



The Rising Tide

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

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Admiral's Warning Ignored By Newspapers

Accuracy in Media reports that the retirement speech by Admiral Elmo Zumwalt Jr. warning of the U.S. decline in naval strength and the ascendancy of Soviet naval power was ignored or buried by the Nation's leading newspapers. (The following excerpted from the July ATM Bulletin):

AIM reports *The Baltimore Sun* was an exception. Its lead story on Sunday, June 30, 1974, bore this headline:

"U.S. FLEET IS CALLED 2d Best; Decline Cited by Zumwalt at Retirement"

The story went on to say this:

"Firing his last salvo as chief of naval operations, Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., whose four years of duty have been marked with controversy, warned yesterday that the United States has 'surrendered temporarily' its control of the oceans of the world.

"He called on an audience at the Naval Academy to help persuade 'men of goodwill conscience... of the seriousness of our Navy's need for their support.' During the last 10 years, the retiring admiral said, 'We have seen our once great fleet cut almost in half and our remaining ships and personnel forced to endure long and continuous deployments as their numbers dwindled while requirements increased.

"Our Navy has reached a point where it no longer can, with certainty, guarantee free use of the ocean lifelines to U.S. and allied forces in the face of a new powerful, and growing Soviet fleet."

Forty miles away, in the nation's capital, *The Washington Post*, showed what it thought of Adm. Zumwalt's warning. Its June 30 edition said nothing at all about it, or about the Admiral's retirement address.

That Sunday, Adm. Zumwalt appeared on Meet the Press, where he repeated his dire warning. The following morning *The Post* carried a short story about his appearance, headlining the fact that he had rejected an offer to head the Veterans Administration. Tucked into the body of the story were a few words about the admiral's warning that the Navy could no longer guarantee control of the seas.

When AIM investigated this disturbing failure to report prominently Admiral Zumwalt's warning, it discovered that on Saturday, June 29, *The Washington Post* in its low-circulation first edition had reported Zumwalt's fears about our declining naval strength at length.

This story ran in one edition only. It was then pulled, and one more story on Watergate was substituted for it. (*The Post* had only six other page-one stories relating to Watergate, impeachment, etc. that morning.)

Here are some of the points made by Adm. Zumwalt in the story *The Post* so quickly dropped:

1. The fleet has been cut 47 percent since 1969 to a level of 508 ships, the lowest since 1939.

2. All shipbuilding budgets over the past four years have been cut by Congress.

3. The Soviet Union, which has been increasing its naval strength, is far less dependent on the oceans than we are. Its navy can accomplish its mission merely by cutting our sea lanes. The U.S. Navy has to be able to keep those sea lanes open.

4. The odds are that the Soviets come closer to being able to carry out their mission than does our navy.

5. The climate of "detente" has helped erode public willingness to support defense.

6. Soviet intentions can change overnight but it takes years to change our military capabilities.

7. There is a danger that our military strength may be so inferior that the Soviets may become much more aggressive, and we may, through miscalculation, become involved in a losing war.

The Silent Treatment

The New York Times went even further than the *Post* in keeping Zumwalt's parting warning from the public. It ignored both his retirement speech and his remarks on Meet the Press. *The Times* Pentagon reporter John W. Finney told AIM that this was because what Zumwalt said had been previously reported by the *Times* and it would be repetitive

to run it again.

True, *The Times* did carry a story about Zumwalt in its May 24, 1974 edition on page 24. At that time, Mr. Finney did report the admiral's fear that our navy had lost control of the seas to the Soviet Union.

However, Mr. Finney offset the admiral's views with the observation that Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger considered Zumwalt's views "alarmist." He said Schlesinger did not agree that the U.S. was losing superiority to the Soviets or that our Sixth Fleet would have been driven out of the Mediterranean if there had been a showdown with the Soviet navy during the Arab-Israeli war last fall. AIM found no other stories about Zumwalt's views on our naval strength in *The Times* this year. It appears that *The Times* ignored Zumwalt's testimony to Congress on February 19. At that time, according to a story in *The Washington Post*, he told Congress: "We stand now at our point of greatest weakness and in my estimate in our greatest jeopardy."

If the Administration had ordered that judgement to be withheld from the public, it would have been called "muzzling." When an editor does it, it is "news judgment."

Coverage by Other Papers

The Washington Star-News and the *Atlanta Constitution & Journal* carried a short UPI dispatch on Zumwalt's retirement speech. The dispatch carried the essence of the warning about loss of control of the seas. The Atlanta paper put it on page 2, while *The Star-News* put it on page A-8.

The Chicago Sun-Times carried a similar short story on page 58. *The Sun-Times* was the only paper we saw that printed an editorial on Zumwalt. It discussed his policies on allowing longer hair in the Navy, his issue of directives called Z-grams, but the editorial made no mention of his warnings about the dangerous decline in our naval strength.

Similar Pattern A Year Ago

In August-September 1973 issue (Continued on page 3)



Cuba—Russian Replacing Spanish

By Lorenzo Gaztanaga

Since 1968, Cuba has been drifting closer to the Soviet Union. Cuba's alignment with Soviet policies has singled it out as one of the USSR's main supporters.

Items like Brezhnev's visit to Cuba early this year and Raul Castro's (Head of the Armed Forces) comments are indicative of strengthened ties between the two regimes.

The dramatic support of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia by Fidel Castro was but one indication of Castro's total submission to the Soviet Union.

Other indications are the Sovietization of the Cuban army, foreign policy, and economy, the latter by becoming the "only member in the Western Hemisphere of the Soviet-Bloc economic treaty.

Still, these steps bring Cuba within the Soviet block in an outward way. In order to secure the loyalty of the Cubans there has to be



Young Latvian-Americans demonstrate for freedom of Bruvers Brothers.



Hunger-strikers fasting in solidarity with Valentyn Moroz.

Western Public Support Sought

Demonstrators Support Dissidents

Bruvers Brothers Arrested for Asking Questions

"Arrested for asking questions! Free the Bruvers brothers," about 30 young people chanted as they marched up and down K Street near 16th in downtown Washington, D.C. on July 31. As several other demonstrators picketed in support of Ukrainian Valentyn Moroz on the opposite corner (see story this issue), the young people carried signs saying such things as "Latvians wish they could IMPEACH BREZHNEV"; "Freedom is everybody's business"; "Free the

Bruvers brothers."

Standing nearby, one of the Bruvers brothers himself, Daniels Bruvers (30), explained the purpose of the demonstration to newsmen through an interpreter. He was holding blown-up pictures of his two brothers, Pavel and Olaf, who had been arrested and interrogated by the KGB in Latvia for circulating a public opinion questionnaire. "We hope that Western public opinion will be able to put pressure on the Soviet government to free them."

Mr. Bruvers said. He said that his own emigration to the West was facilitated by such pressure.

Daniel Bruvers was born on April 22, 1945 in Riga, Latvia, as the fourth in a family of six children. They belong to the Baptist Church. During their school days the children of this family did not join the Communist youth organization although they were repeatedly urged to do so.

Because of the large family and

scant resources, all the children had to start working early in their lives. Daniel learned the trade of piano tuning and played the organ in St. Matthew's Baptist Church in Riga.

On January 17, 1973, he was married to a Latvian girl, Rudite Klavins, then 22, who was born and raised in W. Germany and with whom he fell in love during her visit to Riga. Soon after the wedding vows at St. Matthew's Church and the

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Valentyn Moroz Fasting Until Death for Rights

A group of five Americans began a hunger strike on July 31 in front of the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Washington, D.C. in support of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian political prisoner. The strikers announced that they would hunger until Moroz is released from the No. 2 prison in Vladimir, U.S.S.R. Moroz, a historian serving a 14-year term, is now in his second month of a hunger strike which he began on July 1st, in protest of his confinement in a strict isolation cell.

The current Washington strike fol-

lows nine days of picketing the Soviet Embassy and a three-day hunger strike last weekend by the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz. Similar hunger strikes of solidarity are taking place in New York, Winnipeg, and Ottawa, where they have entered their third week. The strikers have stated that this international movement seeks to focus world attention to the intolerable conditions of Moroz's imprisonment and to secure his release.

During a recent visit to the prison by his wife and son, Moroz declared that he

would rather die than continue under present conditions and that he had exhausted all means of protest against his treatment. The participants of the strike stated that numerous appeals to the Soviet government, including those of Tatiana Khodorovich and even the hunger strike of Andrei Sakharov, have also apparently had no effect.

Valentyn Y. Moroz was born on April 15, 1936 in the village of Kholoniv in the Volhynia oblast of Ukraine. He attended the State University of Lviv, from which he was graduated in 1958. While preparing for his Ph.D. degree, he taught history and geography in Lutsk and Ivano-Frankivsk.

In August, 1965, Moroz was arrested and charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," and, at a trial in January, 1966, he was sentenced to four years at hard labor.

According to two well-documented sources, *The Chornovil Papers* (McGraw Hill, 1968) and *Ferment in Ukraine* (McMillan 1971), the first trial of Moroz was unique in that it was one of the first political show trials in Ukraine in decades in which the prosecution failed to procure a confession of guilt. Moroz refused to plead guilty and openly spoke against the Russification of Ukraine and the neo-colonial status of the Ukrainian S.S.R. He declared that he was not a bourgeois nationalist, that he wanted neither a bourgeoisie nor nationalism but the same rights for Ukraine as her socialist sisters—Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia—enjoyed.

A closer examination of this issue is warranted because the charge of "separatism" becomes a recurring theme in the Soviet exposé of Moroz. He, in his *Report from the Beria Reserve*, had this to say:

"My comrades and I were convicted for 'propaganda directed at separating Ukraine from the USSR.' But Article 17 of the USSR constitution clearly states the right of every people, each Republic to secede from the Union. The right of every people to secede is laid down in the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted by the 21st Session of the UN General Assembly."

The Covenant to which Moroz refers to states: "All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

The right of Union Republics to secede from the Union as stated in Article 17 of the USSR Constitution also implies that activity to this end is constitutional. This is recognized in Soviet judicial literature.

"The right of secession of a Union Republic gives the people of a Union Republic the opportunity to express their will regarding the most important issue—the form of the Republic's statehood" (Editorial of the official legal journal of the Ukrainian SSR, *Socialist Law*, No. 1, 1966—written in the year of Moroz's first trial).

Moroz's "criminality" is also re-

futed by the International Commission of Jurists, which stated the following in its journal *The Review* (No. 10, 1973).

"Soviet law and practice relating to advocacy of cultural or political autonomy for one of the State's Republics is contradictory Article 17 of the Soviet Constitution says that 'The right to secede from the USSR is reserved for any Union Republic.' In view of the guarantee of freedom of speech in Article 125(a) of the Constitution, it is difficult to see how a person can be prosecuted for urging a Republic to exercise the right reserved to it in the Constitution. Any law authorizing prosecution for such activity would appear to be unconstitutional."

It is interesting that there appeared none of the Soviet press reports which would normally follow a "conclusive" or "educational" trial. Moroz in fact was praised by his students, who spoke highly of him in the witness stand. One of them, Anatoliya Panas, joined Moroz in condemning Soviet chauvinism in Ukraine.

An example of the "evidence" used to convict Moroz was a negative film of an "anti-Soviet" book by Moroz: *Vyivio Prav Ukrayiny (Evidence of Ukraine's Rights)*.

The historical documents contained in the book are all available in Soviet archives and libraries, none of the articles contain references to the Soviet system. The majority were written in pre-Soviet times and could not possibly be labeled anti-Soviet, they all coincide with Soviet criticism of Tsarist imperial rule and social order. Yet in 1966, the possession of such documents by a historian was used to justify four years at hard labor.

He served his term in Camps No. 1 and 11 in Yavas, in the Mordovian ASSR.

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The *Rising Tide* staff expresses its profound regret at the events leading to the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon. It is our hope, and the hope of all loyal Americans, that our country will be able to pull together, heal its wounds, and begin anew in a spirit of moral revival to lead in the world struggle for freedom and dignity. Future issues will examine the effects, causes and implications of the Watergate crisis in more detail. Our prayers are with our new President, Gerald Ford, as he assumes his heavy responsibilities as the 38th President of the United States. May we all show him the support he needs to effectively carry out these responsibilities in these critical times.

Ambassador Martin Attests to Vietnam's Future

On July 35, 1974, U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam Graham Martin testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on future prospects for Vietnam. His report presents an excellent summary of the present situation in Vietnam, emphasizing what is needed to create an economically viable militarily secure, and free Vietnam.

Mr. Chairman, I very much welcome the opportunity to present to this Committee some impressions of the very great changes that have taken place in the Republic of Vietnam since my arrival there a year ago this week. It has been an interesting year, in many ways a fascinating year and, in a few ways, a frustrating year.

But it has also been a rewarding year, because I am able to report to you that if the level of economic assistance of the Republic of Vietnam recommended and urged by Secretary Kissinger is authorized and appropriated by the Congress we can confidently anticipate that in a very few years we will be able to regard our Vietnam involvement as closed. If the Secretary's recommendations are heeded, our involvement will be closed in the way that the great majority of Americans quite obviously want it closed—leaving the Republic of Vietnam economically viable, militarily capable of defending itself with its own manpower against both external aggression and externally supported internal subversion, and free to choose its own leaders and its own government as its citizens themselves may freely determine.

I am confident that this is the way we

will eventually leave. If the requested level is not forthcoming it will just take us longer. For my part, I deeply believe the quicker we reach this goal, the better off we will be. It was for this reason I had publicly suggested that the appropriate economic aid level for the Republic of Vietnam for FY 1975 should be \$850 million rather than the \$750 million finally recommended by the Administration.

Although I still think the \$850 million level would permit us to more quickly leave Vietnam, I regretfully conclude that there is small chance of my persuading you to raise the Administration's requested \$750 million to that level. One senior member of the House did observe that if we could have gotten a majority of the Congress to visit Vietnam this year and see for themselves the actual current realities, we would have little difficulty in getting a clear majority for \$900 million. To my great regret the members of this Committee have been unable to visit the Republic of Vietnam in the past year.

I think it very important to note that what we are requesting is less than three-fourths of the amount of economic aid which will be furnished to North Vietnam this year by the PRC, and the Soviet Bloc. Our present estimate indicates that more than \$1.2 billion in purely economic aid will be delivered to North Vietnam in this calendar year.

Perhaps it would make a contribution to perspective to recall that when the Paris Agreement was signed in January 1973, no one who was familiar with the com-

plexity and depth of emotion involved in the Vietnam problem expected a perfect peace overnight. However, there was a general consensus that the Agreement provided a good framework on which peace could be built, and there was widespread hope that this peace could be achieved in a reasonable period of time.

