



# The Rising Tide

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Young "Chetniks" hold portrait of Mihailovich at Capitol Hill memorial service.

## Monument to Yugoslav Patriot, "Savior of American Airmen," Planned Movement to Honor Mihailovich Launched

by Hal McKenzie

"We heard from American intelligence that if we were caught by the Chetniks they would cut off our ears and hand them over to the Germans," former Texas Senator Mike McKool said. However, when the then Sergeant McKool was shot down over Serbian Chetnik territory in World War Two, he experienced the opposite of the official warnings. "The Serbian people opened their homes to us," he said. "They gave us their beds, they gave us their food, even though they didn't have enough for themselves. They fought the Germans at every turn. I saw an entire town that had been wiped out by the Germans!" The emotions in the crowded banquet hall rose as the short-statured Texan warmed to his speech. "The charge that General Mihailovich collaborated with the Nazis is the biggest lie in the history of the world!" The audience, mostly Serbians, roared their approval. Old Chetniks, middle-aged Serbian emigres and American-born youngsters in traditional costumes rose to cheer the man that their national hero, General Drazha Mihailovich, had saved.

During World War Two, General Mihailovich's Chetniks (meaning "fighter" in Serbian) saved over 500 American airmen who were shot down over Yugoslavia. Most of them were evacuated to safety by a series of dramatic air rescue missions, which picked them up in the heart of Axis-occupied Yugoslavia and flew them to Italy. (See the article on page 4.) This happened soon after the Allied command had decided to withdraw support from Mihailovich, abandoning him, for political reasons, in favor of the Communist dictator Tito and his so-called "Partisans." Communist infiltration of Allied Balkan intelligence, plus Communist propaganda had succeeded in deceiving the Allied leaders, partly by spreading false allegations that Mihailovich was a Nazi collaborator. Mihailovich paid with his life, executed by the Partisans on July 17, 1947; the Yugoslavian people paid with their freedom because of Allied gullibility.

Now, nearly thirty years after their rescue, a group of the American airmen involved organized themselves into a National Committee of American Airmen rescued by General Mihailovich and launched a movement to build a memorial in Washington to "General Mihailovich, Savior of American Airmen." The monument is planned to enshrine in bronze the names of the airmen rescued by Mihailovich, plus the citation for the Legion of Merit given posthumously to Mihailovich by President Truman in 1947. This citation and award had been kept secret by the State Department for twenty years until Congressman Derwinski uncovered it, and made it public in 1967. (See TRT, July 15, page 1.)

On Wednesday morning, July 17, the anniversary of Mihailovich's execution, the airmen through the cooperation of Congressman Derwinski and David Martin, Senior

Analyst of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee held a memorial service on the steps of the Capitol, followed by a luncheon at the Washington Hilton Hotel. About 500 people from as far away as Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Toronto bussed down for the event.

The Capitol steps became enveloped in an Old World atmosphere as the crowd of people, some holding banners, flags and signs, others holding portraits of the bearded General Mihailovich, others wearing traditional costumes, most speaking their native language, milled about on the plaza. The crowd finally collected itself around a large portrait of the General accompanied by several bearded, black-robed Orthodox priests and people holding American and Serbian flags. They moved slowly

like a religious procession, to the area where a microphone had been set up. Congressman Derwinski introduced Bishop Ireney of the Serbian Orthodox Church of North America, who gave the invocation. He changed the verses in Serbian, with the people responding in mournful, resonant tones in the Orthodox manner.

Speakers at the service included ex-Senator Frank J. Lausche and Congressman Philip Crane of Illinois. Among the airmen who spoke were Lt. Colonel John E. Seroggs of Kansas City and Lt. Colonel Charles L. Davis of Falls Church, Virginia. George Musulin of McLean, Virginia and Nick Lalich of Baltimore, Maryland, the American officers who were in charge of the Air Rescue Operation, also participated.

Senator Lausche said, "Probably no man in history suffered more injustice than Drazha Mihailovich. Today should be a day of prayer - a day of retribution - a day of confession for all those who participated in the execution of Mihailovich."

One of the greatest tributes to Mihailovich, and the strongest exonerator of any taint of collaboration with the Germans, was given by Colonel Robert H. McDowell of Florida, chief of the last American Mission to Mihailovich. "I had access to German intelligence documents after the war," the colonel said at the luncheon. "By their own words, the Germans showed that they feared Mihailovich more than any other resistance leader, far more so than Tito."

## 15th Captive Nations Week, July 14-20, 1974

### Captive Nations Belie Detente

by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University is the chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Little is recognized or understood in the Free World that the essential freedom message of the two towering Russian intellectuals, Andrei Sakharov and Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn, conforms almost precisely with the established captive nations analysis. In calling for the withdrawal of Russian power to the national borders of Russia and the renunciation of Marxism-Leninism they, and countless behind them in the USSR, are in essence calling for the freedom of the crucial non-Russian nations in the USSR, the surcease of Russian imperio-colonialism, and the open admission of the bankruptcy of Marxist philosophy in the whole area of the captive nations. Both strike at the foundation stone of the captive nations analysis, namely the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR, the first victims of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, and both point to this basic analytical structure of thought without which the conception of "a structure of peace" in our time cannot but become a colossal illusion.

#### The 15th Anniversary of Captive Nations Week

A no finer national forum for the discussion of this basic issue and the growing illusions of detente could be had than in this year's annual observance of Captive Nations Week, July 14-20. The 1974 Week will be the 15th anniversary of the Captive Nations Week Resolution, passed by Congress in July 1959, and signed into Public Law 86-90 by President Eisenhower. Fifteen years ago, as one account puts it, Vice President Nixon visited Moscow and at the very start "Khrushchev was furious about the captive nations resolution, saying 'It stinks and is provocative.'" Now, fifteen years later, President Nixon meets with Brezhnev in Moscow, and Russian freedom voices enunciate the fundamental contents of the resolution. Personalities on the diplomatic stage will come and go, but the historico-analytical framework to which the resolution is girded, remains the same.

In each year since 1959 the third week of July has been marked by a presidential proclamation of Captive Nations Week, similar proclamations by most of our State governors and mayors of large cities, observances of the Week in Congress and by committees throughout the country, and with even some 17 foreign countries participating in the event. With one-third of mankind still in totalitarian, Communist captivity, no broader object of concern for human and national rights and independence exists than in the context of the captive nations in toto.

#### Nations

All the diplomatic flurry, motion and summitry of the past few years haven't made a dent in the overall structure of the captive nations. The simple historical truth is that an enduring structure of peace cannot possibly be founded on a permanent structure of captive nations, extending from the Danube to the Pacific and into the Caribbean. The ultimate and determining question is whether detente, as presently conceptualized and developed, can accommodate not so much the oppressive Red regimes but more so the liberating forces in the captive nations and peoples themselves.

Part of the antidote to present illusions of detente is surely a memorized review of the long list of captive nations:

Year of Communist domination	
People or nation	
Armenia	1920
Azerbaijan	1920
Byelorussia	1920
Cosackia	1920
Georgia	1920
Idel-Ural	1920
North Caucasia	1920
Ukraine	1920
Far Eastern Republic	1922
Turkestan	1922

Mongolian People's Republic	1924
Estonia	1940
Latvia	1940
Lithuania	1940
Albania	1946
Bulgaria	1946
Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia,	
etc., in Yugoslavia	1946
Poland	1947
Romania	1947
Czecho-Slovakia	1948
North Korea	1948
Hungary	1949
East Germany	1949
Mainland China	1949
Tibet	1951
North Vietnam	1954
Cuba	1960

It should be stressed that almost half of the captive nations are in the Soviet Union itself. Of these, most were conquered by Soviet Russian force after World War I and forcibly incorporated into a newly-formed empire-state called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the end of 1922. They form the foundation of Moscow's outer empire in Central Europe, Asia and Cuba.

As emphasized during the '73 Week, the unstabilizing effects of detente with both Peking and Moscow and avoidable diplomatic compromises have placed additional burdens on the threshold of becoming captive ones.

A weakening of our alliance with the Republics of Korea and China, signified especially by any withdrawal of full diplomatic relations with the latter, would open up opportunities for their potential Red aggressors. The compromised situation in Vietnam, where three "Vietnams" now exist, the convenient Laotian coalition government, and the deep vulnerabilities of Cambodia form a staging area for continued North Vietnamese aggression, backed up primarily by Moscow.

#### Moscow's Troika Policy

For an evaluation with perspective and understanding of these prospective developments and the illusions of detente, the concept of Moscow's traditional troika policy is indispensable.

As elaborated in the '73 Week, the troika consists of (1) the anchor horse racing toward a controlled, totalitarian and imperialist consolidation within both the inner empire in the USSR and the outer empire in the so-called satellite states of Central Europe; (2) guided by the effective "peaceful coexistence" sub-strategy, the second unit pointing in the direction of a divide-and-subvert process in the West; and (3) the final part, still generated by "wars of national liberation," galloping in a progressive infiltration and undermining of the less developed areas of the world. Each part of the troika is continually reflected by some notable, varying current events.

Viewed globally, the Cold War in its real sense has not diminished; as manipulated by Moscow, its gears have sim-

(Continued on page 6)

## France Faces New Directions

from AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News June, 1974

By Irving Brown

Giscard d'Estaing scored a great personal victory in the French elections for President on May 19. In a record-breaking turnout of 88 percent of the voters, the new President-elect defeated his opponent, Francois Mitterrand, by the narrow margin of 50.66 percent to 49.33 percent, or by a difference of approximately 350,000 votes out of a total of 27 million.

Mitterrand was rejected, on the other hand, not so much for his personality, or his past which many Frenchmen dislike, but above all for his common program and alliance with the Communists. What is even more remarkable is the fact that Giscard has occupied the usually unpopular position of Finance Minister since 1969, during a period of

accelerated inflation which is now reaching an annual rate of 17 percent in France.

#### Gaullists in Disarray

The vote was not only a rejection of the Socialist-Communist alliance, but may also have marked the decline and perhaps the end of the Gaullist movement in France. After 16 years of uninterrupted power, the Gaullist movement is now in serious disarray, especially after the defeat in the first election round on May 5 when the Gaullist Party (UDR) backed Jacques Chaban-Delmas, a former Prime Minister under Pompidou and the present Mayor of Bordeaux.

Although defeated by a narrow margin, the so-called "Left" scored significant gains, going from 45 percent in 1965 to almost 50 percent of the vote on May 19. Nor can one ignore the fact that more than 70

percent of the workers and a very important percentage of the technicians and supervising personnel voted for the candidate of the Left, as did an important percentage of youth. The close vote reveals that France is still divided in terms of the outmoded Left-Right classification of the 19th century.

However, in voting for Giscard, most Frenchmen reflected the feeling that Mitterrand's alliance with the Communists threatened not only the liberty of Frenchmen but also the economic record of France, which was relatively good in spite of the recent inflation. France has become an industrial power second only to Germany in Europe, and the standard of living has been improved for the great majority of people.

For the future, the new government will have to contend with the major problem of inflation and a growing balance of payments deficit. (Continued on page 7)

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# Captive Nations Struggle



## Quality of Czech Daily Life Declines

From "The American Bulletin"

Cedok, Czechoslovakia's government travel agency, is very busy; hotel space is fully booked for the summer months and it seems that tourist business will prosper.

The traffic moves in one direction: from West to East; citizens are not allowed, for the most part, to travel from East to West, but are encouraged by attractive offers to visit countries of the Soviet bloc. Following the sun, many Czechoslovaks — if financially able — will be going to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc.

Western tourists, arriving by plane in Prague, do not realize that the Czechoslovak border is closely guarded and sealed to its own citizens. To watch-towers, electrically charged barb-wire, armed border guards, dogs, etc., have been added infrared reflectors along the Austrian frontier (*American Bulletin*, April, 1974).

The situation on the Czechoslovak-West German frontier was described in *Time* magazine. The facts have been known for a long time but many Americans, traveling by air, fail to realize the true situation as it exists for local inhabitants. The area along the border on the Czechoslovak side has been made into a no-man's land. Farmers have all been moved out and their former homes are falling apart. Larger buildings are used by Czechoslovak guards and soldiers.

The grass is closely cut and no cattle ever grazes in the fields. Electrically charged barbed wire fences make escape difficult. Instead of the former system of mined fields a network of highly sensitive microphones is used in detecting the slightest sound along the border. As a reward is paid to guards for the capture of a would-be escapee, bounty-hunters are known to pursue the victim over the frontier into West Germany or Austria.

### THE RETURNEES

A small number of Czechs and Slovaks who fled to the West after the Soviet invasion of their country have returned home. They have returned for several reasons: in some cases, they came back to their families when their wife, children, parents, etc. were not allowed to emigrate and all efforts at reuniting the family were of no avail. They believed the government promise of amnesty if they returned within a specified time. Some had been sending home well-earned money for the support of the family and even for the purchase of an automobile and other property.

What happens to these returnees is still not certain but it seems that the same rule does not apply to everyone. There may have been cases of a father returning quietly to his wife and home. Many others, however — and this may apply to the majority — have not been so fortunate. Arriving in Prague, they are placed in a detention center, deprived of any contact with the family for several weeks, and interrogated repeatedly. During their absence their apartment and other property have been confiscated, for amnesty does not apply to par. 51 of the Penal Code, to transgressors who left the country illegally. Therefore, a returnee forfeits his property according to the Decree of the Ministry of Justice and not even a Presidential Pardon can be applied to him.

### Ukrainian sentenced to death

The Volhynia oblast court in northwestern Ukraine recently sentenced Stepan Panasyuk to death for his wartime activities. Panasyuk, who worked as a carpenter at a collective farm in the Crimea, was accused of being a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and of aiding Nazi occupation forces in murdering several Communist activists in the Volhynia region. An article in the March 26 issue of *Soviet Ukraine* called his sentence a "just" one. During the past years Soviet authorities have executed several Ukrainians on the pretext of "war crimes." These Ukrainians are widely believed to have been simply a part of the Ukrainian nationalist forces which resisted Soviet occupation during the war.

