

# The Rising Tide

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

Vol. IV, No. 18 September 23, 1974

## Australia Defecting From the West? Australians Bow to Soviets in Forced Return of Defector

By Ruta Svilpis

The Australian Labor government's handling of foreign affairs involving the Baltic States and the attempted defection of young Russian violinist, Georgi Ermolenko, last August indicates excessive submission to the demands of the Soviet Union. Georgi Ermolenko arrived in Perth with other members of the student quintet of the Moscow Music College to attend a conference of the International Society for Music Education. Before he was due to leave on August 11 he decided to defect, telling repor-

Even Ermolenko's interpreter, after translating the violinist's announcement of his "mistake," said, "I don't believe he was saying what he really felt. I think he was frightened of another Russian in the room." Further proof is contained in a recording made by ABC reporter, Judy Bateman, when she had a brief opportunity to ask Ermolenko: "Georgi, are you under duress in any way?" The answer was a hissing sound. Then she asked: "Do you want to go back?" Georgi's answer was "No."

### Unions Strike in Protest

Because of this evidence, the



### Madison Square Garden Overflows for Day of Hope Celebration

An overflow crowd jammed the 20,000-seat Madison Square Garden Auditorium in New York September 18 to hear the words of the controversial Korean Evangelist, Rev. Sun Myung Moon. An estimated 20,000 more were turned away from the free performance, which in-

cluded entertainment from the International New Hope Singers and Korean Folk Ballet, made up of Rev. Moon's Unification Church members. Rev. Moon's talk, entitled "The New Future of Christianity," will be given in seven other cities across the U.S. this year. See story, page 4.

## Soviets Bulldoze Culture to Preserve Materialism

by Dan Holdgrewe

Soviet policemen posing as workers used bulldozers and firehoses to break up an

art exhibition outside of Moscow on September 15. While uniformed policemen directed traffic and KGB agents filmed the participants and spectators, plainclothesmen destroyed and confiscated paintings

and rounded up the organizers of the unofficial showing. Attempting to photograph the vigilantes, three American news correspondents were beaten by men who identified

themselves as members of the communist youth organization Komsomol, known in America as the Young Workers Liberation League. Official protests have been made by the United States and by the news agencies.

Those arrested were charged with resisting authorities, referring to the non-uniformed vigilantes, but were not given heavy sentences. The organizers pledged to attempt the showing again on September 29. Art in the Soviet Union is rigidly controlled by the Artists Union. Under the Communist system unions are tools of the government to keep the workers in line. In the areas of art and literature, the government uses the unions to exercise control over the popular culture, as in the case of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's expulsion from the Writers' Union.

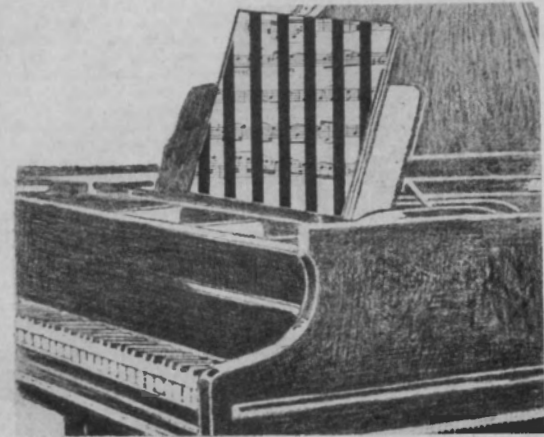
All of the artists participating in the September 15 exhibition had refused to join the Artists Union in protest of not being allowed to "paint their own visions" according to an article in the *New York Times*.

According to Dialectical Materialism, art is only a reflection of the economic foundations of society. The Artists Union will admit only artists who paint in the government-approved style of "Socialist Realism"; such artists are given large studios and guaranteed exhibitions. Artists desiring freedom of artistic expression are harassed and intimidated much like political dissidents.

Tass, the news agency of the Soviet government, defended the action of the police vigilantes in destroying the paintings, and attacked the artists as "anti-Soviet" in an attempt to brazen through what has become a diplomatic embarrassment.