In the subsequent 16 months, however, it has become increasingly clear that the Communist side is not yet really serious about implementing the Agreement. Instead, the aging Hanoi leaders are still trying to seize full power in the South through a combination of military, political, and economic pressure. They are also attempting to achieve a cut-back in U.S. military and economic assistance to the South, which they hope would accelerate the collapse of the structure of South Vietnamese society which their doctrine and ideology predicted as inevitable with the departure of American armed forces. But this collapse has not happened. Mr. Chairman, and I am convinced that it will not happen. To document this conviction, let me examine briefly the current political, military, and economic situation in South Vietnam.

Politically, the South Vietnamese Government is stronger than ever. It is effective. It exercises normal governmental control over more than 90 percent of the population and all important towns and economically productive areas. Most significantly, it is perceived to be legitimate by the vast majority of the South Vietnamese people, and it has their full support in its continuing struggle with the Communists. In sharp contrast, the Communists are politically weaker than ever, with control over less than one percent of the population, and very little popular support.

Militarily, the South Vietnamese are also strong. Their armed forces have demonstrated their ability to defend the country by stopping the 1972 North Vietnamese offensive without U.S. ground support, and by maintaining the military status quo since the signing of the Agreement, in spite of serious enemy attacks, without any U.S. combat help or advice. Even with the North Vietnamese military build-up since the Agreement, I am confident the South Vietnamese can continue to handle the military threat on their own,

provided we continue to replace military supplies on the permitted one-for-one basis.

Economically, however, South Vietnam has serious problems. The economic decline of the past two years was initiated by the 1972 North Vietnamese offensive and the disruption and refugee burden it created. It was exacerbated by the sharp decline in the value of overall U.S. aid and economic inputs. And it has been further compounded by rapid increase in the price of the major South Vietnamese imports, which consist primarily of petroleum products, fertilizer, and foodstuffs.

The immediate, short-range economic picture may look unfavorable, but its very severity has, up to this point, contributed to the political unity, as all Vietnamese have tightened their belts. There has been no panic, no political unrest, but a steadfast, pervasive determination to surmount this latest obstacle to their goal of a better life, in freedom, for themselves and their children. They have largely preserved the free economy and have permitted the normal forces of a market economy to work.

Thus, we find the price of gasoline at about \$1.62 a gallon, one of the highest in the world. Since all imports that were not absolutely essential have been eliminated, new aid will be channeled more than ever before into development and investment projects which will increase the productive capacity and create more jobs. South Vietnam's longer range economic prospects, therefore, are quite good. In fact, all the essential conditions are present in South Vietnam for an economic breakthrough along the lines achieved in Taiwan and South Korea, and in an even shorter time frame.

Overcoming these short-term economic problems and hastening the day of self-sufficiency are the immediate objectives of our FY-1975 economic assistance proposals for South Vietnam. Perhaps of even greater importance are the political and military implications of these proposals. I shall allude to these a bit later.

On the purely economic side, we should note that for the past decade our assistance has been concentrated on a stabilization effort, designed primarily to help the South Vietnamese support the



Ambassador Graham Martin

war effort and meet war-related contingencies such as caring for war victims. Wartime conditions and priorities forced the neglect of longer range economic development projects. The South Vietnamese have had some success during the past year in placing more emphasis on the economic future rather than the present. This South Vietnamese Government has responded to the economic crisis in part by eliminating all unnecessary imports, and all U.S. aid-financed imports have become production and development oriented. Now, with our FY-1975 request, we hope to put still greater emphasis on longer range reconstruction and development programs so that the South Vietnamese economy can move as quickly as possible toward self-sufficiency. If the amounts of assistance envisaged in the projections given the committee by Secretary Kissinger can be provided, I am certain that at the end of this decade South Vietnam will need no more than nominal amounts of further U.S. economic aid.

If we have the wisdom and foresight to make the large initial investment in economic aid I have recommended for the next two years, FY-75 and FY-76, I am

completely confident that we can reach this goal much sooner. While the FY-1975 emphasis on development will be somewhat more expensive initially, without it South Vietnam's import substitution program would be delayed, economic self-sufficiency would remain a mirage, and the need for outside assistance would be open-ended. One example provides a dramatic illustration. The FY-1975 proposal includes \$80 million for the construction of a fertilizer plant.

At the same time, we are spending nearly \$120 million per year to help the South Vietnamese import the fertilizer necessary to sustain food production. Yet, until the fertilizer plant is built, we cannot cut off funds for fertilizer imports, since to do so would cause a sharp decline in food production and the consequent prospect of either famine or a massive U.S. food supply program. Neither alternative would appear an attractive option.

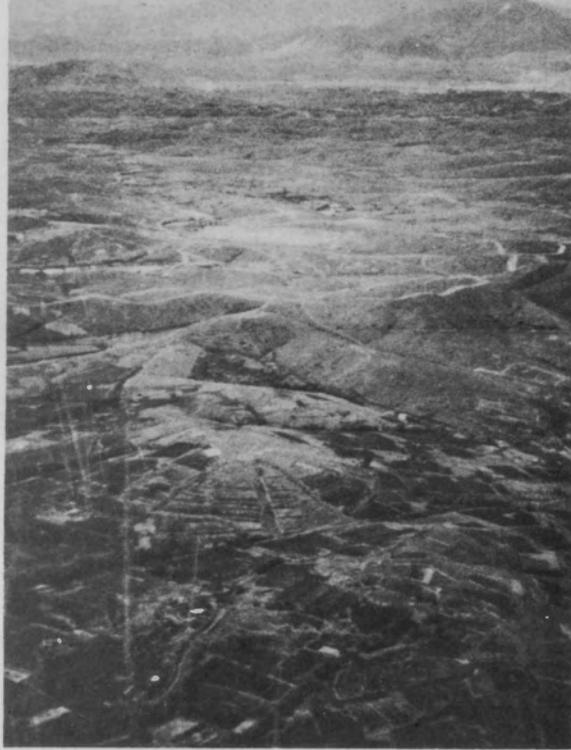
The program requested can serve as a sound basis of the U.S. phase-down effort; and in the long run it will be less costly to the American taxpayer than the stabilization programs of the wartime period.

I would like to address two particular questions which I know have been of concern to a good many members of Congress.

First is the assertion made frequently in recent months that eliminating or sharply cutting our aid to South Vietnam will bring peace by forcing the South Vietnamese to negotiate a settlement. This may be true if the kind of peace desired is that of abject surrender to Communist aggression, or the peace which would follow a bloody Communist military victory. But this is not the kind of peace for which we have invested so much all these years, nor the kind of peace which would be in our interest or in the interest of the South Vietnamese people.

In fact, it has not been the South Vietnamese Government which has been blocking implementation of the Paris Agreement and further progress toward peace. It is the Republic of Vietnam which has everything to gain by a full, complete, and rapid implementation of the Paris Agreements. Plain logic makes this conclusion inescapable. It is the North Viet-

(Continued on page 7)



Typically lush Vietnamese landscape showing farmland...



...and that in the invaded Quang-Tri province with ancestral gravesites.

Doctrine of Imperialism

A Destructive Myth

from Christian Anti-Communist Crusade Bulletin, August 1, 1974

by Fred Schwarz

"Where is fun-loving, practical-joking Bill Harris? Where is Angela DeAngelis who spent at least two years in my life singing, playing and making other people happy? What quirk of society turned them into radical, political terrorists who felt they had to place the gun before rhetoric? What iron force drove them to their apocalyptic end?"

These anguished questions were asked by Daniel McConnel, a school friend of the two members of the Symbionese Liberation Army—Angela DeAngelis Atwood, who perished in the flames in the Los Angeles shoot-out and Bill Harris who is currently hiding from the police along with his wife Emily and Patricia Hearst.

The answer is simple but tragic. The serum that transformed the humane, compassionate student Dr. Jekylls into the malevolent, violent Mr. Hydes of the S.L.A. is the doctrine of "Imperialism." If the United States of America is actually the creature described by the doctrine of Imperialism, decency demands its destruction.

Ideas have consequences. This theme dominated the writings of the great Russian novelist, Dostoevsky. "The whole horror of the situation," he wrote in *A Writer's Diary* about 100 years ago, is that not only in our country but all over the world the most foul and disgusting actions can be committed by people who are anything but scoundrels. Our trouble today is that a man may commit a most atrocious crime without considering himself to be and, indeed, without actually being a scoundrel."

He was referring to the young Russian revolutionists who engaged in bombing, kidnapping and assassination of both innocent and guilty to protest the excesses of Czarism. Today similar young revolutionists commit similar crimes to protest Imperialism.

The following description of the U.S.A. given by the Weathermen in their basic document, "You don't need a Weatherman to know which way the wind blows" is derived from the doctrine of "Imperialism."

"We are within the heartland of a world-wide monster, a country so rich from its world-wide plunder that even the crumbs doled out to the enslaved masses within its borders provide for material existence very much above the conditions of the masses of people of the world. The US empire, a world-wide system, channels wealth, based upon the labor and resources of the rest of the world, into the United States. The relative affluence existing in the United States is directly dependent upon the labor and natural resources of the Vietnamese, the Angolans, the Bolivians, and the rest of the peoples of

the Third World. All of the United Airlines Astrojets, all of the Holiday Inns, all of Hertz's automobiles, your television set, car and wardrobe already belong, to a large degree to the people of the rest of the world." (*The Three Faces of Revolution*, pages 66 and 67)

If this is a true description of the U.S.A., it should be destroyed.

The Weathermen are not stupid. Their scholastic achievements testify to their intelligence. They were among the most brilliant students at America's most prestigious universities: Harvard, Columbia, Michigan, and California at Berkeley. Nevertheless, they believed the doctrine of Imperialism so sincerely that they renounced their families, their society, and their country and became criminals dedicated to the destruction of their country.

Many who have not taken the drastic steps of the Weathermen and the Symbionese Liberation Army are convinced that the doctrine of Imperialism is true. On Monday, July 1, I was traveling by bus from New York to Philadelphia. A young man sat beside me and we conversed. He told me he was a student at the University of Pennsylvania. Our discussion of current events led to the S.L.A. and Patricia Hearst, and I quoted the above Weatherman statement. His response was startling. "What's wrong with that?"

He was no radical but was nevertheless convinced that the statement was essentially true. He typifies hundreds of thousands of students in the U.S. I am tempted to say millions, but I do not wish to exaggerate. However, there is certainly no exaggeration in saying that the doctrine of Imperialism is believed by millions of students throughout the world. It is the major recruiting resource for Communist and radical revolutionary parties everywhere.

The doctrine of Imperialism is a Communist doctrine, but it motivates millions who claim to be non-Communist. The definitive statement of this doctrine is in Lenin's book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, which was written by Lenin in 1916 and is probably the most influential book in today's world.

The Essence of the Doctrine

The doctrine of Imperialism teaches that American prosperity is the result of armed theft from the poor nations of the world and that the U.S. is a monstrous, murdering plunderer waxing fat on ill-gotten gains stolen from the underdeveloped nations.

A simplified theoretical exposition is as follows:

1. Profit is evil. It is the "surplus value of labor" which is the portion of the labor of the workman for which he is not paid. It is stolen from him by the capitalist.
2. Accumulated profit forms capital.

3. Capital accumulates in the hands of fewer and fewer people and becomes monopoly capital.

4. Ultimately finance capital, which is defined as capital that is owned by banks and utilized by industry, is formed.

5. Finance capital is exported to underdeveloped countries where it pays starvation wages to the workers and extracts the mineral and agricultural wealth which is transported to the U.S.A., where it is manufactured and sold at enormous profit.

6. A portion of the profit is paid to the U.S. workers, which makes them a workers' aristocracy and dampens their revolutionary impulses.

7. U.S. military might and diplo-

8. Profits from foreign investments could, at best, make only a minor contribution to U.S. wages so it is obviously false to attribute the prosperity of American workers to the profits of Imperialism. This is illustrated by the official figures published by the Department of Commerce for 1969. The figures for 1974 would be comarable.

If every cent earned by foreign investment were paid in wages to American workers, it would pay less than 1 percent of the American wage bill.

Only 31 percent of U.S. foreign investment is in underdeveloped countries. The distribution is as follows:

Total U.S. Assets and Investments Abroad	146,134,000,000
Total assets and investments of foreigners in USA	81,000,000,000
Total income from U.S. foreign investments	8,838,000,000
Total payments by U.S. foreign investors	4,463,000,000
Net income from U.S. foreign investments	4,375,000,000
Wages paid to U.S. employees in 1969	564,300,000,000

Distribution of Foreign Investments

Canada	30 per cent
Europe	30 per cent
Latin America	18 per cent
Asia	8 per cent
Africa	5 per cent
Australia	5 per cent

(*Three Faces of Revolution*, page 73)

macy are mechanisms to protect invested capital. If any country wishes to take control of its own resources, it is subjected to diplomatic pressures and, if these are unsuccessful, to military intervention.

The Errors of the Doctrine

What is wrong with this doctrine? A great deal!

1. Investment of capital in an underdeveloped country can and often does add to the wealth of that country. This is proved conclusively by the current wealth of the Arab oil-producing countries. It was foreign capital that discovered the oil, drilled the wells, and built the pipelines, refineries and tankers. Today the Arab oil-producing states are wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice. Their accumulated wealth is so great it threatens to destroy the financial system of the world.

Invested capital, like fire, can increase human well-being or it can cause great destruction. Most underdeveloped countries could benefit enormously from a wise investment of foreign capital.

3. American military power does not threaten its neighbors and countries are allowed to make their own laws to regulate foreign investment. There was no military intervention when Mexico nationalized its oil industry. There is no threat of military intervention in Australia where the present Labor Government is imposing severe restrictions on foreign capital.

Whenever American military power is used to stop the spread of Communism, this is called Imperialism. There is no conceivable economic interest that would have justified the vast expenditure of the Vietnamese War. The motivations of presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon were to halt the spread of Communist dictatorship. However poorly the design was executed, it was not an imperialist policy that led to the war but the reverse.

However, there is a half-truth in the doctrine and, as Tennyson says, "A lie which is half a truth is the wickedest lie of all."

The half-truth must be refuted with the whole truth.