### Suicide Protest

A factory worker in Dnipropetrovsk in east central Ukraine jumped into a vat of molten iron in an apparent protest over discrimination against Ukrainian factory workers. The incident occurred last June and was immediately followed by a general strike at the factory. KGB forces threatened the strikers with arrests and forbade any further strikes. Dnipropetrovsk has been the site of several violent strikes in the past.

screened. In Lviv several prominent scholars and instructors and researchers have been dismissed from work. In many cases students have been deprived of their scholarships and even senior students have been dismissed from the University Party and Komsomol meetings continually warn of the dangers of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" which, along with "Maoism, Zionism" and "capitalism," in trying to destroy the USSR.

### Arrests in Sub-Carpathian Ukraine

The KGB began a wave of searches and arrests at the end of last year in the sub-Carpathian region in Western Ukraine in an effort to crack-down on "anti-Soviet activity." Those arrested include Iva Raf, instructor at the pedagogical institute in Drohobych; Khrystyna Pidsadyuk, Komsomol member and university librarian; Kuzma Datsiv, civil engineer.

### Anniversary observances forbidden

Information received from Ukraine states that the planned observances of the anniversary of the greatest Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko would not take place this year. The observances, traditionally held in Kiev and Lviv, were forbidden by party organs. In the past such observances were always manifestations of the Ukrainian national spirit and led to several arrests and interrogations. Following the party decision, student demonstrations flared up in both cities and several students were arrested. Re-

## Ukraine: The Irrepressible Ukrainians Suffer Mass Repression

from News from the Ukraine

The KGB terror continues to rage in Ukraine in an effort to destroy the movement for human and national freedom. Noted British expert on Soviet affairs, Peter Reddaway, recently stated that among "the most persistent dissenters are the irrepressible Ukrainians, who now have widespread conspiratorial groups demanding their rights and the considerable sovereignty guaranteed under the Ukrainian and Soviet constitutions." Among recent developments:

### Vasyl Lisovy

Researcher at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, arrested in 1972 in Kiev. Sentenced in December to 5-years in a labor camp for "anti-Soviet agitation." Lisovy had written to the Ukrainian Communist Party and the KGB protesting the 1972 mass arrests and the repressions of Ukrainian intellectuals. He was also accused of distributing underground publications.

### Yevhen Proniuk

Former educational co-worker at the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, arrested in 1972 and sentenced to 3 years in labor camps and 4 years of exile for allegedly trying to distribute 70 copies of Vasyl Lisovy's letter to party and secret police officials.

### Boris Zdorovets

Popular leader of the Baptist movement in Ukraine, arrested in May 1972 for organizing a large scale prayer meeting near Kharkiv in north-eastern Ukraine. Brutally interrogated by the KGB and detained without trial for over a year, he was finally sentenced last August to 3-years of severe regime and 7-years of exile. Zdorovets was first arrested in 1961 and served 7-years of prison and 3-years of exile, later returning to Ukraine. He is an invalid and is reputedly a very powerful and moving speaker. At his trial he conducted himself with dignity and protested his unlawful arrest and conviction.

Information concerning Ukrainian intellectuals and dissidents arrested and convicted some time ago continues to arrive from Ukraine:

### Taras Melnychuk

40-year-old poet, sentenced in 1972 to 3 years of hard labor for dis-

tributing "anti-Soviet literature." First investigated by the KGB in 1971 after he sent a collection of his poems to two publishing houses in Ukraine which, in turn, turned over the poems to the KGB. It was for these poems that he was sentenced. The KGB had previously destroyed some handwritten poems of his after his arrest.

### Iryna Senyk

47-year-old poet and former member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), arrested at the end of 1972 and sentenced later to 6-years of prison and 5-years of exile for propagating ideas of an "independent Ukraine." She had also written letters to Soviet authorities protesting the arrests of Valentyn Moroz and Svyatoslav Karavansky. First arrested in 1946, she was sentenced to 10-years for her nationalistic activities during the war. She is presently confined in the Baryshev prison camp in Mordivia where she has protested the authorities' treatment of female prisoners as well as the brutal conduct of prison camp nurse Yegorova.

### Zinoviy Krasivsky

Sentenced in 1967 to 5-years of prison for membership in an underground organization for an independent Ukraine and for distributing "nationalistic" literature. Confined in Vladimir prison but transferred to a special psychiatric hospital for writing poetry in prison. Prison authorities, after reading the poems, declared him insane, one expert stating, "How is it possible to write nationalistic poetry in Vladimir prison? A normal person wouldn't do this... Krasivsky is insane."

### Crackdown at Universities Continued

Students and professors continue to be harassed and expelled from Kiev and Lviv Universities for alleged nationalistic ideas or activities. Recent expulsions from the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kiev include Leonid Makhnivets, literary scholar and author; V. Krekotny, specialist in 16th and 18th-Century literature; Oleksa Meshanych, researcher in Western Ukrainian literature. In Lviv University, the KGB recently confiscated "anti-Soviet literature" from the University library. These works apparently included both Soviet and pre-Soviet publications. The material is stored in a special KGB library and persons using it are thoroughly

## A Proclamation

Consistent with the principles upon which this Nation was founded, we believe that democratic liberties are among the basic rights to which all men are entitled. We do not seek to impose our beliefs upon others, but we do not hide our sympathies towards the desires of those who, like us, cherish liberty and self-determination. In support of this sentiment, the Eighty-Sixth Congress on July 17, 1959, by a joint resolution, authorized and requested the President to proclaim the third week in July in each year as Captive Nations Week.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 14, 1974, as Captive Nations Week.

I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge rededication to the cherished ideal of freedom for all.

Richard Nixon

States. The administration of the SSR (Slovak Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia) has turned down the repeated appeal of the parents to permit their children to join them. The government decision is as follows:

### DECISION

"The Federal Passport and Visa Administration — Administration for SSR in Bratislava, in accordance with par. 59 of Public Law No. 71/1967/Zb. reviewed the decision issued by the Regional Passport and Visa Department in Bratislava, No. PC 2119/1973 of November 8th, 1973, which rejected your application for the issuance of a travel document for emigration of the minor children of Rudolph and Pavlina Jurina to the USA; and in accordance with par. 4, Item 1, letter a, Public Law 63/1965 Zb. concerning travel documents and the rules on correct procedures, turns down your appeal and confirms the decision of the Regional Passport and Visa Department.

### JUSTIFICATION

"In your appeal, you requested a re-evaluation of the reasons listed in your application for the issuance of a travel document for the emigration of minor children to the United States. In accordance with the above stated Public Law, as well as Gov. Regulation No. 114/1969, par. 1, emigration is not permitted if the person to whom the would-be emigrant wishes to emigrate is staying abroad without the consent of Czechoslovak authorities. The parents of the minor children in question are abroad without such a permit; furthermore, nothing prevents them from returning to Czechoslovakia and living with their children in a common household. In view of the regulations currently in force, it is not possible to comply with your request."

This decision is final; an appeal would not be given any consideration.

There are many cases such as that of the Jurina family and despite the anguished pleas of parents, who have sought the aid of the International Red Cross and other institutions and sources, it has so far been useless. According to Czechoslovak law, parents have no right to their children if they left them behind. If they wish to be reunited, they must return to their children in Czechoslovakia (and face persecution for having left the country illegally).

### JOB FOR INTELLECTUALS

*Tagebuch* monthly, Vienna, has recently published a report by Antonin Valenta, who lists the names and present occupations of his former colleagues, editors, writers, radio and television broadcasters, who were active during the Spring thaw in 1968, which resulted in the Soviet invasion. Radio commentator, Jeronym Janček, television editors Otká Bednářová and Pavel Sobisek are employed as writers in Prague restaurants; Jindra Sobisková, formerly also in broadcasting, now sells ice cream at the zoo; her colleague, Jirina Hrábková, also an ice cream vendor, now has an office job. Similar jobs are held by Slavomír Vesecský and Jirf Kmoch; former editor-in-chief Zdenek Fort of *Zemědělské noviny* was a beer-waiter for two years. Editor of the weekly *Reportér* Jiri Hanák delivers lunches to factory workers; former foreign correspondent of *Rudé Právo* works manually at a warehouse; Cestmir Suchý and Rudolf Zeman wash windows (and let us not, for a moment, imagine that they work for union wages); Jan Petránek and Richard Seeman stoke a factory furnace. Other newspapermen how various jobs: Emil Šíp, former foreign editor of *Rudé Právo* and Ilja Setlík, CTK reporter, are truck drivers. Historian and chairman of the editorial board of *Reportér* is an attendant at a station for alcoholics.

The list of former journalists, writers and broadcasters who have become drudges and nonentities, is very long. *Tagebuch* concludes by quoting a warning by Gustav Husák, made in Pilsen, in an address to factory workers at Skoda Works: "Watch carefully these former newspaper stars now working among you!"

### SPLIT FAMILIES

Despite the fact that Czechoslovakia signed the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the Communist regime disregards the international agreement. For instance, it adamantly refuses to reunite families. One such case — and there are many similar cases — is that of the children of Rudolf and Pavlina Jurina, now living in the United

# Against Soviet Domination



## Cuba: Russia's Most Valuable Possession

Of all the captive nations, probably the most dangerous to the United States is Cuba. Though small in terms of the industry, resources, or manpower it can offer to its Soviet master, Cuba is in an ideal position to further Russian imperialism through subversion, guerrilla warfare, and espionage in the Western hemisphere, and serves as a strategic military bastion from which the U.S.S.R. can launch air and submarine-launched missile attacks against the United States in the event of war. Cuba is so valuable to the U.S.S.R. that it is willing to sustain the billions necessary to prop up Cuba's faltering economy.

It is well known in U.S. intelligence that the Soviet submarine base at Cienfuegos has long been operational and is being expanded. In addition, Soviet long-range bombers fly from Murmansk to the Cuban airbase at San Antonio de los Baños. Cuban experts in guerrilla war and terrorism ply their trade as far afield as Syria and Ireland. Assassinations, directed from Santiago, have even taken place against

Cuban exiles in Miami and New York. (See TRT, June 3, page 5.) Many starry-eyed leftists in the United States, caught up in the romance of Che Guevara and the

Venceremos Brigade, see Cuba as a revolutionary alternative to the bigness and bureaucracy of Russian-style Communism. In fact, however, Cuba is as much a slave of Russia as

the most subservient of European satellites. John Barron in his book, *KGB*, describes what happened when Castro tried to take an independent

line and resist Soviet domination.

"In the spring of 1968, the Soviet Union suddenly curtailed the flow of Soviet oil to Cuba. Economic paralysis crept over the island as sugar mills, factories, and vehicles stopped running for lack of fuel. Frantically Raul diverted a third of the military petroleum reserves to the civilian economy. But the Russians halted other supplies and thereby closed more Cuban factories, forcing the workers to be sent into the fields. Having waited long enough for Fidel and Raul to see complete economic collapse in the offing, the Kremlin proposed a deal. "It offered to reopen the supply lines, improve the quality of the raw materials it was shipping, increase exports of agricultural machinery, purchase more Cuban products, and equip Cuba with a nuclear power plant. In return, the Russians demanded that Castro permanently cease any and all criticism of the Soviet Union, that he permit at least five thousand Soviet specialists to come and supervise all facets of the

economy, and that he make the DGI (the Cuban version of the KGB) completely subservient to the KGB. Their most fundamental demand was implicit: henceforth Castro must do as told.

"In August 1968, while foreign communist leaders the world over, from China to Chile, denounced the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Fidel Castro, the great foe of imperialism, defended it. The Soviet Union was justified, he said, in preventing the breakdown of a socialist country 'one way or another.' And he has remained a docile follower of the Soviet line ever since. In a 1970 interview published by *Izvestia*, Raul Castro said: 'We have learned a lot in the past. We have matured. Therefore, we believe that the possibilities for friendship and cooperation between Cuba and the Soviet Union are now more positive.' And since the 1968 Cuban capitulation, Castro's brother has served as the strongest link between Moscow and Havana."



## Latvia: Escaped Seaman Rejects Soviet Society

from Christian Anti-Communist Crusade Bulletin

Alexander Solzhenitsyn was forcibly exiled from the Soviet Union. Others take great risks to exile themselves from that self-proclaimed paradise.

One recent refugee is Peteris Reinis, a Latvian seaman, who late last year jumped from the refrigeration ship "Bora" in the Danish Straits and was recently granted political asylum in Denmark.

Reinis was born in the Madona district of Latvia in 1940, the son of a farmer who was deported in 1944 to Vorkuta Labor Camp for belonging to the Territorial Army in the days of Latvia's independence. In 1949, at the time of collectivization in Latvia, Peteris Reinis, together with his mother and brother, was exiled to the USSR region of Tomsk for belonging to a family of "Kulaks" (farmers who employ hired labor).

By 1956, when all the family was allowed to return to Latvia, Peteris Reinis, partly because he had only Russian schooling and partly because of his "social origins," was unable to find work in his native country. He returned to Russia's Far East and entered the Soviet Merchant Navy's Training College, finishing as boatswain.

After doing his compulsory military service in the Red Army as a technical sergeant, Reinis joined the USSR fishing fleet—which plied all the seas, including US-controlled waters. He was never allowed to leave his ship in foreign ports. As in the Army so in the fishing fleet, his superiors recommended him for special training and promotion, but the Cadre leaders (political supervisors attached to all Soviet institutions and places of work) blocked this on the grounds of his unsuitable "social origins." (*Religion in Communist Dominated Areas*, Jan.-Feb., 1974, page 25)

In Denmark Reinis was interviewed in the effort to discover his motives in risking his life to escape. This interview is published in the magazine, *Religion in Communist Dominated Areas*, Jan.-Feb., 1974, and is reprinted below: (Copenhagen/LNA) Could you describe in detail the reasons for your escape?