### Agitation Brewing in Usually Calm Puerto Rico

See Story, page 5.



ters, "I don't want to live in the Soviet Union any more. I don't like it." Yet after a 4-1/2-hour meeting with Professor Kabalevsky, President of the International Society for Music Education, Ermolenko allegedly changed his mind. During this interview, University officials who had befriended Ermolenko and knew of his desire to defect were forbidden by Russian officials to see him. One of these University officials, Reverend Johnston described how he was snubbed by Russian Embassy official Alexandrov: "The taxi that was to take them to the airport arrived at the college to pick up Georgi's violin and personal luggage, and I went over to the car to ask to speak to him. 'I wanted to hear from his lips that he really wanted to go home. The big Russian asked me who I was and I told him, he wound up the window so that I could not speak with the boy. For him to change his mind after a 4-1/2-hour discussion with Professor Kabalevsky and Mr. Alexandrov makes it obvious that his mind was changed for him."

Federated Clerks Union refused to issue return tickets and Georgi was forced to stay. But an earlier ban by the Transport Workers Union was lifted in the belief that Ermolenko wanted to go home.

This belief was reinforced by Soviet criticism of the Australians' "kidnapping" of Ermolenko, and by announcements after negotiations between Russian and Australian officials. But Opposition Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr. Peacock said that the Australian government was more concerned about Soviet criticism than with the interests of Ermolenko.

In the Senate the opposition interrupted debate on a trade bill to introduce a motion calling on the government to keep Ermolenko in Australia until it was definitely resolved whether he wanted to stay. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Willesee, said that after a conference on August 13 with Ermolenko, union and Australian Foreign Affairs officials, "they were completely

(Continued on page 8)

## Military Shifts Reveal Mao's Tightening Grip

Free China News Service

August the first is the so-called "Army Day" of the Peiping regime. This year, as in 1973, there were no "spectacular programs" presented on the day to highlight the 47th anniversary of the building of the PLA (People's Liberation Army). No major speeches were made by the PLA leaders and no editorials were published in the party and army newspapers.

To indicate Mao's dominance over the party and army, Peiping's newspapers published on "Army Day" a large front page picture of Mao in a military uniform and printed his quotations about the necessity of maintaining party control over the army.

As usual, a reception was held on the eve of the day. In order to show the world that the party and army were closely united, 16 Politburo members were present at the reception, then included Chou En-lai, who had been hospitalized for a reported heart attack; Wang Hung-wen, the No. 3 man in the current Peiping leadership, and Chiang Ching, Mao's wife.

### Unexpected Faces

A significant disclosure made at the reception was the rehabilitation of the ten high-ranking military leaders purged during the "cultural revolution." There were: Yang Cheng-wu, former acting chief of staff of the PLA; Yu Li-chin, former political commissar of the air force; Li Chu-kuei, former political commissar of the general

real services department; Tang Tin-chi, Han Chieh-chi, and Yao Cheng-hsi, former deputy directors of the general real services department; Wang Shang-jung, former chief of the operation sub-department of the general staff department; Peng Ming-chi, former chief of the intelligence sub-department of the general staff department; Wu Ke-hua, former commander of the artillery force; and Huang Hsin-ting, former commander of the Chengtu military region.

The rehabilitation of the above PLA high-ranking officers was unexpected, because they all had been bitterly denounced by Mao Tse-tung.

### Yang and Yu

The most prominent men among those rehabilitated are Yang Cheng-wu and Yu Li-chin. They were considered as close associates of the late Lin Piao, the purged "defense minister," and chief suspects for undermining the "cultural revolution." It was reported that they once formed an ad hoc team to collect "black materials" unfavorable to Chiang Ching. And by Yang's instruction, Fu Guang-pi, then commander of the Peking garrison command, led two truck-loads of trouble-makers to attack the headquarters of the "central cultural revolution group," arresting people there without getting permission from the responsible persons of the group.

During the "cultural revolution" Chou En-lai once called Yang "a heap of foul-smelling dog's excreta" and said that Yang committed "extremely grave mistakes" while serving as "chief of staff" of the PLA.

