at Hue.

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Neil A. Salonen

## America Needs Vision

*"Acceptance Speech of Annual Award  
of Council Against Communist Aggression,*

June 15, 1974

by Neil A. Salonen, President  
Freedom Leadership Foundation

Many of you are familiar with the words of Goethe, who said that the destiny of any nation depends on the ideas of its young men under 25. It has been my greatest privilege in the last several years to be working with campus young people at a time of tremendous national chaos. Young people are traditionally idealistic—what they need to channel their energies is vision.

FLF was founded, based on such a vision—a religious idealism. I'd like to pay tribute tonight to a number of the men who participated in the founding of our organization. When we began our work against Communism we really didn't know much about the problem of Communism in America. It's certainly not well reported on in the mass news media. The first organization we found, which had a basic educational program was Dr. Fred Schwarz's organization, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

And at their seminar in Washington, D.C. we met a number of other people, and it's through a chain reaction from person to person, that we first got started.

Three of these people are here tonight, and I would like to express our gratitude to them—to Herb Philbrick and his wife, who encouraged us a great deal, and also to Reed Irvine, the chairman of this dinner. He came and spoke to our group, took an interest in us and gave our name to another man, Mr. David Martin, who at that time worked for Senator Dodd. I couldn't be more grateful to all these men and I know that there are other men and women, many assembled here, who have been doing similar things and who deserve, in a general sense, just as much credit from the group which they have helped.

We believe that the struggle against Communism is primarily an ideological struggle. Through our work in seminars, talking with young people and holding debates, we realized that the problem has been the failure of the Free World to recognize the true nature of Communism. At the end of World War II, most American leaders recognized the dangers of Communism, so we left troops in different parts of the world to contain it, and we imposed economic sanctions, in effect, against many such nations. We tried to put up a wall, and say that as long as they stayed on their side and we stayed on ours, that would be the end of Communism. But because Communism is much more than just a military or political system, because it's an idea, that idea permeated past our troops, through our trade barriers, and onto the campuses of our colleges and universities.

Dr. Frances Schaffer talks about the philosophic line of despair that the Western cultures have slipped below, and that Marxism was the ideology that led them there. Marxism is an ideology of conflict, contradiction, and violence—in short, a philosophy of death. It can only be overcome by a more effective philosophy of life.

I respect a lot of the work that's been done by various anti-Communist organizations, but as long as we're just defending against the initiatives of the Communists or pro-Communist groups, freedom can never truly prevail. Any football coach will tell you that you can't win the ball game if you only stay on your side of the 50-yard line. There has to be some initiative. There has to be some vision of going all the way to the goal line on the other side. We're not talking about military initiatives—that misses the whole point. Because we're talking about an ideological struggle, we need to combat the false ideas which are shaping people's values and formulating their policies. That living ideology must give a great vision of hope.

FLF was founded based on the hope of one man. The founder of our organization was the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, a South Korean Christian leader. When he came to this country in 1969, he was aware of the fact that Americans seemed totally naive about the nature of

# Drugs: Problem of Education

The United States is discovering a new need in the educational field—the need for education against drug abuse. During the past fifteen years many of our educational programs were developed in response to a problem. For example, Soviet successes in the space race produced a demand for increased emphasis on technological subjects. A decade later colleges began restructuring their curriculums because students claimed that many courses denied channels for self-development.

### Drugs greatest problem among youth

Today the greatest problem among American youth is the increasing use of drugs for recreation and "mind expansion." The potential for serious damage to this generation is staggering. According to a survey done in 1973 for the Shafer Commission on Marijuana, almost twenty-six million Americans have smoked marijuana, thirteen million of them on a regular basis. Most users are between 18 and 25, but drug usage has been increasing rapidly in high schools and even junior high schools. While use in many "problem" cities appears to have reached a saturation point, it continues on the upswing in areas which formerly did not have a drug problem. While most users are students, a number of young executives and professionals, as well as workers, have joined the drug culture.



Increased knowledge of the extent of the problem only causes more sleepless nights for parents, teachers and youth workers. Not enough research on drugs had been done for them to clearly state the dangers of drug use. Detailed work has been done only on amphetamines, and most recently on marijuana. The newest conclusions of the marijuana researchers were presented before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in mid-May of this year. (See TRT's May 20 and June 3, 1974 issues), and have not yet received widespread publicity.

"Bad trips" have made students wary of drugs such as amphetamines, hallucinogens, opiates and even barbiturates. But the American public has gradually been led to believe that marijuana is less dangerous than alcohol. The latest scientific research, however, reveals that marijuana is quite toxic and can have pronounced effects on vital organs.

## Tito Cracks Down

by Dan Holdgrewe

Josip Broz Tito, in two ceremonies held in Belgrade last month, extended his two year drive to suppress liberal elements in Yugoslavia's Communist Party. On May 16 Marshal Tito signed a document making him president of Yugoslavia for life. Tito is now 82, and is concerned with the problem of having his policies continue after his death.

On May 27, Tito opened the 10th Congress of the League of Communists (Yugoslavia's Communist Party) which elected him to an "indefinite" term as party head. In his opening speech, Tito called for an extension of party control over most elements of life and an end to political dissent.

### Purges

The congress climaxes one of the most extraordinary periods in Yugoslavia's post-war history. In two years more than 120,000 party members have been expelled or "selected out" in a campaign to reassert party authority and ideological discipline. Tito proclaimed to the congress the successful defeat of "liberal" factions, referring to the purge of the Croatian Communist leadership in 1971 and of the Serbian leadership in 1972. Thanks to subsequent tightening of the party organization—to which this congress has given formal approval—Yugoslavia's Communists are again on the right track, according to Tito.

In the same speech, Tito vilified liberalism and insisted on the need for a monolithic party organization. Attacking dissent he said, "Yugoslavia is a democratic country, and our League of Communists is a democratic, revolutionary political organization; but for the enemies of our revolution and socialist self-management, there can be no democracy." In the same context he called for closer "supervision" of the educational system and the news media. Citing frequent attempts to evade party control by the press and radio, Tito proclaimed that all news should be imbued with an ideological, political, and ethical message.

Concurrent with the party reorganization, Tito has promulgated a new constitution for Yugoslavia which assured greater party control of the government. In May a new assembly came into being, which under this constitution has only

gangs, especially the brain. Although there is a crying need for drug education efforts in this area have had only limited success. A survey of sixteen groups in the Washington, D.C. area involved with drug abuse reveals a probable reason. The various programs are based on an incomplete understanding of human nature.

### "Liberal" and "conservative" approach

The "liberal" approach appears to be based on compassion for suffering of individuals without full understanding of the cause or solution to their predicament. Liberal educational groups, oriented toward white middle and upper middle class youth, stress that the ultimate cause behind drug abuse is the desire to escape from an intolerable situation generally caused by a lack of love. Until this love is supplied, the drug user will take drugs as a substitute. Liberals also feel that drug abuse has become so widespread that attempts at elimination are "unrealistic." Educational programs should attempt to reduce the dangers of drug use, by showing youth the difference between "hard" drugs such as heroin or cocaine, and "soft" drugs (relatively harmless) such as marijuana (sic).

Liberals oppose "cynical put-downs" of drug taking in anti-drug literature. Mention of the extreme harm drugs can cause is labelled "scare tactics." Most liberal groups feel marijuana is less harmful than alcohol.

"Conservatives" feel that man suffers because he has failed to uphold certain behavioral standards which are necessary for his well-being. He must achieve these standards to save himself.

Conservative drug educational groups directed at the same white middle and upper middle class youth feel that they take drugs mainly because they do not realize the danger to themselves. Conservatives feel that a "Drugs can kill you" approach is necessary. They regard marijuana as being more dangerous than alcohol, and they regard alcohol and tobacco as dangerous drugs.

Groups oriented toward black, inner city youth take a somewhat conservative approach. They emphasize both the dangers of drug abuse and the need for blacks as individuals to accomplish something for themselves, their families and their race.

Black-oriented groups deal mainly with hard drugs such as heroin or cocaine, where addiction can be a life or death situation. White-oriented groups deal with a wider variety of drugs, where toxic effects may not be as pronounced in the short run.

### Religious groups

Several groups have united both approaches. Religious groups, such as the Teen Challenge of Washington, D.C., the Catholic Office of Drug Education (CODE) and B'Nai B'Rith appear to be in the forefront. The District of

two chambers instead of the previous five. Eliminating regional or economic blocs, assembly members are selected by subordinate bodies, which in turn represent smaller groups. This assures party control over the whole selection process (since the party has exclusive control over nominations), and is too diffuse to allow other interests from acquiring power.

Officials from the country's eight republics and provinces were elected to a collective presidency headed by Tito. All of the members of the collective presidency are old war-time comrades of the President, reversing a trend of bringing newcomers into the top levels of the hierarchy. Speaking to the party congress, Tito indicated some mistrust of youth, calling for greater attention to be focused on political tendencies among young people.

The army has also been given a greater role in the country's affairs. After Tito's death a strong military might be needed to hold the country together in the face of provincial factionalism.

Chief theoretician of the Communist League, Edvard Kardelj, is the most likely successor in the event of Tito's death. Kardelj was elected representative for Slovenia in the collective presidency. Stane Dolanc, the party's executive secretary, is regarded second after Kardelj in the line of succession.

### Internal strife

Yugoslavia's future after Tito's death is in doubt because of factionalism and ideological strife within the country, as well as an unaligned foreign policy. Conservative elements in Yugoslavia would like to centralize the party along Soviet lines and reintroduce the strict discipline found in most Iron Curtain countries. Many of them believe that Tito's break with Stalin in 1948 was a mistake.

Tito is a figure of awe for many Yugoslavs because of his opposition to Germany during the war and his successful struggle against Stalin. Because of this, he has had amazing success in controlling the conflicting political tendencies and traditional rivalries of Yugoslavia's diverse nationalities. Besides the traditional strife between the Serbs and the Croats, there are nationalistic tendencies in Slovenia, Macedonia, and Kosovo.

Columbia narcotics Treatment Administration (NTA) has also had much success.

CODE and B'Nai B'Rith emphasize that if a young person does not receive love and inspiration from his parents, his own hope for his life will diminish and he is more likely to turn to drugs. Parents are urged to give their children proper values. CODE emphasizes the family's relationship to God



as the key to raising good children.

Teen Challenge witnesses especially to teenagers. They emphasize Christ's power of love as the force which gives them no need for drugs.

NTA also concentrates on high

schools, with young ex-addicts telling their personal experiences. The director of the educational unit is a former addict who made a deathbed conversion to Christianity. He promised God that if healed, he would devote his life to overcoming the drug epidemic.

Every drug education program, however, has to overcome the pro-drug pressures outside the classroom. Movies like "Easy Rider" (glorifying marijuana), songs like "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds" (LSD) and "Mary Jane" (marijuana) and popular adaptation of the language and clothing of the drug culture gave drug usage a flying start. The campaign for legalization of marijuana may push the drug irreversibly ahead of the drug educators.

The steady, rapid increase in marijuana smoking has federal and state governments considering the legalization of possession to keep many otherwise decent teenagers out of jail.

The author of the D.C. survey recommends a steady, continued nationwide publicity campaign making full use of the media, as well as a nationwide, coordinated educational campaign, as the only possible means of reversing the trend of increasing drug use. Such campaigns are not yet in existence. Hopefully some organizations will develop them in the near future.

## Writer Exposes KGB



John Barron, Senior Editor of "Readers Digest"

Over 70 people had the opportunity of hearing John Barron discuss his new book, *KGB* at a luncheon last Tuesday in Washington, D.C. Speaking at the Second Tuesday Luncheon Group, Mr. Barron, who is senior editor of *Reader's Digest*, called the KGB the "underlying force that insures that the party, the bureaucracy, indeed every institution of Soviet society sub-serves the interest of the (Soviet) oligarchy."

The KGB is the Soviet intelligence and security apparatus, operating both inside and outside the Soviet Union. Mr. Barron explains the reason for the existence of the KGB as a domestic political police by pointing out that the Soviet rulers have no popular mandate to rule. Without the power of public support—against the power of resistance to government oppression—the Soviet regime retains power by brute force. The function of the KGB is to spiritually isolate every individual in Soviet society with the fear that anyone might be a government spy.

The KGB acts as a clandestine apparatus to control the press, arts, sciences, universities and the church to conform to the dictates of the small oligarchy which rules the Soviet Union. The lives of the common people are regulated minutely by such things as an internal passport to travel within the country, a workbook without which a man cannot obtain or leave his employment, and a residency permit to live in a certain place. Any of these can be revoked with out legal process by the secret police, so every citizen is at the mercy of the state. Dissenters can also be confined to mental institutions by KGB order.

When a Soviet citizen, like Solzhenitsyn, refuses to be intimidated by these threats, he strikes at the heart of the system. This is why the government responds with a ferocity that seems out of proportion to the fear that anyone might be a government spy.

According to Mr. Barron, the KGB is, if possible, more pervasive in foreign than in domestic affairs, for similar reasons. The Soviet leadership is committed to a policy of imperialism, yet they seek to expand their influence from a position of inferiority. It is impossible



KGB Headquarters in Moscow.



## The Cult of Kim Il-sung

by Hal McKenzie

Much of a critical nature has been written in the press lately about the South Korean government of Park Chung Hee. However, not much has been published in the West about the rival regime which is presenting itself as the alternative for 40 million Korean people—the Communist dictatorship of Kim Il-sung.