There are many reasons, the principle one being the great lack of personal freedom in a system which claims to be the most democratic in the world. More than fifty years have passed since the October Revolution and the system still searches for its enemies within. The information is gleaned from questionnaires drawn up by the Cadres Office which must be completed before anyone starts any responsible job. As far as discrimination is concerned, one's social origins are significant: those who have been Kulaks, in Holy Orders, officers in another army, National Party members or defenders of a nation against the Soviet system, are denied prospects of advancement even if they have served their full term in deportation and labor camps. The most absurd thing is that it is often these people's children who are the ones who suffer. This irresponsible discrimination engenders a bitterness as great as the opportunity for protest is small. I would not have fled anywhere if I could live and work in freedom. My leap into the Oresund is a protest against the wrongs perpetrated by the Soviet regime.

### Decadence

The second reason is the disappointment and loss of hope experienced through the contradictions of the Soviet economic system, where mismanagement leads to a paralysis of economic development. The so-called people's property has been left without any proper supervision in its control and use. Post-revolutionary idealism no longer exists in Soviet society and artificially implanted patriotism is devoid of vitality. Furthermore, enthusiasm alone achieves nothing, people must feel that there is some sort of practical result. But then, initiative on the part of the individual is not possible and this dampens the working peoples' interests, which in turn leads to demoralization. You cannot imagine how much crime has increased in the Soviet Union, how much black marketeering goes on and how widespread are venereal disease and alcoholism. I want to put my life into something useful, without political or economic restrictions and without the stamp of my social origins on view. I hope things will work out in the West. Thirdly, there is no way of voicing one's criticisms of the system's failing, whether in a positive or a negative way. Possibilities of publication do not exist and constant criticism by word of mouth draws too much attention to the person, resulting in swift penal retribution. That is a most sharply felt example of lack of freedom.

What do people in Russia and Latvia think of Professor Sakharov and of Solzhenitsyn?

### Western Help Needed

The masses at large only know of the criticism published in the press in the form of open letters and protest; the true opinions of the people cannot be known as the press does not print them. If they have been made known in any way, then it has been through Professor Sakharov, thanks to his authority. But then, he does not seek any foreign ideology, he only asks for people's rights to be observed in accordance with the constitution of the Soviet Union. His efforts received a quick reaction from the West. Just as Trotsky and Lenin once sought support from the West for their revolution, so Russia now needs the help of Western society's opinions in order to make the regime democratic.

Is Socialism, as practiced in the Soviet Union, the only right one in the world?

In Russia, they regard Maoism in China as Asian chauvinism led by the personality cult. This experience is long past in the Soviet Union. But in my opinion, every socialist state must retain the right to develop within its local tendencies. The Soviet Union's practice of Socialism has compromised itself in order to work—it is unjust, untruthful, and unacceptable to me and to countless others. This inflicts suffering upon the many nations of the Soviet Union and on the Russians. This system must be changed right at the roots.

What do you think about the Soviet Union's policies as far as many nations are concerned?

I am an internationalist in the sense that all the nations of the Soviet Union must learn to understand each other and

live with each other, but they must at the same time be able to operate with the greatest possible autonomy. The internationalism supported by the Soviet Union is in fact Russification under the guise of international friendship. This Russification must not come about. If it does, the future will look bleak for Latvia. Russification is aided by the

economic system, the educational policies, the influx of Russians, and the temptation for younger people of prospects within Russia. The oppression of culture, however, does not exist as a tool for Russification, but what help is that when Russification is in process, espe-

(Continued on page 7)

## North Vietnam: Beginning to Weary

The North Vietnamese, usually thought of in the West as the most strong-willed revolutionaries in the Communist orbit, are beginning to show signs of the same weariness and passive resistance characterizing the people of the other captive nations, according to analysis of official editorials in the Hanoi Party Press. Now that the stimulus of American bombing is gone, and the North Vietnamese soldiers in the south are fighting fellow Vietnamese instead of "American imperialists", it is becoming more obvious to the North Vietnamese that their country, like any other Russian satellite, has been used as a tool of Russian foreign policy, and is a captive of the alien Marxist doctrine.

For example, a report heard over CBS news radio told of a "brutally frank" editorial in the official party paper which condemned wheat shortages due to "speculation" of farmers in the wheat harvest - i.e. hoarding grain and selling it at a profit.

Asian affairs expert Dennis Bloodworth, writing in the Australian newsmagazine, *The Bulletin*, reveals more of the breakdown of "revolutionary consciousness among the North Vietnamese:

"...dwindling aid from Communist countries has been compounded—even dictated—by administrative muddle and chaotic conditions provoked by shortages of both mind and matter. Fellow Marxists, originally eager to help, have been frustrated by the reluctance of the North Vietnamese to let them take a hand in deciding how their aid should be used, and exasperated by impractical demands for marvels of modern industry that the Vietnamese do not yet have the skilled hands to maintain. The oil crisis has hit North Vietnam, and fuel cuts have further dislocated work plans, leaving heavy construction equipment—generously provided by other Communist countries—idle and sometimes rusting under the irritated gaze of the donors.

"Accounting is often sloppy. Overkeen cadres fix factory targets—and then production figures to match them—that do not reflect objective realities, as the party organ, *Nhan Dan*, put it last year. Material goes to waste scattered along roads and quays, in jungles and villages, unprotected against sun and rain.

"A deputy Premier castigates the "slovenliness" that he describes as characteristic of the mentality of the

small-scale producer. Work is badly organized. Sometimes men are on the job only four or five hours a day, waste much of their shift standing about and gossiping, yet earn three and four times their basic wages. And as the ceasefire lengthens, the spirit weakens.

"Hanoi's answer to the problem is a revisionist pragmatism that must horrify the Maoists in Peking. Last year a government directive called for more discipline and the enforcement of the eight-hour day, but while slackers were threatened with punishments, the diligent were promised rewards. Blatantly holding out capitalist material incentives, the directive recommended bonuses and pay by piecework.

"The press continued to complain that the peasants neglected collective labor in the fields, often working only four hours a day, and reserved their energies and enthusiasm for building up profitable sidelines, for cultivating their private plots and poultry and selling their produce in free markets. Similar accusations were leveled at the workers in light industrial cooperatives who spent a sinful amount of their time flogging State supplies outside."

"Under this system for bucking the system everything from beef to bricks appears on the free market—the beef provided by peasants well aware that they should be selling to the State, the bricks by light-fingered masons who know that they will be snapped up at five times their official price. Ordinary workers without access to goods sell their labor on their own free market by fixing their own norms, it has been reported. If a gang is given five days to do a government job, it rushes through it in three and spends two days working on its own account for inflated fees.

"Only the Communists themselves can be regarded as reliable sources on all this slacking and cheating, for the hard quality of the average North Vietnamese in war and adversity is beyond dispute. To talk of them being on their knees is as meaningless as saying it of a pious monk. Most seem to thrive on the posture. But their economy has been dismembered, their Communist friends no longer welcome the role of being rich backers in a long, drawn-out quarrel with Washington, and the North Vietnamese leaders themselves would prefer to lean less on Moscow and Peking."

## Tibet: Ancient Land Brutally Invaded

"AND SOME FELL ON STONY GROUND..."

On 18th November, 1950, the delegate from El Salvador to the United Nations raised the Tibetan issue after an appeal had been made by the Tibetan Cabinet or Kashag. In asking the General Council to condemn the aggression, Dr. Hector Castro, the El Salvadorian delegate, spoke in vain. The British and Australian delegates would not support him, and the Indian delegation asked for discussion of the issue to be postponed. Nine days later, on 27th November the Kashag, on behalf of the Dalai Lama, and Tibetan National Assembly issued a beautifully worded appeal to the United Nations. We print this appeal below in its spirit of 'let us forget'.

Tibetans have for long lived a cloistered life in their mountain fastnesses, remote and aloof from the rest of the world, except insofar as His Holiness the Dalai Lama, as the acknowledged head of the Buddhist religion, confers benediction on and receives homage from followers in many countries. In the years preceding 1912 there were indeed close and friendly relations of a personal nature between the Emperor of China and the Dalai Lama. The connection was essentially born of belief in a common faith, and may be correctly described as the relation between a spiritual guide and his lay followers. It had no political implications. As a people devoted to the tenets of Buddhism, Tibetans had long eschewed the art of warfare, practised peace and tolerance, and for the defence of their country, relied on its geographical configuration and on non-involvement in the affairs of other nations.

In 1914 British persuasion led Tibet to sign a treaty which superimposed on her the nominal suzerainty of China, and by which the Chinese were accorded the right to maintain a mission in Lhasa, though they were strictly forbidden to interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet. Apart from that fact, even the nominal suzerainty which Tibet conceded to China is not enforceable because of the non-signature of the treaty of 1914 by the Chinese. Tibet maintained independent relations with other neighbouring countries, such as India and Nepal. Furthermore, she did not compromise her position by throwing in her forces in World War II on the side of China. Thus she asserted and maintained her complete independence.

The Treaty of 1914 still guides relations between Tibet and India, and the Chinese, not being a party to it, may be taken to have renounced the benefits that would have otherwise accrued to them from the Treaty. Tibet's independence thereby reassumed 'de jure' status. The slender tie that Tibet maintained was broken when China underwent a further revolution, and turned into a full-fledged Communist state. There can be no 'Kinship' or sympathy between such divergent creeds as those espoused

by China and Tibet. Foreseeing future complications, the Tibetan Government broke off diplomatic relations with China and made the Chinese representative in Lhasa depart from Tibet in July 1949. Since then Tibet has not even maintained formal relations with the Chinese Government. She desires to live apart, uncontaminated by the germ of a highly materialistic creed.

But the Chinese are bent on not allowing Tibet to live in peace. They have, since the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, hurled threats of 'liberating' Tibet, and have used devious methods to intimidate and undermine the Government of Tibet. Tibet recognizes that she is in no position to resist, thus she agreed to negotiate on friendly terms with the Chinese Government. It is unfortunate that the Tibetan mission to China was unable to leave India, through no fault of their own, but for want of British visas which were required for Hong Kong. At the intervention of the Government of India, the Chinese People's Republic allowed the mission to have preliminary negotiations with the Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi in September.

While these negotiations were proceeding, Chinese troops, without warning or provocation, crossed into Tibetan territory at a number of places on October 7th, 1950. In quick succession, places of strategic importance fell to the Chinese. Tibetan frontier garrisons, which were maintained not with any aggressive design, but as a nominal protective measure, have been wiped out. Communist troops in great force converged from five directions on Chamdo, the capital of Kham, which succumbed soon after.

Tibet will not go down without a fight, though there is little hope of a nation dedicated to peace, resisting the brutal effort of men trained to war. But we understand that the United Nations have decided to stop aggression wherever it takes place. The armed invasion for the incorporation of Tibet within the folds of Chinese Communism through sheer physical force is a clear case of aggression.

As long as the people of Tibet are compelled by force to become a part of China against their will and consent, the invasion of Tibet will be the grossest instance of the violation of the weak by the strong.

We therefore, appeal to the nations of the world to intercede on our behalf and restrain Chinese aggression. The problem is simple. The Chinese claim Tibet as part of China. Tibetans feel, that racially, culturally, and geographically, they are far apart from the Chinese. The conquest of Tibet by China will only enlarge the area of conflict and increase the threat to the independence of other Asian countries. With the approval of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, we entrust the problem of Tibet in this emergency to the ultimate decisions of the United Nations, in the hope that the conscience of the world will not allow the disruption of our State by methods reminiscent of the jungle.

# Is This Any Way to Run an Airline?

From *The Guardian of Liberty*, Jan-Feb 1974

When a recent scheduled flight from Moscow to the Soviet Far East was discovered to be only half full, Aeroflot, the Russian State airline, cancelled the flight and told the passengers to wait for another one. They did so -- for the whole night and all of the following day. When the next suitable aircraft at last arrived, the exasperated would-be passengers were charged an additional 25 per cent of the fare as a penalty for having "missed" the earlier flight.

"This sort of thing is happening to 20 per cent of all Aeroflot flights",



The Soviet Union sacrifices economic efficiency and consumer interests for military purposes.

the official Soviet weekly, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, commented when reporting this and other examples of inefficiency by the airline.

The journal mentioned "technical difficulties" which were said to be the reason for the cancellation during three consecutive days in August of all flights from Moscow to the Soviet Far East.

During the first day, 3,600 passengers were stranded at Domededovo airport, Moscow, the largest and most modern in the Soviet Union. By the end of the third day the total had grown to 10,000. They were scattered over much of the airport or sitting on their suitcases in woodland nearby.

The reason for this situation was that 18 aircraft had been stranded without fuel at Khabarovsk. "It took weeks to end the congestion", the journal reported.

In July and August, the journal added, the weather in the USSR was the best in 1973, but 1,291 flights were delayed at Domededovo airport alone because of what were described as "weather conditions".

In reality, the main cause of the delays was the scheduling of more flights than there were aircraft available.

## Consumers Hostage of Military Needs

Aeroflot flights are only a few of the grossly inefficient consumer services supplied by State enterprises in the USSR. The quality of Soviet consumer goods and services was the subject of a recent article in the authoritative Swiss newspaper, the *NEUE ZÜRCHER ZEITUNG*.

The Soviet leaders, it explained, planned industrial growth primarily for the benefit of military needs.

A considerable share of intellectual effort and material resources was devoted to this end, it said, adding:

"To the degree to which backwardness in the military field vis-a-vis the United States has been overcome, mobility for expansion of the civilian economy has increased. Consumer goods industries and housing construction have started expanding. At this point, a new difficulty has appeared.

"Once a population has satisfied its basic needs, its demand starts to rise. It demands that the goods displayed by the stores suit its taste. Manufacturers have to make changes accordingly. While customers would formerly snatch up their goods without looking, today's customers tend to make selections.

"Sales are no longer a matter of course as they were during the times of severe hardship. Whatever is not sold is returned to the warehouses. The collectivist system of economy is faced with an unusual test." This had been made clear by a *PRAVDA* report.