Yang was removed from office in March, 1968. It was said then that Yang had opposed Mao, had persecuted Mao's wife, and had "bugged" Mao's study and passed on to the Russians information thus acquired.

Yu Li-chin was purged at the same time as Yang Cheng-wu. Reports circulated then said that Yu's crime was that he had tried to smuggle Liu Shao-chi, the disgraced "chief of state," to the Soviet Union.

The rehabilitation of Yang Cheng-wu and Yu Li-chin, typical anti-cultural revolutionists, in less than three years after the Lin Piao affair is quite unexpected.

### Posts Unfilled

Since the Lin Piao affair took place in September 1971, the leading organs of the PLA have been virtually in a semi-paralyzed state. After the convention of the tenth Party Congress last August, Su Chen-hua was reinstated in his former post as the first political commissar of the naval headquarters. Ma Ning was appointed commander of the air force last June. Chang Tsung-hsun, former deputy chief of staff, was appointed

director of the general real services department. And Chang I-hsiang, former commander of the railway engineer headquarters, was appointed commander of the second artillery headquarters. These appointments indicate that steps have been taken by the Peiping regime to reinforce the leading organs of the PLA.

However, since the purge of Huang Yung-sheng in 1971, the post of the chief of staff has remained vacant. Li Te-sheng, former director of the general political department, was transferred last December to the Shen-yang military region as its commander. Li Te-sheng, and Tien Wei-hsin, deputy director of the general political department, were attacked by posters early this year. So far, the post of the director of the general political department has not yet been filled. And the Peiping regime is still unable to appoint a "defense minister."

### Why

There are several reasons for Mao to rehabilitate the purged PLA leaders at this moment.

First, Mao has long followed the tactic of grasping one faction while striking the other. Since the Lin Piao affair, Mao has devoted himself to the elimination of Lin's followers. This has produced great impact on the PLA. To balance the number of those purged, Mao has reinstated a large number of PLA cadres not belonging to Lin's faction.

Second, the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is aimed at the

further liquidation of Lin's remnants. Naturally, the PLA cadres who were close to Lin fear that they may be purged at any time. The rehabilitation of Yang Cheng-wu and Yu Li-chin, Lin Piao's close associates, at this particular moment, indicates that Mao intends to keep Lin's followers at ease by telling them that they will be safe if they did not take active part in Lin's plot against him. This is the way to prevent the situation in the PLA from further deterioration.

Third, the purge of Lin's followers in the PLA has resulted in a serious shortage of cadres. To reinstate former PLA cadres is the only way for Mao to solve his impending problems.

### Disunity

According to the *Peking Radio* and the *NCNA* (New China News Agency) the "Army Day" reception was held in a revolutionary atmosphere of unity for victory. In fact, the army is anything but unified.

The top command structure still is sharply divided as a result of the mysterious death of the former "defense minister," Lin Piao and the disappearance of many other high-ranking officers, including Huang Yung-sheng, the former "chief of staff."

The leadership lineup disclosed on "Army Day" by the *Peking Radio* and the *NCNA* reports indicates that the post of defense minister still remains unfilled, as are those of chief of staff and director of the general political department. Nothing better illustrates Peiping's continuing political instability than its failure to fill these major posts which have been left vacant for years.

### In This Issue:

World in Review .....	2
Armaments .....	2
Siberia Survivor's story .....	2
Poll on Security .....	2
Editorials .....	3, 4
Radicals vs. Rev. Moon .....	4
New Left Genealogy .....	4
Arnold Toynbee .....	5
Communism in Sweden .....	5
Ideology .....	6
Internal Security .....	7
Book Review .....	8



### Leary Testifies

Former Harvard psychologist Timothy Leary has given testimony to a grand jury in Chicago about key figures in the Weathermen underground. Dr. Leary became the leading advocate of drug use following his experiments with LSD in the 1960's. After he was arrested on drug charges he became an advocate of radical terrorism and in 1970 the Weathermen organized his escape to Algeria, according to statements issued at that time by both Dr. Leary and the Weathermen. After his escape Dr. Leary worked for the Black Panther Party under Eldridge Cleaver.