In 1972 a West German Leftist, Horst Kurnitzky, wrote a travelogue entitled "Chollima Korea" based on his experiences in North Korea, which appeared in the leftist West German journal, *Kursbuch*. (English translation courtesy of the Public Relations Association of Korea). Although a Marxist, Kurnitzky was appalled by the cradle-to-grave regimentation of the people, and the heights to which Kim Il-sung had been deified, Korean history mythologized, and the people kept in ignorance of the outside world, in the name of the Korean socialist revolution. In his conclusion, Kurnitzky wrote: "North Korea today is an authoritarian, nationalistic leader-state; capable, though, of great achievements and of having already built up a remarkable industry, but where the real aspirations of the people are suppressed and the liberating development of its productive powers are obstructed."

### First Impressions

Although "confronted with praises of the miracles of socialism in this country" almost from the moment he arrived in Pyongyang, Kurnitzky's first impressions were less than full of praise. "From the airport... we drove along a narrow two-lane concrete road.... The 'conspicuously many' people Kurnitzky saw walking along the road were dressed in Mao-style suits for the men or traditional dresses for the women; in Pyongyang 1950's style Western dresses appeared on some women. Along the road some traditional Korean houses made of wicker work plastered with mud, with thatched or tile roofs were seen. The apartment buildings of Pyongyang, proudly pointed out by his hosts, 'remind the visitor of those in East Berlin; all have been built by the prefabricated method. Behind the new apartments, mostly erected along the main street of the city, there are still hidden complete districts of old one-floor houses."

### The Leader

Kurnitzky's keenest criticism of the North Korean regime is directed at the cult of Kim Il-sung. "The revolution, the history of the state and the leader, Kim Il-sung, are considered identical in North Korea. Without delay the visitor is told: 'If you do not know the history of our leader you cannot understand our country.'"

On April 15, the leader's birthday is celebrated throughout the country. Kim was officially born on that date in 1912 at Mangyongdae, a little hamlet west of Pyongyang. "Every visitor from abroad is shown his birthplace; North Koreans see it at least once in their lifetime. From dawn to late at night, the whole year round, troops of visitors arrive—from kindergarten children to the managers of factories—to be guided in single file through this national sanctuary. Following this, one goes to a nearby museum where the history of the revolutionary family and the leader's revolutionary childhood are shown in pictures and texts."

"Mangyongdae," goes the official version, "is the cradle of the Korean revolution... as dear to each Korean as his own birthplace. Here Comrade Kim Il-sung was born, the leader of forty million Koreans (both north and south), the incomparable patriot, the national hero, the always-through-his-iron-will-victorious-and-excelling leader, and one of the outstanding leaders of the International Communist Workers' Movement. Today our people in the socialist fatherland lead an infinitely happy life, which

grows still happier under the bright rays emanating from the great leader who has always directed the Korean revolution to victory and glory, charging himself with the fate of the fatherland and nation."

National shrines—in connection with the foundation myth—places where Kim reportedly made special decisions, fought important battles or founded something—are numerous in the People's Republic of Korea. Even snow-capped Mt Paek-tu on the border with China, traditionally connected with classical fondation myths of the Manchu and Korean peoples, is now officially venerated by the North Koreans as the place where Kim in 1936 founded the "League for the National Rebirth of the Fatherland" and established a few guerrilla camps.

Kurnitzky writes, "Here it is important to know that the structure of the mythical origin of the PRK is many ways heavily based upon old models. But the Manchurian myth is sheer materialism compared with the helpless face of the myth about Kim Il-sung. Every classical myth expresses the collective experiences of a people, its process of civilization. The myth of Kim is a mere instrument of power."

Art in North Korea, in the genre of "socialist realism," substitutes for historical documentation in supporting the national myth. "Except for two or three strongly retouched pictures there are no photos showing Kim as a partisan... All the 'documents' are products of art from the workshops of illustrators of the national myth."

Even small relics play an important role in the deification of Kim. "In the 'Pioneers Hall' in Pyongyang... there is a room with collections of chairs and sofas on which the leader is said to have sat at one time and tables where he drank tea, as well as cups, plates, forks, knives, chopsticks, napkins, and ashtrays he is said to have once used."

Kim's official biography "shows signs of having been touched up," according to Kurnitzky. "It has Kim Il-sung in 1926, at the age of fourteen, founding the first Marxist-Leninist organization in Manchuria, although he had become acquainted with the classics of Marxism-Leninism not before 1927, when he attended middle school in Kirin, Manchuria." The biography makes a point of downgrading the Korean Communist Party of 1925 giving Kim the primary role. "In 1928... the party had not been uniform and had not overcome factional strife because it lacked an outstanding leader. Now the Korean people were waiting for their outstanding leader, Kim Il-sung, who was already carrying the successful way of the revolution in himself."

The official biography says that Kim, at the age of eighteen, after having been released from prison where he had been confined as a result of anti-Japanese actions, developed his famous "Juche" idea. "This is the formula with which Kim is said to have further creatively developed Marxism-Leninism. Juche is a Korean word meaning sovereignty, self-reliance or simply 'create with one's own strength'."

"Juche, in North Korea today, has come to be in itself the anti-analytical, anti-enlightening sacrosanct slogan with which all decisions by management are justified. They say: 'According to the idea of Juche; but the meaning is: the leader has, in his sovereign power, made a decision for the people.'

The leader exercises his power through a hierarchy of loyal functionaries, who represent the leader to the people. "The reluctance of the functionaries to get into contact with the people makes this hierarchy obvious," says Kurnitzky. "They move about only in the state-run officials' cars. If children or idle lookers-on get too close, they are chased away by the driver. The functionaries have theater entrances of their own and make purchases in special shops where otherwise only foreign diplomats are admitted."

Kurnitzky was particularly impressed with the "mass games" the North Koreans put on during school or national ceremonies, in which thousands of young participants flip colored cards on command, creating a picture rather like a TV makes a picture with dots. "Their games, which illustrate the national myth, function to suppress the individual development of the imagination in the bud. Officially these mass games are praised as a new folk art, although they represent one of the most perfect forms of destroying art."

### Education

"The children," Kim Il-sung said, "shall have the best." In the PRK, Kurnitzky found that there were many well-furnished nurseries, playgrounds, kindergartens, schools and well-equipped "Pioneer Centers" including a richly furnished "Pioneer Palace" with over 500 rooms in Pyongyang. Education in Korea, as Kim Il-sung said to a Finnish youth delegation in 1969, is designed "to live a simple and ready-to-fight life, always to work and learn for the benefit of society and the collective—their work and lives completely fulfilled by the lofty revolutionary conviction to be red revolutionary soldiers of the Korean Worker's Party and to lead the beautiful Communistic life-style."

To achieve this goal, they start early. "The babies, from the 72nd day or even from the 44th day after birth, are put in nurseries which are attached to the apartment-blocks of the factories where their mothers are working. They stay here until they are five years old... (although) many of them stay home with their grandmothers... the goal is to accommodate all children in nurseries. Up to the third month the child will see its mother every two and a half hours, when it is nursed by her; to the sixth month every three hours, to the ninth month every four hours, and from the ninth to the eleventh month once a day. One nurse will take care of six to eight children, and it is remarkable to note that the babies are kept quiet or put to sleep by the automatic ringing of shrill bells."

Toilet training and learning to walk are prescribed according to a rigid schedule, so that by the eleventh month all the children can walk and go to the toilet by themselves. The children begin to talk at fifteen months, and when they are one and a half years old they're taught to speak their first full sentence. "Thank you, Comrade Kim Il-sung." "This sentence is a fixed, constituent part of the general education plan," Kurnitzky says.

Education is oriented toward achievement-motivation, making use of mechanisms of competition. "Every morning in the nurseries, the educator judges the behavior of every single child and gives marks. Children who behave especially well get an asterisk by their name on the blackboard, just as later in the factory the individual achievements of a single worker are made public on a poster, which is then called 'socialist competition'."

Politeness and reverence towards grown-ups is emphasized, as well as neatness. Children are taught, "graceful, ballet-like movements" of the body, as well as marching and standing at attention; later on sports are added, which plays an important role in North Korea. Kurnitzky explains, "children very early are taught movements which will be applied in the mass games."

From the fourth year on, children begin to learn, by heart, the leader's history. Pictures showing the important phases of the myth are put on walls and little models, for example, of the leader's house at Mangyongdae, are used. Children memorize sentences from the leader's life, shouting them out loudly as they point with a stick to the appropriate picture or model.

(Continued on page 7)

## Red China —

# "Renegade" Reinstated

From Free China News Service

In April 1973 Mao Tse-tung approved Teng Hsiao-ping's restoration to the rank of vice premier. Since then, Teng, Mao's No. 2 enemy during the "cultural revolution," has seemingly regained Mao's favor.

At the 10th party congress held in August 1973, Teng was "elected" to the central committee. A few months later, he entered the CC-PCC (the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee) Politburo, not through normal channels, but by Mao's personal order.

Facts indicate that Teng has become a powerful figure in Peking's current leadership.

A new sign showing Teng's eminence in the Peking regime is his recent assignment to the U.N. Conference on Raw Materials and Economic Development. On his departure for New York he received a grand send-off at the airport

### Former renegade



Teng Hsiao-ping

March 1967, the editorial board of the *Ching-Kang Shan* journal of Tsinghua University in Peking selected "among a bulk of Teng's counter-revolutionary revisionist speeches" a hundred examples to show that Teng was a hundred percent anti-Maoist.

### A "bourgeois reactionary."

The selected examples were published in a booklet with a preface saying: "Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and a tiny group of their followers laid down and carried out stubbornly a bourgeois reactionary line. They madly suppressed the proletarian revolutionaries, intending to extinguish the flame of the great proletarian cultural revolution lit up by chairman Mao. Standing on the side of the bourgeoisie, Liu and Teng adopted the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and attempted to break down the cultural revolution."

"Teng Hsiao-ping, the No. 2 capitalist roader and power-holder in the Chinese Communist party, the leading figure of the Soviet revisionism, has opposed chairman Mao for a long time. He acted arbitrarily in the party and crowned himself king. He openly defied chairman Mao."

Teng was a killer with numerous crimes. Collaborating with Liu Shao-chi, he upheld a bourgeois reactionary line in an attempt to lead astray the cultural revolution.

In the preface, the publisher of the booklet also quoted Chen Po-ta: "Ideologically, Liu and Teng are always irreconcilable with chairman Mao. It is very dangerous if we fail to expose Teng's real face to the whole party. To a certain extent, Teng is more sinister, more cunning, and more dangerous than Liu."

The 100 examples were divided into ten groups, each represents one of Teng's "crimes" against Mao and the party. Teng's ten crimes were:

### 1. Defying Mao and Mao's thought.

2. Negating class struggle and preaching class harmony.

3. Attacking the "three red banners" policy and aligning with capitalists, revisionists, and all reactionaries against the party.

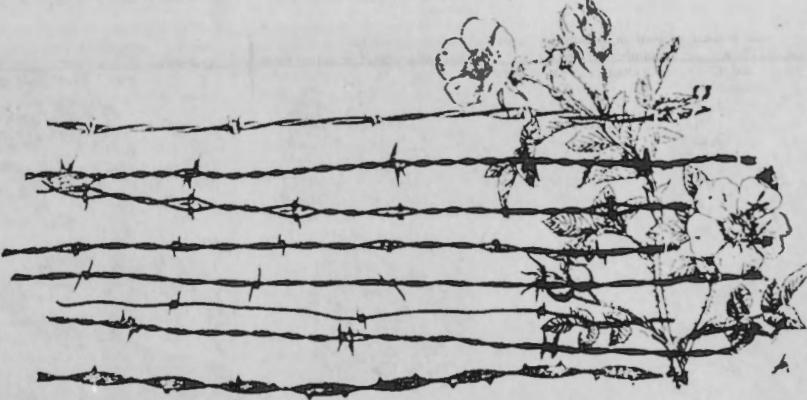
4. Acting as a defender of the Soviet revisionism.

5. Opposing "giving prominence to politics."

(Continued on page 7)

## Notes from the Underground

by Dan Holdgrewe



### EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS RESTRICTED

Moscow increased official harassment of Soviet Jews in two incidents last month. Following the May 15th massacre of schoolchildren in Maalot, Soviet Jews attempted to stage a protest march to the Lebanese Embassy in Moscow. An estimated 300 uniformed policemen and plainclothes agents, evidently forewarned of the march, dispersed the demonstrators and arrested twenty-six.

Moscow has also taken ten leading activists in the Jewish emigration movement into police custody. Dissident sources indicate that secret police seized five of the movement's most outspoken leaders, and then detained five others who organized a small demonstration outside the state travel agency (*Intourist*). One of the ten, Victor Polksy, the 44 year old physicist, was on his way to consult his lawyer when he was seized without explanation by two plainclothesmen. All ten have long been denied visas to leave Russia for Israel.

A noticeable decline in the number of Soviet Jews emigrating to Israel has drawn attention to some new obstacles to potential emigrants. Currently, only 2,000 per month—25 percent fewer than last year—are finding it possible to leave Russia. In 1973 total emigration reached 35,000, leading Western diplomats to speculate that there may now be a backlog of up to 100,000 applicants.

Soviet Jews who have tried to emigrate report new restrictions that have made it more difficult to obtain an exit visa. The exhaustive paperwork must now be typed rather than handwritten. Those who overcome this difficulty are intimidated by being required to check in with the local police before proceeding to the visa office. Applicants are then required to produce letters of invitation from relatives and a reference from their employer. (Employers are not rewarded for giving good references to potential emigrants).