The Swiss newspaper article added: "In response to a complaint, the president of the Association of Rural Consumer Co-operatives of the Ukraine, F. Kolesnik, described the situation of his organisation in a letter to *PRAVDA*, which really sounded like a call for help: They were storing unsold goods amounting to a total value of 500 million roubles.

"This amount was taken away from production. Trade was being kept from expanding. In order to clear the warehouses, they were forced to lower prices by half. For the

year 1973, however, they could not possibly lower prices by more than a total of 22 million roubles.

## Shoddy Goods

"Kolesnik has an even grimmer view of prospects for the immediate future. He fears that there could be piles of inadequate clothes and shoes. Among the goods earmarked for special sales were suits, coats, and knitwear from the most recent shipments. They were said to have been badly made.

"In 1972, 23 per cent of ready-to-wear clothes, 28 per cent of knitwear, and 38 per cent of all shoes had been sent back to the factories. However, the rejected goods were not repaired. Instead, they were sent

to different places in the hope that eventually they might be sold to somebody.

"Rural consumer co-operatives suffer great losses as a result of these deals. The sales outlets of the Kholmits area along have unsaleable goods worth 15 million roubles. Kolesnik cannot but agree with the customers who reject the junk -- shoddily-made dresses, heavy shoes with wrinkles -- and demand decent goods.

"There were more and more trips to Kharkov, Kiev, or even to Moscow. The responsible factory directors did not react. At the same time, Ukrainian light industry was being penalized because of deficient goods. It was fined 740,000 roubles in 1970; 1.9 million roubles in 1971; and four million roubles in 1972.

"Harsher punishment remained ineffectual, quality continued to be unsatisfactory, and the selection remained poor, while the stock in the warehouses continued to pile up."

The Soviet consumer goods industries have also been criticised by Communists outside Moscow's sphere of influence. For instance, a recent broadcast by the Albanian radio service pointed out that the Soviet press occasionally contained facts and admissions showing that the difficulties of the Russian economy were deepening.

The broadcast added: "*IZVESTIYA* admitted recently that none of the Ministries of Construction of the Soviet Union realised the plan for the first six months of this year for the construction of new objects for the mass consumer goods industry.

"*PRAVDA*, for its part, reported on the nonrealisation of the eight-month plan by the builders of Uzbekistan, Belorussia and the other republics and regions of the country. These failures and other factors bring about a drop in production rates, nonharmonious development of various branches of economy, a lowering of the effectiveness of investments, etc..."

"Last year, Brezhnev was compelled to admit in one of his speeches that 'there are some branches which from one year to the next do not fulfil the tasks of the plan', that 'great shortcomings exist in the sector of capital construction', etc."

"The rates of increase of national incomes during the last 6-7 years slackened perceptibly. According to data in the Soviet Press, the increase of national incomes for the period 1965-1972 was 10 per cent less than for the period 1956-1965. For the year 1972 the plan for the increase of national incomes was not realised, creating for the first two years of this Five-Year Plan a deficit of 8,400 million roubles."

## Poor Quality Aid

If Soviet economic shortcomings only affected the USSR, there would be no reason for outsiders to complain. However, many Russian-made goods reach the developing countries as part of Soviet economic aid.

The sort of situation that poor-quality goods can create was described in the Chilean Press last April when the then government of Chile, led by the late Dr. Allende, a Marxist, was strongly sympathetic to that of the USSR.

An article in the Chilean (Continued on page 7)

# How Mihailovich Saved 500 Airmen

From "Ally Betrayed," by David Martin Reprinted with Permission of the Author

Between August 9 and December 27, 1944, the American Air Crew Rescue Unit evacuated from Mihailovich's territory 432 American airmen who had been shot down at various times and in various parts of Yugoslavia, had been rescued by the Chetniks, and had been brought together at several concentration points where American aircraft could land. In addition to the 432 Americans, the Rescue Unit evacuated 4 British airmen, 2 Canadians, 2 Belgians, 30 Russians, and 76 Italians.

The last members of the British Mission left Mihailovich on June 2, 1944. Shortly after their departure, the British link in Italy, which still remained in operation, began to receive message after message informing them that the Chetniks had rescued many American airmen, and

was rigidly specified -- was the rescue and evacuation of airmen.

The three men selected for the initial reconnaissance were Lieutenant (later Captain) George "Guv" Musulin, a 250-pound ex-professional ball player who had been attached to Mihailovich from October 1943 to May 1944; Master Sergeant (later Lieutenant) Mike Rayachich, who had previously been at an OSS desk; and Arthur Jibilian, a featherweight naval radio operator who had previously been in with the Partisans.

Toward the end of July an American monitoring set in Bari picked up a message from one of the rescued airmen. He had borrowed a transmitter from the Chetniks, and using American code and his own wavelength had contrived to establish an all-American link. Operating with this new link, a successful sortie was carried out on the night of August 2.

Musulin, Rayachich, and Jibilian jumped in a stick and came down in a stick. Big Guv, despite his outsize 32-foot chute, was the first to hit the

*The peasants had given them their own beds, and had slept on the floor; they had insisted that the airmen eat first while they ate what was left over.*

ground. He landed on top of a chicken coop, utterly demolishing it. Mike Rayachich came down next. He lit in a tree near the chicken coop and hollered for Guv to help him untangle himself. Little Jibby was the last to touch down.

Hardly were they out of their harness when the peasant woman on whose property they had landed came charging up. Not stopping to notice her demolished chicken coop, she bestowed repeated kisses on the embarrassed Americans, called them "liberators" -- she apparently thought it was part of a parachute invasion -- and insisted they have something to eat. Guv gave her 15,000 dinars -- about ten dollars -- to cover the cost of her chicken coop, and then she directed them to the near-by Chetnik unit.

The trio set off along the road in the direction indicated by the old woman, and around a bend they ran bang into a group of Chetniks. There were cheers and more kisses. Some of the Chetniks who knew Guv Musulin from his previous stay with Mihailovich actually wept for joy; although Musulin emphasized that they were to attach no diplomatic

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General Mihailovich speaks to his people

the Americans, and not the English, take part in the evacuation.

Every once in a while Fotich would receive a telegram giving him the names and numbers of another batch of rescued airmen, and conveying messages to their next of kin. The longest of these, which was received on August 4, was ten pages long and conveyed messages from over one hundred airmen. For these messages Fotich personally paid at the rate of 16 cents per word. Frequently the relayed messages from Mihailovich's radio reached the anxious families weeks in advance of any official message from the War Department.

By the beginning of July, the 15th Air Force Command was becoming seriously concerned over the welfare of the rescued airmen. Large scale operations were impending in Yugoslavia. It was obviously necessary to get the rescued airmen out of the way as soon as possible. The chief difficulty, oddly enough, was diplomatic. The British authorities were insistent that there should be no renewal of American representation at Mihailovich's headquarters because they feared that the Partisans would consider such representation an evidence of duplicity. 15th Air Force HQ. got around this difficulty adroitly by creating an entirely new authority -- the Air Crew Rescue Unit. The Unit enjoyed the status neither of a mission nor of an intelligence team: its sole task -- and this

significance to his arrival, the Chetniks could not help believing that it meant the return of Allied backing.

Some of the American airmen almost wept for joy, too. They informed the mission that there were roughly 250 airmen in the district, of whom 26 were sick or wounded. The Chetnik peasants had been wonderful to them. The airmen told the mission how the peasants had given them their own beds, and had themselves slept on the floor; and how they had insisted on the airmen eating first while they themselves ate what was left over. But despite the kindness of the peasants, all of the airmen were fed up with waiting. They knew that the Chetniks had been sending out repeated signals, and they had not been able to understand why the Allied authorities had not acted sooner on them.

That day the mission held a council of war with a committee of several airmen and representatives of the Chetnik command. The airmen were divided into six groups, each quartered in a separate village and each under the command of its own officer. The purpose of this was to minimize the danger if the Germans were to stage a surprise attack. Each group was assigned to a definite wave of aircraft; they were not to report to the field until shortly before the assigned wave was due in.

The Chetniks, for their part, had taken the most comprehensive security measures. The projected airfield was guarded by the 1st and 2nd

Ravna Gora Corps under the command of Captain Zvonko Vouchkovich and Major Muzikravic. The troops were distributed through all the villages within a radius of 10 to 15 miles. They blocked all of the roads and even the cow paths, and they enforced a total ban on movements to and from the operational area. Two thousand of the best-armed men were distributed in the immediate vicinity of the airstrip.

The airstrip itself was a natural plateau, extremely level and some 700 yards long. This was a bit on the short side for C-47's, and it was therefore decided to extend it about 75 yards to bring it up to the minimum for safety. Three hundred peasants and sixty carts were mobilized, and they went to work carting gravel and filling in. For this work they refused to accept any pay.

On the morning of the 9th, Musulin and Rayachich were out on the airstrip supervising the final touches. From the direction of Belgrade, two specks began to approach. Everyone made for cover. The specks came closer. They grew into German military aircraft and flew, almost loitering, right for the field at a height of 1,000 feet. Several hundred hearts sank at the same time. A small herd of cows, noticing the meadow deserted for the first time in a week, sauntered on, munching at the turf. It was probably this little act of camouflage more than anything else, which prevented the Germans from noticing the field.

That night at 11 o'clock, the first wave of four C-47's arrived. The ground crew flashed the letters of the day. The aircraft flashed back. The gooseneck flares, improvised out of oil cans, were lit. And the aircraft came in. The peasants from all around Pranyane had congregated to witness the sight. If Ringling Brothers and Company had come to this little Serbian village, it could not have caused more excitement. The peasants garlanded the rescued airmen and the arriving aircrews, they threw flowers at them, they brought them bottles of *rakia* (plum brandy), they embraced, they sang.

The C-47's took off half an hour later. Before they did so, the airmen who were about to be evacuated bade good-bye to those who had rescued them and cared for them. They took off their shoes, they took off their jackets, and some of them even took off their socks and their shirts, and left them with their benefactors. Half an hour later, to the cheers of the assembled peasants, the C-47's

being prepared, airmen kept arriving almost every day. One week later there was another small evacuation. Mihailovich arrived at Pranyane on August 20, and helped plan subsequent evacuations. On the nights of August 26 and 27, another 58 American airmen were evacuated.

At the direction of General Donovan, OSS sent Major Jacques Mitrani and Colonel Walter T. ("Doc") Carpenter into Pranyane to look after the health of the evacuees and tend to the wounded. Doctor Carpenter had just come from the Partisan hospital at the Island of Vis, where Allied medical supplies were so plentiful that the commissars were able to commandeer for themselves sheets and towels and blankets and special foods. Arriving at Pranyane, Dr. Mitrani and Dr. Carpenter found a situation that was the polar extreme of the situation at Vis. The local hospital was being administered by two Serbian doctors and one Italian doctor, with the aid of several villagers. The doctors were capable -- on the whole the Chetniks were much better off for able doctors because few doctors gravitated of their own volition to the Partisan movement. But the Chetnik doctors were working without anything. They had no medicines, no anesthetics, no soap, no sheets, no proper surgical instruments. There wasn't even a decent first-aid kit available. The patients slept on straw on the floors. Major operations were performed without anesthesia.

In exchange for the 300 American airmen turned over by Mihailovich up to the end of August, the Chetniks received one and one-half tons of medical supplies -- one-half of an aircraft load. In certain British and American circles at Bari there was much opposition to sending in even this small quantity.

One incident which took place on August 27 the Chetniks never forgave. The first of the six aircraft came in directly and landed at Pranyane. The other five took off, loaded with munitions for the Partisans and carrying Partisan dispatcher crews. The munitions were dropped to the Partisan Army driving into Serbia; and then the five aircraft came in to land, using the aircraft already on the field as a radio beacon. When they landed, several of the Partisan dispatchers, perhaps not realizing where they were, hopped out of the aircraft.

"Well, Comrades," said one of

them, "we've just had a successful drop."

If the American officers had not intervened and bundled him back into the aircraft, the Chetniks would have slit his throat on the spot.

At the time this incident took place, the Partisan invasion of Serbia was already under way. Within a week, scores of wounded were being brought back to Pranyane from the front. With the few materials they had, the Chetnik doctors coped as best they could. Those who were going to die were not hospitalized or given drugs. Only those who had a better than fighting chance of surviving could be tended to.

*Dr. Lalovich and his wife had been executed by the Partisans...many of those connected with the hospital were executed and their homes destroyed.*

of C-47's with a fighter cover of twenty, came in for the balance of the airmen. When the roll call for the last aircraft was taken, one airman was missing. The C-47 was just taxi-ing up for the take-off, when the missing airman came stumbling onto the field. He had been overindulging in *rakia*.

Captain Nick Lalich of Cleveland, who came in with the first aircraft on August 9, took over as Commanding Officer of the A.C.R.U. at this point. While the operation was

The aircraft which arrived on August 27 also brought with them Lt.-Colonel Robert H. McDowell, Captain John Milodragovich and Lt. Ellsworth Kramer, who were to act as an Intelligence Mission in Chetnik territory.

Meanwhile, members of the Air Crew Rescue Unit were fanning out in quest of stray American airmen. Mike Rayachich was given the assignment of exploring the Belgrade area. After many adventures he suc-

(Continued on page 5)

# Bukovsky in Danger

from Semizdat Bulletin

"Uninhibited suppression of dissenters in Eastern Europe creates a real and deadly threat to world peace. It increases the chances of a new universal war far more realistically than trade is capable of removing them." This warning, made by Solzhenitsyn in his letter of May 25 to the Scandinavian newspaper *Aftenposten*, assumes today a particularly ominous meaning.

For while Brezhnev was toasting President Nixon in Moscow hailing the advent of a "generation of peace," his KGB henchmen were painstakingly tightening a noose around the neck of a gallant young man, who once challenged the Kremlin leaders to abide by their own Constitution.