Now in return for leniency he is testifying against leaders of the organizations that helped him escape. In an effort to discredit Dr. Leary's testimony, his son Jack Leary, Jerry Rubin and Allen Ginsburg have announced both that Dr. Leary is lying to get out of jail and that the government may have drugged and terrorized Leary.

### U.S. Leftists Linked to Kim Il Sung

Five U.S. Marines belonging to the Vietnam Veterans Against the War-Winter Soldiers Organization face military discipline in Japan in connection with pro-North Korean political activity.

The men under arrest violated Marine regulations by distributing a letter prepared by the Association of Korean Residents in Japan, a front group for the Kim Il Sung regime. The letter, which made various accusations about the administration of President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea, was addressed to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with a space for the sender to enter his own name.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War-Winter Soldiers Organization has also co-operated with the Association of Korean Residents in persuading Koreans living in Japan to emigrate to North Korea, and in alienating U.S. servicemen stationed in Japan from their mission.

In the United States the VVAW-WSO publication *Winter Soldier* features articles glorifying North Korea. The extent to which Kim Il Sung controls VVAW-WSO activities in this country is not known.

## World In Review



### Vietnam Faces Offensive

U.S. officials most familiar with the war in Vietnam are said to give about 50-50 odds that the long-feared next general offensive will come this fall or around Easter time next year.

One sign of the coming offensive is that Communist tactics of late have been directed toward improving their strategic position among the populace, as well as girding the North Vietnamese forces with a preponderance of military strength, backed by a massive new infusion of aid from Communist countries, in order to take maximum advantage of the recent Congressional cutbacks in U.S. aid to Saigon. The Administration's aid requests have been slashed by 50 percent by Congress.

The tactics of the Communists in South Vietnam seemed designed to frighten new settlers by terror and kidnapping, thus ruining Saigon's efforts to resettle refugees and improve its control over the countryside. In Quangnam province, 130 homes of new settlers were burned down in late spring. To the north in Quangnam Province the invaders forcibly abducted more than 10,000 civilians and moved them west toward "liberated" areas where the Communists suffer a grievous shortage of manpower.

At the same time, aid to Hanoi from Russia and China is steadily increasing. Moscow apparently decided some months ago that its aid would be contingent upon North Vietnam's taking better records, drawing up a detailed economic plan, and taking a census. The census has now been taken and a two-year economic plan submitted, so the aid is coming in unreservedly.

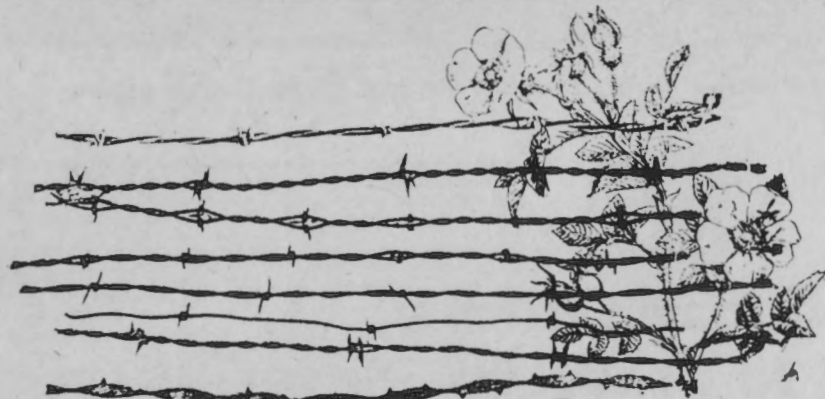
Some analysts in Saigon estimate that if present aid levels continue, economic aid to Hanoi this year will total \$1 billion to \$1.2 billion, mostly from Communist countries. This is three times the economic aid package of \$750 million approved on August 13 by the Senate Foreign Relations committee.

The economic aid to Hanoi includes an estimated million tons of grain, including rice, wheat, and corn, from the Soviet Union and China. The bulk of the other aid is in petroleum, machinery and technical assistance. The Soviet Union provides locomotives, helicopters, bulldozers, machinery and technicians. The Chinese have helped in mining, bridge construction, and steel and cement production.