The Soviet press has at the same time been waging an all out campaign to convince Jews of the "terrible situ-

ation" in Israel and the disastrous consequences of leaving the USSR. This propaganda has not produced the desired effect, according to underground Jewish leaders, and serves mainly to provide a cover story by relating declines in emigration to "disenchantment" with Israel.

The less educated Jews in trade or farm jobs find it easier to obtain exit visas, while professional people are more likely to be refused as an example to others in their fields. At the same time, even asking to emigrate results in dismissal.

Applicants must pay 500 rubles for an exit visa plus 400 for surrendering their citizenship. (The average monthly wage of the Soviet citizen is only 135 rubles). Money must be raised among friends and relatives since bank loans are not available to private citizens.

### CRIME WAVE IN RED CHINA

The number of refugees from Communist China has increased steadily over the past year. In 1973 numerous bodies were found in the waters surrounding Hong Kong, indicating increased efforts at escape; more than 15,000 persons are considered to have entered Hong Kong illegally by the "water route." Hong Kong police have reported an official total of 1,169 refugees from the Chinese mainland in the first three months of 1974. So many of the escapees evade police detection, however, that a more realistic estimate would be 5,000—a 60 percent increase over the same period in 1973. Reports from the refugees indicate that extreme poverty on the mainland is a major cause of the increase.

Typically, more people are attempting escape at the same time that restrictions on "legal" emigration have been eased. Both result from the same internal problems, but most of those granted permission to leave are old or infirm—relieving Red China of the burden of producing enough to feed or clothe them—while nearly all of the escapees are between 15 and 20. Even those permitted to leave must "bribe" security

agents and party cadres to receive exit permits which require 90 days to take effect. During this time they are condemned as elements "wishing to surrender to Capitalism" and consequently harassed as an example to others who might wish to leave.

The increased emigration also covers an attempt to send out trained agents for future subversive activities, particularly in Southeast Asia. Communist spies regularly "defect" to the West after completing their course of training. A well-known example of this is the West German army-officer/spy who served as personal aide to West German Chancellor Willy Brandt until his discovery forced Brandt's resignation. Guillaume fled" to the West in 1956.

Poverty has reached such extreme proportions, according to those who successfully reach Hong Kong, that even in Peking pork and chicken are said to be unknown. And yet the standard of living in Peking is much higher than in the country as a whole, because the capital is maintained as a showplace for outsiders.

The reported increase in crime caused by extreme poverty has been confirmed by Peking radio. Hourly the Chinese mainlanders are told that the militia is bravely fighting hooligans and "bad elements" in the streets of major cities. Thousands of angry young people, forced to leave school or the relative prosperity of the cities to work at the side of peasants in rural China, have slipped back to the cities where they survive by criminal activities. These "hooligans," as Peking calls them, cannot obtain ration stamps or lodging through legal channels, so street crime is accelerating rapidly.

The militia has been called upon to patrol the streets to maintain some semblance of "law and order" in fighting the crime wave. Refugees also tell of prostitution, smuggling, and black marketing. The government has responded with an increased campaign of fear, regimentation and indoctrination; but this is said to only have aggravated the situation.

# "Hanoi Lobby" Seeks Communist Victory

The author visited South Vietnam and Cambodia in 1970 as a journalist and member of the Student Coordinating Committee for Freedom in Vietnam and SE Asia. Co-editor of "The Human Cost of Communism in Vietnam, 1972," Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, he is presently at work on a companion volume entitled "The Human Cost of Communism in Cambodia." He is also an accredited newsman for Human Events newspaper.

by Max Friedman

If anyone thinks that Hanoi and its Indochinese Communist minions have ever, for one second, given up the idea of the conquest of Indochina by "whatever means necessary," they are quite mistaken.

The Vietnamese Communists betrayed, killed, and deceived non-Communist Vietnamese nationalists until there were none left in the North to oppose the Communist-led and controlled Viet Minh. This writer interviewed several high-ranking (ex) Viet Minh during my 1970 trip to Indochina. They had all fought against the French, and one showed us a photo of him and Ho Chi Minh together, yet they left the Viet Minh because it was Communist controlled and not a truly "nationalist" organization. Today they are leading the South Vietnamese people against the Communists.

Millions of Vietnamese have "voted with their feet," from 1954 till the present, to show their opposition to Communism. Even as this article is being written, thousands of Cambodian citizens are "voting with their feet" by fleeing the Cambodian Communists/NVA-VC who have invaded and ravaged their beautiful country.

The Communists (North Vietnamese to all extent and purpose) control much of largely uninhabited Quang Tri Province next to the DMZ, some territory along the Central Highland which is also a no-man's land, the wastelands of Northeastern and Eastern Cambodia, some mountainous regions of the Central-Eastern section of South Vietnam, and the U Minh Forest in the Mekong Delta; but they had this (with the exception of Quang Tri Province) as early as 1967. They have gained very little. If anyone thinks that the PRG [Provisional Revolutionary Government] exists in reality (except in some villages), they should read the de-

mands, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government delegation in Paris—the South Vietnamese Communist representatives—to be the principal channel. The remnants of the American "peace movement" would be used in such a way as to bring influence to bear on selected susceptible—but influential—elements of American communications media and, particularly, on susceptible members of Congressional staffs.

The element of timing was important. First, as much material as possible

The single largest U.S. contingent at the conference was that of Tom Hayden's Indochina Peace Campaign/United Campaign coalition... Others in the U.S. delegations were CPUSA front leaders and members of the religious far-left. These clergymen and helpers have long records of pro-Communist activities so they cannot plead ignorance of the totally Communist nature of the conference and its goals.

It is the majority faction of the U.S. contingent, that of the Indochina

IPC and the United Campaign and he is a dangerous, brilliant Communist sympathizer, a fact which has never been out of the mind of the Communists in Hanoi.

The IPC is a truly native American "Communist" movement. Its leadership includes pro-Communist ex-POW Bob Chenoweth (of the Hanoi Hilton Peace Committee); Holly Near, a folk-singer who loves to praise Hanoi; Jean-Pierre Debris, a pro-VC Frenchman who was jailed for his pro-Communist activities in Saigon; and Jeff Langley, a west coast radical.

PRG's 6-point plan "which introduces a definitive time frame which proscribes the limits of the PRG's patience."

In plain English this means: don't resist Communist attacks; free terrorists and spies; quit treating a war like a war with its inevitable limitations on civil rights; form a coalition government so that the Communists can take over; hold Vietnam-wide elections so that the North, which has several million more people, can outnumber the South; and withdraw all American military help from the South but ignore the North Vietnamese invading army of over 200,000 men.

This Third Phase just happened to come at a time when the FY 1975 Aid Bill for Indochina was being drawn up and also when a request for a Supplemental Aid Bill for 1974 was being submitted to Congress. With the defeat of the Supplemental Aid Bill for 1974, Hanoi and their American allies in the "movement" and in Congress, feel sure that they can defeat or at least severely cripple the FY 75 Aid Bill, and they are doing their best to do just that. Not more than a half-block away from Congress is the Coalition to Stop Funding the War, run by Larry Levine and other Hanoi sympathizers. They conduct extensive and continuing lobbying ef-

orts against the Aid Bills, and they get their money and support from some 25 radical and religious groups located in Washington, including many national religious organizations. Methodist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, Episcopal, and Quaker.

## Hayden-Fonda lobby effort

During February-March, 1974, Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda began a personal lobby effort here in Washington, operating out of a congressional committee room gotten for them by Rep. Dellums. Hayden conducted twice-weekly courses in "American Imperialism" for congressional aides. A claimed 75 attended and set up the "Congressional Coordinating Committee" to further lobby among aides by these aides. To say the least this effort created quite a stir among congressmen who took out a "special order" in which some 28 condemned Fonda and Hayden for their treason from the floor of Congress. Nevertheless, Fonda and company claim that they made contact with 100 Senators and Representatives during their month-long stay and it seems to have been effective, regarding the Supplemental Aid Bill vote.

(Continued on page 5)

## The Hanoi Lobby may achieve a Communist conquest of Indochina, not on the battlefield, but on the floor of Congress.

condemning the South Vietnamese government was to be moved into the 'Congressional Record'. The hope was that these insertions would show up in—or at least influence—formal reports of congressional subcommittees. [The following Congressmen and women have crammed the Cong. Rec. full of Communist and pro-Communist propaganda: McGovern, Cranston, Kennedy, (Kennedy being the worst in the Senate); Representatives: Rangel, Roybal, Dellums, Chisholm, Mitchell (Md.), Stokes, (DeLlums being the worst in the House)].

"These, in turn, would be followed up and given wide circulation by 'investigative reporting' which would tend to confirm and, where possible, expand on the distortions already in the congressional subcommittee formal reports." [This has happened in the House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing entitled "The Treatment of Political Prisoners in South Vietnam By the Government of the Republic of South Vietnam," Sept. 13, 1973. Two well-known Communist sympathizers, Don Luce, and Fred Branfman; and far-left Congresswoman Bella Abzug, testified on the subject and no rebuttal witnesses were heard].

"Hanoi's campaign was not something new. I watched the same process being used in France in the early 50's when the French were still here in Vietnam. I became fascinated by its efficiency and pervasiveness."

### The "Hanoi Lobby"

Let's take a look at who "the remnants of the so-called peace movement"

Peace Campaign (IPC) of Tom Hayden-Jane Fonda and their United Campaign, via the Coalition to Stop Funding the War, that constitutes "the remnant of the so-called peace movement." Founded in late 1971, the IPC has taken over as the most active pro-Hanoi, pro-VC group in the U.S. It is led by Tom Hayden, the only radical since 1965 who has had continuous contact with Hanoi on a visiting basis.

### Hayden and Fonda

Hayden has been involved in founding the Marxist SDS; agitating during the Newark riots in 1964; the disruption of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, 1968; the various Communist front "Mobilization Committees to End the War in Vietnam." He is also a national sponsor and council member of the cited CP front, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; an endorser of the Hanoi-created People's Peace Treaty (PPT) along with his wife Jane Fonda; an official of the Communist-dominated National Conference for New Politics-1967; planner of the United Front Against Fascism conference, 1969, along with Black Panther Party leader Bobby Seale; etc. He travelled to Hanoi in Dec., 1965, Oct. 28 and Nov. 4, 1967. He made speeches to U.S. servicemen over Radio Hanoi, Nov., 1973 and April, 1974.

His wife, Jane Fonda, is no innocent "babe in the woods" when it comes to radical/Communist causes though she joined the "movement" late. She has sponsored a banquet for identified Soviet

### Anti-South Vietnam/Cambodia campaign

In October (20-24), 1973, Hayden, Fonda, and other IPC members met with PRG Minister of State Nguyen Van Hieu and spokesman Ly Van Sau in Paris, as Ambassador Martin had made reference to. It was quite obvious that the IPC group received some type of instruction as to what their specific targets and tactics should be, because on Oct. 26-28th, a national "Anti-War Unity Conference" was held in Germantown, Ohio, which this writer attended. It was here at the conference that a new indigenous pro-Communist anti-South Vietnam coalition/campaign was laid out, with IPC as the overlord. Without going into all the details of the conference, it can be basically summed up in these generalizations:

1. Concentrate on cutting off all U.S. aid to the South Vietnamese police and prison system by using horror stories of wholesale torture, mass arrests, inhumane prison conditions, etc.

2. Concentrate on cutting off all but humanitarian aid to South Vietnam and Cambodia (no weapons, advisors, etc.).

3. Cut off all economic aid to South Vietnam...

4. Get congressmen and challengers to sign a made-in-Hanoi "Indochina Peace Pledge" in which they would pledge not to support aid funding for South Vietnam and Cambodia.

5. Force the U.S. to "abide" by the Paris Agreement of 1973 i.e. don't resist Communist aggression.

The "Indochina Peace Pledge" was made into a bill and submitted to Congress by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif). Dellums and Rep. Ed Roybal (D-Calif) are the two entry vehicles of the IPC to the House of Representatives, while it appears that Sen. George ("I would crawl on my knees to Hanoi and beg") McGovern and Sen. Ed Kennedy are the IPC channels to the Senate. Kennedy, as the chairman of the subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees, Senate Judiciary Committee, has been the leading anti-U.S. aid to South Vietnam and Cambodia spokesman on the Hill.

The "Hanoi Lobby" of the IPC was so sure of themselves that they revealed in their publication, *Focal Point*, Hanoi's "Three Phase" political struggle for a victory in Vietnam. In Phase One, "the PRG called on world opinion to support the (Paris) Agreement, issued a 6-point negotiation plan on April 25, 1973, and issued a special call on behalf of the political prisoners on July 22 (1973)." A review of the press and of Communist publications reflect this propaganda drive. By mid-summer, 1973, the "political prisoner" hoax was well under way. Even *Newsweek* published "horror" stories about the so-called "political prisoners" and their treatment, despite having been proven wrong by U.S. medical reports... It was VC sympathizer Don Luce who carried the political prisoner/Con Son Island "Tiger Cages" hoax on since 1970. His lies and distortions were fully exposed by Rep. Phil Crane (R-Ill) who twice visited Con Son Island and its "Tiger Cages." He found that the photos of the cells there had been deliberately distorted, that the prisoners were admitted hard-core sympathizers (he interviewed many of them), and that their treatment was quite good by Asian standards, and far superior to the real "tiger cages and pits" that American POWs suffered in for years in the jungles of Indochina.