Barely two years after the cold-blooded murder of the young poet Yuri Galanskov in the camp of Potma, the KGB is now setting the stage for the extermination of Vladimir Bukovsky. That the threat to Bukovsky's life is real was dramatically evidenced by the startling fact that scores of prisoners in the Perm region camps, No. 35 and 36, went on a two weeks' hunger strike to protest the inhuman treatment of the adamant young Russian civil rights leader. How serious, indeed, must be the situation if it has caused the overworked and chronically underfed prisoners to persist in their fast for 14 days!

On May 9, Vladimir Bukovsky's mother sent this telegram to Soviet President Podgorny:

"I am shocked at the inhuman cruelty of the (VS-389/35) concentration camp administration which placed my son Vladimir Bukovsky, a rheumatic, with heart condition and liver ailment, into a prison-type bunker for three months' punishment by hunger and cold, immediately after he served 15 days in a punitive isolation cell. My son was not sentenced to death, but actions taken by the camp administration are obviously directed towards his physical destruction. I beg your urgent intervention."

This telegram, as all her previous appeals, remained unanswered. But early in June her ailing son—who for months had subsisted on a daily ration of 14 ounces of black bread, 1 ounce of vegetables, and 0.1 ounce of fats—was sent not to a hospital but to the dungeons of the infamous Vladimir jail, the most dreaded of the Gulag Archipelago "islands."

The free world has successfully defended such giants like Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov. But it is men like Galanskov and Bukovsky, less prominent and less known, but equally courageous and dedicated, that constitute the forces of democracy in Russia, and provide the link between the spiritual leaders and the masses. The death of Galanskov is a great loss to the cause of freedom.

The biography of Vladimir Bukovsky is a chronicle of courage, sacrifice and dedication.



Vladimir Bukovsky

Bright, honest and intolerant of all forms of falsehood and violence, he began to perceive the injustices of the regime while still in high school. A born leader, he soon became one of the prime motors of a snow-balling student movement—the embryo of the present-day democratic opposition in the Soviet Union.

Straightforward and fearless, he always fought with an open visor. Scrupulously observing the laws in his own actions, he demanded equal respect for them from the government. For this insistence he was made to pay dearly. One third of the 31 years of his life he has spent in Soviet psychiatric prisons, jails and concentration camps.

The courage and dedication of the young people like Bukovsky inspired and contaminated older men and women, who gradually, like Andrei Sakharov, became more and more involved in active civil rights struggle.

In an appeal to the International League for the Rights of Man Dr. Sakharov writes:

"Vladimir Bukovsky is a man of outstanding moral stature, who even under conditions of physical bondage bravely continues to defend the honor, dignity, and spiritual liberty—his own and that of his comrades.

Vladimir Bukovsky spoke out

bravely against lawlessness in our country and it is for this that he is now undergoing severe punishment. He told the whole world that in our country people are confined to unconditional incarceration in psychiatric hospitals for voicing their convictions. And he did so fully realizing that this would cost him his freedom and that he must face the possibility of being sent to precisely such an institution himself.

Only the intervention of world public opinion saved him at that time from the fate that was preplanned for him, namely that of a patient in a psychiatric hospital.

Not too long ago the life of historian Andrei Amalrik—who became seriously ill during imprisonment—was saved thanks to the support of the best people in the Western world.

Only a year and a half ago a brave and kind man, the poet Yuri Galanskov succumbed to a stomach ulcer while in a labor camp.

And now they are trying to destroy Vladimir Bukovsky.

Help us! Do not permit another horrendous crime to take place in today's Archipelago of suffering and humiliation!

ceeded in making his way through to the suburbs of the capital and established contact with the Belgrade underground. His guides conducted him to an illegal Chetnik hospital in the village of Ripanj, five and one-half miles from the city proper. Here Rayachich found a wounded American airman by the name of William Rogers of Chicago. Rogers had both his legs in casts so that it was out of the question to move him, all Rayachich could do was assure Rogers that the authorities would be notified and that he would be taken care of somehow.

The genius behind this illegal tented hospital was Dr. Lalovich, Chief-Surgeon of the State Hospital in Belgrade and a colonel in the Chetnik underground. Several times a week he risked his life to come out to Ripanj to treat his patients. On the occasion of Rayachich's visit, Lalovich drove out of Ripanj in a stolen German ambulance, with a driver dressed in German uniform, and with Rayachich in American uniform lying on the back floor.

Rayachich reported the position of Rogers to the American authorities, and the report was forwarded to the Red Army when it began to approach Belgrade. The Partisans took over the village of Ripanj and the illegal Chetnik hospital on October 16. A few days later Lt. Rogers



Some of Mihailovich's Chetniks

was evacuated to safety.

In early 1945 Mike Rayachich received a letter from one of the Chetniks he had met in the hospital informing him that Dr. Lalovich and his wife, who was also a doctor, had been executed by the Partisans shortly after the fall of Belgrade.

William Rogers also received a letter from a Chetnik he had known at Ripanj. The letter informed him that many of those who had been connected with the hospital had been executed by the Partisans and that their homes had been destroyed.

In early September the Partisan "Serb Lika Brigade," composed mostly of Italians of the Garibaldi Division, broke through on Mihailovich's weak southern flank, bypassing the German garrisons at Visegrad, Uzice, and Pozhega, and made straight for the Chetnik headquarters at Pranyane. On September 9 Mihailovich broke camp and moved northward through the region of Semberiya to Bosnia.

All the while Captain Lalich was travelling with Chetnik headquarters, reports kept coming in about American airmen who had been rescued and wished to be evacuated. Near Visegrad they picked up nine airmen. Then they continued further south to Srednye, 20 kilometers north of Sarajevo. Here they picked up seven more American airmen, all of whom were injured. There was an airstrip near Srednye, but it was considered unsuitable. Captain Lalich, with the twenty-four American airmen he had accumulated, decided to head back to the airstrip at Bolyanich.

On December 10, the day before they left Srednye, the villagers staged a big dance in honor of Mihailovich and the Americans. People came from as far as Sarajevo to attend the celebration. Mihailovich made a speech and led the *kolo*. The following day Mihailovich and Captain Lalich shook hands for the last time. To the amazement of all the Americans, Mihailovich appeared optimistic.

"The Allies have made a mistake," he said. "But some day they will come back to us."

Mihailovich headed south into the Sandjak, and Lalich, with his wounded airmen mounted on horses, headed north for Bolyanich under Chetnik escort. The final evacuation took place from Bolyanich airstrip on December 27. At that time reports had arrived of the rescue of several groups of airmen in other parts of Serbia. In view of the diplomatic impossibility of continuing evacuations from Chetnik territory, the Chetnik command agreed to forward these airmen to Partisan units.

On the general subject of the rescue of airmen, it must be stated that both Partisans and Chetniks collaborated with the Allies. The Partisans rescued more airmen than did the Chetniks—some 2,000 as against 600. This, however, cannot be taken as an accurate gauge of territorial influence during the period of the struggle for power. The Partisans were able to rescue many airmen who were shot down while giving close support to Partisan units, such opportunities the Chetniks did not have. From early 1944 on, moreover, Allied airmen were en-

couraged to join up with the Partisans and to avoid the Chetniks if they were shot down in Yugoslavia. After the fall of Belgrade, and especially after the final departure of the Air Crew Rescue Unit, there was nothing Allied airmen could do but join up with the Partisans, or, if they were picked up by the Chetniks, ask to be transferred to the Partisans. It is estimated that well over 100 American airmen were turned over to the Partisans in this manner by the Chetniks. Finally, a very large percentage of the 2,000 airmen claimed for the Partisans were released from POW camps and evacuated after the collapse of Germany.

One thing, however, must be said. Although the rescue mission with the Chetniks was not able to find a single case of maltreatment of an Allied flier by Chetniks, there were numerous reports from British and American officers attached to the Partisans—especially after the fall of Belgrade—concerning the maltreatment of Allied personnel by the Partisans. Some of them were prevented from communicating with their missions for a week or two weeks. They were kept in a state of semi-arrest and fed on starvation rations. When they complained of their treatment, the Partisans sneeringly told them that they would get plenty to eat when they got out. In

several instances American Escape and Evasion officers had to make special trips into Partisan territory to get American airmen out of Partisan prisons.

When the American State Department communicated with the Government of Marshal Tito, asking that American officers who were attached to Mihailovich and American airmen who were rescued by him be permitted to testify at his trial, the Yugoslav Government, while refusing the request of the State Department, admitted that Mihailovich had been instrumental in rescuing "some" Allied airmen. "But what else could he have done?" said the note. This represents a certain retreat from the previous Partisan thesis, which was that the Chetniks were in the habit of turning Allied airmen over to the Germans.

*"Those of us who know the real circumstances in Serbia are enraged at the unfair attacks on the Chetniks and their leaders."*

The position of the Belgrade prosecutors in rejecting the evidence of the American airmen was that they had been in Yugoslavia for only a short while, and that their testimony therefore would have little bearing on the larger charges of collaboration. Were it only a matter of fifteen or twenty airmen, it might be possible to argue that they could not have seen very much; the fact that there were 500 of them, however, makes their collective evidence a highly important document. Some of the airmen spent almost six months in Yugoslavia; the majority spent two to three months. In point of time their aggregate experience covers the period January 1944 to May 1945, and geographically it covers almost the entire area over which Mihailovich's troops were active.

The American airmen rescued by the Chetniks may not have been trained intelligence officers, but it does not require trained intelligence officers to see collaboration. Fundamentally it is a matter of whether you shoot with the Germans or against them. With the exception of one man, all of the 500 rescued airmen testified that at no time during their stay with the Chetniks did they witness anything which suggested collaboration; that, on the contrary, they witnessed many acts of resistance directed against the German forces of occupation. To quote the eloquent words of Staff Sergeant Gus T. Brown of Lufing, Texas, member of the first American crew to be shot down over Yugoslavia: "In five and a half months I witnessed not a single friendly encounter with the Germans. The only encounters I ever witnessed were shootin' encounters."

Most of the airmen bailed out at 18,000 to 20,000 feet in broad daylight. Frequently it happened that by the time they hit the ground both the Germans and the Chetniks were racing up to get them, and their possession was decided only after Germans

and Chetniks had fought it out. Staff Sergeant Leland Porter of Lexington, Kentucky, who was shot down near Belgrade after the bombing raid of September 9, made the following deposition: "The Germans who were garrisoned at a nearby railroad station tried to take us from the Chetniks. A battle followed. One Chetnik and four Germans were killed. Six Germans were captured." Lieutenant Merrill L. Walker of Compton, California told a similar story. Walker was in a plane which crash-landed on June 6, 1944, near the town of Rudnik, 40 miles south of Belgrade. His deposition relates: "On the day we crash-landed two men were trapped in the plane. Before we could get them free a German patrol attempted to capture us but they were held off by the Chetnik forces until we got the two men free. There was some fierce fighting...and I know that the Chetniks suffered some casualties...The Germans were in half-tracks and on motorcycles..." Staff Sergeant Mike McKool of Dallas, Texas relates that because the Chetnik peasants refused to reveal the whereabouts of the ten American airmen who were seen to have parachuted in the area, the Germans executed ten hostages and issued a proclamation warning the populace that if Allied airmen were sheltered in the future, more drastic measures would be taken.

"What else could the Chetniks have done?" asked the Partisan pundits. What else could they have done, indeed!

Had the Chetniks wished to do so, they could certainly have done otherwise. Desperately short of ammunition, they could have turned the airmen over to the Germans at a price of 10,000 or 20,000 rounds per head. Or they could have placed them under semi-arrest and starved them, as the Partisans frequently did after the Red Army had established them in Belgrade. Instead, despite the fact that it was obvious from the beginning that the American Government could not even send them a diplomatic thank-you for the airmen whose lives they were saving, the Chetniks refused to accept pay for their services, gave the airmen to eat before they themselves ate, and frequently turned the airmen over to the Partisans and let the Partisans claim credit for their rescue.

It is something to be wondered at that until mid-1946 the Allied world knew nothing of the 600 Allied airmen rescued by the Chetniks of Draza Mihailovich. It seems almost as though there had been a conspiracy of silence to conceal the fact that the Chetniks had ever rescued Allied airmen. In *Cloak and Dagger*, an account of the operations of OSS, Corey Ford and Alastair MacBain tell the story of the Air Crew Rescue Unit which went into Tito's territory, but say nothing of the Air Crew Rescue Unit attached to Mihailovich. They state at one point that two members of the Unit attached to Tito's headquarters found three wounded American air-

men in the custody of a "loyal Chetnik." It is rather difficult to escape the implication that ordinarily Chetniks were not loyal and did not safeguard Allied airmen.

For his services in Yugoslavia, Captain Lalich was awarded the Legion of Merit. His citation spoke of the "co-operation of Partisan groups" and of his proceeding "on foot northward with the Partisans through some thirty-six towns in rapid succession."

There may be diplomatic reasons for such concealments, but the American airmen who were rescued by Mihailovich think otherwise. We close this chapter with a brief quotation from one of the many letters which ex-Ambassador Fatch received from the rescued airmen.

Letter of John E. Scroggs, First Lieutenant, U.S. Army Air Corps, 5129 Wyandotte St., Kansas City, Mo. "Those of us who know the real circumstances in Serbia are enraged at the unfair attacks on the Chetniks and their leaders. If only someone could open the poor blind eyes of the spoiled American public, a wonderful group of people might receive their due recognition. Unfortunately those of us who lived with these people are few and far between, but believe you me, never will we forget how the men and women of Serbia unquestioningly risked their very lives for us, clothed us, and gave us shelter when they themselves were ill-clad, cold and hungry...I vowed to myself that if I could ever possibly begin to repay these people for all they had done for me, I wouldn't hesitate to do so. Unfortunately, what little I might be able to do would not even pay the interest on my debt to the Serbian people. I suffer with them in their present plight, and in the injustice rendered to them by the American press as well as the American and British Governments."

## U. S. China Policy Reflects Misperceptions

# How China Was Lost

By T. H. Tsuan, Ph.D.

A speech delivered at the Shanghai Tiffin Club in Lexington Hotel, New York City, on June 20, 1974.