East Germany has agreed to aid the North Vietnamese telecommunications network, and has sent technicians to oversee the reconstruction of the city of Vinh. A 500-man Cuban team of engineers is reportedly helping to rebuild roads.

Hungary has reportedly agreed to build a hospital, and has provided medicines and medical aid and Japanese companies have signed contracts with Cuba to provide construction equipment to North Vietnam.

As for military help, U.S. officials believe that the Communists have enough arms to sustain an offensive at the same level as the 1972 Spring offensive for as long as 18 months. In addition, Hanoi has infiltrated 160,000 fresh combat troops into the South since the January 28, 1973 cease-fire in violation of the cease-fire combat agreement. This brings the estimated Communist troop strength up to 300,000.



### First Person Account:

## Siberia Tested Wartime Exiles

Mrs. Ludmila Maciejka was transported from her home in Poland to Siberia during World War II. Currently living in England, she is the mother of a member of the Federation for World Peace and Unity, FLW's affiliate in Great Britain. The following is excerpted from a longer account-it begins as Mrs. Maciejka, her mother and sister are building a shelter in Siberia.

By the end of our building time I was weak and tired, through working from daylight until dark trying to finish our cabin. Hunger was the worst enemy. We had a few victims in the first week, a woman and two

small children died and their bodies were taken away by a lorry—that was only the beginning. Later, death was a familiar sight.

I was so afraid for my mother. Irena's face became bloodless, her large greenish eyes were underlined with shadows.

The day we were to begin work approached with a shadow of grave weakness. All of us, except those who were too old, too small and too ill (including my mother), were assembled, and we were given our tools—a pick with a rough wooden handle and a spade. Then we were told to follow the lorry full of soldiers. After two kilometres we were arranged in a line, miles long, with three metres space between each prisoner;

soldiers marked the width of ground for us. We were told that unless we cleared a space three metres long by one metre wide and two metres deep in a day, we would have no food.

The soil was hard. Most of it was large stones, which had to be broken with a pick and mixed with clay. We were preparing the foundations for water-pipes right across Siberia. We started to dig.

After a while, my hands were blistering, sweat was pouring down my back and my stomach was hit by hunger cramps.

(Continued on page 7)

## Inflation Hits the Pentagon

by Lorenzo Gaztanaga

The Defense Department has made public an \$11 billion short-fall (deficit) for fiscal year 1975 defense budget. Last fall when fiscal year 1975 was prepared, the rate of inflation included in the report was estimated at 3.5 to 4.2%.

The Defense Department morning news briefing of Thursday, September 19 said that \$11 billion short-fall is the combined present inflation rate and the inflation rate carried over the last few years plus Congressional budget cuts on different defense projects.

The published budget short-fall deals with what the Defense Department calls minor procurement accounts i.e. trucks, ammunition, fuel, etc. and major procurement accounts i.e. new airplane and ship systems. The deficit makes up less than half of the total budget (it does not include wage/pay estimates) and therefore it has great impact on the affected areas.

The Office of Management and Budget does not allow the Defense Department to include inflation rates in its budget reports. In reality the inflation rate keeps running at a median 9% rate for minor procurement accounts varying from item to item. For major

procurement accounts the inflation rates vary from 15% to 18% in ship construction to a speculated 20% to 30% in tanks and A.P.C.'s (armed personnel carriers).

It is expected that Congress will cut \$4.5 billion from the proposed Defense Department budget. If no additional relief is granted the Department will go ahead with a definitive review to curtail expense areas.

About \$2 to \$2.5 billion of the Congressional cuts advised through the Committee will be reduced in planned outlays. The rest of these cuts, about \$2 billion will be pushed into future yearly budgets. At the present time Defense is carrying about \$3 billion from previous years. This amount composed of backcuts and inflationary rates plus this year's expected budget cut brings out an actual short-fall of \$7 billion. The Defense Department arrives at the \$11 billion figure by adding an expected \$5 billion in inflationary rates of the next cumulative years.

A possible solution for this year's Defense deficit could be submitting a supplemental budget to Congress. Yet, this possibility is unlikely because of predictable unenthusiastic response by Capitol Hill.