Once the political prisoner ploy had gotten under way, it snowballed with Amnesty International, COLIFAM, Coalition to Free South Vietnamese Political Prisoners and other groups. Several pro-Communist delegations went to South Vietnam to find out the real situation and came back spouting the Communist line despite what they had seen.

Add to this such newspapers as the *L.A. Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *New York Times* promoting the lie that there are 200,000 political prisoners in South Vietnam, and you can see why Ambassador Martin remarked that Hanoi's propaganda drive was so efficient.

According to the IPC, the Second Phase of Hanoi's drive began on October 4, 1973, "when the PRG issued orders to its military forces to defend the liberated areas of Vietnam against Thieu's 'land-grabbing' and to strike back." You will notice that this order went out after the National Anti-War Unity Conference was planned but not before the IPC delegation went to Paris to check in with the Communists (PRG).

Hanoi began its Third Phase on March 22, 1974 with the release of the

## Pathet Lao Dominate Coalition Takeover in Laos



to transform the council from an advisory body to a kind of politburo, dictating policy to the government.

The peace agreement which both sides signed last year preserved temporary zones of control. The Pathet Lao control three quarters of the land but less than one third of Laos' three million people. In addition to their own zone, the Communists effectively have half interest in the free zone by virtue of their portfolios in the provisional government. None of the military information of the Pathet Lao is available to the provisional government, while all of the Vientiane information is available to the Communist secretary to the Minister of Defense. The basic position of the Lao Patriotic Front has been, "what's mine is mine; what's yours we will negotiate."

### "Constitutionally dubious" moves.

In order to increase the power of the Political Council, the Pathet Lao violated the Laotian constitution by undercutting the National Assembly. In a move that the most flexible of commentators have called "constitutionally dubious" the king was prevailed upon not to open the assembly. The National Assembly, elected during the war, includes anti-Communist elements not represented in the provisional government.

An 18 point Patriotic Front initiative has been issued by the council for the government's consideration. Typical leftist rhetoric, the program calls for the support of liberation movements everywhere and the development of a state economy. The United States and Thailand are called upon to respect the fundamental rights of Laos while no mention is made of the massive North Vietnamese military presence.

The terms of the coalition require the withdrawal of all foreign soldiers and advisers in Laos "illegally." All of the 140 U.S. and 4,000 Thai military personnel have already departed. No one expects any reduction in the over 50,000 North Vietnamese combat troops. The Pathet Lao is also expected to permit the North Vietnamese unlimited troop movements along the Ho Chi Minh trail in violation of the protocol.

The Pathet Lao have also violated the cease fire protocols by refusing to release an American war prisoner, Emmet Kay, a commercial airline pilot captured May 7, 1973.

The coalition is intended to be only a provisional administration until nationwide elections can be held at an unspecified future date. Until then the Communists will continue to administer the three quarters of Laos they already control. If the "patriotic" front continues at its present rate, Communist control of Laos may soon be sufficient to eliminate the need for elections entirely.

are. The Trotskyite Communists of the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance have placed into dormancy their National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). The Communist Party's "peace" front, the Peoples' Coalition For Peace and Justice (PCPJ), exists in name and personnel, but not presently as a functioning national organization. However, they do show up at international Moscow front meetings such as the World Peace Council, the World Congress for Peace, and the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam.

Some of the CPUSA's members in PCPJ or the WPC normally operate through other front groups or pro-Communist organizations such as the Chicago Peace Council, Women Strike for Peace, and the notorious Hanoi-created COLIFAM (Committee of Liaison with Families of US Prisoners War Detained in the North), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), National Lawyers Guild (NLG), Medical Aid to Indochina (MAI), and various so-called "religious groups": Clergy and Laity Concerned, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), United Methodist Church, United Presbyterian Church, and the National Council of Churches. These groups were delegates to the March 29-31, 1974 Stockholm Conference on Vietnam.

Tom Hayden is the brain behind the



vastating article by French leftist Oliver Todd entitled "How I Let Myself Be Deceived by Hanoi," September 1973, *Realites* (it can be found in the Congressional Record of April 23, 1974, pages S 6124-26). This French correspondent toured so-called PRG territories and had a hard time finding the PRG. He did find lots of North Vietnamese. Yet, Todd's most devastating comment is contained in the following sentence: "Finally—and this is without doubt the most important factor—the population as a whole does not long for reunification with the North under the latter's terms."

### Hanoi's political strategy

Perhaps U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam, Graham Martin, best summed up present Hanoi strategy when he said the following in a U.S. News & World Report interview in the April 29, 1974 issue:

...we had long been aware of decisions taken last fall in Hanoi to mount an all-out campaign this winter and spring to persuade the Congress to drastically reduce the magnitude of both economic and military aid to the Government of Vietnam.

Hanoi's plans called for the Stockholm International Conference on Vietnam to be the main co-ordinating



## Plight of Hungarian Catholics

by Andras Pogany, President  
Hungarian Freedom Fighters  
Association

The Roman Catholic Church in Hungary is today suffering its worst and most fearful period in its thousand-year history. Even to recount the events of the past three decades is a heart-rending venture for a Roman Catholic and for a Hungarian. Still, the full story has to be told in order to understand better the much-reported recent conflict over church-state relations in Hungary.

### The past

The Hungarian nation was born with the assistance of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church remained an inseparable part of Hungarian life for a thousand years. In old times many an archbishop or bishop died on the battlefield with the Hungarian Army. Many of them also served as diplomats, cabinet members or statesmen. Every King of Hungary was Roman Catholic, and as a successor of the first apostolic King, St. Stephen, had special privileges in appointing bishops up to 1918. Even between the two World Wars, Roman Catholic bishops were *ex officio* members of the Upper House in the Hungarian Parliament. The Archbishop of Esztergom, as Primate of Hungary, was also an *ex officio* member of the Crown Council, established by law to secure a peaceful succession when the Head of State became incapacitated or died.

In addition to its role in government the Church maintained and operated, before 1945, about 75 percent of the elementary schools in the Hungarian country-side; Benedictines, Cistercians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Piarists, Premonstratensian Canons and Jesuits were responsible for an important part of Hungarian education and literature.

Before 1945 the Hungarian Catholic Church also possessed great wealth emanating from the donations of King Saint Stephen of Hungary (997-1038) and was able to maintain numerous charitable, social and cultural institutions for the benefit of the Hungarian people. It could be safely said that the fate of Hungary and its Catholic Church were inseparable during their entire history.

### Under Communist rule: 1945 on

The arrival of Soviet troops in 1945 made radical changes in the life and social structure of Hungary. Although some contacts with the West survived until 1948, a *de facto* totalitarian Communist regime has been in power since the arrival of the first Soviet military units to Hungary. When the greatest obstacle of Communist domination was successfully removed by the cruel torture and imprisonment of His Eminence, Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary in 1949—an event which shook the conscience of the entire Christian world—the Catholic Church in Hungary was at the mercy of Soviet and Hungarian secret police agents and exposed to the hatred and cruelty of Matyas Rakosi, the Moscow-agent Communist boss of the Land of Saint Stephen.

The result of this tyrannical rule, first with Rakosi, later on after the Hungarian Revolution with Janos Kadar, the new Moscow-agent boss of Hungary can be best measured by some statistics.

Between 1945 and 1965 the number of ordained priests declines from 6,900 to 4,500. Seminarians declines from 994 to about 300.

Of the 2459 monks and of the 7525 nuns in 1945 about 400 or less in all were left in 1965; less than 5 percent of the original number!

Seminaries declined from 30 to 6, monasteries from 187 to 6, convents

from 456 to 2.

Of all the 3,163 Church-related elementary schools and the 32 Church-related teachers' colleges in 1945 none survived in 1965. Between these dates Catholic high-schools dropped in number from 49 to 8, Catholic periodicals and newspapers from 68 to 4, Catholic publishers from 50 to 2 and lay organizations from about 4,000 to 2.

Needless to say Catholic bishops lost their membership in the Parliament in 1945. The government also confiscated almost all Church possessions without any compensation which left the Catholic Church without any financial means from one day to the other. This necessarily meant a complete dependence on government subsidies which, in turn, were used by the State as an effective means of intimidation against the Catholic Church and its clergy.

But the greatest tragedy which struck the Church was the relentless persecution of the bishops and clergy, and the burning of a great percentage of existing religious literature in Hungary. From the mock-trial of Cardinal Mindszenty which resulted in his sentencing for life-imprisonment in 1949, the persecution of bishops and priests did not really stop until the outbreak of the Revolution in 1956. In this period of time, many bishops, leading Catholic priests and laymen were condemned or forced into exile. Almost all members of the religious orders were deported, compulsory religious instruction was abolished and all Catholic schools were closed in 1949.

Amid such circumstances and by means of shameless intimidation the Board of Hungarian Bishops was forced to sign an agreement with the government on August 30, 1949. All religious orders were disbanded except the Benedictines, Franciscans and the Piarists and also the School Sisters of Kalocsa, each of which could maintain two high schools only. Altogether eight high schools were returned to the religious orders by agreement with the understanding that only a restricted number of religious teachers could be retained for teaching: the rest of them, handpicked by the government, had to find jobs in civilian life, mostly in factories and were forbidden to live in religious communities.

For these so-called "benefits" the bishops had to recognize the Communist regime, and let priests take an oath of loyalty to the Communist government. The Church was also forced to give public support to the economic goals of the regime and to condemn anti-Communist activities. But even this was not enough for Rakosi. In May, 1951 the government established the Office of Church Affairs and this new Communist organization started appointing and transferring pastors and put censorship on the chancery offices and on individual bishops as well. In the very same year they sentenced Jozsef Grosz, Archbishop of Kalocsa, the ranking Hungarian prelate in the absence of Cardinal Mindszenty to 15 years in prison. This event led to a loyalty oath taken by all bishops now understandably terrified at the direct order of the government.

In early 1956 Archbishop Grosz was freed and permitted to take charge of the Hungarian hierarchy. After the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution Cardinal Mindszenty was set free by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, but the first years of the new puppet regime established by a vengeful Red Army, were as bad as during the Rakosi tyranny. Several bishops were imprisoned or deported again, and others were prevented from functioning. The state's strict prohibition against seminary recruitments, the complete state-control of seminary education—where seminarians were forced to have courses on dialectical materialism and on Marxism-Leninism—were signs of new and cruel

deprivation of the Catholic Church in Hungary. Religious instruction was actually prevented in Budapest and in other cities; all attempts by the hierarchy to establish contacts with the Holy See were frustrated again and again. Any priestly activity among the youth outside of the premises of the church was not only harassed, but severely punished as well. Seven priests were sentenced to long prison terms for teaching Catechism to youngsters as late as 1965. Atheism and calumnies against the Church were propagated by all the communication media and the Communist government fostered again the so-called peace movement for priests (Opus Pacis), an outright Communist front-organization.

To make things worse, there was also danger that the vacant or de facto vacant sees would be filled by totally unworthy government appointees. This consideration led to the Vatican-Kadar "protocol" of September 30th, 1964.

### The 1964 Vatican-Kadar "accord".

The "protocol"—not a treaty—does not mention Cardinal Mindszenty, but in it the Church received government permission:

First, to appoint five bishops to vacant sees and one bishop to an archbispicric see;

Second, to send a few Hungarian priests to Rome for higher ecclesiastical studies.

There were also some general promises made by the Kadar government about the freedom of episcopal government, of priestly ministry and of religious instruction of the youth. The Vatican also succeeded in preventing the appointment of government-selected members of the Opus Pacis to diocesan sees, a demand originally presented by the regime.

At the same time, the Vatican had to acknowledge the Budapest Government's veto-power over the appointments of Roman Catholic prelates and accept the fact of oppressive government interference with and full control of the day-to-day administration of the Church in Hungary.

### The Present

Hoping for a betterment of the ecclesiastical situation in Hungary, Hungarian Catholics neither questioned nor objected the 1964 Vatican rapprochement-effort with the Kadar regime. They sincerely hoped for a significant success of the Vatican's new move. Unfortunately a period of almost 10 years has passed by and we are now compelled to conclude that this new Vatican policy has proved to be a failure as far as Hungary is concerned.

What is the situation today in Hungary? The statement of Cardinal Mindszenty made public on February 6, 1974 in Vienna gives a short summary of the fearful problems facing the Hungarian Catholic Church: a bit more thorough discussion of it will make the Hungarian situation clearer and more visible to everyone.

As far as the highest hierarchy is concerned, still only about half of the dioceses are directed by bishops or arch-bishops; the other half are administered by apostolic administrators, some of them with the rank of titular bishop, some of them without. In the course of past decade "compromises" have been made in filling the vacant sees. These compromises made it possible for at least one member of the Hungarian Board of Bishops to become a visible and rather

eloquent representative of the Communist Government's propaganda machine. Unfortunately several higher-ups—not bishops—in the present-day Hungarian Catholic Church organization have the very same rather dubious background, while sitting in important and responsible Church positions in Hungary. This is what Cardinal Mindszenty's statement meant in saying that the administration of the Church in Hungary is in the hands of administrators classed and controlled by the Communist regime.

### Suffocating Presence

The Hungarian Roman Catholic Church, from an administrative point of view is in an even harder situation today, than ever before. Not only are the bishops totally intimidated by the direct pressure of the State; not only were they forced to "elect" as the Board of Bishop's secretary the Government-propagandist bishop, I mentioned before, but they have to endure the omnipresence of the Office of Church Affairs on all levels of Church administration.