A well known Chinese diplomat Lee Hung-chang once said: "surely bad diplomacy causes bad results." Based upon this pragmatic test, the postwar American policy toward China has been bad diplomacy, for it has not only produced bad results, but also has stirred up bad feelings and dissension in the United States and abroad.

Professor Kenneth Latourette said: "In China after 1945 the United States suffered what proved to be the major reverse in all the history of its dealings with foreign nations." Why was this record so unsatisfactory? Was this due to overaction or negligence on the part of the American government? Might it have been motivated by self-interest, or was it beyond America's control? What policy would have been better? To answer these questions in depth would require a major work, so it would be more advantageous to analyze the factors and forces shaping such a policy.

### Historical Relationship

In analyzing major factors affecting American postwar policy toward China, one must bear in mind the relevance of the historical relationship between the United States and China. The traditional American China policy put emphasis on freedom of the seas, and equality of commercial opportunity among the great powers. In addition it emphasized a philanthropic interest in China by American missionaries. In order to achieve these ends, the United States has always been opposed to the control of China by any foreign power, and in favor of Chinese political independence and territorial integrity. It reached a climax by the turn of the century when imperialistic pressures had threatened a division of China into spheres of interest among the other great powers.

Secretary of State John Hay invited the powers chiefly concerned with China to accept his "open door" policy which prevented the dissolution of the Chinese Empire, and helped China to regain its sovereignty.

Among the replies from six great powers, Japan went furthest in accepting the principles which Secretary Hay had advanced for preventing its European rivals from monopolizing Chinese trade or partitioning China, while Japan itself was still too weak to share the benefit beyond Korea, Taiwan, the Pescadores, and the Liaotung Peninsula which were under its control as the result of the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). But after the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), followed by World War I, Japan became the only country which seriously challenged the "open-door" policy. Before the Pearl Harbor incident, on six occasions this policy was restated by the State Department.

The main antagonism in the ultimate conflict between the United States and Japan was over the fate of China—Japan bent on conquering China, the United States on preserving China's territorial integrity and political independence, after several months of fruitless negotiations, war finally came to Pearl Harbor.

The importance of China in Asia especially since the defeat of Japan has been recognized. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull anticipated that China would fill the power vacuum which was created by the Japanese defeat, a strong and peace-loving China would safeguard American interests and national security in the Western Pacific. This objective required urgent diplomatic maneuvers to unite the rival Chinese groups, and to create a strong, united, and democratic China. Both England and the Soviet Union were skeptical about a satisfactory solution.

Following the end of World War II, for a period of approximately five years, the United States was the most powerful nation of the world.

With its unique economic position, military supremacy, and its sole possession of nuclear weapons, it would be reasonable to assume that its immediate postwar foreign policy toward any single nation in Asia should have had no difficulty, if it were based on the same principles of dealing with the changing Communist threat in Asia as well as in Europe; but before this unique opportunity came to an end, American policy toward China had run into a stalemate.

Finally, the successful atomic explosion by the Soviet Union in June 1949, in conjunction with the emergence of Communist China in Asia among other Communist countries opposing the United States which for the past century has been supporting China's welfare and integrity, President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull's wartime policy of establishing China as the foremost power in the Far East collapsed completely. This has been a complete failure for United States policy toward China after World War II.

### American Dilemma

At the end of the second World War, the United States government, not fully comprehending the true nature of the internal crisis in China, found itself in a dilemma. At first, it urged the Nationalist Government to conclude the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance August 14, 1945, confirming the secret wartime agreement made at Yalta. By so doing, the State Department considered that the Soviet Union had accepted definite limitations on its activities in China, and was committed to withhold all its aid from the Chinese communists. This proved to be optimistic thinking. In fact, the Chinese concession to the Soviet Union in Outer Mongolia and Manchuria facilitated the Chinese Communists, with the help of the Soviet Union, to the conquest of the Chinese mainland in 1949, a major blow to American China policy.

Then on November 27, 1945,

(Continued on page 8)



# Analysis of the Communist Manifesto

by G. Alexenko

According to Prof. Randall of Columbia University, Marxists frequently refuse to acquaint themselves with any criticism of their belief, being afraid to lose their illusions. They dislike thinking, preferring irrational decisions, even self-deception. They deliberately close their eyes to reality. When they occasionally do open them, their reaction could be an angry "I don't care!" Randall shows us that this may happen to individuals of high intellect because of the Marxist appeal to emotions, Marxism being a child of romanticism. The influence of J.J. Rousseau is still too strong. It is only regrettable that this irrationalism created rivers of blood and tears and still does.

## False prophecies

Marx, said to be a great scholar, was mistaken in many of his prophecies. Let us examine some of them:

a) "Society as a whole is more and more splitting into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat" (Communist Manifesto, p. 58) "the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry." (p. 110).

But since Marx wrote his Manifesto in 1848, the social differences have tended to disappear, especially in industrialized "capitalist" (Marxist term) countries, and so have the class antagonisms—the main hope of the Marxists for promoting "class hate" (another Marxist term, a well-cherished one). Now, 126 years later since the Communist Manifesto, an American latte operator often earns more than a "bourgeois" shopkeeper and they usually do not hate each other.

b) "The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of population... Independent, or but loosely connected provinces with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation being lumped together into one nation" (p. 65).

This is not always true. It is an out-dated statement, which does not correspond to the development of modern history. In 1848 Marx and Engels apparently became hypnotized by the success of ideas of German unification. But

*"The socialist movement has the character of a secular religion, and only from this view can one explain its development and irrational vicissitudes."*

these ideas were spiritual values, by far not always based on the Marxist "laws of distribution of material goods." And the "bourgeoisie" did not do away with the scattered state of population "lumping it together into one nation." On the contrary, the world saw the disintegration of Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires, the creation of new small states in Europe after World War I, and the breakdown of British, French and other colonialisms after 1945. The Marxist prediction was a failure.

c) "The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their (workers') livelihood more and more precarious... and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level" (p. 72).

Now we, however, witness an improvement of the workers' living standard in many parts of the world. Marxists can ignore it, but not deny it.

d) "The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany... because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution." (p. 116).

This was also a vain hope. Regardless of the tragedies which happened to Germany she has not yet become a victim of Marxist dreams.

After an honest examination of such blunders, one cannot help asking: Is it still possible that Marx was a great scholar?

## Ideological bankruptcy

According to the Communist Man-

ifesto a primitive communistic society was available at the time of the cave man (see p. 57). But it is not explained—how could we progress if we have to move back to the cave man's time?

"The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." (p. 77)

But in highly industrialized free lands proletarians do not represent a majority, not to mention an immense majority. This Marxist statement is simply not true. It seems to be purely emotional.

In 1848 the Communist Manifesto promised a "new society" with the abolition of wages (p. 111), of buying and selling (p. 85) and of the family (pp. 62, 87-89).

Regardless of how profitable these reforms should be for the human race, we have to face the fact that they did not take place in the Marxist countries. Wages are still there, and they are lower than in the "bourgeois countries." Buying and selling is also there, with less goods under Communism. As for the family, it has not been abolished. On the contrary, the contemporary Soviet leaders are given as examples of good family fathers and divorce has been made more difficult and more expensive. What became of the Manifesto's "free love"?

We are dealing with a failure, an ideological bankruptcy.

The Marxist leaders could with good reason repeat the tragic words of Albrecht Haushofer:

"Ich habe mein Gewissen lang betrogen"

"Ich hab mich selbst und andere belogen"

"I have been deceiving my conscience for a long time"

"I lied to myself and to others"

## Marxist terminology

The Communist Manifesto defines colonial nations as "barbarians" (see p. 65-67).

Karl Marx thinks that peasants live a life of idiots (p. 65).

The word "society" is a favorite Marxist stereotype. Attempts are made to explain many problems by defects of the "capitalist society" to which we all allegedly belong. Everything is supposed to be settled when socialist "society" would replace capitalist "society".

In the Communist Manifesto Marx says that socialists are:

a) reactionary and utopian (p. 101)

b) bombastic, petty bourgeois, Philistine, foul, enervating (pp. 105-106)

c) doomed to failure (p. 111)

d) always ridiculous (p. 97)

e) victims of a miserable hang-over (p. 101)

As for the so-called Christian socialists, he qualifies them as traitors (p. 99).

However, Marx cynically declares that he is ready to use socialists in a temporary political combination which would help him to reach his goals (pp. 114-116).

Such cynicism is not astonishing. Whereas party members are honestly devoted to their cause, the Marxist leaders frequently suffer from lack of sincerity. As Prof. Ebenstein says: "The fascist, like the Communist, code of behavior stresses violence and lies in all human relations." (Today's Isms) But despite such warnings, the Marxist propaganda, with its appeal to emotions, still finds gullible, sincere and intelligent followers. When the illusion is over, it is frequently too late.

The today's Marxists easily explain the flaws in the Communist "society" which is supposedly improving, by blaming Stalin... But Communism is unable to improve. Some Communist regimes already have their inglorious past. Thus Soviet Communism is based on decades of Stalinist terror and cannot liberate itself from that heritage, just as

Chinese Communism is based on decades of Maoist terror, Vietnamese Communism on decades of Ho Chi Minh's terror, etc. If Communism changes it is because it becomes weaker, it degenerates. Reality is a deadly poison for it fears facts, logical thinking and criticism. To again quote Ebenstein: "The Communist states have the taboo issue of Marxism-Leninism, as a set of final truths that must not be questioned."

## The militant proselytizing spirit

Prof. D. Bell (International Encyclopedia) compares socialism to Islam of the Middle Ages because of its ideas of violent conquest of the world... "a reaction to the meaninglessness of existing religious beliefs, a militant proselytizing spirit, and a leadership by new elites. In fact, the comparison with Islam is meant to suggest that the spread of socialism cannot be wholly accounted for in economic or class terms. The socialist movement has (or had) the character of a secular religion and only from this view can one explain its development and irrational vicissitudes."

Terms as "militant proselytizing spirit" and "secular religion" well describe Soviet (and especially Stalinist) Communism with its adoration of Lenin's corpse in the middle of the Red Square in Moscow. They also fit Chinese Maoism with its bowing, asking for forgiveness and "confessing of sins" before the portrait of Mao Tse-tung (see: I Accuse The Maoist Regime by a graduate from Chung King

University—Miss Yuan Mouru, who escaped from Maoism risking her life.)

To save their dreams many sincere Marxists try to forget the Soviet enslavement of Central Europe (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, etc.), but it is still well known all over the world. As for other brands of Communism it would be proper to mention that: a) Red China invaded Tibet and suppressed its independence with torture and mass-murder—not vice-versa. b) North Korea invaded South Korea—not vice-versa. c) The Berlin wall was built

*There are millions of Solzhenitsyns in captive nations. What repulses them in Communism is the moral issue—the appeal to violence and the legalization of terror.*

by the Communists, not by the free world; it is now covered with human blood. The traffic there is always "one way"—nobody has ever been shot jumping over it from east to west. d) North Vietnam invaded South Vietnam, not vice-versa. This happened as South Vietnam did not recognize Ho Chi Minh's election, allegedly a free one, which took place after a Communist military take-over. As a Marxist, Ho Chi Minh believed in the "necessity of unavoidable victims" and tried to solve the problem by force of arms (pacifism is used by Marxists as a propaganda device only). The war began. As usual there were hundreds of thousands of refugees and, as usual the traffic was again "one

way"—from Communism to the free world.

The following still remains unanswered by Marxists:

1) Should it be understood that Karl Marx is considered by his followers as infallible? If not—which were his mistakes? Why don't they honestly discuss them? Is it because of the cult of personality? Because the halo of the leader would then disappear? If so—what is the difference between Marxism and fascism, at least as far as the "leader" is concerned?

2) According to the Marxist theory, Communism should replace capitalism. What, in turn, would replace Communism? Is this question perhaps blasphemous? Would there, in that case, be an exception to the Marxist "scientific" law of historical development? Would Communism then be eternal?

3) Does true Marxism exist? Why don't we ever see it? Why are all the attempts unsuccessful?

4) "The question is often asked why socialism has never been able to gain a strong foothold in the United States. According to socialist writers, the United States as a leading capitalist

country in the world was bound to develop the "inner contradictions" out of which socialist mass movement would develop. Yet nothing of the sort has happened." (Ebenstein, p. 123)

5) Marx claims to possess a unique great idea, a sort of panacea for all human defects. If this is true—how could it be possible that such an exceptionally great scholar could make so many mistakes in his predictions?

6) As we see, the old-fashioned Marxism does not fit into modern times. Is this not the cause of so many "revisionisms," such as Trotskyism, Stalinism, Khrushchevism, Brezhnevism, Maoism, Titoism etc.?

7) The best analysis of the "infallibility" of Marxism has been given by Solzhenitsyn.

There are millions of Solzhenitsyns in captive nations. These people do not have a capitalist ideology. What repulses them in Communism is the moral issue—the Marxist appeal to violence and the legalization of terror which results in the creation of a police state. They also see the hypocrisy of the privileged Communist elite.

Why don't the Marxists give an honest answer to people like Solzhenitsyn?

8) The Sino-Soviet conflict is typical. There is killing, spying and threatening between the two giant police states.

9) Why are the Marxists always trying to evade such questions?

## Captive Nations and Detente—from page 1

### Eight prominent illusions of detente

The outline of the foregoing captive nations analysis is adequate enough to spotlight the mounting illusions of detente which can be concisely defined as follows:

(1) *The Nation-State Illusion:* At this late stage in global politics it is incredible, but true, that in our highest governmental, educational and other institutions that the USSR is viewed as a nation-state with "Soviet citizens" of different ethnic backgrounds similar to the pattern of the U.S. In defending detente the Secretary of State, who plainly misunderstands the Captive Nations Week Resolution, suffers from this basic illusion when he speaks of "our two peoples," "our two nations," and some sort of a "Soviet domestic structure" for an area which is really multi-internal in composition.