According to the Defense Department's briefing Congress prefers to

full fund all defense projects or at least to believe it does. Even if Congress approved 100% of the requested budget there would still be an estimated short-fall of \$2.5 to \$3 billion because of inflation. Such 100% approvals have become increasingly rare with time. They seem unlikely to appear in the near future.

Cases of ships and planes which run out of funds before completion are not unusual. Thursday's brief presented the hypothetical situation of a \$500 million ship. The first year only \$25 million was spent, on the second year \$100 million, the third and fourth years \$150 million each and the fifth year the remainder of the allocated money. Should that ship end up costing \$700 million, either more money has to be requested; or in the case of multiple construction, the number of purchases has to be reduced.

As we observed in this last column, America is being outstripped by the Soviets in armaments—in naval capacity alone, 3 to 1. These are critical times for our strategists and our legislators. It is difficult to maintain adequate military strength when faced with running inflation—especially when so many still look to America for leadership and protection.

## Survey Shows Majority Solidly Behind Security

from Washington Report, July 1974

The following report was prepared by computer from the American Security Council's Majority Opinion Data Bank for the Honorable Clair W. Burgener, Representative from the 42nd Congressional District of California.

This report is an analysis of the results of the National Security Issues Polls conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation and the American Security Council.

The Opinion Research Corporation conducted a scientific survey of public opinion on National Security issues during the period from April 8 to April 13, 1974. This survey was limited to Americans of voting age.

In this survey, the Opinion Research Corporation interviewed 1,006 persons by telephone. This number of interviews, together with the Opinion Research Corporation's advanced sampling techniques, yields results which accurately reflect public opinion within three percent.

The American Security Council asked the same questions as O.R.C. in either or both of its 1973 and 1974 National Security Issues Polls.

The Council's 1973 National Security Issues Poll was conducted nationally by direct mail during the period from December 15, 1972 to June 30, 1973. There were 107,880 poll participants, most of whom were Council members.

The American Security Council's 1974 National Security Issues Poll has been conducted nationally by direct mail since December 21, 1973 and is continuing. There have been 81,920 poll participants to date, a majority of whom are Council members.

The poll results are reported by Congressional district, state, and national patterns.

1. Should the United States increase its naval forces in the Mediterranean and Indian Oceans at least to match current Soviet naval build-up in order that we may protect our national interests in the Middle East?

Nationally, 81,920 participants:  
92% Yes 02% No 06% Undecided  
Opinion Research Corp. national sample,

1,006 participants:  
67% Yes 21% No 12% Undecided

2. Should the United States extend "Most Favored Nation" trade benefits to the Soviet Union?

Nationally, 81,920 participants:  
05% Yes 81% No 14% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
32% Yes 54% No 14% Undecided

3. Should the United States have military strength greater than that of the Soviet Union?

Nationally, 81,920 participants:  
91% Yes 03% No 06% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
67% Yes 25% No 08% Undecided

4. Should Congress amend old laws and/or pass new laws to strengthen U.S. defenses against Communism in America?

Nationally, 81,920 participants:  
94% Yes 02% No 04% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
76% Yes 18% No 06% Undecided

5. Should the United States help to defend its allies against Communist aggression?

Nationally, 81,920 participants:  
72% Yes 05% No 23% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
62% Yes 22% No 16% Undecided

6. Should the United States have a military research and development program at least as large as that of the Soviet Union?

Nationally, 81,920 participants:  
97% Yes 01% No 02% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
86% Yes 10% No 04% Undecided

7. Should the U.S. negotiators in the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks be

instructed not to agree to U.S. inferiority in strategic weapons?

Nationally, 81,920 participants:  
92% Yes 04% No 04% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
47% Yes 31% No 22% Undecided

8. In the first Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty, the United States and Russia agreed not to protect their citizens against nuclear missiles. Would you prefer that the United States develop the capability to destroy most missiles before they can strike our cities?