Survivor Testifies: Slavs Suffered Intensely in Wartime Camps

by Rain Scriabine

"I don't want my family to forget what happened to our people," says Mr. Joseph Zalewski as he recalls his four years as a Polish prisoner in Mauthausen, a Nazi concentration camp near Linz, Austria. Mr. Zalewski plans to return to his native Poland after a brief visit with his family in the United States. While in the United States, Joseph Zalewski wants to tell his story of the Mauthausen tragedy, 1940-45.

"I want all people to know what suffering there was for the Slavic people under the Nazis during World War II." Concerned that historical wrongs should not be forgotten by future generations, Joseph Zalewski addresses himself with special urgency to young people. "I want youth to hear me because I don't have long to live." Mr. Zalewski is seventy-two years old.

Joseph Zalewski constructed a large-scale map of the Mauthausen compound from memory as a visual legacy for

his family. His drawing includes "picture fragments" of the most tragic and poignant events that took place during the period of his incarceration.

He told his story in moving terms, pausing to describe in detail the events surrounding each "picture fragment." He spoke in halting Russian which he learned as a boy in school. Occasionally he would inject Polish words. Concerned that we understand him precisely, he often resorted to a Polish-English dictionary. Despite the language barrier, Joseph Zalewski's story came through poignantly, disturbingly, and memorably.

Zalewski's artistic rendition of Mauthausen history traces the lives and fates of individuals, gruesome incidents of death and a saga of personal survival. Possessing no artistic background, Mr. Zalewski feels that the inspiration and the skill for the project "came as a gift of God." The map of Mauthausen was Zalewski's first attempt at artistic self-ex-

pression.

In 1940, Joseph Zalewski was thirty-eight years old. He worked as a regional secretary in Yelenevo, a Polish city near the Russian border. It was there that two SS men armed with police dogs came to arrest him. "They took me while I was on my knees praying to God for the safety of my family." Reasons for arrest were not given. "I was innocent, as were most people arrested and detained by the Nazis at this time." Joseph Zalewski feels that his Slavic origin was enough motive for arrest. "The Germans wanted to destroy all Slavic people. They didn't differentiate between Poles or Czechs. They merely sought to impose their own nation."

Forty-nine thousand prisoners passed through the walls of Mauthausen during the camp's brief history. Most of the inmates were Slavs, though Zalewski recalls brief encounters with a few Frenchmen and Italians. Occasionally Jewish prisoners were brought into the camp compound. They were dealt particularly severe punishment.

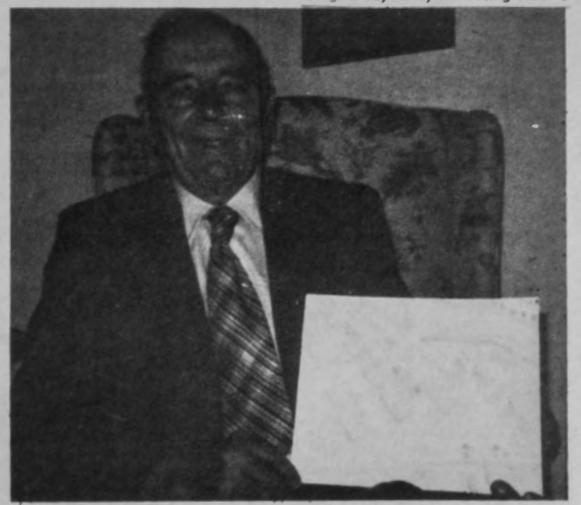
A group of seven Jewish prisoners was brought into the camp. The eldest, a rabbi, was forced to yell "Hier sind sieben Juden" ("Here are seven Jews") while perched high atop a wall in the center of the prison yard. Shortly after, the rabbi and the remaining members of his group were forcibly impaled on a barbed wire fence. Joseph Zalewski, on a routine excursion to the periphery of the camp, spot-

ted sixty bodies of secretly executed Jews hidden under a bridge. Blood from the mass of bodies flowed in a single stream into a small nearby river. It was eventually to be washed into the Danube.

Mass executions were a daily camp ritual serving as punishment for non-compliance and as a threatening example to elicit obedience. Bodies of victims having faced the firing squad at the "wall of death" were removed to the Mauthausen crematorium from which the stench of burning flesh would fill the camp. "We watched powerlessly as eight women were paraded before us," Zalewski recalls. "They were shot with automatic weapons."

Hard labor under austere conditions characterized daily life at Mauthausen. "We had to level hills, build barracks, break rocks and build roads." The slightest deviation was immediately punishable by death. "A person pausing to drink from a puddle would be shot without question." Those too weak or exhausted to keep up the intensive work pace were taken away in wagons to be cremated alive. "We would hear their cries for help," Joseph Zalewski recalls with an intensity that comes from bitter experience.

Labor in the Mauthausen stone quarry was "the most difficult." Under the constant and indiscriminate beating of prison guards, "we had to lift stone slabs up a staircase with 185 steps." Dropping a stone meant execution. Most of the stones



Mr. Joseph Zalewski holds sketch of camp in which he was detained by Nazis.

processed in the Mauthausen quarry bore the carved name ESHE, a German company. "I want that company to pay me back from my years of labor," Joseph Zalewski states emphatically.

Escape "was futile." Attempted escapees were either executed at the place of capture or returned to camp for a ritual execution staged for the benefit of others who, via escape attempts, would land a similar fate. Joseph Zalewski's friend, an unsuccessful runaway from camp, was chained by the neck to a stone wall. "We passed him on the way to the stone quarry early in the morning. When we returned at night, he was dead."

Psychological torture was an accepted procedure. Mock executions toyed with death. A man was hanged four times.

Three times were purposefully unsuccessful. Humiliation often meant disrobing in the prison yard under the scrutiny of the guards. Silence was enforced. Zalewski's friend, Tadzio, had his face slit open with a metallic measuring tape by a guard who noticed Tadzio's lips moving in silent prayer.

Survival for Joseph Zalewski meant caution, extra effort at hard labor, and luck. He recalls a clever ploy by several Polish prisoners to outwit the Germans. He refers to it fondly as "our sabotage." "We were taken to build a basement of a water pumping station at the outskirts of the camp. We didn't work at all. We sat in the basement and ate our 'extra rations for difficult labor'—400 G of bread, soup and

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Portugal Faces Hard Future

by Carl Gershman

from New America, July 20, 1974

As with the downfall of the Czarist regime in Russia almost six decades ago, the recent overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship came about as a result of involvement in a futile and costly foreign war.

In Portugal's case it was a 13-year old colonial war in Africa which steadily eroded the social and economic stability of the metropolis. 40,000 guerrillas in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea (Guinea-Bissau) were able to hold down 160,000 Portuguese troops, an enormous manpower drain for a country of only 9 million people. The war also drained Portugal's population through emigration as thousands of families left the country to escape four years' of compulsory military service for their sons of draft age.

This disastrous war precipitated the April 25th military coup which ousted the Caetano dictatorship and in the process destroyed the authoritarian system established by Antonio Salazar 45 years earlier. Already the coup has brought about momentous changes in Portugal itself, and it has set in motion a series of events that could defuse—or ignite—the explosive situation in Southern Africa.

The coup was remarkably free of vengeful bloodshed. Though the population despised the pides, the regime's secret police, they were not summarily executed by mobs, as might have been expected, but turned over to the soldiers for incarceration. The new government risked permitting the organization of vast May Day without violent incident. If the first week of Portugal's new life was any indication of the future, the country would clearly make a successful transition to democracy.

The Communists

But the released of political forces that had been suppressed for decades also revealed problems that lay ahead for Portugal. Though larger crowds turned out to greet Socialist leader Mario Soares on his return from exile than were on hand for the return of Alvaro Cunhal, the Communist leader it was the Communist Party which possessed the stronger organization. The Communists have thousands of party activists particularly in the unions they have been cultivating an image of respectability. While they had sponsored sabotage actions since October 1970 through Accao Revolucionaria Armada, the party's underground armed force, they had suspended violent activity during the year preceding the coup.

Since the coup the Communist Party has played a moderate role, relative to the Maoist Revolutionary Movement of the Proletarian Party and two smaller Trotskyite groups, and has even urged wildcat strikers to go back to work. The Communists are looking toward the spring elections when they will have a chance to emerge as the country's strongest political force. They are also afraid that subversive activity might provoke a military backlash that would force them out of the government. (Cunhal is presently Minister Without Portfolio and Avelino Gonçalves, another Communist, is Minister of Labor.) Already a spokesman for the junta has called attention to the "carnival democracy" in Portugal.

The Communist Party's moderate behavior at present should not be

taken as an indication of its true political character. Unlike the Spanish party which deviates from the Moscow line, the Portuguese party adheres closely to Kremlin policy. Cunhal was honored in Moscow last February in the presence of Soviet Communist Party chief Brezhnev and Boris Ponomarev, the head of the International Department which is the direct descendent of the Comintern. Party ideologist Mikhail Suslov, speaking at the event, noted that the Soviet and Portuguese parties were united "on all fundamental questions of modern times" and referred glowingly to Cunhal's remark that "permanent and inderstructible solidarity with the Soviet Union and its Communist Party is the unconditional international duty of Communists and working people of all countries."

"The Portuguese party opposes Portugal's entry into the European Economic Community, and Cunhal has echoed Moscow in remarking that the "trend toward detente" has furthered the revolutionary struggles in Portugal and Africa. The importance of Portugal in global affairs—it was America's only NATO ally which permitted the use of its bases for the resupply of Israel during the last Mideast war—is not lost on the Russians.

Antonio de Spinoza

Nor is the challenge posed by the Communists lost on General Antonio de Spinoza, Portugal's new President and the leader of the April 25th coup. In his now-famous book, *Portugal and the Future*, which was published just two months before the coup, Spinoza wrote that no Portuguese could allow his country to become "a Soviet Thorn in the side of the West."

Spinoza and his military colleagues have shown themselves to be committed to Portugal's transition into a Western democracy, but they may not be able to control the events they have set in motion. Portugal is an impoverished country with a per capita income about one-half that of Italy, the poorest member of the EEC. Poverty and the absence of a democratic political tradition are generally a formula for some form of authoritarianism, of a Communist or Fascist variety.

Portugal may prove an exception, and it is incumbent upon democratic governments and social democratic movements in the West to give maximum support to their counterparts in Portugal. But the threat of

(Continued on page 8)

Admiral

(Continued from page 1)

of the AIM Report discussed press coverage of a warning by *Jane's Fighting Ships* that the Soviet navy had surpassed ours. It is interesting that while the *Baltimore Sun* put that story on page one, *The New York Times* completely ignored it.

It is just a coincidence that these two papers treated the Zumwalt retirement statement in the same way they treated the warning by *Jane's Fighting Ships*? Or is this a reflection of differing editorial judgment on the part of the two papers about the desirability of communicating to their readers information about the declining relative strength of the U.S. Navy?

Soviets Step Up Terror Campaign

from the Cardinal Mindzenty Foundation

The May issue of *International Affairs*, the Soviet Communist Party's official political and theoretical journal, reaffirms the "correctness" of Lenin's thinking about "peaceful coexistence" -- now called detente -- and continued Communist efforts toward undermining and overthrowing the governments of non-Communist Nations. In Communist phraseology the term is "national liberation."

Speaking of the "historic victories scored by the fighters of national liberation," *International Affairs* states, once again, that "the Leninist foreign policy of the USSR" is "exerting a profound influence" on national liberation movements all over the world. At the same time, the journal points out, "the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union ... sets the aim to transform the present detente into a global, stable, and irreversible phenomenon."

Perhaps Lenin was right. Because none of our diplomats has demanded -- as a prerequisite to detente -- that the Communists desist from exporting revolution to other countries.

No Evidence?

Whenever this subject is raised, there are those who scoff -- saying no evidence exists showing that the Communists are still engaged in such clandestine activities. But not according to researcher John Barron (Author of *KGB*) who has interviewed or had access to reports from nearly every postwar defector from the Soviet Secret Police (KGB) since World War II. Espionage and terrorist activities in every non-Communist country are part of standard, Soviet operations according to these former Communist agents.

One such report reveals that "schools or camps for the training of guerrillas and terrorists are hidden in remote areas of the Urals and Central Asia. A KGB guerrilla captured in Africa reported that he and several hundred other Africans had been trained at military camps near Odessa."

Researcher Barron -- who has won some of the highest awards in journalism, including the George Polk Memorial Award -- says: "Today Cuba is exporting subversion and terrorism, but in a more subtle and sophisticated manner" than in the days of the romantic revolutionary Che Guevara Fidel Castro. He notes, "is supporting Palestinian terrorists, the Irish Republican Army and separatists -- the FLO -- in Canada."

To update Barron's charge, *The New York Times*, on May 27, revealed that ultraleftist Portuguese Africans had taken to the streets of Lisbon to demand the release of a Cuban Army officer captured by Portuguese forces during operations against guerrillas in Portuguese Guinea.

Worldwide Operations

The U.S. has been able to trace millions of dollars delivered from Moscow to parties in the Western Hemisphere. Barron points out. In 1968 Mexican security agents observed a Soviet KGB officer pass \$30,000 to a Party representative at the time Mexican Communists were

preparing to riot and force cancellation of the Olympic Games.

"In accord with the repeatedly proclaimed Soviet determination to support 'wars of national liberation' the KGB also assists selected terrorists and guerrilla movements," Barron says. "Since the late 1960's ... the (Soviet) Politburo has come to appreciate that even uncontrolled terrorism can contribute to the Soviet objective of debilitating foreign societies ... hence the KGB now lends clandestine aid to some terrorist groups that are not under total Soviet domination."

As an example, in October 1971 Dutch authorities confiscated a shipment of Czech arms destined for the Irish Republican Army which came from a state firm controlled by the KGB and were consigned not to the Marxist but the non-Communist or "Provisional" faction of the IRA. Says Barron: "The Soviet Union did not care who used the guns as long as they were used in Ireland."

Increased Terrorism

The explosion of three bombs

during evening rush hour in downtown Dublin on May 17 -- with 23 people killed and 80 critically injured -- points out the increased use of international terrorism as a weapon aimed at debilitating non-Communist countries. Two days earlier -- on May 15 -- Palestinian guerrillas invaded a Jewish school in Maalot, Israel murdering 18 teenage students.

Some of the most spectacular incidents of Communist-supported international terrorist operations in the past few years include the following:

Palestinian guerrillas assassinated the Premier of Jordan in Cairo on Nov. 29, 1971. Three Japanese terrorists -- members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine -- gunned down 26 persons at Lydda Airport in Tel Aviv on May 30, 1972. Members of an Arab guerrilla organization murdered 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team in Munich on September 5, 1972.