(2) *The Non-Interference Illusion:* The first illusion logically breeds this one on noninterference in the "internal affairs" of the USSR. Rationally, the principle of non-interference is valid where it concerns a nation-state, but in the case of an empire-state, founded on conquest and oppression of nation and with imperial extensions and ambitions beyond, it makes only practical sense to the imperialist power. The abuse of this principle is an old imperial Russian technique which Stalin, Vishinsky, Khrushchev and Brezhnev have frequently employed not only for the empire-state of the USSR but also, as the Brezhnev doctrine confirms, for its imperial extensions in Central Europe.

(3) *The Institutional/Policy Illusion:* The strange notion that the external policy of a state can be divorced from its internal, imperial policies is what may be called the institutional/policy illusion, which is obviously cognate to the preceding illusion. The external imperial policy has always been fed by the oppressive, whether authoritarian or totalitarian, internal policy of the empire. To hope for substantial changes in the former without essential structural and behavioral changes in the latter is the illusion. As Solzhenitsyn recently pointed out, one of the characteristics of our present pseudo-detente is: "When any acts of cruelty and even brutality by one side towards its own citizens and its neighboring peoples is hastily and near-sightedly accepted by the proponents of detente as 'in no way standing in the

way of detente"—thereby encouraging new acts of brutality and persecution... Kissinger is quoted.

(4) *The "Peaceful Coexistence" Illusion:* As shown earlier, "peaceful coexistence" is no illusion for Moscow. It is a very specific and definite sub-strategic policy for the Kremlin totalitarians. It only becomes an illusion for the West and us Americans when we identify it with detente in the mistaken belief that this troika unit of Westpolitik means a live-and-let-live policy. "Peaceful coexistence" for Moscow means plainly ideo-political warfare in all its dimensions against the West, and in our country it is already an open secret that our F.B.I. cannot cope with the inflow of agents from behind the Iron Curtain.

(5) *The Non-Ideologic Illusion:* Some detentists hold that the ideologic power of Moscow and its syndicate is minimal and that there is little to fear from it. As far back as 1957, Kissinger observed, "The emerging middle class in Russia may, of course, in time ameliorate the rigors of Soviet doctrine." Apart from a mythical middle class in "Russia," Marxist-Leninist ideology remains doctrinally powerful in the CPSU membership and beyond, though for the Russian populace at large and among the captive non-Russian nations its power of attraction is nil. What is more important is the effective tool it represents to attract all sorts of elements in the Free World who have not experienced the experience of the captive peoples, including from another interpretative angle the Russian people.

(6) *The Humanist Illusion:* Bred by the "mellowed Communist" fantasy of the 60's, many detentists view the Kremlin and other Red totalitarians as de-stalinized types and thus more humane and reasonable to work with toward "peace." After all Solzhenitsyn was exiled, not murdered. Those harboring this widespread illusion are easily deceived by calculating Potemkinist techniques of the Kremlin, where for one Solzhenitsyn tens of thousands linger in Moscow's prison camps, psychiatric wards and terminal cells. The leadership is mainly Stalin-bred, is brutal and calculating, and in Hitlerian fashion cultivates and dominates a society that is predominantly technocratic and militaristic.

(7) *The Economic Interdependence Illusion:* It is in the area of trade, long-term joint projects, and gradually enhanced economic involvements leading to a generalized economic interdepen-

dence that leverage is sought by us to curb and cause all three horses of the Russian troika to retreat, with "peace" becoming more secure than ever before. Bear in mind that Moscow's essential objective is to acquire our advanced technology to shore up its messy, labor-short and capital-starved economy while its overall strategic troika races on.

It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to focus the predication of our trade and investments on politico-social concessions in the USSR itself and not for Moscow's restraint in Vietnam, the Mideast and elsewhere, which is really a dealt cover-up for relative American weakness in these areas and could be open-end as the troika, fed by our economic "aid," races on. Without such USSR-centered concessions, economic interdependence will remain an illusion and, as in all cases of trade with totalitarian powers, the answer to the question of "Who is giving the shaft to whom?" should be evident.

(8) *The Non-Morality Illusion:* Finally, the supposedly hard-nosed play in power balances leaving no room for moral forces of idealism, human rights, freedom, national independence, etc. is perhaps the most absurd illusion surrounding detente. Regardless of all its imperfections, the whole story of America is founded on moral idealism, whether expressed by internal or external policies for basically they're interwoven, and this unfolding story is unsurpassed in the history of mankind. The continuing impact of American idealism on the captive nations is boundless and is one of the greatest of our weapons against the Kremlin totalitarians.

A detente pursued on the basis of these illusions will only court disaster for us and the Free World. A real, genuine detente, pointing even to the mutual benefits of entente, presupposes the dissipation of these illusions and a concrete development of an irreversible and guaranteed movement of actions that would preclude violence, further arms build-up, and the violation of fundamental human and national rights. Invoking the nuclear scare, as Kissinger does, is no argument for an illusory detente. The formation of a genuine detente, based on the factual counterpoints to the illusions, is the hope of this 15th Captive Nations Week anniversary.

ply been shifted, with low-keyed operations in one area, intense repressive measures in another, and incessant plays on "American imperialism" in a third. Skillfully employing the "peaceful

coexistence" strategem and its low-keyed tactics, Moscow seeks both time and critical economic means to sustain and expand this overall structure and its manifold activities for the historic moment when its diplomacy and adjunct military and other factors will directly confront the West, and the U.S. in particular, at clear-cut advantages to itself.

### The Cold War: "Peaceful Coexistence" and Detente

The current confusion over the terms of Cold War, "peaceful coexistence" and detente suggests in itself that the time is ripe for a national re-examination of our policies before we find ourselves too far afield in abating Moscow's global strategy. Treaties, negotiations, cultural exchange, trade and other involvements were rife in relations with Nazi Germany, but these failed to alter the course of basic trends. The injection of a nuclear age doesn't make these activities any more substantial and scarcely deters Moscow from racing its global troika.

From the beginning of the RSFSR the strategem of "peaceful coexistence" has always been a tool in Moscow's Cold War arsenal. The first victims of Soviet Russian aggression, such as Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia and others, were temporarily exposed to it. This special Cold War concept of unyielding systemic conflict and political warfare is uttered almost daily by Moscow and its satraps, and aside from the Aesopian language, means in essence: "The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between world socialism and imperialism will be waged up to the complete and final victory of Communism on a world scale... All forms of the class struggle—political, economic and ideological—are closely interwoven, one augmenting the other—bringing first one form and then another to the forefront."

Within the empire the Cold War is expressed in varying degree by nationalist assertions, resistance to Russification, open dissidence, religious revival, underground publications, and sheer ideological apathy and indifference. In the third sphere of Moscow's operations, who would classify Vietnam, the Mideast, the Indian Ocean, the base of Cuba and others as being beyond the Cold War concept as it pertains to US-USSR relations? The Cold War in its multiform can be and is waged through proxy and intermediate conduits.



## Youths Pray, Fast, Hold Vigil for Congress

On July 23, 24, and 25, over 600 young people from all parts of the country participated in a three-day prayer and fast vigil. Many FLF members participated. Under the auspices of The National Prayer and Fast Committee, founded by Reverend Sun Myung Moon the vigil took place on the Capitol steps. Each participant prayed for a particular congressman, wearing a sandwich board with his name and photo. The three-day program included candle-light marches and prayer services at historical monuments. While vigiling at the Capitol, the fasters were personally greeted by over 100 Congressmen — many Senators were among them. The

rally received front-page and national news coverage. According to the National Prayer and Fast Committee, "We are praying to bring God's spirit back into the life of our country.... We are praying for the people of the United States.... We are praying for Richard Nixon.... We are praying for God's help so that there will be no more Watergates." Of special concern was the Congress: "We are praying that God will be with them as they near their critical decision (impeachment) so that his spirit may prevail in whatever course is taken.... We are confident in their leadership. We love and support them."

## Latvia

cially among mixed marriages. What are the relations like between the Latvians and the Russians? In Latvia they are bad. The Latvians are embittered, sharp, impatient; conflicts arise even over small details. Even the Latvian youth is self-aware, not to say chauvinistic. I have been asked in an accusing manner why I remained so long in the Far East, and the Russians are asked why they should want to leave their country and press into Latvia. In Russia, the situation is different: there the Baltic people are held in respect for their achievement. I also found that I was trusted there. What is the atmosphere like in Latvia?

This can be described as passive hope: people seem to be waiting for something but they do nothing apart from a few meaningless acts, such as displaying the national flag, which achieves nothing practical. Other forms of demonstration are not possible.

What, in your opinion, can be the future of the Latvian nation? It is a nation destined to be wiped out. If nothing changes in the near future, the Latvians will become a negligible minority and that will be the end. Where do your political interests lie? I have been educated in the Soviet system and indeed I believed for some

time that the theory of dialectic materialism was the only useful yardstick. Now I believe more in Charles Peirce's pragmatism: he sees usefulness and good in a system which helps the course of life along—they do not understand such a practical system in Russia.

Has your life in the West come up to your expectations? Monarchy More Socially Aware Than the Soviets. I used to think that Russia's Socialist system was the best in the world. But now I have to admit that the capitalist Danish monarchy has gone far

beyond the norm of social welfare as practiced in the Soviet Union. It is accepted that the Soviet Union is the most powerful State in the world: is it true that in Vladivostok there is a huge military base? I am here as a political demonstrator, military affairs do not concern me. And your thoughts for the future? My first love is the sea—the greatest freedom to be found is in Nature. It is worth risking one's life for freedom, it is worth jumping into cold water and into an unknown future.

## France

as well as the whole problem of France's relationship to the European economy. In foreign affairs, although Giscard is hostile to the British request for renegotiation of the terms of the Common Market, it is quite clear that both Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of Great Britain, and Helmut Schmidt, the new Chancellor of Germany, can work closely with Giscard and his new government, for they are fundamentally attached to the concept of the Atlantic Alliance and should in all likelihood seek an improvement of relationship with the United States. In facing the future, Giscard will have to build in terms of change and realignment, for his narrow victory is both a threat and a challenge. Great expectations have been raised by the very nature of the campaign which Giscard conducted. Even though he conducted a brilliant and highly intelligent campaign, he has made a series of promises which will require a considerable economic effort. Giscard spoke of the future and condemned Mitterrand as a man of the past. Now he will have to prove it.

hears or sees Georges Marchais, the French Communist leader, one becomes less convinced of his democratic loyalties, as his Stalinist arrogance and intolerance are quite obvious to all and certainly swayed many voters against the CP if they had any doubts before. Giscard, in this respect, has constantly emphasized the fact that the Communist Party is not in any way a party like the other parties in the French political system. And, of course, his chief lieutenant Michel Poniatowski made this point even more clearly when he stated on television that a vote for the Communists is a vote for a one-way ticket, with no return.

Pro-Atlantic Sentiment. In addition to the rejection of totalitarianism, the leaders of the new government are reputed to be quite positive in their pro-Atlantic and pro-Common Market sentiments. They will certainly attempt to move away from what some have interpreted as the underlying anti-American feelings of the previous administration.

Necessary Reforms. With Giscard d'Estaing in France, Harold Wilson in England and Helmut Schmidt in Germany, there is hope for a reinforcement and perhaps restructuring of the Atlantic Alliance in order to tighten the European-American alliance. In this respect, the opinions expressed by Giscard in the past about the need of German-French unity in the European and Atlantic Alliance is a guarantee of a possible further strengthening of the whole free world alliance.

This is extremely important in view of the fact that in one year's time we have seen the passing of the three important heads of state — namely, Pompidou, Heath and Brandt — and their replacement by political leaders who are more pro-Atlantic. There is a feeling also, as expressed by Peyrefitte, one of the Gaullist leaders, that the Gaullists will support loyally, if not unconditionally, the new government of Giscard. Of course, this will depend on the nature of Giscard's cabinet and what decisions will be taken by the leaders of the UDR. The great personal victory of Giscard in some respects almost takes on the aspect of a little miracle. His party has never been a big one, nor has it had many seats in the Assembly. In fact, Giscard d'Estaing came out of almost nowhere 16 years ago, and although he went part of the way with de Gaulle, he was also quite inde-

pendent, as he indicated in his refusal to support de Gaulle on his referendum in 1969. Since that time Giscard d'Estaing has been able to put together a coalition in spite of the opposition of the Gaullists who supported Chaban-Delmas and opposed his candidacy in the first round, and he has been able to attract many of the Centrists and Reform groups in spite of their reservations about his reputation as a so-called conservative. In fact, his small party of Independents and Republicans became the center of what is today a new majority. This is quite a feat if one takes a look at the rest of Europe, where more and more there has been an increase of minority governments as in Scandinavia, Great Britain and most of Europe. In the midst of general European political instability, France has suddenly begun to hold out the prospects of a stable majority government. The fact that over 70 percent of the workers as well as a large percentage of the young people and even some of the disgruntled Gaullists have voted for the "Left" alliance is a warning of what could happen in the future. The Communist-Socialist political front had the support of the CP-controlled CGT and the CFDT, the ex-Christian Federation of Unions, while Force Ouvriere refused to endorse either candidate. Considering the closeness of the final vote, one cannot dismiss as negligent the role of Force Ouvriere in not joining what could have been a unanimous trade union support for Mitterrand. Unless the new government can hold out a hope for new directions and for a program of social progress and justice, the Socialists will continue to remain faithful to their alliance with the Communists. For although Giscard has scored a victory, it cannot be denied that the Communist Party and its apparatus have made a tremendous advance. They once again have come out of their isolation. They are accepted within the democratic life and politics of France and they continue to control the great majority of the organized trade union movement. Many Socialists are not too comfortable in the alliance with the Communists because of numerous differences with the Communists, especially in foreign policy (Common Market, NATO, etc.). If there is, under Giscard, any constructive change in the social areas, then there is a hope for a realignment of the Socialists with those elements of the Center with whom certainly they can come to an

agreement on many issues in social and foreign affairs. Mitterrand has warned that there will be no truce or pause in the Left's continued struggle against the government, especially on economic and social issues. The unions are certainly not going to let up in their demands, but there does not seem to be a danger of any social explosion before autumn — which leads most observers to conclude, as the French weekly *L'Express* indicated, that Giscard has 100 days to introduce the changes that most of the population expect. The great personal performance of Giscard d'Estaing was certainly highlighted in the historic debate between him and Mitterrand during the campaign on May 9, which brought home to most French voters the intelligence and competence of the man. For many this may have been the decisive factor, for he appeared not only as a brilliant man but as one who was competent and possessed the dignity to be the President of the Republic and to follow in the footsteps of de Gaulle and Pompidou. What is also important in understanding the nature of the Communist-Socialist alliance in France is the tendency of the Socialists on the one hand to move towards the "left" and prove to everyone that they are not really "right-wing" and "reactionary" while the Communists, on the other hand, have to prove that they are not as left-wing as, for example, the Maoists or the other so-called disturbers of law and order, and, therefore, are more to the right than is generally assumed. This "convergence" tends to flourish not only in France but throughout Western Europe, especially because of the present Soviet policy of "détente" and "coexistence." Perhaps the new directions of Giscard d'Estaing's government on both domestic and international issues can offer a real alternative for the future.