The Communist State not only puts a strong censorship on the chancery offices and on the individual individual bishops' private correspondance, but through the Office of Church Affairs maintains a veto-power over appointments of new pastors, transfer requests, disciplinary actions or considerations of retirement applications. This, of course, results only in what could be called an *anti-selective process*. If a pastor is liked, can influence people, is honest, modest and lives a morally impeccable priestly life, his chances of landing in a far-away country-parish, attended only by a few score elderly people are very good indeed. If, on the other hand, a priest has a rather bad reputation, he may well soon be the pastor of one of the best parishes in Budapest. There are many instances which make this allegation a well-proven fact. As Cardinal Mindszenty stated in his February 6th, 1974 message: "The Church is not free today in Hungary. It is in chains and is being humiliated day after day by an atheistic, totalitarian regime."

### Seminaries

The seminaries are also in a very deplorable situation. Instead of the original 30, only 6 regular seminaries are now in operation. According to the latest reports, there are about 300 seminarians permitted by the Office of Church Affairs to be prepared for priesthood, and about 40 to 45 seminarians are ordained as priests every year. (As a small comparison: in 1938 we had about 2,000 seminarians and ordained 230 to 240 young priests a year.) And this is not the result of a lack of priestly vocation. The reason for the decline is simply the limit imposed by the Communist officials of the Office of Church Affairs. And while the admissions are limited to a very small number among the many who apply, according to very reliable reports, those applicants who are sent by the Government—youngsters with Party or secret police connections—have to be accepted by the seminary. These characters serve as informers for the Government and for the police, and also form a reliable nucleus—reliable from the point of view of the Communist Party—in the new generation of Roman Catholic priests.

### Religious Orders

I have already mentioned the frightening statistics concerning the religious orders. Each of the three remaining orders for men, the Benedictines, the Piarists and the Franciscans, and the

only remaining order for women, the School Sisters of Kalocsa, are allowed to accept only two novices a year, and not more. It is a well-known Government-initiated practice in today's Hungary, that the young novices are immediately called in for military service; one upon his acceptance by the religious order, the other one three months later. They have to serve three consecutive years in the Army as privates and are exposed to all kinds of physical and mental pressure in order to discourage them from their religious vocation. According to reports we have the Communists seldom succeed in doing so.

Hundreds of former monks and nuns are still working in civilian jobs and are forbidden to live in communities. And the new Vatican policy has not been able to help them.

### Death of religious education

According to the so-called constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic, freedom of religion is guaranteed for Hungarian citizens. This is true in the sense that everyone may attend Holy Mass, go to confession and partake in the blessings of the Sacraments. This does not mean however, that there are no serious discriminatory and punitive practices against those who expose themselves as believers. A citizen, fearing of and believing in God, cannot be trusted and is declassified to third or fourth rate citizenship. Teachers at all levels of the educational system are immediately fired if they are caught attending Mass or sending their children to religious education. Only confessed non-believers and atheists are permitted to teach the young Hungarian generation.

Religious instruction is allowed on paper, but in practice it has all but disappeared in Budapest and in the cities of Hungary. The pressure is so tremendous, the intimidation is so shamelessly strong, that most parents simply do not dare to risk their jobs by sending their children to religious education. It was most difficult even before 1956—and I could detail hazards during that period, as a father of six children in Budapest—but now it is almost impossible. Religious education is dead now in Hungary. Dead in the cities and dying in the villages, where the last vestiges of the ancient Hungarian village social structure are being systematically demolished. In the new order, with a quickly changing village population, the defense of religious education is weakened to a point of total annihilation. The right of spiritual self-defense is deprived from the Church in Hungary.

The result is a totally uneducated young generation of Hungarians, as far as God, religion and Church are concerned. They still have a strong desire to know God and to have answers to the basic human problems: life and death. Instead of the official teaching of the Church—which is not available for them—many young people create their own "private" religions put together by books read and by impressions received. The Communists failed to turn them into atheists: but they do not belong to the organized Church either.

But there is an even more frightful aspect of this new trend in Church-State relations. And this is the disillusionment of the faithful in Hungary who are fighting for their faith and for their Church. Meanwhile on behalf of more than 7 million suffering Roman Catholics in Hungary I urgently ask for your prayers for a nation and for their Catholic Church in a time of great distress, of great sacrifices and of great and painful disappointments.

## Hanoi Lobby from page 4



Christian Education, United Presbyterian Church of the USA.

### A "Munich" in the U.S.?

In summation, and I have left a lot out, the "Hanoi Lobby" is very extensive, well trained in propaganda, relentless in their pursuit of their goals (a Communist victory in Vietnam), and seemingly well financed. They have gotten important congressional support from both Communist sympathizers and from liberal dupes, as well as the liberal-left press and vocal media. They put out "the Big Lie" enough times that they became believed because the liberal media denies their opposition equal space/time. Religious groups, often led by well known Communist sympathizers, give the Hanoi Lobby office space, money, jobs, personnel, etc.

The Hanoi Lobby has been very successful and they may finally achieve a Communist conquest of Indochina, not on the battlefield, but on the floor of Congress. Men like Kennedy, McGovern, Dellioms, etc., and seemingly well financed. They put forth the Hanoi-line word for word and they have totally forsaken the traditional American concept of aiding those who want to keep their freedom from Communist totalitarianism. For the first time in our generation, the young people of America may see what a "Munich" is really like.

For many years our situation was frightening, but simple. On the one side were Cardinal Mindszenty and his fellow priests suffering in prison, but with them were the blessing of the Vicar of Christ and the prayers and loyalty of the Hungarian people. On the other side was the devil himself, the anti-Christ and his followers, represented in Hungary by the Communist Party and its secret and not-so-secret agents, among them excommunicated priests and members of the Communist front-organization, the Opus Pacis. We had many hardships in our everyday life, but we also had the promise of our divine Master: "Blessed are those who are persecuted for me."

### Change for the worse

Now the picture has changed and for the worse. This new Vatican policy has ended up only in giving without receiving. We can easily measure up the total bewilderment of our own in Hungary, who now cannot identify between good and bad or right and wrong in Church affairs, after seeing persons of highly doubtful repute being elevated to positions in the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy, thus seemingly bestowing upon them the sight of approval of the Holy See. Atheistic attack from outside, bewilderment and disillusionment from the inside are such heavy burdens that they can hardly be carried by the Hungarian Catholic Church for a very long time.

In short, the plight of the Church in Hungary still continues. From the Rakosi tyranny we fell into the Kadar oppression: more subtle, perhaps, but even more cruel and sophisticated than the other one ever was. The approach introduced by the 1964 Vatican-Budapest protocol, after 10 years of negotiations proved to be unsuccessful. That the February developments of 1974 did not improve Vatican-Budapest relations is evidenced by the latest occurrences in Hungary.

On March 20th, 1974, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party published a long statement on its policies. The text named two persons as mortal enemies of socialism: one of them Solzhenitsyn, the other one Cardinal Mindszenty, which proved that the Vatican's declaration did not change Cardinal Mindszenty's role as the favorite scapegoat of the Communist dictatorship in Hungary.

Even before this, the Office of Church Affairs called a meeting for young Hungarian priests in Budapest. Imre Miklos, head of the Office addressed them himself, pressuring them to join the Opus Pacis.

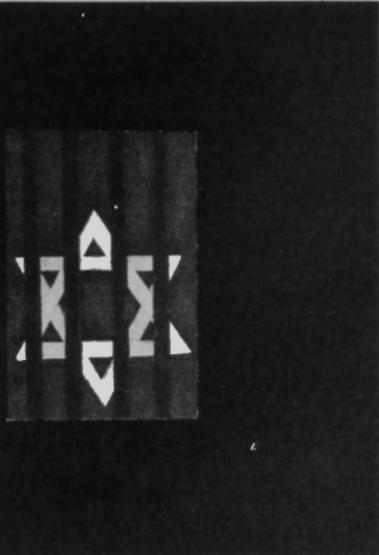
All this happened within six weeks of the memorable February 5th, 1974 Vatican declaration, which could hardly have influenced the Party cadres favorably toward the Church in Hungary at the facts, just mentioned, clearly show.

Seeing the plight of the Church in Hungary, should we despair? Never. A Christian can never despair. The Communists may mislead many but they can never mislead the Holy Spirit who lives in the Hungarian Catholic Church.

Meanwhile on behalf of more than 7 million suffering Roman Catholics in Hungary I urgently ask for your prayers for a nation and for their Catholic Church in a time of great distress, of great sacrifices and of great and painful disappointments.



## Roots of Soviet Antisemitism



First of a two-part series.  
by Stefan T. Possony

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the conscience of contemporary mankind, has called attention to the virulent antisemitism of Josef Stalin. That at the end of his life Stalin wished to emulate Hitler is no longer in doubt. That he was antisemitic at least as early as 1907 appears from his own writings. (*J. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1953, p. 51*). But the important question is, whether the Kremlin was, is, and remains in principle committed to a policy of antisemitic oppression?

### Incompatible in theory

The Communists deny they are antisemitic—such a policy would be incompatible with their "theory." Many Jews still seem inclined to honor this claim: forgotten are Stalin's pact with Hitler, and the killing of Jewish-Polish socialists and of Yiddish poets. Forgotten also is the liquidation of Czech and Hungarian party leaders of Jewish origin, who through weapon deliveries enabled Israel to survive in 1948.

Liberals and socialists often suspect that the notion of antisemitic Communism is little more than cold war paranoia. On their part, quite a few conservatives believe that Communism is a Jewish undertaking. By contrast, attentive and knowledgeable observers of the Soviet scene—Jewish and non-Jewish conservatives, liberals, socialists and ex-Communists—are persuaded that the Bolsheviks have been dedicated to antisemitic policies since their emergence in 1903 and that outright antisemitism has been practiced, with repeated ups and down, in the USSR since 1923. A particularly vicious persecutory wave occurred between 1949 and 1953. Antisemitism continued after Stalin's death, with merchants and intellectuals as prime targets.

It is widely believed that the Bolshevik party's membership was heavily Jewish. The facts are that before 1917 the Jews in Russia had their own parties or else flocked to the Mensheviks. In 1922, the CPSU, with a total membership of 23,600, included 958 Jewish members or 4 percent, exactly their share of the total population. However, ethnic Jews accounted for 28 percent of the party's top leadership. Subsequently, they lost most of their leadership positions. In the end, virtually all surviving prominent Jewish Bolsheviks were purged by Stalin.

### Background

The Communist classics were by no means free from anti-Jewish sentiments. As early as 1808, when Napoleon underwent an antisemitic phase, Charles Fourier introduced antisemitism into the socialist tradition. His follower Alphonse Toussenel, in a full-length book, propagated the thesis that the Jews are *The King of Our Time* (1845). Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in 1847 suggested the extermination of the Jews. However, he did so privately: the relevant text was published only in 1961, some 86 years after his death. By contrast, Eugen Dühring, one of the leading ideologues of the German social democratic party, came close to proposing genocide. After

politics. But he was hostile to Jewish political movements and to Zionism: the Bolshevik split of 1903 within the Russian Socialist Democratic Labor Party was based on his rejection of the ethnic policies advocated by the Bund, a Jewish group within the RSDLP. The doctrine that a nation without territory is "unthinkable" originated with Kautsky, but Lenin endorsed it in connection with the 1903 split, in which the Bolshevik (or Communist) party was born. Thus, contemporary Communism arose from a dispute on the Jewish question.

### Stalin's antisemitism

Stalin's book, *Marxism and the National Question* (1912), was destined to become the theoretical base of Soviet antisemitism. Following in Lenin's footsteps, Stalin explained that the Jewish socialists should not form part of their own but should participate in the all-Russian revolutionary movement. This was not unreasonable; and Stalin's "definition of nation," with which he buttressed his argument, is one of the better definitions in the literature. But his central contention—that the Jews are not a nation because they lack a common territory (and other common characteristics)—is hardly tenable.

Stalin was writing his book in imperial Austria whose complex national problems he had studied with some care. The Austrian socialists, who were assisting him, advocated that the various ethnic groups of the Hapsburg empire be provided with territorial self-government. Dispersed ethnic elements, which could not set up territorial administration, were to be given cultural autonomy and political representation. This was a new and constructive idea, yet Stalin did not buy it: within the tsarist Russian empire the Jews would have been the only group to benefit from the autonomy solution.

Otto Bauer, the Austrian socialist spokesman on the national question, was of Jewish origin and did not deny that the Jews are a nationality. But he alleged that in Eastern Europe the Jews were "without history"—*geschichtlos*, an expression which Marx employed to refute claims to national rights. In Central and Western Europe the Jews were ceasing to be a nation, Bauer asserted. Hence the Jewish proletariat did not need autonomy. Such a status would merely delay assimilation.

After Marx's death, Engels turned firmly against antisemitism. The switch was induced by Eleanor Marx, Karl's half-Jewish daughter, who had acquired a Jewish consciousness. She consorted with the Jewish proletariat of London, where she found scant confirmation for her father's statement that the "chimeric nationality of the Jew is that of the money man."

### Jews: a nation or "race?"

Engels, in his older years, regarded the Jews as a nationality. Karl Kautsky, his protege and the Bolsheviks' major font of theoretical knowledge, described the Jews variously as a "nation," "people," "race," and "caste." Kautsky contended that the Jews merely have a "semblance of nationality." As a gentle person he did not think about extermination. But he believed the "liberation" of the Jews would—and should—entail the dissolution of Jewry.