On October 29, 1972, three of the same terrorists hijacked a Lufthansa

plane to Communist Yugoslavia. They were never brought to justice. On March 2, 1973 eight guerrillas invaded the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, and killed 3 diplomats. On April 4, 1973 two Palestinian guerrillas made an unsuccessful attempt to attack passengers on an El Al plane in Rome. On July 24, 1973 terrorists hijacked a Japan Air Lines jet, flew it to Tripoli, Libya and blew it up.

On August 4, 1973 two Arab terrorists killed five persons and wounded 45 others in a machine gun attack on passengers in the Athens, Greece airport. On April 11, 1974 Arab guerrillas killed scores of men, women and children in the Northern Israeli border town of Qiryat Shemona before dying themselves in an explosion of their dynamite charges.

These are only a few of the types of activities engaged in by the forces of "national liberation" so staunchly supported by the same Soviet "diplomats" who are now bringing us detente and good will.

We Love You, Bobby Fischer!

by Alan O'Ethel

With the possible exception of President Nixon, no man of recent times has been more vilified by the press than Bobby Fischer, the world chess champion. Ostensibly the reason for all the adverse criticism is his seemingly intolerable behavior. But I feel that the true reason is not his character and not the winning of the World Chess Championship, but the fact that he took it away from Russia.

As a chess player and fan myself of 30 years and more (I think it is a beautiful and fascinating game), I find the attitude toward Fischer incomprehensible. Many heroes have had less than pleasing personalities, from Hercules to John L. Sullivan. But as long as they won, no one much cared. Fischer won—didn't he? So the press—an element of it—cannot attack his win, so they concentrate on his personality.

Eccentricity in chess champions is proverbial. No chess enthusiast was surprised by Bobby's behavior. If anything, he was rather mild compared to some of the great players of the past. At one tournament when a champion lost to an inferior player, he jumped onto the table, scattering pieces in all directions, and screamed: "How could I lose to such a stupid person!" It's all in the game and fans love it just like opera fans dote on divas' tantrums. Who would want a diva without temperament? And after all, Bobby Fischer is the prima donna assoluta of the chess world.

In chess, great players seldom make all or nothing moves. Instead, they play for small advantages in position and pieces. The advantage of one pawn is all that a powerful player needs to win. Or the opposite—the sacrifice of a piece for a positional advantage.

It is hard to resist comparing global strategy to a chess game—especially where Russia is concerned—Russia, where chess is the national pastime.

Remember the U-2 incident?

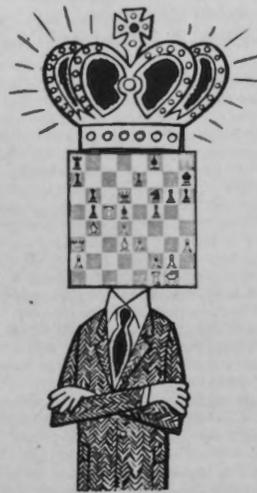
Khrushchev's sudden attack caught the West and our State Department completely off-guard. He cancelled the Summit, ranted and raved, and made headlines. It wasn't until much later that we realized how ridiculous it was for Khrushchev, who was the head of the biggest spying apparatus the world has ever known, to accuse us of spying. But it wasn't so much the spying that was important to Khrushchev (he had known all about the U-2) nor the Summit. What he was after was what any good chess player wants—an advantage—the loss of a little bit of the United States' prestige around the world plus cancellation of the U-2 flights.

So now we have an advantage called Bobby Fischer. And the Communists want very much to destroy him. He represents democracy, free enterprise, and the individual. The individual who single-handedly demolished Soviet supremacy in chess. Alone, he beat them all. Because of this, some Russians were said to have doubts about Communism. And that is a nation of chess players with more grandmasters than any other.

One of the chief strategies in the Communist takeover of any country is to undermine confidence in its leaders. (Is it a surprise to anyone that the *Communist Daily World* is spearheading the "Impeach Nixon" campaign, perhaps to those still taken in by detente?) Even the breathtaking accomplishments of the astronauts were ridiculed by one leftist columnist who referred to them as "a couple of Klutzes." And a poster in an underground newspaper office showed the Americans landing on the moon with the words "So What?"

Bobby Fischer is a leader in his field. Since his enemies cannot attack his triumph, they attack him personally. Well, the propaganda doesn't work here. He is a genuine hero who single-handedly brought chess to the attention of the world and beat the Russians at their own game.

Bobby Fischer, we love you.



Arrested For Asking Questions

from page 1



Pavis



Olafs



Daniels (Now in U.S.)

civil ceremony at the official Soviet marriage bureau were completed, Daniel's bride had to return to Germany. He applied for an exit visa, but was turned down four times.

His wife's family tried to contact the Soviet authorities in Germany, but to no avail. On July 21, 1973, as a last resort, he started a hunger strike.

After maintaining the hunger strike for 30 days and not giving in to temporary solutions offered by the Soviet officials, he was informed that he was no longer wanted by the Soviet People and would receive his exit visa in a month's time. For the past 10 months Daniels and Rudite have lived in Bonn, Germany.

On July 21, 1974, Daniels Bruvers came to New York to plead for his two younger brothers, Olafs (27) and Pavis (25). Since May 24, 1974, they have been detained by Soviet KGB agents after being summoned for interrogation.

The reason for their arrest was the distribution of a public opinion questionnaire among their colleagues in the Medical Institute, where Pavis is a student close to the end of his studies, and at a taxi center, where Olafs works. The survey tried to objectively find out about the attitudes of people living in present-day Latvia.

The questionnaires, which upon completion were to be sent to a local newspaper, consisted of 7 questions, such as the type of radio broadcasts people like to listen to, where they spend their vacations, what kind of lottery tickets they buy and if they are satisfied with their present jobs.

It is believed that due to the frank, and possibly harsh opinions expressed in the 107 completed questionnaires, the KGB was anxious to extract the names of the participants from the Bruvers brothers. It is feared they are using torture and their usual brutal methods of interrogation to try and

obtain this information.

At last report, Olafs and Pavis Bruvers were being held in solitary confinement in the KGB building in Riga, 61 Lenin Street.

The investigation of their case is expected to be completed by the end of this month. It will be followed by a trial. The serious charge of slandering the Soviet government (Art. 183 of the Criminal Code of the Latvian SSR, corresponding to the better known RSFSR Criminal Code Art. 190-1), has been placed against them. They may be sentenced to years of hard labor in Siberia.

Their parents have been repeatedly interrogated and upbraided for raising their children in the "Bourgeois Nationalistic and Christian" way. On May 16 and 17, eight KGB agents searched their home in Riga, 58 Sejas Street, but apparently found nothing incriminating.

On July 8, Mr. and Mrs. Bruvers were interrogated for seven hours; on July 9, Mr. Bruvers was recalled

for a 3-1/3 hr. further questioning. Mrs. Bruvers has a heart condition. When Daniels telephoned his parents on July 10, his mother's voice was very weak. Mr. & Mrs. Bruvers complained that they were constantly shadowed and that their mail was not only censored, but withheld altogether.

On behalf of his brothers, Daniels Bruvers has pleaded with the Soviet Government; contacted the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Geneva; informed all Communist parties outside the Soviet Union; submitted the information to the Secretary-General to the United Nations; and gained the support of several European organizations concerned with Human Rights. Since his arrival in New York, he has picketed in front of the UN and the Soviet Mission to the UN.

He came to Washington to lead the demonstration and to contact various members of the U.S. Congress to ask them for their help.



Latvian National Identity Endangered

from the American Latvian Association

Latvia, along with Estonia and Lithuania, is one of the three Baltic States on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. Its territory of 25,000 sq. mi. (about the size of West Virginia) has a population of 2 million inhabitants. The capital city Riga (founded in 1201, present population over 700,000) has always been an important cultural and trade center in Northeast Europe since the Middle Ages.

The Latvian language belongs to the Baltic branch of Indo-European languages. It shares certain linguistic features with some of the other European languages and at the same time retains its own identity apart from the tongues of Germanic and Slavic nations.

The cultural patterns in Latvia have a decidedly Western European orientation, as witnessed by Latvian architecture, art, literature, religion, and the present style of living of Latvian peoples.

Pressed on its borders by their more populous and powerful neighbors, the Latvians have always managed to retain their cultural, if not political, identity and independence. During the past centuries, parts of Latvia have been repeatedly economically ruined and even depopulated by onslaughts of foreign armies fighting for the dominance of Northeast Europe.

In 1795 Russia succeeded in bringing the whole Latvian territory under its sole rule. The collapse of Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires at the end of World War I enabled several nations in Central and Northeast Europe (from Czechoslovakia to Finland) to gain their independence.

Latvia was proclaimed an independent democratic republic on November 18, 1918, but a war of liberation against German and Russian armies lasting from 1918 and 1920 still remained to be fought. In the Peace treaty of Moscow (August 11, 1920) the Soviet Union renounced "forever" any claims on Latvian territory and pledged to respect its status as a sovereign nation.

However, a secret agreement between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939, divided their spheres of influence and showed the cynical disregard of the Soviets for the treaties they had signed with its militarily weaker neighboring states. In June, 1940, while France was being overrun by the German armies, the Soviet Union lost no opportunity in occupying the 3 defenseless Baltic States--Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Following the Soviet plan, a hasty sham "election" was held in July, 1940, with only one list of Moscow approved communist candidates. Other candidates were rejected and even jailed on the charge of being "political opportunists."

In August, 1940 Latvia was forced to become a Soviet republic, a dependent part of the U.S.S.R., and the Latvian people were denied their constitutional rights to express their will. The United States formally declared on July 23, 1940 that it does not recognize the forcible incorporation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania into the Soviet Union. A year of terror, economic plunder and mass deportations of Latvians followed.

The subsequent clashes of Soviet and Nazi armies on Latvian soil brought devastation to the country. After the end of World War II, Latvia and many other Eastern European countries still remain occupied by the only old-fashioned colonial empire left intact in the 20th century--the Soviet Union. In the meantime, numerous African and non-Russian Asian nations have gained independence.

For all the non-Russian "republics" within the Soviet empire, sovietization also means russification and a loss of cultural independence. In Latvia, even the little decisions affecting everyday



Statue of Liberty in Riga.

lives of the local population are made not in Riga but in Moscow. Soviet overseers, who have been sent to Latvia, have more real power than the local Latvian Communist party functionaries.

The russification process in Soviet occupied Latvia is prominently evident in education textbooks used in Latvian schools are mainly translations from the Russian. Higher education can be obtained only if a student is a member of communist youth organizations. Less than one half of teachers in rural areas have college degrees.

Free expression in literature and art is discouraged. Unless writers, poets, artists, and musicians follow the approved political doctrine, their works are not published or performed openly. Deviations from the prescribed course of action are met with restrictions upon the authors' and artists' activities and personal lives.

As a result of religious discrimination, membership in the Latvian Lutheran church has decreased from 1 million prior to Soviet occupation to 0.3 million during the late 1960's; only 50 of the 259 churches are still used for religious services.

In many parishes, christening, confirmation, and wedding ceremonies have not been performed for years. The communists are applying pressure to discard even last rites and burial services. Despite all this, there is evidence that Latvian youth displays a deep religious conviction.

Nationalism continues to be a most dangerous threat to the Soviet system. Lack of help from the Western nations has left the younger generation of nationalistic Latvians with only one alternative: to seek more power inside the communist system for more independence from the Soviet Union.

Their immediate concern is to stop the influx of Russian workers that are brought into Latvia as a result of heavy industrialization. At the same time, educated Latvian youths are assigned positions elsewhere in the Soviet Union. This process will eventually lead to loss of national identity; Latvians will become a minority in their native country. And the restlessness in the non-Russian parts of the Soviet empire forces the Soviet leaders to suppress even the slightest movement toward national independence. Nevertheless, the Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians and other oppressed nations are looking for opportunities to rid themselves of the Soviet Russian domination.

As a further step to eliminate persistent nationalistic loyalties, the Soviet leaders have begun a controversial consolidation of its national planning regions that may ultimately erode the identity of individual Soviet ethnic republics. Under this plan, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, as well as the Byelorussian Republic would be combined with the adjoining Leningrad and Moscow regions into a new north-central planning region.

Soviet-Czech Enmity On the Rise

Restive Czechs Look to the West

from The Rising Tide Great Britain July 16, 1974

A St. Michael, Harrods, or even a Mac Fisheries plastic shopping bag is a sought-after article in Prague. Its ownership, well displayed during lunch-hours in parks, at week-end picnics, or simply as a tote bag in any public place such as a cinema or restaurant, proclaims the owner's pro-Western sympathies. Moreover there is as yet no obvious punishment for such demonstrative behaviour.

I joined a group of people of both sexes in their mid-twenties at a table in one of Prague's famous beer gardens, "U Fleku." When I asked for my 'pint' in broken Czech with an English accent, conversation was struck up like this: "Are you from the Embassy? — No." "On business in Prague? — Yes and no." "What do you mean by that? — they persisted, with one of their group who had a reasonable working knowledge of English, acting as spokesman. He had studied English to get into the foreign travel business in the hope that one day he might be sent to an English-speaking country.

I showed them my passport with the magic word *Journalist*, and then the tables were turned. I asked why they had shown such an interest in my job and the explanation was truly astounding: "We feared that you are one of those Western Comrades who act as liaison officers with some of the international bodies which serve the Russians." Though the fact of my being a member of the Press was no guarantee that I was not one of those, they seemed to be satisfied and laid their hearts bare to me.

In spite of my original plans, I prolonged my stay by a few more days, while they in turn became my trusted guides both in the backwaters of the capital and in the less penetrable depths of life in that down-trodden, occupied country running considerable risk by being repeatedly seen with an Englishman of indeterminate mien.

Prague — and I have reason to believe, most of the country — is rife with rumours. However little is known apart from sporadic references in foreign broadcasts beamed to Czechoslovakia. Watergate is attributed to a KGB plot to unseat President Nixon who enjoys remarkably high popularity, especially among younger people.

They believe Chancellor Brandt was ousted under right-wing pressure — and there is no mistaking the fact that 'right-wing' has a complimentary connotation there — because he went too far in his 'Ostpolitik.' The hatred for the East Germans for taking part in the Soviet invasion in 1968, has revived

memories of Nazi brutalities, and poor Brandt made the mistake of playing up to them.

This fact was enhanced by Communist propaganda at the time of the signing of the treaty between the two Germanies, which had the wrong kind of reverberations in the country.