As this article is being completed, the first actions taken by Giscard in the formation of the new government confirm some of our hopes and predictions. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet ministers chosen by him indicate a new wind is blowing in France, and certainly the appointment of the Foreign Minister, Jean Sauvagnargues, to replace Jobert is a confirmation. This reinforces the point made that the German-French Alliance will be strengthened and a more positive attitude taken towards the alliance with the USA.

## Russia — from page 4-

publication, LA TERCERA said on April 25: "The government's decision to return to the Soviet Union more than a hundred road-graders because of irreparable technical defects and general poor quality is a matter of momentous importance." "The explanation by Minister of Public Works and Transportation, Humberto Martones, is diplomatic but unsatisfactory. According to the Secretary of State, the graders 'are not suited to the topographical conditions of the country.' Therefore Minister Martones cannot try to get the public to accept his version ingenuously and go along with it. "Everyone knows that the national topography, and that of any country, is permanent and can only be changed in a major way by a cataclysm or other phenomenon of

singular importance, which has not occurred here. "The defects in transmissions, bearings, oil pumps, and steering and braking systems are solid facts, which make nonsense of the explanation blaming the Chilean terrain for defects in the Russian machinery... "Each road-grader cost 30,000 dollars. Minister Martones has explained that they will be returned to the USSR and other machinery will be sent, without further expense to the country. "Again he assumes that public opinion is naive. Does this not mean that during the months when there are no road-graders in the country, the work they do will be totally halted? This is the real cost of the operation and the price is paid by all taxpayers."

## Letters —

### Readers Praise Tide

The *Rising Tide* impresses me in four interlocking ways: as morally oriented, realistic, many-sided, and un-intimidated.

Edward Haskell  
Chairman  
Council for United Research  
& Education, Inc.

I am very enthusiastic about the work of the Freedom Leadership Foundation and its newspaper, *The Rising Tide*.

As I travel across the country I constantly meet members of the Freedom Leadership Foundation. I am invariably impressed by their courtesy and enthusiasm, their eagerness to learn and their devotion to freedom. They combine theoretical knowledge concerning the requisites of freedom and the nature of communism with a willingness to take intelligent and effective action. I am convinced that the prospects of freedom in this country are brighter because of the work the Freedom Leadership Foundation is doing.

The *Rising Tide* is outstanding among the freedom newspapers of this country. It proudly announces its commitment to the maintenance of a free society but its approach is scholarly and temperate. The articles it publishes on the subject of communism refrain from abuse and personal attacks and always deal with principles rather than personalities. The diversity of the subject matter is remarkable and this makes the newspaper very interesting. Most important developments throughout the world are analyzed and discussed. As you continue to maintain the present blend of accurate information, theoretical analysis and enlightened advocacy the future of your newspaper should be assured.

Fred C. Schwarz  
President  
Christian Anti-Communism Crusade

As a close reader of *The Rising Tide* I'm happy to add my voice to the plaudits of your growing audience. I find your newspaper a vital source of information usually available nowhere else on the struggle against totalitarianism and for the ideal of ordered liberty under law. Your critiques of totalitarian ideology, and your reasoned presentation of your unification ideology, are impressive, a worthy modern rendering of the arguments of Madison and the other Federalist essayists in behalf of an ideal of constitutional democracy and against the "disease of faction."

In my book, *The Rise of Radicalism*, I wrote (pages 179-80): "The ironic tragedy of Marx's theory of change through economic class struggle was that he, the romantic idealist, ruled out common humanity, compassion, mutual respect, compromise, and selflessness. His great crime was that he dethroned man's civilizing emotion—love and the spirit of cooperation—for his more primitive, monstrous emotion, hate. By emphasizing the baser emotion in man's ambivalent Jekyll-Hyde nature, Marx erected a throwback philosophy, anti-civilization and anti-homospapiens. His philosophy was profoundly reactionary, for it returned man to the jungle law of might-makes-right struggle and a "divine right" rule by a "new class" revolutionary elite."

So I find in *The Rising Tide's* advocacy of a union of the devotees of liberty a welcome and powerful voice. May your tribe increase!

Eugene H. Methvin  
Senior editor  
Reader's Digest

We want to establish a "Letters to the Editor" column as a regular feature. Your responses to both specific articles and the Tide in general are welcomed.

## The Rising Tide

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# China

President Truman announced that he appointed General George C. Marshall as his special envoy to China; he was instructed to bring about understanding and co-operation between the rival Chinese Nationalists and Communists, and to reconstitute a coalition government for China. Unfortunately, his mission was utterly unrealistic and foredoomed. As a matter of fact, the United States was unintentionally and indirectly aiding the Chinese Communists in the critical years of 1946-1947 while trying to pose as mediator. General Marshall was disappointed and felt frustrated in his mission to China. Upon his return to Washington, he was appointed by President Truman to be Secretary of State.

Between the end of Marshall's mission on January 6, 1947, and the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950, the United States government postponed basic decisions to avoid any involvement in the Chinese civil conflict. The Truman administration was afraid of the general Communist threat to its security and the possibility of a third world war only in Western Europe. Its anti-Communist containment policy since the announcement of the Truman doctrine on March 12, 1947, as well as the Marshall Plan for American aid, and the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to defend against possible Communist aggression, applied only to Western Europe and its adjacent areas. The U.S. did not extend its general program and strategy to Asia before the Korean War broke out. The lightning that struck in the Far East rather than in Western Europe may hardly have been anticipated by the Truman administration. Therefore, since United States postwar foreign policy strove for the realization of two utterly different objectives in Europe and Asia, one of them was bound to fail.

From a domestic point of view, the defeat of the Republican Party during the 1948 national election marked the beginning of the disappearance of a bipartisan foreign policy, which enabled the Truman administration to speak with unquestioned authority on such matters as policies of establishing the United Nations, the occupation of Germany, Japan and South Korea, and problems of peace-making. Bipartisan foreign policy had never extended to the Far East. Most Republicans in the Congress, in varying degrees, were critical of major aspects of the administration's China policy, reflecting a widespread dissatisfaction with the course of China policy.

### Acheson's Role

During the second term of the Truman administration, Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson played a

significant role in United States foreign policy toward China. Partly on account of his familiarity with the China problem, Acheson was one of the State Department officials who drafted the instructions to General Marshall in November 1945 for his mission to China; later becoming Marshall's representative in the State Department during his mission, whose function was as liaison between President Truman and General Marshall. This was also because of his close relationship with President Truman and Acheson's predecessor, Secretary of State Marshall. He considered that China was not of vital concern to the United States. Therefore, instead of trying to formulate a new China policy, his chief interest was to explain that, not the United States, but the Kuomintang and its leaders were responsible for what had happened in China, in the "China White Paper" in August 1949. In the meantime, while anticipating the loss of Taiwan to the Chinese Communists, he endeavored to sell the public on the idea that the island had no strategic value to United States defense in the Western Pacific. Consequently his effort was to disentangle the United States from the collapsed Nationalist government. This offered the Republican opposition to Truman and Acheson a rare opportunity; they blamed the administration for the debacle.

On the other hand, Acheson tried to stir up dissension between Communist China and the Soviet Union, in order to keep Red China away from full participation in the Soviet bloc, and await a clash between the Soviet Union and Communist China. On January 12, 1950, in an important address before the National Press Club in Washington, Acheson said "What is happening in China is that the Soviet Union is detaching the northern provinces of China from China and is attaching them to the Soviet Union." In the meantime, he decided to contain Communism in Asia outside mainland China, especially in Japan and Southeast Asia. Such a policy presented obvious difficulties. Since the range of Chinese Communist influence has been far beyond the confines of China's borders, it necessitated a direct confrontation with the interests of the major foreign powers in Asia. By not making concessions where feasible, and holding fast where necessary, in addition to the Chinese communist assault on "capitalist imperialism," Acheson was unable to prevent Communist China from becoming a Soviet ally in February 1950.

### Crucial Decisions

1950 was a crucial year in United States policy toward China. Two major decisions were made by the Truman administration: On January 5, 1950, President Truman announ-

ced his decision that no more military aid or advice would be provided for the defense of Taiwan. Secretary Acheson specified certain areas in Asia vital to the security of the United States and by so doing he implied that this country would fight to defend them. Both Taiwan and South Korea were not included. It was widely interpreted as indicating that the administration did not regard the defense of these areas against a possible Communist attack as vital critics in the Congress charged that Mr. Acheson had given a "green light" to the Communists, especially in South Korea.

But following the outbreak of the Korean War, the United States faced a situation where the stakes were extremely high, and rapid decisions involving major national commitments and risks were called for. President Truman immediately ordered American forces into the Korean struggle and announced his new decision on China on June 27, 1950:

"The occupation of Formosa by communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area. Accordingly, I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa."

In a stroke he changed the controversial "hands-off Taiwan" policy. Thus United States commitment to the Republic of China in Taiwan has been reinforced as a result of the Korean War. It has been the foundation of American policy toward China over the past twenty-four years; it has stabilized the status quo between the Republic of China and Communist China on the one hand, and became a stumbling-block to maintaining international peace in Asia on the other.

The Truman administration's containment policy toward China lasted more than a decade. During the Johnson administration, it was modified to "containment without isolation." The shift, however, was accompanied by no tangible initiatives and induced no reciprocity from Communist China. The major change of postwar American foreign policy toward China under the Nixon administration was based upon two assumptions: 1) Communist China's co-operation was considered as a precondition for ending the war in Vietnam. 2) the widening conflict between Communist China and the Soviet Union has increased the possibility of improving relations between the United States and Communist China.

The National Security Council under the Nixon administration discussed the new China policy in August 1969. The decision was made that an improvement of relations with Peking was possible

without abandoning Taiwan and without jeopardizing relations with Moscow. The initial steps were taken to relax certain restrictions on trade and travel, and revived the Warsaw ambassadorial talks.

Following President Nixon's detente visit to Peking in February 1972, Communist China was admitted to the United Nations. The permanent Security Council seat was offered, and exchange of liaison officers between Washington and Peking took place in May 1973. In addition there have been exchanges of scientific, medical, and cultural groups in recent years. On the other hand, the Republic of China was ousted from the United Nations, followed by withdrawal of recognition by several non-communist countries. A severe blow to an American faithful ally.

Lately a set of secret Communist China's documents were released in Hong Kong which indicates that Mao's decision to invite President Nixon to Peking was intended as "a short-term accommodation with the enemy." In fact, President Nixon's hope for "a generation of peace" was openly denounced by Chou En-lai on April 26 this year at a banquet in honor of General Khien Samphan, Commander of the Communist Forces in Cambodia.

The latest ferment on the mainland indicates a revival of the cultural revolution which rocked the country in the late 1960's. Radicals seem to have assumed the offensive against the more pragmatic policy of Chou En-lai. Even if Chou remains in power for several more years, it is not likely that the exchange of liaison officers between Washington and Peking could normalize the relations between the United States and Communist China as long as the United States continues to recognize the Republic of China and adhere to a defense treaty with it.

In appraising the policy of the United States toward China in the postwar years one must conclude that a faithful ally in East Asia remains a useful counter force to Communist China. It is also in American national interest to strengthen the military and economic power of the Republic of China in Taiwan as the practical balancing force. Otherwise direct confrontation between the United States and Communist China is only a question of time.

The major point of concern is that if we accept the idea that American paramountcy in Asia as a Pacific power is not viable in the 1970's, what kind of role does the American public expect its government to play in Asia? Americans have come to believe, slowly, reluctantly, and only after bitter experiences in Korea and Vietnam, that Communist China's threat is a real one, and that further expansion of its power must be checked.

—from page 5—

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Lorenzo Gaztanaga and Dan Fefferman are second and third from the left on the top row; Louise Berry is second from the right on the front row.

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*The Rising Tide* began several years ago as an alternative to the over 800 underground newspapers with Marxist or Trotskyite and New Left leanings. Since then it has been a consistent advocate of an internationalist outlook to offset the myopic isolationism of extremists.

*The Rising Tide* contains in-depth analyses of the forces vying for power in the Soviet Union, the Mideast, Asia, and Eastern Europe. Key questions in American foreign policy—detente, East-West trade, the future of our

alliances—are carefully considered. The cause of human rights has also been taken up by *The Rising Tide*, which often prints original *samizdat* material and keeps up with the dissident movement in the Soviet Union. And every issue offers explanations and critiques of Marxist and Communist ideology. The underlying premise of the paper is that the captivity of the human spirit so characteristic of Communist-dominated countries must be conquered. The paper is therefore continually addressing itself to the questions: "What is freedom? How can we create it? What is the responsibility of a free person? A free country?"

*The Tide* is an acknowledged leader among journals critical of Communism and has been growing in popularity among those desiring a common-sense approach to international relations.



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