The Second International, the intellectual cradle of Lenin and his comrades, regarded antisemitism as "reactionary" but ascribed to it "a revolutionary function." Rosa Luxemburg, a Jewish herself, did not want the International to pass resolutions against the persecution of Jews in Russia—she preferred agitation about massacres of Armenians. Central European socialists viewed antisemitism as "the idiot's socialism." Usurpation of antisemitism by the European right ultimately cured the Second International from these proclivities, as well as from their inclination to draw tactical advantages from antisemitic voter sentiments. They continued to reject (non-existent) "philosemitism," a dialectic formulation disguising hostility as non-friendship.

Lenin was personally free from antisemitism and regarded, in 1913, the Jews as "the most oppressed and persecuted nation."

While he was running the Soviet regime (November 1917 to summer 1922), he did not tolerate antisemitic

Thus, the Austrian socialist doctrine prescribed that autonomy should be given to all dispersed ethnic groups, except the Jews. According to Stalin, no autonomy was to be granted to any dispersed group in pre-1914 Russia. This meant that of all nationalities within the Russian empire only the Jews were to be deprived of representation, on the ground that their existence as a nation was not proved and that a "nation whose future is denied" needs no autonomy. Lenin did not want to declare the Jews to be a nation, for fear that this would "bar the way to progressive assimilation."

On the eve of World War I, European socialists tended to regard the Jews as an anachronism. They also viewed Judaism as a major pillar of capitalism. With Marx they hoped for the "emancipation of mankind from Jewry" (*Judentum*).

### Beating the anachronism

The constitution of 1923 through which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed, reflected Stalin's theoretical work. Lenin disliked the

**In 1855 and 1856 Marx published articles in which he discovered a world conspiracy of Jewish bankers.**

scheme but was too sick to act. The constitution established organs of self-government for each nationality which occupied a historical territory. The small groups were constituted as autonomous or national *oblasts*, large nationalities were organized as autonomous republics, and the largest nationalities were designated as union republics. The dispersed groups were denied status. In the new state this denial no longer hit the Jews exclusively but also affected Koreans, Chinese, Kurds, Greeks, Bulgarians, Hungarians, and Poles. However, the Stalin-type autonomy did not save the Kalmyks (and others) from genocidal oppression.

The self-government rights which the Finns and Volga Germans enjoyed initially, were abolished and both groups were deported during World War II. Many Finns succeeded in leaving the country. The surviving Volga Germans were soon joined by Germans from conquered Prussian territories. At present

nearly 2 million Germans are living in the USSR, many of them in Kazakhstan, and all without ethnic political rights.

In 1917, a Jewish National Affairs office, later called Commissariat for Jewish National Affairs, was founded as a temporary agency. Since Lenin gave his approval, he must have modified his position. Jewish "sections" also were established within the party. During the 1920's, Jews formed many quasi-autonomous agricultural settlements. All those establishments disappeared after Stalin had consolidated his power.

On the tacit understanding that an ethnic group which has been deprived of its former territory could be given a new homeland, the Jewish Autonomous Oblast of Birobidzhan was established in the Far East during the late 1920's and officially proclaimed in 1934. But Zion-on-the-Amur never prospered. Its promoters perished in the purges, and Stalin, apparently, found forceful mass deportation impractical.

### Demographic loss

According to Soviet census data,

between 1897 and 1914. This means that by the beginning of World War I some 4.5 million Jews must have been living in Russia. If at present the Jews, like in 1897, were to account for 4 percent of the population, they would number more than 10 million individuals.

In part, this demographic deficit of the Jews was due to losses suffered during two international wars and the civil war, and to emigration. In so far as the losses of the Stalin period are concerned, some must be attributed to birth control and to the separation of husbands and wives through incarceration and detention in concentration camps. During the post-Stalin period, when the camps were filling up again, the Jews were by no means the only group which was hit. Representatives from all religious and ethnic groups were sent to jail, camps, and mental hospitals. But the Jewish rate probably is the highest.

It should be observed that Soviet camps are graded by severity. Those located in the Arctic regions, notably on Novaya Zemlya and Wrangel Island in the Arctic Ocean, are essentially extermination camps.

A portion of the absolute loss was caused by "assimilation," i.e., the successful passing of Jews into other nationalities. No dependable figures are available.

Taken together, assimilation and migration may account for a loss of 1.5 million between 1939 and 1970. Hence the disappearance of at least 1 million Jews remains to be explained.

Were the Jews hit with special severity by the series of Stalin's purges and by the slave labor system? According to all indications, this question must be answered affirmatively.

Furthermore, did the Soviet high command during World War II deliberately fail to evacuate Jewish populations, so that they got caught and were decimated by the Nazis? The Kremlin never complained that the Nazis exterminated large numbers of Soviet Jews. Nor does there seem to be substantial evidence about killing by Nazis which would explain the deficit of Soviet Jews. Still, we may assume that 150,000 were killed as soldiers and that 250,000 fell victim to war disasters and Nazi genocide. This leaves the provisional and cautious estimate that about 600,000 Jews were killed by Communist terrorism.

## Lessons Learned from Vietnam

by Irving Brown

Abbreviated version from Labor and International Affairs, Volume II, of the "International" Labor Program, Georgetown University. Copyright, Georgetown University. Used with permission.

Irving Brown, currently the European representative of the AFL-CIO, is formerly Executive Director of the African-American Labor Center.

What was the alternative to a major war in Vietnam? Prior to the involvement of great masses of American troops and officers in a war to maintain the rights of people to their own self-determination, the Western world could have supported the nationalist movement in those early days and helped them to attain their independence in a peaceful and democratic manner. This meant a political solution at a very early stage—at a stage when the Communists were not in complete control of the nationalist forces. In fact, the early post-World War II years, prior to 1953, were a period in which many nationalists were breaking with the Communists.

These were the years when men like Tran Quoc Buu, the present leader of the South Vietnamese labor movement, were refusing to go along with Ho Chi Minh and his cohorts while remaining nationalists dedicated to the struggle for independence. What appeared to be America's identification with French colonialism prevented a more active American policy of seeking out and encouraging the democratic mass movements within the country, who were not yet committed to the Communists.

Indigenous movements in colonial areas were not merely instruments of Communist propaganda or the creations of external powers. Many of these movements in their inception looked to the West and especially to the USA for

support and, in their early beginnings, the demands were moderate and perfectly consistent with a democratic way of life. The international Communist movement sought to win over these movements. But it was not always true that the Communists and the nationalists were in agreement. In fact, the early post-war years were replete with conflict between the nationalists and the Communists, not only in Vietnam but in many other areas such as Algeria.

### Missed opportunities.

This inability to understand that the national liberation movements were not necessarily directed against the free world was a fatal flaw in those years when it might have been possible to prevent major wars of attrition or, at least, have mass support against any Communist uprising or aggression. In those early post-war years most of the nationalist leaders saw their ideals and movements as a continuation of the original ideas and the ideals of the Western nationalist and revolutionary movement of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Many who had been Communists in the thirties had become disillusioned and broke with the Communist parties of Europe. Their eyes were turned to the West, not to the East—it was Washington, London and Paris, not Moscow or Leningrad that attracted them. It was the failure to continue our war for freedom against the Nazis in the post-war political arenas that began the process and provided an opportunity for the Communists to identify with the national liberation movement and support the all-out demands of the extreme nationalists.

The ideological and political factors present in World War II influenced most of the post-war political and trade union leaders. Former resistance leaders—Communists, socialists, Christians, anti-Communist leaders—all had a con-

cept of what the future world should be and they hoped and believed that the victory over the Nazis would usher in a new deal for them. Although much was achieved through the Marshall Plan, NATO, and the Truman Doctrine to reconstruct, rebuild, and protect Western Europe against possible aggression, there was a failure to cope with the ideological and organizational challenges of the post-war world.

This aspect of the post-war world can be understood if we realize that the Allied victory in World War II was won against an aggressor who was attempting not merely to conquer in a military sense but was also attempting to impose an ideology on Europe and the world. The Nazis were not concerned merely with attaining a military victory to rectify borders, national injustices, or to satisfy extreme expansionist and nationalistic aims, but to reorganize Europe and eventually the world on the basis of their National Socialist ideology. World War II is therefore to be viewed in the light of an ideological struggle involving the promise of fundamental changes.

World War II was a perfect example of how political forces and organizations in the enemy and occupied countries were employed to facilitate military plans. In this respect, the labor movements in Europe—especially in transportation—were a source of very important information about the movements of trains and ships by the Germans. The organization of a labor department in the U.S. Government's Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was extremely valuable in this respect and the International Transport Workers Federation became one of the important instruments for the organization of various forms of resistance to the Nazis in France, Germany, and Austria.

These same labor movements became the targets for the Communists late

in World War II—especially in the West. While the Soviets consolidated their position in Eastern Europe and used the trade unions there to nail down their power and eliminate all forms of opposition, the Communists in the West drove to take power, especially in France and Italy, by taking over whatever remained as symbols of the trade unions, after years of Nazi occupation, and continued to speak in the name of anti-fascist unity despite the fact that the war with the Nazis was practically over.

What was beginning was the attempt of the Communists to take power in Western Europe or, at least, deny power to the democratic forces who were now dedicated to the rebuilding of their destroyed economies. The lack of political policy on the part of the Western armies permitted the Communists to come back into control of the trade unions under the myth of Allied unity and with the material assistance of our allies in France and Italy.

A new resistance began as the former ally, the USSR, unleashed its Communist forces in Western Europe in an attempt to sabotage first the Marshall Plan and then NATO. It was at this critical juncture, 1947-48, that the democratic trade union forces split away from the united trade union organizations dominated by the Communists. It was this decisive move that may have prevented France and Italy from going along with Czechoslovakia in 1948, or at least prevented what may have become a military or paramilitary operation in the heart of Europe.

The general strikes launched by the Communists in France and Italy were stopped. The organization of a separate trade union force, dedicated to the rights of workers but unalterably opposed to the Communists, was a decisive factor in

(Continued on page 8)

# Terrorism

matter of striking at a hated enemy by dissident groups. There is a hard purpose behind this tactic. Police are a symbol of the existing order; they are also a major support of that order. To attack the police is to deal psychological as well as real blows against the existing establishment. Weaken the morale and effectiveness of the police and you weaken the entire civil structure.

Sixty-eight years ago the Bolshevik leader, N. Lenin, laid down the basic rules for terrorism: "The first objective is to kill individuals such as high officials and low-ranking members of the police and the army. The second objective is to confiscate money from the government as well as from private persons." On another occasion Lenin counseled: "... Assassinate a spy or blow up a police station... attack a bank to expropriate funds for an insurrection. Let every squad learn, if only by beating up police."

## Developed society more vulnerable

The more materially developed a society is, the more vulnerable it is to terrorist attack. One has but to look about a modern city and he will see an abundance of potential targets.

Aqueduct pumping stations and conduits, power stations and lines, telephone exchanges, post offices, airport control towers—all these form part of a city's nervous system.

One man can destroy a computer. One man can destroy a power generator and black out part of a city. One man can shoot down a plane. The capture of Palestinian guerrillas outside Rome who were planning to bring down a passenger plane with a rocket was an awesome and terrible indication of what terrorists with sophisticated equipment can accomplish.

As the communication, transportation, industrial and innumerable other types of equipment of our times become more and more complex, they also become more and more susceptible to attack. Ours is indeed a vulnerable society.

And what of the ultimate sophistication in terrorism, the little-mentioned but very real danger of nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists? In March 1973 a guerrilla group seized temporary control of a nuclear station in Argentina. The incident was a clear warning of what may happen in the future. More and more nations are achieving nuclear capabilities, more and more nuclear energy is being utilized for commercial purposes, more and more nuclear raw materials are being transported in this country and abroad. According to some estimates, within twenty-five years or so the annual production of plutonium in the United States will reach 600,000 pounds.

With the proper knowledge, and this is readily available in libraries, and the proper equipment, and raw materi-

als, terrorists can build simple but devastating nuclear weapons. And even if a terrorist group of itself is unable to build an atomic bomb, let us not forget that there are nations who have actively aided terrorist bands and who might not stop at providing nuclear weapons: Raul Castro once stated, "It is my dream to drop three atomic bombs on New York."

Gentlemen, take heed. This is not science fiction. This is reality.

## Ideological struggle

Combating terrorism, and better yet, preventing terrorism, is a whole new ball game. It requires new knowledge, new understanding, new concepts, new skills. The traditional methods used to catch common criminals are not adequate to handle a terrorist situation. The criminal is out to make money; the terrorist is out to destroy an entire social system. The terrorist is often young, well-educated, from the middle class, and idealistically motivated (whether one agrees with the ideals is another matter).

In combating the terrorist, therefore, authorities must realize they are engaged not only in a cops-and-robbers affair, but in an ideological struggle. It is in those terms that the battle must be fought, and it is on those terms that a battle can truly be won.

If there is widespread terrorism, there are social causes, and the state must recognize these and resolve them.

If there are isolated incidents of terrorism, the authorities must handle these so that small groups are not nurtured into large groups.

The authorities must understand the motivations and techniques of terrorists, and they must be able to cope with them without infringing on the civil rights of the general citizenry. Terrorism is the tyranny of fear. It must not be replaced with the tyranny of repression.