Of course, there are lots of distorted views on the various East-West talks: whether Russia is acting from a position of weakness or of strength, and what the West could or should do to wrestle out for the poor Satellites at least some limited freedoms, particularly in the sphere of foreign travel and contacts with Western culture, especially music, which they so love. Last but not least, there are some rather naive expectations of what Solzhenitsyn, their new hero, can do for the oppressed people now that he is living in freedom in the West.

Turning from their speculations on Western involvement to more purely domestic matters, the rumours cover mainly the field of economy. Soviet exploitation is felt at every step. Naturally, considering the expense of Russian involvement in two costly wars — in Vietnam and in the Middle East — of keeping Cuba afloat, of financing subversion on at least three continents, including all the guerrilla movements and other political extravagance, some part of the burden, and a considerable one at that, has to be borne by the hapless Satellites.

First came the alarm (called 'septana progaganda' — whispered propaganda — in Czech), that preferential shopping for those who possess foreign currency or currency coupons provided by friends and relatives in the West, would come to an end. This doubled the prices of such coupons in the black market, and the queues in front of the shops called 'Tuzex' were unbelievable.

When such luxuries as original Nescafe, cashmere pullovers, 'real' jeans (which must have a Western manufacturer's label to be considered genuine), or Pall Mall cigarettes, as well as other symbols of capitalist prosperity ran out, the shelves were also emptied of the less saleable goods which had remained there for years. Only then did the enthusiastic shoppers begin to realize that the rumour of closing these shops had been an officially-inspired piece of propaganda, aimed at disposing of inferior goods and simultaneously withdrawing from circulation both the currency coupons and the surplus cash.

Monetary Reform

More serious may be the latest

rumour that there is to be a repetition of the 1953 'monetary reform' which played havoc with private savings causing them to disappear overnight at an exchange rate 50 old Crowns for one new. In at least one place, Pilsen, the home of the Skoda works and beer, this led to a workers' riot and a temporary occupation of the town hall by the industrial plant's respected metal-workers.

At this moment, such a rumour may be a deflationary measure. A reform may not take place if suf-



Many Czechs remember August 8, 1968, the day when Russian tanks crushed the "Prague Spring."

ficient amounts of cash are withdrawn from circulation through the hurried acquisition of non-essential goods while the necessities of everyday life are short in supply and very expensive. I was shown items of goods which had doubled in price within 12-18 months. Some leather shoes (still the best in the whole of the Soviet Bloc) shot up from 300 to 700 or even to 900 crowns per pair; handbags — from 150 to 300 crowns; and the price of the famous Bohemian crystal has trebled.

The shortage may be due to several causes, chief of them being bad Socialist planning and the re-allocation of industries under COMECON instructions. A short while ago one of my newly-won friends had bought an attractive table lamp with a small socket bulb. The bulb went pop! And a replacement is unobtainable. The factory has been dismantled and moved to Poland. New supplies are expected to reach Czechoslovakia in about a year's time. The lamp has become useless.

What makes people very angry are the special shops open only to the higher echelons of the Party aparatchiks, diplomats from Socialist countries, and foreign employees of various Soviet-controlled international agencies, such as the World Peace Movement, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the In-

ternational Organization of Journalists, and other even more obscure bodies 'officially' representing some 'National Liberation' movement from Africa, Asia or Latin America. I would never have known or discovered such details or irritants but for my enthusiastic guides and informants.

There is one novelty in Czech foreign relations. It was told that until 1968, it was the Poles who were the most ardent Russian-haters. Since the invasion, however, this honor has passed to the Czechs and

the Slovaks. However hard the Soviets try to be inconspicuous, allowing but a few troops to enter towns at any one time and even rationing their visits to the capital, they are despised, ostracised and even ridiculed at every opportunity. The 'apartheid' is almost complete. Naturally, they have their own schools, hospitals, recreational facilities. Houses of Culture and shops, many of them in the camps and barracks and supplied with goods by the local industries. If the Russians enter a restaurant or cafe, they might soon find themselves alone there. In a cinema, when the lights go out, the audience starts to boo, hiss and whistle. Sometimes performances are cancelled until one of the sides leaves.

I now know enough about the Czechoslovak-Soviet relationship to say with every emphasis: I would not like to be a Russian in occupied Czechoslovakia. Soldiers or civilians, they are like prisoners twice over. Firstly, because of the invariably hostile atmosphere in which Czechs of all generations have perfected ways of expressing their enmity, scorn and contempt during the years since the famous 'dialogue' of the days of the 1968 invasion. The only word which occurs to depict the Czechs' attitude towards

(Continued on page 8)

Fasting Until Death For Rights —from page 1



Demonstrators in McPherson Square fast in solidarity with Ukrainian political prisoner.

While serving his term, Moroz wrote *A Report from the Beria Preserve*, in which he exposed the brutal system of Soviet concentration camps and the cruel treatment of political prisoners. For his authorship he was tried by the camp court and placed in solitary confinement. But his work was distributed by friends to deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

The *Report*... is an analysis of the Soviet secret police and penal system, in which Moroz indicates that the practices and totalitarian control of the Stalinist era, although officially denounced, continue to be evident. Moroz was quite open about the *Report*... and never considered it to be a subversive document. Thus, while he was being investigated for the report in Kiev prison in May 1968, he wrote to the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, *Petro Shelest* on May 15, 1968:

"In my *Report* there is not one word against Soviet power or the Communist ideology. The document is directed against infractions of the law. I listed facts regarding crimes. And still the document is declared not only "anti-Soviet" but "seditious". It is clear that the prosecution is not for anti-Soviet activity; on the contrary, the violators of the law took revenge on those who exposed them. In the document it is clearly stated that it is directed precisely against those who compromise and consequently undermine the social order. Yet the document is declared "seditious". He who is robbed is labelled thief."

On September 11, 1969, Moroz was released but was unable to find employment. Moroz applied for employment on numerous occasions, including for positions as apprentice wood-carver and meteorological assistant, but was refused. The only job made available to him was that of construction worker, which he could not accept because of his weak state of health following his imprisonment.

Even his wife was dismissed from her job because of her husband's criminal record. After his release, in a period of nine months, Moroz wrote three essays, *A Chronicle of Resistance in Ukraine*, *Amidst the Snows and Moses and Dathan*—all literary works of the high-

est quality dealing with man's eternal quest for freedom and justice.

On June 1, 1970, Moroz was again arrested by the KGB, evoking large-scale protests by writers, students, workers and other groups in Ukraine. On November 17, 1970, he was tried in *camera* (closed hearing) and sentenced to nine years at hard labor and five years of exile from Ukraine for a "crime" never made public.

Although the trial was held in *camera*, accounts of it have become available through the *Chronicle of Current Events* (issue 17, December 1970) and the *Ukrainian Herald* (issue No. 4; issue No. 3 reported on the pre-trial investiga-

Davydovych) gave short statements and refused to testify because the trial contravened the Constitution and Code of Criminal Procedure. They declared that they would have no part in such arbitrariness.

No evidence of "hammering together an anti-Soviet group" or of Moroz transmitting the articles to the West were presented, but the prosecution continued to stress the fact that Moroz's articles had appeared in the West.

Moroz's lawyer, E.M. Kogan, pointed out to the court that the classification of the articles as anti-Soviet was unfounded, their dissemination unproven and their appearance abroad irrelevant because the author was not involved in their transmission. He emphasized the absence of any elements of crime as envisaged by Article 62, Sec. 2 of the Criminal Code. He demanded the acquittal of the defendant. Disregarding these arguments, the court sentenced Moroz to nine years imprisonment and five years exile.

No references to the trial could be found in any newspapers with the exception of an article in *Radyanskaya osvita* on August 14, 1971—ten months after the trial. This article entitled "An Apostle and his Standards" is an invective against Moroz.

Witnesses at the trial replied with written protests objecting to the falsifications and Stalinist-style attacks on Moroz, pointing out the illegality of the proceedings against him. None of these letters were published.

"Tell them this—I am kept with the insane; they are driving me to insanity, like those with whom they have locked me up..."

The indictment of Moroz centered around his authorship of the *Report*, and the essays *A Chronicle of Resistance*, *Moses and Dathan*, and *In the Midst of the Snows*. He was also charged with the dissemination of these articles. The prosecution termed these articles anti-Soviet and attached special significance to the fact that two articles had appeared in the West.

In his reply to the indictment, Moroz stated that because the closed trial was unlawful, he would not reply to any questions since this would sanction such illegality. However, in order that this decision should not be interpreted as unprincipled and cowardly, Moroz stated that he was simultaneously declaring that he was the author of the articles ascribed to him. He further stated that the articles were not anti-Soviet and that he would give no further evidence at such a "trial".

All witnesses called upon to prove that Moroz had in fact disseminated the articles (Ivan Dzuba, Vyacheslav Chornovil and B. Antonenko-

tion). The samizdat publication *Ukrainian Herald* in its 4th and 6th issues extensively reported on hundreds of individual and joint protests against the trials illegality and against the unprecedented harshness of the sentence. Understandably, these were not carried or reported in the Soviet press. The fact that the trial had to be held behind closed doors is perhaps the best indicator of the favorable public opinion that the Soviet authorities could expect.

Legal Aspects

a) Despite attempts by Soviet authorities to invoke the issue of "state security" after Moroz's second trial, there was absolutely no basis for the trial being closed to the public.

The question of "state security" was simply not raised at the trial. Article 91 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, Article 111 of the Constitution of the USSR, as well as, Articles 20 and 22 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Ukrainian SSR clearly stipulate the right to public trial.

This is said to be a basic democratic

right in the Soviet Union: the public nature of judicial process is a guarantee of adherence to the law by the agencies of justice and an educational process for the people. All the above provisions were violated in Moroz's case and must be considered a violation of procedural norms sufficient to nullify the verdict by dismissal or annulment (Articles 370 and 389 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the Ukrainian SSR).

b) At both his trials Moroz was charged and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR—the catch-all article dealing with "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation."

Its application and interpretation by Soviet courts is so broad that it in effect nullifies the right of freedom of speech and of the press guaranteed by the constitution (Article 105 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 19).

Contrary to the assertion of Soviet jurists that Article 62 does not interfere with these rights, its practical application has been made to fit any expression of opinion which the authorities may consider to be ideologically harmful at any time. Perhaps the best commentary on the phenomenon which permits the Criminal Code to overrule the Constitution is by Moroz himself:

"People convicted for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda are people who think differently or think at all, and whose spiritual world cannot fit into the Procrustean bed of Stalinist standards which the KGB defends so assiduously. They are men who dared to claim the rights proclaimed in the Constitution and who raised their voices against the shameful oppression by the KGB. They are men who do not want to accept the double-bottomed wisdom of slavery which directs that the Constitution be read as: 'keep quiet while you are still alive'..."

In November, 1972, Amnesty International, in its *Newsletter* (Vol. II, No. 11, London), reported that Moroz was stabbed by criminal inmates at Vladimir Prison and was thereafter transferred to a prison hospital in Kiev. When he recovered from his wounds, he was moved back to Vladimir. In January, 1974, Moroz was reported to have been beaten again in prison by criminal inmates. He is being persecuted by the KGB to repudiate his views on Soviet Russian policies in Ukraine, which he refuses to do.

Anatole Radygin, a Jewish poet and captain of a Soviet fishing vessel who in 1962 was sentenced to 10 years at hard labor for his attempted escape from the USSR, met Valentyn Moroz in Vladimir Prison. Radygin was released in 1973 and is currently in this country. He said of Moroz:

"I never met him before, but had heard a great deal about him and have secretly grown to admire and respect him, even shared his thoughts. But not even I, who had seen him in the past ten years, believed that a man could be made to look like this... Skin and bones! Sickly, horrifying... frightfully identical to photographs of the victims of Auschwitz. The prison garb hung loosely off this tall man's body, as off a thin, dried-up carcass. Scant bushy bristles covered a pale, dried-up skin resembling green parchment... From his cell we often heard screams and yells... they would subside for a while and then the beatings would start again.

Before Radygin's release, Moroz whispered: "Tell them this: I am kept with the insane; they are driving me into insanity, like those with whom they have locked me up... I cannot breathe!..." (Statement at the WACL Conference, April 10, 1974, Washington D.C.)

Pavel Litvinov, outstanding Russian human rights leader and grandson of Maxim Litvinov, former Soviet Foreign Minister, who was recently released from Soviet prisons and allowed to leave the USSR, made a statement in New York on March 22, 1974:

He is a Ukrainian historian and writer now confined in the dreadful Vladimir Prison. He was placed in a cell together with ordinary criminals who beat him up; later he was transferred into a solitary cell. His nervous system has reached the point where he is no longer able to be alone. He and his wife have sent appeals that he be transferred to a regular concentration camp. Moroz has announced that if he is not transferred to such a camp by July, 1974, he will start a hunger strike until death. Knowing Moroz, I have no doubt that he will carry out his words.

On July 1, 1974, Valentyn Moroz began a hunger strike until death. In May of this year, Moroz had been visited by his wife Raica and their 12-year-old son. The visit was conducted under prison guard surveillance. Despite numerous pleadings by his wife and son, Moroz remained adamant in his decision to begin the hunger strike on July 1st. He pointed out that he "must remain faithful to his convictions and beliefs." When his son said, "Father, you must live for all of us," Moroz replied, "It seems that I must die in order for all of you to live!"

Despite the conditions in which he is incarcerated and his poor state of health, Moroz has not broken under the pressure of prison guard tortures. Moroz does not complain of the prison authorities, but he does demand full implementation of his human and national rights guaranteed under the Soviet constitution and the Soviet Criminal Code. It is for this reason that he has proclaimed the hunger strike.



Valentyn Moroz

Moroz Testimony

"Instead of a Last Plea"

I will not cite the Criminal Code and try to prove my innocence. I am not being tried for any guilt and you know this very well. We are tried for the part we are taking in processes that are undesirable to you. There are people whom you have more reasons for arresting on formal and legal grounds than me. But it is convenient for you to let these people remain free since they dampen the intensity of the national revival in Ukraine and curb its speed, usually not even understanding this. You will never touch these people, and even if they should accidentally fall into your hands you would try to free them immediately. You have reached the conclusion that V. Moroz raises the temperature of processes in Ukraine that are undesirable to you; therefore, better to separate him from his surroundings with prison bars. Well, this would be completely logical if not for one thing...