Gentlemen, I would suggest there are four broad areas in which the Federal government can justifiably and fruitfully move to counteract the threat of political and criminal terrorism. Terrorism in this country has been, to date, largely sporadic. Nevertheless, it clearly does exist and there are signs it is growing in intensity, and if this country should go through a period of economic depression resulting in social unrest, terrorism may well increase to a significant degree.

I would suggest, therefore, that thought be given to the following:

1. Vastly increased efforts by the Federal government to acquaint state and local police forces with the nature of terrorism, how to try to prevent it, what to do about it when it occurs. I believe the logical organization for undertaking this task is the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the Department of Justice.
2. Establishment of a central information bureau. This would have no

police powers. Its function would be to gather all obtainable information about terrorist groups and activities, abroad as well as in the States. This information would be made available to all law enforcement agencies. Federal as well as state and local. In addition, this bureau would prepare pamphlets or booklets of private instructions for private individuals and companies concerned that they might become the targets of terrorist activities.

3. Establishment of an independent entity which would be responsible for the security of all nuclear materials. This would include mining areas, manufacturing and power facilities, means of transportation and finished products, except weapons actually in the hands of the armed forces. The agency would be in direct charge of security at all Federal facilities. It would supervise security at private installations. It would be in close contact with law enforcement agencies. Federal as well as local, in order to be kept abreast of terrorist activities and possible threats to the nation's nuclear system.

4. A greater effort to acquaint the military with the problem of terrorism. Terrorism is a form of unconventional warfare, and the military must be more familiar with it than I believe they are. The military in a number of countries, notably in Northern Ireland, Uruguay and Argentina, have had to participate in efforts to quell terrorist movements. I don't believe American military need or will be called upon to undertake a similar effort in this country, but military installations and personnel are a favorite target of terrorists, military attaches are subject to attack, and it is conceivable that American forces operating abroad will at sometime be faced with the problem of terrorism.

In a word, gentlemen, I think a great deal more effort must be given to minimizing the terrorist threat. It is a very real threat. This honorable committee recognizes the peril. In recognizing the danger you are already halfway toward thwarting it. I am certain that you will continue to do all possible, within constitutional limits, to enable this country to meet this danger.

revisionism." In fact, he was the chief writer of the nine provocative letters opposing the Soviet Union in the Peking-Moscow polemics during the time of 1963 to 1964.

Following are some of the examples listed in the booklet:

1. Obstructing the circulation of Mao's thought and works:

The Maoists said that Teng never used Mao's thought to educate cadres and party members. In his long report on the revision of the party constitution to the 8th national congress held in 1956, Teng did not mention "Mao Tse-Tung thought."

In 1965 when the campaign of studying "Mao's works" was unfolding throughout the mainland, Teng said: "A student of physics cannot be considered as 'red and expert' by reading Mao's works all day" (in the late 1950's, students on the mainland were required ideologically to be 'red' and scientifically as well as technically to be 'expert').

In the name of the central committee, Teng issued a number of regulations to obstruct the compilation and publication of Mao's works. He said that no local authorities were allowed to compile and publish Mao's works unless permission was given by the central committee.

In March 1966 when "revolutionary masses" told Teng that the youth were anxious to get Mao's works and Mao's quotations, Teng repeatedly objected by saying: "The fifth volume will be made public soon. No works and quotations of Mao's will be published till the fifth volume comes out."

2. Attacking the "people's commune system":

At a party committee meeting of Heliangkang Province held in 1961, Teng bitterly attacked the "people's commune system" and openly defied "chairman Mao." Teng was quoted as saying: "Anything which is impossible to fulfill has to be changed, regardless of the party."

In the late 1950's, Mao adopted a leftist adventurist line on the construction of socialism. According to the Chinese Communists, the "three red banners" for the construction of socialism were: the great leap forward, the general line of the socialist construction and the people's communes.

Mao's "three red banners" policy resulted in a complete failure. Mao often boasted that the national economy flourished and the agricultural and industrial production increased. Teng held the opposite opinion.

At the 7th plenary session of the 3rd congress of the Chinese Communist youth league held in 1962, Teng said: "Now, it seems that we are afraid of expressing our views. Both the youth league and the party have the same feeling. There are no good clothes to wear and no good food to eat. The standard of living has been lowered. We have said too many big words..."

At the central working conference held in 1961, Teng said: "The improvement of our agricultural condition cannot be reached within 3 or 5 years. It will take 7 or 8 years." He added: "Now, we feel that the 'relation of production' is in tension. 'Relation of ownership' is in tension. Relations between the party and the masses and between cadres and the masses are also in tension."

Teng also said: "The excellent situations chairman Mao mentioned refer to political situations. Economically, we cannot say that the situations are very good. We should say that they are very bad."

"Quite a lot of peasants demand distribution of land... They have lost their confidence in 'collective economy'... Natural disasters are not the main causes. All the disasters are man-made."

5. Suppressing "Red Guard" organizations:

# Kim Il-sung

From the fifth year, in kindergarten, they learn to abuse the Americans and to play a few anti-American games. The children's TV program regularly shows feature movies dealing with the anti-Japanese struggle of the guerrillas and other revolutionary topics.

Six-year-olds go on to learn in songs and dances to express their thanks in such words as: "Who gave us our clothing and our daily rice?" or "The leader loves all children, and all children love the leader." At the same time, again and again, the children learn by heart the ideas and the epic of Kim Il-sung.

This memorizing is of great importance, and is more or less the only form of learning in the PRK. It goes as far as the university, and even cadres of the party boast of having memorized complete speeches and reports of the leader without leaving out a word. To a great extent this is done without understanding anything—in the Western meaning of the word...

At the age of eight, children enter the nine-year school, where they stay until graduating at seventeen. Now the playtime is over, and the competitive screw is tightened, and frequently there are severe examinations. All children obligatorily join the "Pioneers," graduating to the "Youth Organization" when they are fourteen. National culture and skills related to defense readiness such as sports, shooting, and basic technology, are stressed.

At seventeen the student leaves school and his future life is decided according to the economic plan of the government and the individual's qualifications, either into agriculture or industry as a worker, or directly to college.

In college, the students study according to a strictly scheduled plan of lectures and exercises, pre-set from the beginning to their final exams. Strictly controlled individual final exams are given. A student graduates by twenty-four and at twenty-seven is drafted into the army. "For all students, mastery of the ideas of Kim Il-sung and excellence in sports are most important. One who gets poor marks in either of these fields cannot finish his studies successfully."

Science education consists of rote memorizing of texts; Korean classical philosophy and history are studied mainly to make one proud of Korea's past; and Western history is studied according to the method of Juche; that is, one takes what is advantageous for Korea.

Even outside of school, the education of the people continues. In Pyongyang oversized loudspeakers broadcast songs and information about the party and praises of the leader from morning to night over a wide area. There are also loudspeakers in factories, and newly-built apartments are wired into the loudspeaker network.

News on radio, television, and newspapers consists mostly of home reports, and information about the outside world is given only if it involves the PRK directly. Such things as the reason for the division of the Korean peninsula and the origin of the Korean war are unknown to the North Korean people. Asked why this information is missing, officials answered "Koreans know better what is important for Koreans to know."

## Kim as father and despot

The PRK gave herself the epithet "Chollima Korea." Chollima means "one-thousand-li-horse," a mythical horse which could run 1,000 li (about four km) a day. It symbolizes great velocity, and today stands for the rapid building of socialism.

The PRK had the same problems as the Soviet Russians with land reform: farmers destroying their crops and cattle rather than giving them up, and so on. Even as late as the Party Congress of 1970, Kim Il-sung lamented the farmers' "egoism," indicating that the desire for private property is not dead in North Korea.

"In this country, work has a sacrificial character related to abstract achievement," Kurnitzky says. The workers, carrying on the regeneration learned in the schools, are organized into different organizations, such as the Women's organization, or "labor unions," which take care of the workers' political training. Every worker has a

record book for his achievements, in which the individual's output is registered by the foreman. Production goals are decided by the State, and become law once the decision is made.

In family life, the family unit is still declared to be something worthwhile, but while in former times it was the parents who found mates for their children, today it is mostly the party cadres, the functionaries in the plants, who take over this function. In this way Kim Il-sung, through his representatives, assumes the position of "father" to the North Korean people. Marriage is officially discouraged before the age of twenty-seven, and the sexes are kept strictly separate until then.

Concerning the true unity of the masses under such a system, Kurnitzky feels that "the leader is not only the loving father, but also, and above all, the oppressing despot whose power is transmitted through party cadres, and definitely produces potential aggression..." Presently these trends of aggression, which can be felt everywhere in the everyday life of the country, are directed to the outside, to the "liberation" of South Korea and the struggle against U.S. imperialism. From this point of view, discharge of the people's aggressive passions... is conceivable only as an immense blood-bath. The other possibility... is the liberation of the people from the despot... the murder of its arch-father." Such a revolution may be improbable; but it would be the pre-condition for any true liberation of the people..."

Adding to the above, it must be remembered that, just before the Korean war, North Korea was apparently united under its "beloved" leader; but when the UN forces, fleeing from the sudden invasion of Red Chinese troops, were retreating from North Korea in apparent defeat, 5 million North Koreans retreated with them, preferring to cast their lot with a defeated "imperialist" army than with the "socialist fatherland." In any future conflict, the deep-seated resentments of the North Koreans against their father-despot, Kim Il-sung, might find a similar opportunity for expression.

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In Mao's opinion, Red Guards and other youth organizations were the main streams in carrying out the "cultural revolution." Therefore, during the "cultural revolution," these "revolutionary organizations" were established in many schools on the Chinese mainland.

Teng's views on this point were contradictory with Mao's. Teng said: "Organizations set up among middle school students should be limited in number and subordinate to the revolutionary committees and the party as well as the youth league organs. Organization of 'Red Guards' should not be strengthened. It will produce bad results if the situation continues..."

6. Opposing the "prominence of politics":

Mao favored to "put politics in command." He thought: "A man with correct political thinking is equal to a man without a soul."

Teng did not think so. In a speech made at the secretariat of the central committee in the summer of 1962, Teng said: "At present, the most important problem is to increase the output of grain. No matter whether it is a black cat or a white cat, so long as it catches mice, it is a good cat."

According to the Maoists, Teng Hsiao-ping was virtually an arch-villain of the "cultural revolution," a chief enemy of Mao. They compared him to a time bomb set beside "chairman" Mao, and considered Teng's removal from power a great victory of Mao's "invincible thought," as well as an achievement of the "great proletarian cultural revolution."

## Significant comeback

Teng's restoration to the vice premiership is considered the most significant comeback in the turbulent history of the Chinese Communist party. It is substantially more important than any previous reappearances of disgraced officials and military leaders.

Views on Teng's ups and downs differ. Some say that he was forced down by the "leftists" and has been raised up by the same forces to replace Chou En-lai, in a transition period before they (the leftists) formally take over the state council. In this case, Chou's position is in great danger.

Others say that being an old friend and a long time assistant of Chou, Teng is hand picked by Chou to be his successor. This would indicate that Teng's rehabilitation is a major defeat for Chiang Ching's "cultural revolution" faction.

Teng's recent assignment to the special session of the U.N. General Assembly raised the speculations that he was on the way to succeed Chou. Some observers said that the trip was arranged to build up Teng's prestige abroad.

However, the ups and downs of Teng Hsiao-ping cannot be judged by common knowledge. It involves the illegitimacy of the Communist system and the ever-changing power struggle within Peking's hierarchy. Under Communist rule, everything can be changed overnight. Today's power holder may be tomorrow's No. 1 enemy. Not surprisingly, Lin Piao, once Mao's close comrade in arm and heir-designate, is now vilified by the Chinese Communists as a "bourgeois careerist, conspirator, traitor and double-dealer."

Teng's rehabilitation only represents the beginning of another episode of Peking's sabre-rattling power struggle. Its middle and end are yet to be seen.

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# Khmars

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than the other side," he said. "The other side needs six months to prepare for (major) military operations." The upcoming rainy season will be a further advantage to the Khmer army, the Secretary explained. "As the water rises and spreads over the land, the Khmer navy will be in a better position to conduct military operations."

Secretary Huong admitted difficulties in the government zone, primarily due to inflation. "However this problem exists everywhere in the world, not just in Cambodia," he said. "There is no problem in terms of the rights and freedom of the people, as there is in the Communist zones."

In support of his contention that the North Vietnamese and Vietcong alone were pushing the war, Secretary Huong cited the large number of "rallies" from the Communist side who had defected to the government, bringing their arms with them.

"In Pursat, more than 1,000 rallies defected last month. Rallying occurs everywhere; in some places more than others. From this I repeat what I said earlier: if the North Vietnamese and Vietcong withdrew, among Khmers there would be no problems."

At the 7th plenary session of the 3rd congress of the Chinese Communist youth league held in 1962, Teng said: "Now, it seems that we are afraid of expressing our views. Both the youth league and the party have the same feeling. There are no good clothes to wear and no good food to eat. The standard of living has been lowered. We have said too many big words..."

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5. Suppressing "Red Guard" organizations:

# Lessons Learned from Vietnam



The tragedy of Vietnam was that America had the opportunity to defeat the Communists before military intervention became necessary. Has America learned its lesson?

preventing France and Italy from being plunged into what could have been serious civil wars.

These same labor organizations played a leading role unloading the ships coming from the United States during the period of the Marshall Plan and NATO. In 1949 the French Communists had declared openly in an official communiqué that they would launch an "international campaign to prevent the loading and unloading of arms and equipment in the ports of all the countries of Western Europe." But the free labor organizations successfully opposed this Communist campaign.