Fuel to Flames

Beginning with 1965 you have put scores of people behind prison bars. What has this brought you? I will not bother to speak about the current trend—no one has yet been able to stop it. But have you at least been able to liquidate its real and material manifestations? Have you stopped, for example the stream of unofficial, uncensored literature which is now called *Samvydav*. No. This proved to be beyond your strength. *Samvydav* is growing, enriched by new forms and genres and creating new authors and readers. And most im-

Boomerang

Every time there appeared something living on the Ukrainian horizon, you threw stones at it. And every time it was not a stone you threw but a boomerang. It returned and struck you! What happened? Why do your repressions fail to produce the usual result? Why did the usually reliable ammunition turn into a boomerang? The times have changed—that is the whole answer. Stalin had enough water to put out the fire. But you are in a totally different situation. You live in a period when the reserves have been exhausted. And when there is little water, it is better not to tease the fire with it. For then it burns more strongly. Every child knows this. You took a stick into your hands in order to scatter the flames, but instead only stirred them up more. There is no strength for anything else. This means that the social organism in which you live has entered into a phase of development where repressions produce only a backlash. And every new repression will now become a new boomerang.

When you put me in prison on June 1st (1970) you again set a boomerang into motion. You have already seen what will happen next. Five years ago I was put in a prisoner's dock and the result was an arrow. Afterwards I was put behind a barbed wire fence in Mordovia and the result was a bomb. Now, once again, having understood nothing and learned nothing, you are beginning all over again. Only this time the momentum of the boomerang will be much

"You wanted to put out the fire; instead you have added fuel to the flames. Nothing has so turned people's attention to Ukraine's rebirth as your trials."

portant it has spread its roots so widely and deeply that no number of state informers or Japanese tape recorders will be of any help. Your might has accomplished nothing, and what you are doing could be labeled as simply wasted effort. But the point is not that such effort leaves no one hot or cold, or has no result. One cannot say that about your work, for it already has produced a noticeable effect. But this effect is the very opposite of what you had expected. It seems that you have not frightened, but rather interested people. You wanted to put out the fire; instead you have added fuel to the flames. Nothing has contributed more to the revival of national life in Ukraine than your repressions. Nothing has so turned people's attention to the process of Ukraine's rebirth as your trials. As a matter of fact, these very trials have shown a great many people that community life has revived in Ukraine. You wanted to hide people in Mordovian forests; instead you have placed them on a vast arena and the whole world saw them. Most of the activists in the national rebirth of Ukraine became activists in an atmosphere of reawakening that was evoked by your very repressions. In a word, it is high time that you finally understood: repressions hurt you first of all. But you go on with your trials... For what? To fulfill a quota? To pacify your sense of official duty? To unburden your anger? More than likely—from inertia. Into the present post-Stalin stage of Ukraine's national rebirth you have introduced that without which it would have remained immature and unripe: you introduced the element of sacrifice. Faith appears when there are martyrs. You gave them to us.

stronger. In 1965 Moroz was an obscure instructor of history. Now he is known.

And so Moroz feeds on prison fare. Let's put it this way: What will you get out of it? The only kind of Moroz who would be of any value to you would be a submissive Moroz who wrote a declaration of guilt. This would truly be a stunning blow to all informed Ukrainians. But you will never live to see such a Moroz. If you think that by putting me in prison you will produce some kind of vacuum in the Ukrainian national revival then you are being unrealistic. Understand at last: there will no more be a vacuum. The abundance of Ukraine's spiritual potential already suffices to fill any vacuum and to provide socially active people to take the place of those in prisons and those who have left public activity. The 60's brought a marked revival in Ukrainian life; the 70's also will not be a vacuum in Ukrainian history. The golden days when all life was squeezed into official compartments have passed; they have passed irrevocably. There now exists a culture independent of the Ministry of Culture, and a philosophy independent of the journal *Voprosy Filosofii*. Now social phenomena that have come into the world without official permission will continue to exist and will increase with every year.

The court will try me behind closed doors. But it will turn into a boomerang anyway, even if no one hears me, even if I stay silent in an isolated cell in Vladimir prison. There is a silence that is louder than shouting. And even if you will destroy me, you will not be able to (Continued on page 8)

Save Valentyn Moroz!

I, the undersigned, express my concern for the health and well-being of Valentyn Moroz. I appeal to you to use all means at your disposal to assure his release and well-being and to accord him those human and civil rights that the world community has prescribed in numerous covenants and declarations of principles.

name _____
 address _____
 signature _____ date _____

Please Express Your Concern By Signing And Mailing This Petition To Any Or All Of The Following:

Gerald Ford
President of the United States
Washington, D.C.

The Washington Post
1150 15 Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20071

Kurt Waldheim
Secretary General of the United Nations
New York, N.Y.

The New York Times
229 West 43 Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Leonid Brezhnev
First Secretary of CPSU
Kremlin
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Anatoly F. Dobrynin
U.S.S.R. Ambassador to the United States
1125 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Please include the Senators from your state and your local Congressman.



Roots of the Ideological Struggle

Part I

The Social Environment In Which Marxism Developed

Detente? Yes, But...

In a statement made public on Wednesday, July 31, the Task Force on Foreign Policy of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority issued a fifteen-page report entitled "Quest for Detente." The report, drafted by prominent Democratic businessmen, labor officials, academics and international affairs experts, calls on the United States to continue to actively seek detente, and to take prudent risks in so doing. But it argues that the Soviets do not understand detente in the same terms that we do.

Chairman of the 32-member task force is Eugene V. Rostow, Professor at Yale Law School and for-

proclamation of detente was disregarded by the Soviets in the two main theaters of world conflict from the moment it was signed. And they have not slowed down their headlong drive for first strike capability in both nuclear and conventional arms.

New Relationship with China

The change in relationships between the U.S. and China did not arise through a change in the totalitarian character of the Chinese regime, or through a resurgence of good will toward Americans that lay dormant in the hearts of the Chinese

For the Soviet Leadership to abandon hostility to Western "bourgeois" systems would be tantamount to a rejection of the belief system which alone sustains its legitimacy.

mer Undersecretary of State. Other names on the panel included Roy Godson, Director of Georgetown University International Labor Program, who acted as secretary of the Task Force; and Norman Podhoretz, editor of Commentary.

The goal of detente has not been achieved in any sense of the term Americans can accept. There is no evidence that Soviet objectives have changed. The pressure of Soviet policy, backed by growing and most advanced air, naval, and conventional army forces, as well as by formidable nuclear arms, is strongly felt in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean, the North Sea, Southeast Asia, and many other parts of the world.

Both within and beyond its own borders, the Soviet Union continues to repress and undermine democratic movements and governments. And it continues as well to provide military support for terrorism, guerrilla warfare, and wars of aggression, in direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations, which authorizes states to use force unilaterally only in individual and collective self-defense.

In the Middle East, far from cooperating with us before or after May 29, 1972, to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in accordance with the Security Council Resolution, the Russians helped decisively to prepare, equip, and organize the Arab armies, and to encourage the 1973 war. On April 4, 1974, Radio Moscow reviewed Soviet policy in the Middle East for its Arab audience, saying, in part:

"After the (June, 1967) war, the Soviet Union helped Egypt and Syria recover their military and economic power. In the last few years it has helped in every possible way to tip the balance of power in favor of the Arabs. Without this, it would have been impossible for Egypt and Syria to score their successes of the last war of October 1973 in the Middle East. Why did the Soviet Union adopt that stance? The answer to this question is that the Soviet Union did not oppose the Arabs' use of armed forces against the aggressors, who persisted in their actions and expansionist plans. This Soviet attitude was repeatedly confirmed in the official statements of Soviet leaders and in many joint Soviet-Arab documents. Naturally, when the war broke out in October last year as a result of the ill-advised policy of the Israeli rulers, the Soviet Union firmly consolidated its military support for Egypt and Syria, which bore the brunt of the struggle against the aggressor."

Since October, 1973, the Soviets have continued to provide military aid to the Arab states. They have given vigorous encouragement to Palestinian terrorist and political groups which have sought desperately to prevent a settlement between Israel and her neighbors. And they have not only urged the Arab states to maintain their embargo against the United States, but have supported their oil price policy, which has raised havoc with the economy of the industrial nations, and brought much of the third world to the edge of economic stagnation and famine.

In the Far East, the Soviet Union does not even pretend that it is carrying out its obligations under the Indochinese accords of 1973. Instead, its diplomats say that the accords will be carried out, as soon as possible.

The official Nixon-Brezhnev

people, lacking only a proper gesture of friendship from an American President to come spilling forth. The United States had indeed knocked at the door to Peking many times since Secretary of State Acheson commented publicly on the "unnatural" character of the Sino-Soviet alliance of that period.

China ultimately approached the United States for one compelling reason -- because it perceived a mortal threat in the Soviet mobilization of fifty divisions in Siberia, and in the Soviet penetration of India, Southeast Asia, and the South Pacific. The United States was the only power on earth which could check what China believes to be a genuine danger from the military power of the Soviet Union.

The cause of this shift in Chinese policies and the threat it is designed to contain are dangers not merely to the Chinese but to the entire world. These great threats to peace and security have not subsided. The current "structure of peace," based on fluctuating pressures involving China, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., has come about precisely because of the growing potency of Soviet arms. The inherent instability of this triangle is increased by the relative decline in American strength.

Myth of Multipolarity

These changes in the balance and alignment of power offer American foreign policy real opportunities, if American and allied opinion fully accepts their implications, and acts decisively to take advantage of them. But we must also recognize the dangers implicit in their fragility and instability.

The element of continuity in the situation is that the United States and the Soviet Union remain the two superpowers of world politics, as has been the case since 1945. Despite President Nixon's expressed statements of hope for a diffusion of power in the pattern of multipolarity, the world is far more bipolar than ever, in a pattern which cannot soon be altered. This quality is to be seen not only in the awesome military strength of the superpowers, but in other crucial qualities. There are obvious limits to their influence over events and nations, but their capacities for effective political action on the international scene vastly outweigh those of any other nations.

Multipolarity today may be of economic or cultural significance, but its political significance is limited by the logic of the nuclear weapon. Even for large countries and groups of countries like Japan and the European Community, nuclear logic makes it clear that their safety requires a permanent security relationship with the United States.

That is the lesson of China's reappraisal with the United States -- as clear for Europe and Japan as it is for China itself.

Indeed, the suggestion that we now live in a multipolar world only furthers our illusions about detente. If China, Japan, and Western Europe were indeed approximate coequals of the Soviet Union and the United States, there would be far less ground to fear a shift in the relative strength of the Soviets as compared with the United States. If however, the two powers still ultimately determine world affairs, which remains the case, such a shift would be serious indeed. A true detente can only rest on an equilibrium between the two superpowers, their allies, and their friends.

Toward Strategic equilibrium

The equilibrium we must seek should apply not only to strategic arms but to conventional military strength as well -- now more than ever, since the ratios of Soviet and American strategic strength are moving towards Soviet superiority. The goal of American and allied nuclear policy should be strategic stability, based on an essential equivalence in nuclear forces -- a strategic equilibrium that will continue to deter the use or the credible threat to use nuclear weapons in world politics. That goal requires constantly changing patterns of expenditure and research, as technology changes. Hopefully, essential equivalence can be obtained through mutually reduced levels of strategic forces. But it is an objective which should remain constant.

But nuclear stalemate should not simply legitimize conventional wars of aggression. Until the Soviet Union comes to accept the rules of true detente, policy must maintain deterrence at the conventional as well as the nuclear level. The Soviet Union continues vigorously to develop and enlarge a conventional military establishment which for some time has vastly exceeded that of the United States in most ground force categories. The Soviet Union is now moving significantly to surpass American surface naval power. While U.S. defense spending in constant dollar terms has shrunk since 1968 to the lowest postwar spending level since 1950, Soviet spending continues to escalate.

The Soviet Union has called for new conditions to enhance security in Europe. But in recent years, it has chosen enormously to enlarge its conventional forces in and near the European theater, while NATO forces have diminished. At Soviet insistence, the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks have been ser antically redefined to eliminate the idea of "balance" in force reductions.

The Task Force favors the development of mutually beneficial economic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, on a practical business-like basis. Good economic relations are worthwhile in themselves, although without agreement on the underlying political and security issues, they cannot establish a sound basis for peace.

The official Nixon-Brezhnev proclamation of detente was disregarded by the Soviets... from the moment it was signed.

But the prospects for mutually beneficial trade between the Soviet Union and the United States are not bright. The economic interests of the two countries in East-West trade are strikingly different. The Soviet Union has little to sell that we need. But the Soviet Union has a great deal to gain from trade with the United States.

The basic economic policy of the Soviet Union has been to pour talent and capital into its military programs, while neglecting its civilian economy. It therefore needs a great deal from the West, both to raise the standard of living of its people, and to obtain for its military program some of the advanced technology it has been unable to develop itself -- in the field of computers, for example. We can provide the Soviet Union with vast amounts of machinery and technology which she badly needs, but which she can pay for only in gold or through American credits.

Thus the economy of the United States (as distinct from some individual business interests) has little to gain from an expansion of trade with the Soviet Union.

True, we could well use certain rare and precious metals exported by the Soviet Union, and of course we could use large quantities of oil and gas which the Soviet Union proposes to export to us if we provide the necessary technology and capital. But it would be politically and strategically unwise for us to become dependent on significant amounts of energy whose flow could be shut off any day by the Soviets (as it was recently by the Arabs on Soviet prodding). As for other materials we might buy from the Soviet Union -- and possibly even some of the fuels as well --

there is no need to pay a political price or an economic subsidy in order to continue to import them from the U.S.S.R.; the strong Soviet need for dollars and other Western currencies will keep them exporting these highly salable commodities.

The Soviet Union will continue to need Western technology, large amounts of capital, equipment, and know-how of the widest variety on a large scale so long as its basic policy is to concentrate so much of its resources on military expenditures. The Soviets have had this need since the Five Year Plans began; they will continue to have it through the 1970's. Its causes are the depletion of their reserves of labor for continued Soviet industrialization, their rising concern about satisfying consumer needs, the great capital cost of ensuring their self-sufficiency in grain and livestock products, and the further great cost of motorizing the country.

Theoretically, the necessary resources could be diverted from defense, or created by liberalizing the economy. But the Soviet Union shows no sign of moving in this direction. Hence, long term credits from the West, and especially from the U.S., would not only assist the U.S.S.R.'s continued economic growth, but also help it maintain a very high rate of defense expenditure. They would also strengthen the hand of Soviet conservatives in resisting liberal economic and social reforms.

There are other real risks to us as well. The Soviet acquisition of advanced Western technology and large sums of capital may enable them to utilize their tightly controlled and economically exploited labor force to compete unfairly with American labor and business in ways that will adversely affect our entire economy. The billions of capital that we are in the process of advancing to the U.S.S.R. also could well become a political hostage in the hands of the Soviet government before it is fully repaid -- witness our painful experience with Lend-Lease.

Furthermore, the Soviet leaders see the powerful commercial and financial interests being mobilized by the expansion of economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States as important political allies, who could help them influence our own political process at crucial moments. They, too, recall the sardonic remark at-

tributed to Lenin that "when the time comes to hang the capitalist regimes, they will compete with each other to sell us the rope."

In sum, the asymmetry in the economic and political interests of the two superpowers in Soviet-American trade provides us with some possibilities to promote the evolution of better relations with the U.S.S.R., but this goal can be accomplished most effectively, and undue future political risks averted most comfortably, if our economic assistance is extended in a carefully timed and measured fashion, bearing in mind that in dealing with the Soviets, private pecuniary gain and the American public interest may not always coincide. We therefore favor good economic relations with the Soviet Union for their own sake, but would support long term credits and other economic assistance only in exchange for clear political benefits.

Contrasting systems

At this stage in the evolution of Soviet-American relations, there is another distinction between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. which needs to be examined: the sharp contrasts between the two political systems.

In America, as the "era of confrontation" seemingly recedes into the past, so the ideological contrasts between the two societies are widely thought to be irrelevant to improved relations. "Anti-communism" now, in the public domain, seems linked with McCarthyism, witch-hunts and the intolerance of the radical right in the 1950's. In some circles, anti-communism now is regarded as downright un-American. In the search for practical forms of co-existence with an old adversary, per-

(continued on page 7)

To correctly understand any philosophy it is necessary to study the age and environment where that system of thought was developed and the character and purpose of the person who formulated it. Such a theory is formulated to solve problems in a certain situation, or at least to explain conditions.

Crucial, therefore, to an understanding of Marxism is an examination of the social conditions in the first half of the nineteenth century and of the way Karl Marx reacted to these conditions.

Marx's Historical and Social Background

Following the French revolution of 1789, an atmosphere of revolution spread throughout Europe. Liberal ideas of freedom, equality and brotherhood reached the common man. Government oppression did not lessen, however; and by the 1830's the lower classes were pushed to the verge of revolution.

Marx was born in the German Rhineland in 1818. The Rhineland was the most developed and industrialized area of Germany; consequently, the social unrest there was much more intense. The effects of these revolutionary influences on Marx were intensified during his university studies by the influence of Hegel's philosophy.

At that time Hegel's school of thought was divided into right and left due to different interpretations of his philosophy. The right-wing group was conservative and recognized the state as being "reasonable". They were thus favored by the Prussian government. On the other hand, the "Left Hegelians" drew atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from the same philosophy. Marx joined with the leftists, and through this movement he met Feuerbach, who provided him with the germ of his materialistic philosophy.

The division in the Hegelian school

thinkers expressed deep sympathy for the laborers and criticized the capitalists who were only interested in material gain. Pointing out the immorality of exploitation and suppression, many appealed to the consciences of the capitalists and urged them to adopt more humanitarian measures. Robert Owen, Claude-Henri Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier, criticized by Marx as utopian socialists, believed that through the power of reason and morality the human mind could be recreated and the inequitable society changed into a socialist society through peaceful means.

These men carried on their activities in Paris, which became the center of the socialist movement. Marx arrived in Paris during the height of their activity. Through contacting the socialists Marx further refined and solidified his system of thought.

In Paris Marx met Friedrich Engels. Together they began the Communist movement in London in November of 1847, and then jointly published the *Communist Manifesto* in February 1848.

Thus the entire historical and social background of Western Europe contributed to the appearance of such revolutionary ideas.

Marx's Personality

There is a tendency for advocates of Communism to unconditionally deify Marx and for its opponents to unconditionally denounce him. This is because from a materialistic viewpoint, Marx is absolutely right in his metaphysical analysis; while to the idealist, because Communism is a militant idea viewing certain factions as absolute enemies and advocating violent revolution, Marx is a dangerous figure.

Marx was a man of thoroughly militant disposition. By nature he was exclusive and self-righteous. He was intolerant of those who disagreed with him, and he despised anyone who doubted the validity of his way of thinking.



was a reflection of the times--showing the oppressive policy of the monarchy and the complaints of the masses who longed for freedom. Therefore the Prussian government suppressed the leftists.

After graduating from Berlin University, Marx worked for an opposition newspaper as editor-in-chief. Under Marx's influence the paper became increasingly revolutionary. In 1843 it was closed by the government and Marx fled to Paris.

The Industrial Revolution

When Marx arrived in France, that country was experiencing the industrial revolution in the wake of industrialization in England. Due to various agricultural reforms, farming became unprofitable, and many farmers moved to the urban areas where they became wage-earning laborers. Small businessmen and artisans were forced into the laboring class by industrialization.

European society was rapidly being divided into two great classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie laborer and capitalist. In these early days of capitalism many machines had been invented but were not yet perfected. As a result manufacturers were not able to keep up with the demand for products. They tried to drive the laborers to greater productivity with long working hours, low wages, and dangerous and unsanitary conditions.

The great disadvantage of the laborers was that they had no political representation. The electoral system based on the previous agricultural economy was in need of reform; but the capitalist class successfully suppressed the attempts of the laborers to gain political representation.

The Intellectual Climate

At this time many conscientious

Marx could not merely observe dispassionately the social conditions of his time which so drastically needed change. He had a new view of life which caused him to belittle the hypocritical values of the bourgeoisie and he was determined to make his ideal a reality.

However, he refused to apply ethical principles to solve problems. With his family and colleagues he made an exception, but his treatment of other people was solely based on whether or not they could be useful to him in his political fight. He was relentless to political enemies; those who did not agree with him were either betrayers, moral criminals or political idiots.

The Formulation of Marxism

Reacting against these deplorable social conditions, Marx concluded that it was absolutely necessary to overthrow the bourgeoisie. To accomplish this the laborers had to be tightly united, capable of carrying on wide-spread and continuous struggle; they had to be ignited with revolutionary fervor. To do this, a consistent system of thought had to be built. Thus, formulated under the banner of Proletarian Liberation, Marx's ideology appeared on the stage of history.

To be completely convincing, Marx sought to prove that it was a necessary historical task to overthrow the capitalist class. Hence he had to revolutionize the traditional idealistic view of history. According to the idealistic philosophers history develops by Divine Providence through the actions of outstanding leaders. Therefore, they thought that their social system was sacred and closed to change.

His first goal therefore was a thorough criticism of the idealistic view of history and the establishment of his own view. This is his so-called

(Continued on page 7)

Survivor ————— from page 3

sausage." This went on for several weeks because the Germans "failed to notice that no progress was being made on the cellar." These weeks were crucial for fostering a spirit of togetherness and for replenishing physical strength. "Before this," Zalewski notes, "we were completely emaciated." The plot was finally discovered. Three days were given for the completion of the project. "We worked hard to finish it as the penalty for 'sabotage' is death." The cellar was finished on time.

Humaneness occasionally bridged the void between friend and enemy, guard and inmate. Zalewski recalls that he was able to acquire eight kilos of potatoes through the lady friend of a Nazi commander. "The commander put butter on the potatoes which we cooked over an open fire. We shared them with SS men and some other prisoners." This fortunate instance occurred while he was on hard labor assignment on the outskirts of the camp compound. A good thing doesn't last forever. The "kindly" commander was replaced by a "real Hitlerite," who placed his gun next to Joseph Zalewski's head, demanding, "How many Germans have you killed?" Zalewski's reply, "I never killed a German," was greeted with an incredulous "They are you here?" Zalewski replied, shaking his head, "I don't know."

Ultimately, Joseph Zalewski is unsure exactly what factors assured his survival though he senses an intimate connection with his religious background. During his years at Mauthausen, Mr. Zalewski composed and silently sang the words to a prayer which preserved sanity and helped channel strength for survival. He recalled the prayer, dedicated to his family:

"When will you see me next? Will it be when you're putting me in the ground? Or will I meet you next in heaven? God, oh my God, I plead with You, before that day comes when You take me to You, that You grant me one favor that I might once more see the face of my family."

During Joseph Zalewski's recent first visit to the United States, a church organist neighbor heard the story of the "silent prayer" and transcribed the song into written musical notation. The prayer was recently performed for Mr. Zalewski at a Catholic mass in Bethesda, Maryland.

Mr. Joseph Zalewski's heroic account dominates his life dedicated to the revival of the Mauthausen story to impress its impact on future generations. As we left, Mr. Zalewski kissed my hand, imploring, "You'll tell what happened? Thank you. Thank you." Those words kept echoing in my mind. It should be remembered that among the tragic chronicles of the Second World War, the story of the Slavs is all too often forgotten.



FLF hosts 70 Korean students at a reception at the Kennedy Center on July 27. The students, most of whom are Korean residents of Japan, were participating in an International Leadership Seminar conducted by the International Cultural Foundation.

Letters

Ms. Louise Berry
Freedom Leadership Foundation
2025 Eye Street, NW
Suite 109
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Ms. Berry:

In view of your interest in Vladimir Bukovsky I want you to know that I have made another emphatic intervention with a Soviet official on his behalf. I was told that the matter would be brought personally to the attention of the appropriate Soviet authorities within the next ten days.

While there are no guarantees of success in these efforts, I pray that favorable action may be taken.

Sincerely,

s/Charles H. Percy/sbm
United States Senator

Mr. Dan Graydon Fefferman
Secretary-General
The Freedom Leadership Foundation
2025 Eye Street, N.W. Suite 109
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Dan:

It gives me great pleasure to tell you formally how much I enjoy reading *The Rising Tide*. The paper is alive, interesting, intellectual, and yet realistic. It is not superficially geared to daily events but provides perspectives ranging from the past into the future. It presents a fresh approach to international and national politics. As it looks to me, *The Rising Tide* is the American journal which offers the most constructive ideological alternatives to Communism. By its performance, *The Rising Tide* shows that many other publications have run out of ideas.

Most importantly, *The Rising Tide* proves that there are capable young men able and willing to take over when the battered and injured heroes of my generation withdraw into the shadows.

Sincerely,

s/Stefan Possony
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace
Stanford, California 94305

Detente ————— from page 6

haps the most fashionable American rationale for improved U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations has been the so-called convergence theory. As both industrial societies confront similar organizational, technological and environmental problems, this theory contends, the once striking contrasts between them will diminish, and the old hostilities will be muted.

In the Soviet Union, the movement towards detente has brought thus far a slackening of official rancor and direct attacks on the United States — especially on the American government. But Soviet leaders and official propagandists consistently make it clear that detente and coexistence require an intensification of the ideological struggle.

The struggle for "national liberation," which Soviet policy actively discourages in Eastern Europe, is actively promoted in other areas. In-

deed, the Soviet Union continues to describe the Arab attacks on Israel as a "war of national liberation." Any relaxation of ideological tensions has been explicitly rejected. In both the Soviet Union and most of its East European allied countries, the official policy of normalizing relations with the United States has been the occasion for intensified political repression and for campaigns stressing the importance of the struggle against reactionary forces, and for the victory of socialism in the world arena. While China seems to be the main military target of the Soviet Union at the moment, the United States remains the major ideological enemy.

It is difficult to explain away this continued hostility. The secular theology upon which the Soviet system depends requires the existence of capitalist enemies. For the Soviet leadership to abandon its ideological hostility to Western "bourgeois" systems would be tantamount to a rejection of the belief system which alone sustains its legitimacy and its claim to exert a monopoly of power.

By the same token, the prestige of the Soviet Union abroad continues to lie, in no small measure, on its continuing claim to be the fountainhead of world revolution. The Sino-Soviet schism, if anything, has served to perpetuate this Soviet self-image, for fear that abandoning it might forfeit the authentic credentials of Marxism to its Chinese rival.

Aside from all other considerations, this ideological compulsion has so far set strict limits on Soviet views of detente. While for reasons of state the U.S.S.R. has recently upgraded normal state-to-state relations, and adopted a cool posture towards left-wing "adventurism" in many parts of the world, it remains true that for ideological reasons it cannot repudiate, and in most instances aspires to patronize and regulate, the activities of Communist parties.

The search for true detente

The United States must persist in its long struggle for detente with the Soviet Union. That search should be conducted without illusions. And in explaining its policies, our government should respect the standard of ethical responsibility which ought to govern the discourse between the President and the American people.

Our basic security position is strong, if we understand it as it is, and undertake to do what is required to sustain it. Our fundamental national interest in world politics is to achieve and maintain a balance of power which could effectively deter general war. On the foundation of such an equilibrium, we could hope in time to build a system of peace, faithful to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The logic of nuclear weapons, and the threat of Soviet power and policy, have forced China, Japan, Western Europe and many other countries to realize that their security interests and those of the United States are indivisible. If the United States consolidates its rapprochement with China; if it achieves once again a relationship of complete and cordial solidarity with our European and our Pacific allies; and if, with our allies, we do what is required to deter Soviet nuclear and conventional power, we should be able to carry out a foreign policy capable of preventing war, while also pressing forward politically in the endless quest for the vindication of decency.

If, on the other hand, we allow ourselves to be deceived by a myth of detente, reduce our military strength, and permit our alliances to erode, we may well suffer irreversible defeats, which could imperil the safety of democracy in America.

—Martin— from page 2

name who do not dare the impartial international supervised rejection of their claims that they have more than minimal support in South Vietnam which would be the automatic result of the elections required by the Paris Agreements.

Consequently, short of the patently impossible attempt to force their surrender or military defeat, there is no way we can pressure the South Vietnamese alone to make a real peace. The best hope for a genuine negotiated settlement and eventual reconciliation in Vietnam is to maintain the balance of forces, both military and economic, which has permitted the progress made thus far.

Secondly, I am aware of the argument that is being made that in view of the continuing hostilities it might not be possible to achieve South Vietnamese economic self-sufficiency in a reasonable time frame, no matter how much aid we give.

I understand the argument. It has a certain logic. Cautious bureaucrats in the Executive Branch have been using it for years. It still rankles me that I was unable to prevail over it some years ago before I left Southeast Asia in 1967. It was a mistake then. It will be an even greater mistake now. But it overlooks the new factors that, one, there is now no possible way Hanoi can overthrow Saigon by any variation of a fair political contest, and, two, it is now crystal clear that the North Vietnamese cannot conquer South Vietnam militarily.