## Book Review

### Cold War Not Over

Reviewed by Rosalie M. Gordon, Editor "America's Future," in the bulletin of the Council Against Communist Aggression.

*Is The Cold War Over?* by Anthony Bouscaren, 274 pages, Capitol Press, Washington, D.C. \$8.95

It is, in many ways, a tragic commentary on our times that Professor Bouscaren should have to ask, and answer, the question contained in the title of this invaluable book. Read most of the American press, look at network TV news, listen to many TV and radio commentators, hear the liberal pundits of the academy—they all either declare or assume that the Cold War is over. Seemingly, they have done a pretty fair job of selling that spurious notion to our people.

But it isn't over; it is, in fact, being waged as furiously as ever against the West and freedom by the slave-masters of Moscow, Peking and lesser Communist domains. Nobody is better qualified than Dr. Bouscaren to prove this fact of life in today's world—a fact we ignore at our peril. In taking "A New Look at Communist Imperialism" (his subtitle) he brings to his subject not only the hard facts and irrefutable documentation, but his own extensive knowledge and understanding of Communist ideology, aims and strategy. Besides being Professor of Political Science at LeMoyn College, he is the author of more than a dozen books and innumerable articles on this whole subject.

The question Dr. Bouscaren asks—and answers definitively—is of vital importance to the West and especially to Americans. For not only is the Cold War not over but, with a few exceptions here and there, the Communists have been winning it—and winning it with our help.

The author writes coolly, objectively and with interest-holding details about past, present and future phases of the Cold War. But the cumulative effect of his careful marshaling of the facts packs a terrific punch. On the diplomatic

front, he says, and proves, that "We have been mouse-trapped into accepting agendas favorable to the Communist side... Most remarkable about Communist expansionism is that it has taken place against the wishes of the people involved, and most of it occurred during that period when the United States possessed a monopoly of nuclear weapons."

#### Motivated by Ideology

These failures of the West in resisting and fighting successfully Communism's Cold War against us stem chiefly from our refusal to understand and accept the truth about Communism. Professor Bouscaren notes that "One reason for this success (in the Cold War) has been the consistency of Communist policy. It remains today essentially what it was before the first concessions were made." In other words, the only effect of western concessions to Communist demands never has been to make Communism more "peaceful" but to strengthen Communist policy. The Communists, says Dr. Bouscaren, "are motivated primarily by ideology, not by ordinarily accepted understandings of national interest. Once the ideological essence of Communism's foreign policies is recognized and firmly grasped, one can easily understand that no amount of flexibility, summity, East-West trade, cultural exchange or mutual understanding is going to dissuade Leonid Brezhnev or Mao Tse-tung from carrying out their programs."

To recognize, firmly grasp and easily understand this overwhelming fact of the world we live in is to know how to deal with it. Such recognition, grasp and understanding are available to anyone who reads *Is The Cold War Over?* Is it too much to hope that the West's diplomatic and political leaders, as well as its opinion-makers, would do so?

unionists from the "United" trade unions which the Communist Parties controlled. These were the years when the minority in the Communist-controlled organization really represented the great mass of people who wanted unions but not Communist revolution.

The Communists were defeated in their final objectives because entrenched national labor organizations rose up and refused to take the final step of a general strike which leads only to the destruction of the state or the decline and destruction of the trade unions. Ever since this defeat, the Communists have never been able to mount the same kind of militant, anti-governmental force that they achieved in the winter of 1947-48. And even though the non-Communist labor forces have remained an organizational minority, no major strikes can succeed in France if the non-Communists refuse to support them.

#### Struggle in Germany—1949.

In addition to the French and Italian experiences, there was the struggle for power in Germany which reached its highest point in Berlin in 1949. The Berlin airlift, a landmark in the post-war resistance to Communist aggression, could not have succeeded without the decisive action of the free German labor forces working in close cooperation with American labor and the Allied authorities in the besieged city.

This constituted one phase of what was an overall effort in Germany to prevent the Communists from taking over the labor movement of Western Germany. It was the building and creation of a positive democratic labor movement which permitted also the kind of miraculous economic recovery of Germany.

It is most unfortunate that trends in Western Europe today—and especially in the labor movement are moving once again back to the 1945-47 period of labor unity with the Communists, along with their political counterparts. The present rapprochement policy of the German government is having harmful effects on the labor movement. Once again, American labor is speaking out on this question and is appealing to those in Western Europe who oppose this trend to attempt to convince these official leaders not to repeat the disastrous errors of the early post-war period.

#### South Africa—another Vietnam?

Are we not faced today with situations that are potentially new Vietnams? Are not, once again, in Africa, Latin America and Asia new budding "wars of national liberation" if the rising political nationalist movements do not get some hearing and support in the West? What are we ready to do or say on the South Africa situation? If we wish to avoid an eventual war over South Africa in the future, then it depends on what we are ready to do in relationship to the nationalist movements of South Africa. It means support for the liberation movements and for those leaders who are still devoted to the principles of a democratic society.

Time is running out; we see once again that the "moderate" democratic leaders are losing momentum and means to carry on while the Soviet world is not only supplying material means and propaganda but counting on violent struggle or even an eventual war in South Africa in which Soviet-trained African cadres can overwhelm the existing regimes and reverse the whole peaceful, constructive and stable development in most of Black Africa.

There is real danger that the non-Communist forces will be unable to cope in the future through lack of support from the West. Any weakening of the democratic forces increases the chances of violence and aggression, involving the rest of Africa, while opening the door to the very forces threatening the peace of the world through so-called "wars of national liberation."

Unless we are ready to re-examine our position on nationalist movements in South Africa we shall be doomed to repeat the Vietnamese experience. For, in spite of certain national differences, South Africa today represents the kind of problem that Vietnam was some years ago before it became necessary to involve over 500,000 troops in a war of attrition. There is still a chance but are we ready and capable of dealing with this

challenge? Unless we are, it is certain that sooner or later this part of the world shall become another area of blood and violence.

There is still a chance to avoid a violent upheaval which can only benefit the Soviet and Chinese Communists. A challenge and a real opportunity exist for the Western world to achieve a peaceful democratic solution. It involves not only governmental policy but action on the part of American investors in South Africa. They can strengthen a process of economic development which is already under way in South Africa in spite of the legal restrictions of the Apartheid system. The very economic growth and expansion of the South African economy imposes de facto measures which are in contradiction with the law and doctrines of Apartheid. South African economic expansion can no longer rely solely on Europeans as a source of manpower. The need for black African labor is becoming more and more necessary and decisive.

If American investors begin to realize the permanency of African workers in the South African labor system, then they must realize along with all employers that not only must black workers be recruited but that they must be trained for skilled jobs and upgraded into supervisory positions. It is no longer only a question of humanitarian considerations but a practical requirement for investment. Any business outfit dealing at all with South Africa must begin to establish to some degree labor standards and practices already existing in the West. To the extent to which this can be done, it could not only benefit the economy of South Africa but could contribute to the political process of eroding the system of Apartheid. American and other Western governments should urge private investors:

a. Extend trade union benefits like collective bargaining to all workers, black as well as white.

b. Include black workers in pension schemes which are still of a voluntary nature.

c. Include Africans in training and apprenticeship programs.

#### The problem of propaganda

At this point, I wish to deal with the problem of propaganda and organization. For Communists and their allies what is fundamental is the organization and not the propaganda *per se*. While engaging in propaganda or in any attempt to cope with Communist propaganda, it would be a serious mistake to envisage this problem as merely a battle of leaflets or posters. These are end products and not things in themselves. The force of any propaganda is in direct proportion to the strength of the sponsoring native organizations. Communist propaganda is a factor only to the extent that the roots of its organizations are really deeply embedded in the national economies, as well as the political and social life of the respective countries. Communist propaganda is not necessarily good but the issues which the Communists exploit are!

We must, however, return to the original question: How to achieve a viable, secure democratic state? Since no one is opting for all-out military victory, there must be an eventual political solution, which depends on internal, national, indigenous movements, primarily political and trade union organizations. Thus we have come the full circle in Vietnam to substantiate my original thesis. To sum it up, let me recapitulate what appears to have developed into a history of four stages:

#### Vietnam War's four stages.

1. The revolt in Indo-China began as a political nationalist movement in a struggle to throw off the colonial system. At an early stage a political solution could have been in the making if we had devoted the same amount of political intelligence and energy to nationalists that we had devoted militarily to the support of all nationalists in the struggle against the Japanese.

2. Having failed in the early period of separating out the true nationalist forces and supporting trade unions and rural movements—we became identified with the French and then failed to be able to check the excesses of the Diem regime, which started out with so much hope and promise. In fact, the rise of the Vietcong coincides with the destruction of the free trade union forces by Diem's brother in 1957-58. Prior to this, the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor had been a dynamic organization with tremendous influence in the farm areas. Diem recognized this in the early years of his reign and worked closely with

Tran Quoc Buu, supporting the idea of the Tenant Farmers Union and recognizing this indigenous force as a major barrier to the Communist-controlled insurgents.

3. After the events of 1958 and especially after 1961, the military stage became predominant and this has continued and reached its peak during the Tet offensive of 1968.

4. Now, as the USA has left Vietnam militarily, the political issue of the immediate post World War II period returns to haunt us. Vietnam will have to rely on internal democratic forces: on those who have contact with and support from the city and country labor organizations with their "Water Buffalo" insignia now seen all over Vietnam. For they have rebuilt and reorganized their movement, especially among farmers.

The Farmer Labor Party has secured approximately one third of the votes in the provincial and parliamentary elections. And if our aim is to establish a South Vietnam which is free, united, independent, politically stable and economically expanding, how can we not come to realize that these very indigenous forces like the labor movements must not only be permitted to grow and expand but be encouraged?

In dealing with the propaganda and the making of foreign policy, account must be taken of the fact that the rise of the Soviet Union to a world position has fundamentally changed the nature of diplomacy, especially as related to the non-governmental areas, where propaganda and organization problems are intimately connected. The Soviets in their non-governmental operations appear not as the representatives of a country but as the symbol or incarnation of an idea which has taken root amongst great masses of people. The Soviet Union is a symbol not of a geographical unit but a great idea, no matter how deformed or degenerate that idea has become over the last fifty years.

On the other hand, American operations in the field of information and propaganda tend to appear as a defense of a country, or a geographical unit irrespective of or almost hostile to any ideological concept. Purely governmental information cannot compete with indigenous organizations speaking and working for an ideology.

Even the setbacks in world opinion which the Communists suffered as a result of their crushing the fledgling democratic forces in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Russia itself resulted in a curious trend, whereby the Communists, especially in France and Italy, appear as the champions of a "liberalized" form of Communism and have criticized the Kremlin's behavior. This highlights the ineptness of the West to exploit these propaganda issues. In fact, it almost appears as though the Communists were making a successful effort to take anti-Communism away from the anti-Communists.

Can America cope with this kind of a propaganda and organizational situation in the world today? Is it possible to meet the revolutionary and ideological offensives which have become more diverse, less monolithic in appearance, but yet remain totalitarian and aggressive in spirit and act? America has three choices:

#### More of the same.

The first option open to us is to continue with the policy that led to Vietnam. This obviously has little appeal.

The basis of this policy is to support all alleged "allies" irrespective of their policies on the colonial question and to deny assistance to those forces seeking democratic change in the status quo, especially in the Third World. The failure of this policy in Vietnam and the potential failure of this policy in other places such as South Africa, has been outlined in this essay. While it may be difficult to change a policy which we have followed for some time, this must be done if we are to avoid repeating past mistakes.

#### Withdrawal.

A second policy choice is to withdraw from all involvement in the Third World and particularly those areas where our involvement could lead to military engagement. We could try this and we could avoid involvement for a while. But if we do this, we will be turning our backs on large numbers of people who are striving to improve their lives by building trade unions and other democratic institutions. If we were to abandon them, the door would be wide open for the totalitarian forces to take over.

#### Actively support democratic elements.

The third option is to actively support democratic elements both morally and materially. We can counter the Communists' organizational and ideological offensive and at the same time improve the lives of the people in the Third World by proceeding along the following lines:

1. National liberation and anti-colonialism are not necessarily directed against the West. Rather the opposite is true, namely that the source of the ideals of the anti-colonialists can be traced to the West and to the revolutionary ideas and actions of the 18th and 19th centuries.

2. The world conflict is not between two geographical and national units, the USSR and the USA, but between free, open societies as against dictatorial closed ones.

3. The major issue in the world is not the conflict between "capitalism" and "socialism." In other words, it is not between free enterprise and collectivism. For, as General Clay once said: "We Americans believe in a system of free enterprise but believe even more in Freedom and Democracy."

4. We must work with and support national organizations abroad, especially in the labor and youth sectors. The West must carry on the fulfillment of the original ideals of the American English and French revolutions while exposing the Soviet regime as having destroyed its revolutionary ideals and physically liquidated or exiled most of its Founding Fathers.

Many will say that what I am advocating cannot be done. Yet the greatest confirmation of my proposition has been brilliantly set forth by a Frenchman, Jean Francois Revel, in his recent book *Neither Marx Nor Jesus*, which has already become a best seller in several countries. He affirms the idea of America as a revolutionary idea and force in the world today. Revel, who is a leading writer for two major French publications, *L'Express* and *Le Monde*, opens his book in the first sentence by affirming: "The revolution of the 20th century will take place in the USA. It can only take place there."

Can we, as Americans, fail to meet this revolutionary challenge?

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