Their last hope, therefore, is to achieve such a reduction of economic aid to South Vietnam that it will affect the political unity and the military morale and effectiveness of the South Vietnamese Armed Forces. If we do not permit this to happen, if we provide the full amount Secretary Kissinger has recommended, we can confidently anticipate a considerable reduction in the level of violence in South Vietnam and, perhaps, progress toward a real settlement.

I strongly believe that we should end it as quickly as possible. How we end it, however, is of crucial importance. I believe our objective must be to end it leaving a South Vietnam economically viable, militarily capable of defending itself, free to choose its own government and its own leaders, and able to work out its own eventual reconciliation with its enemies in the North.

Moreover, I believe this objective can be achieved in the time frame we have projected. Whether or not we are able to walk away from such a South Vietnam as I have described, with the evidence of American commitments fully discharged, may well have a decisive impact on our future role in the community of nations, and on our ability to help build a worldwide structure of peace for our children and grandchildren. I deeply believe this to be true.

The Significance of the Gulag Archipelago

by Neil Albert Salonen
Publisher of *The Rising Tide*

Solzhenitsyn's great work, *The Gulag Archipelago*, has been reviewed by critics from many different points of view. *Gulag* is Solzhenitsyn's vast chronicle of the mind-boggling cruelty and suffering that the Soviet Union has inflicted upon its citizens. Except for the committed apologists of the Soviet Union, reviewers agree that *Gulag* is an epic account of man's inhumanity.

While they may have criticized it on literary grounds, none has faulted the historical and moral integrity of the work.

Nevertheless, most reviewers of *Gulag* have tended to skirt the larger moral implications of this book. *The Gulag Archipelago* is telling us that the largest nation on earth is built upon the most hideous crimes, sub-human viciousness and brutality ever known.

This is the nation with whom the United States is feverishly seeking "detente," whose military forces exceed those of any nation in history, and which finances terror, guerrilla war, espionage, and propaganda in the name of "peaceful co-existence."

Americans were properly enraged and shocked at the Nazi extermination of six million Jews and at the horror of Auschwitz and Buchenwald; but it is easy to condemn a defeated enemy. With the power and confidence to bring the evildoers to trial, we could face the horror. Soviet Communism is another matter.

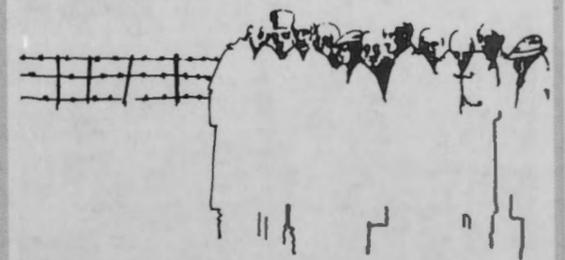
But Solzhenitsyn's work is more than just an exposé of evil doing; his deep insight has touched the causes of evil as well as the effect. Solzhenitsyn destroys the argument that the Gulag Archipelago was an aberration of Stalin. The most significant effect of his work may prove to be his exposure of Lenin as the advocate of mass terror who created the first islands of the Gulag system. And Solzhenitsyn places the blame for these horrors on Marxism-Leninism.

"Ideology," Solzhenitsyn writes, "that is what gives evil its long sought justification and gives the evildoer necessary stead-

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Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn

The Gulag Archipelago



fastness and determination. . . Thanks to ideology, the twentieth century was fated to experience evil-doing on a scale calculated in millions." He continues this theme in his *Letter to the Soviet Leaders*, "Throw away the dead ideology that threatens to destroy us."

Thus, *Gulag* becomes more than just a tortuous description of a nightmare world: it is an attack on the ideology of Marx and Lenin and Stalin and Brezhnev and Angela Davis, the prophets of Marxism-Leninism who would extend the Gulag and its horrors throughout the world.

Knowing this, what can the free world do? Can we defeat an evil-justifying ideology with no ideology at all? If goodness exists, must there not be an ideology which justifies good; which gives good people the steadfastness and determination to multiply goodness all over the world?

This is what the free world needs to recognize; we cannot go on meeting the greatest evil the world has ever known with gestures of conciliation.

Solzhenitsyn, in a prayer that he wrote, suggests the solution. This man, "child of the revolution," born and raised under an atheistic regime, having lived through the greatest horrors in history, writes:

"Life is easy to bear with You, O Lord. I find no difficulty in believing in You. . . You send me distinct assuredness that You exist And that You will see to it That not all the paths Leading to goodness are closed. . ."

The "paths leading to goodness" are not hard to find, especially with men like Solzhenitsyn seeking the way.

If faith in God and the essential goodness of humanity can survive the "Gulag Archipelago," then certainly this is the basis of the ideology which will defeat Communism in the end.



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Ideological Struggle — from page 6 **Moroz** — from page 5

materialistic view of history, obtained by the application of the dialectic and materialism.

Applying Hegel's dialectics to the materialism of Feuerbach, Marx established dialectical materialism.

Marx held that each economic society in history has had two elements within itself which struggled against each other. The two fundamental elements are production relations and the power of production. While production power continuously develops, the production relationship inevitably hinders the development of production power at a certain stage of social evolution. Hence as a result of the struggle between these two elements, the existing society will collapse and a new economic society shall appear. Therefore, capitalist society will finally and inevitably decay according to the law of historical develop-

ment and a new society will arise. According to Marx, this will be the proletarian society or Communist society.

What, then, is the final and decisive moment to cause the capitalist society to fall? It is proletarian revolution. Marx maintains the following:

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital... grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation, but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers... Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VIII, Chapter XXXII, p. 763).

Thus, Marx's doctrine became the most effective weapon for the class struggle and planted strong revolutionary consciousness and firm conviction of victory in the proletarian heart. Marx's doctrine was not formulated as a mere theory; even in the beginning its purpose was to create revolution and to serve as a guide for revolutionary action. This was Marx's strong point as well as his fatal weakness, for his thought was formulated wholly to achieve his purpose of justifying violent revolution. Therefore his theory could not be a universal truth but was only a product of his epoch. It was destined to be discarded in time. Marx's thought was applicable in his time, but today many errors in his doctrine have been exposed. For this reason it has been modified by different people.

stifle that silence. It is easy to destroy, but consider this truth: Those who are destroyed sometimes count for more than the living. The destroyed become a banner. They are the rock from which fortresses of crystal are built in pure souls.

I know what you will say to this: Moroz thinks too much of himself. But the point here is not Moroz. The point is every honest man in my place. Besides in a place like Vladimir prison where people are prepared for a lingering death from some kind of secretly administered drug, there is no place for petty ambitions.

Most Profound

National rebirth is the most pro-

found of all spiritual processes. It is a many-faceted, many-layered phenomenon. And it can reveal itself in a thousand forms. No one can foresee all of them and weave a net wide enough to encompass this process in all of its dimensions. Your dams are strong and sure, but they are built on land. The spring waters have simply gone around them and found new river beds. Your toll roads are closed. But they will stop no one, for new routes have been built beside them a long time ago. The rebirth of a nation is a process which has practically unlimited resources, for national sentiments live in the soul of every person, even that person who, it would seem, has long ago died spiritually. This was seen, for example, during the debates in the Writers' Union when people from whom one would have least expected it voted against the expulsion of I. Dzyuba.

repressions have ceased to be effective. What will happen next?

There is only one way out: renounce the outdated politics of repression and find new forms of co-existence with the new trends which have already anchored themselves irrevocably in our life. Such is the reality. It has appeared without asking permission and it has generated new circumstances which demand a new approach. For people who are called upon to handle government matters there is enough to think about. But you go on playing with boomerangs...

We shall Fight!

There will be a trial. Well, we shall fight. At this very time when one man has written a recantation and another has turned into a translator at this very time it is necessary for someone to provide an example of firmness and erase the depressing impression which arose after the withdrawal of certain people from active public life. The lot has fallen on me... It is a difficult mission. To sit behind prison bars is easy for no one. But not to respect one's self is even harder. And that is why we shall fight.

The trial will come and everything will begin anew; new protests and petitions, new material for newspapers and radios of the whole world. The interest in what Moroz wrote will grow tenfold. In a word, another heap of wood will be thrown on the fire which you want to put out.

Indeed, this is subversive activity. But don't look for my guilt in this—I didn't put Moroz behind bars. I didn't throw a boomerang.

Czechoslovakia — from page 4

the Soviets is that they treat them as vermin. I had this confirmed by other visitors and observers time and time again.

Secondly, they are imprisoned by the rules of their own authorities — in what they see as a rather provocative situation — which discipline their behaviour in public: do not answer back, do not protest, the less you are seen the better, and no fraternization either. The latter rule is to protect the Soviet people from contamination by knowledge through being exposed to arguments based on reason and evidence, otherwise they may crack up.

To Sum Up:

In Czechoslovakia the Soviets are learning the simple truth that this is the last 'ally' they have been able to swallow without doing themselves irreparable damage. This fact must surely imply some measure of security for Western Europe and, consequently, the free people's indebtedness to the Czechs.

Another new phenomenon is the occurrence of peaspog fog in Prague and other industrial cities. Pollution caused by cheap coal fires and industries running on smoke-producing brown coal (of which there are great reserves in the CS(S)R) and by diesel and petrol fumes, remains practically unchecked. The deterioration in housing in the wake of its being taken over by the State, is frightening. The situation is aggravated by the lack of building materials, paints, shortage of labour, and the absence of organization and initiative on the part of the tenants. This adds to the general gloom.

I can only confirm that it is as unexpected to see in public a smiling or a carefree face, as to see a Czech shaking hands with a Russian soldier. And finally, the campaign against the Church has assumed such an intensity that to attend services is to invite professional disaster. Those who dare, mainly elderly people, are noted down as unreliable, unfit for promotion and excluded from the teaching and other professions. Where freedom is concerned, the Czechs just now simply envy their neighbours, the Poles and the Hungarians.

What About The Leaders?

The one subject hardly mentioned during our discussions was that of the country's political leadership. The reason for this was that everyone knows and sees that they are mere administrators on behalf of the Kremlin. President Svoboda, one-time hero of the Prague Spring, is now on his deathbed. He has become a pathetic figurehead whose intellect was questioned even among

the Communists. The rest, such as Party Secretary Dr Gustav Husak, Premier Strougal, Foreign Minister Chnoupek, Vasil Bilak, and other members of the three Governments (Federal and Regional Czech and Slovak), regardless of their official titles, are either pathetic puppets dancing to the Soviet tune or outright traitors. Any one of them will be sent off once his usefulness to the occupying Power has ended.

Mere pity is not what the victims are asking for.

John Woodhouse,
—courtesy of F.C.I. News Agency

Portugal — from page 3

polarization leading to dictatorship in Portugal is ever present.

African Problem

This threat would be lessened if Portugal were to successfully resolve its African problem. Portugal's military leaders do not want total independence for the colonies-in-Spinola's words this would reduce Portugal to "a shadowy canton of Europe" - but they may have no choice. Negotiations have already begun between Portugal and representatives of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) which should lead to Guinea's independence. The PAIGC is already recognized as the government of Guinea by over 70 nations, and its white population is only 2,000—far too small for white Guineans to contemplate independent action. (Note: Guinea - Bissau was recently declared independent.)

The situation in Angola and Mozambique is considerably different. Angola is a wealthy country by African standards. Last year it ran a trade surplus of \$257 million which helped sustain Portugal's sagging economy. Angola is rich in diamonds, iron ore and coffee, and its northern enclave of Cabinda produces 7.5 million tons of oil a year.

Though Portugal maintains a 60,000 man standing army in Angola, the fighting there has virtually ceased for the time being. The guerrilla groups are divided between the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) which has declared that "the armed struggle will continue until complete independence," and the more moderate Zaire-based National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) which has said it is willing to hold talks with the Portuguese. Angola's 500,000 whites would welcome the kind of federation of the colonies with Portugal that

Spinola has proposed, and right now, with the weakness of the guerrilla movement, this is a viable alternative.

The mood is much gloomier among the 200,000 whites in Mozambique: Mozambique is much poorer than Angola (it ran a trade deficit of \$180 million last year) and the recent flight of capital from the country has not helped. Frelimo, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, is gaining the upper hand in the fighting against 65,000 Portuguese troops, and it is bringing the more moderate United Group of Mozambique along with it on all basic issues except the use of violence.

It is questionable how long Portugal can sustain the war in Mozambique, which is costing close to \$125 million annually. The country has been gripped by strikes and riots, and Frelimo has threatened to cut the road connecting Beira and Lourenco Marques, Mozambique's two main towns. Frelimo's use of Russian Sam - missiles could deny Portugal control of the air and thereby threaten northern Mozambique which is accessible only by road from the South.

Portugal's hold over Mozambique thus appears increasingly weak. Lisbon's indecisiveness has been demonstrated by the appointment of a hardline military commander in Mozambique to calm the fears of the whites and the simultaneous reduction of the powers of the secret police as a concession to the blacks. The strikes and riots might temporarily halt if Frelimo representatives were included in Mozambique's government, but this would only make the whites more edgy.

Rhodesia & South Africa

The situation is exceedingly dangerous. South Africa has heavy investments in Southern Mozambique, especially in the \$500 million Cobra Bassa Dam on the Zambezi

river which is now 60 percent completed. A Frelimo government in Mozambique would not just threaten these investments but further isolate South Africa and cut off Rhodesia from the sea. To guard against that possibility, Rhodesia is now constructing a rail link to Beitbridge, South Africa. It is looking increasingly to South Africa for protection, as are the Portuguese in Mozambique.

In the words of *The Economist*, South Africa is now "acting the part of the brooding hen of the white south, but finding its nest in some danger of being snatched away from under it." It might decide to stay out of Mozambique entirely for fear of getting entangled with Frelimo and its nationalist supporters in Africa. But it also could go in as far as the Zambezi river and establish a kind of white supremacist federation with Southern Mozambique, Rhodesia, and Namibia. Either way the future does not seem very peaceful for southern Africa.

Soviet & U.S. Roles

The Soviet Union, spurred on by competition with China for the support of Third World revolutionary movements, has been using the crisis in Portuguese Africa for all it is worth. It has armed PAIGC, MPLA and Frelimo and given training to their cadres in camps near Simferopol and Odessa in the Ukraine.

Soviet broadcasts in Africa have pointed out that "Comintern" head Ponomarev, "speaking in the name of the entire Soviet people, (has) voiced deep-rooted solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Angolan patriots against the Portuguese colonialists." It is hardly likely that these are the sentiments "of the entire Soviet people" who are known to harbor "deeprooted" prejudices against non-whites in general (not just against Chinese) and resent the extra burden which the aid to the guerilla imposes on the crisis-ridden Soviet economy.

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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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