Nationally, 81,920 participants:  
93% Yes 02% No 05% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
85% Yes 11% No 04% Undecided

9. Should the United States give up its sovereignty over the Panama Canal?

Nationally, 81,920 participants:  
03% Yes 88% No 09% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
18% Yes 69% No 13% Undecided

10. Let's assume for a moment that we learned that Russia had gained military superiority over the United States and that it would cost \$20 billion a year more for the U.S. to regain superiority. Would you favor spending the extra \$20 billion a year?

Nationally, 81,920 participants:  
91% Yes 02% No 07% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
65% Yes 27% No 08% Undecided

11. The House Select Committee on Committees has proposed that the House Committee on Internal Security should be abolished and its jurisdiction (but not its staff and files) given to the Judiciary Committee. Should the Internal Security Com-

Nationally, 17,537 participants:  
02% Yes 89% No 09% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:

26% Yes 45% No 29% Undecided

12. Should the United States move ahead on the development of the new B-1 strategic bomber and the new Trident missile-launching submarine?

Nationally, 107,880 participants:  
86% Yes 01% No 13% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
62% Yes 20% No 18% Undecided

13. Do you trust the Soviets to keep the Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement even though there is no provision for on-site inspection by either side?

Nationally, 107,880 participants:  
03% Yes 92% No 05% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
19% Yes 74% No 07% Undecided

14. Do the American people have the right to be fully informed about the goals and activities of organizations which are dedicated to the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence?

Nationally, 107,880 participants:  
97% Yes 01% No 02% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
89% Yes 08% No 03% Undecided

15. Should Congress pass a law to prevent avowed Communists from teaching in tax-supported schools?

Nationally, 107,880 participants:  
93% Yes 03% No 04% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
67% Yes 27% No 06% Undecided

16. Should the United States have a national objective of victory in the Cold War?

Nationally, 107,880 participants:  
85% Yes 03% No 12% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
73% Yes 18% No 09% Undecided

17. Since the Supreme Court has weakened the old laws, should Congress write new and enforceable laws making it illegal to teach or advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence?

Nationally, 107,880 participants:  
95% Yes 02% No 03% Undecided

Opinion Research Corp. national sample, 1,006 participants:  
63% Yes 30% No 07% Undecided

lines when they expressed approval of a "policy of military superiority."

Moreover, the Opinion Research Corporation survey in 1972 showed the general public in favor of a policy of military superiority by almost a three to one majority, 68% FOR and 23% AGAINST. This year's Opinion Research Corporation finding on military superiority was 67% in favor of greater military strength for the U.S. and 25% opposed.

In simple terms, Americans want military superiority for the U.S.—not parity, and most assuredly not inferiority. Yet, U.S. defense policy has called for parity at best for almost a decade.

The President and the Congress were overwhelmingly for the first Strategic Arms Limitation agreement and expected the Soviets to live up to their side of it. Yet 74% of the general public and 92% of our members do not trust the Soviets to keep the SALT agreements.

The lack of correlation between public opinion and national security policy is strikingly exemplified in the response to question No. 3 which reads: "Should the United States have military strength greater than that of the Soviet Union?" Overwhelmingly, American Security Council members





# The Publisher's Column

## Justice for Korea



by Neil Albert Salonen

The military clique of North Korean dictator Kim Il Sung is the most doctrinaire and violent regime in the Communist camp. The North Korean people are submerged in hate propaganda and, as a result, North Korean society is regimented and militarized to an unprecedented degree.

The drive for imperialistic expansion which is necessary to the internal stability of such a society led to the war of aggression against the Republic of Korea in 1950. At that time however, United Nations intervention frustrated Kim's designs on the South.

The presence of United Nations forces has deterred Kim Il Sung from launching a repetition of the 1950 war, but he has continued his aggression by more covert means. North Korea has sunk fishing boats, killed and kidnapped fishermen, and attacked civilian planes. Kim has sent armed infiltrators south in an attempt to foment a "people's revolution."

The Korean people have successfully resisted the armed infiltration from the North. In response, Kim Il Sung has increasingly turned to a more effective technique—the infiltration of Communist agents into South Korea from Japan. These agents are recruited and trained through the Japanese front group of the Kim regime, the Association of Korean Residents in Japan, Chongryun (or Chosoren).

Disguised as Japanese tourists, students,

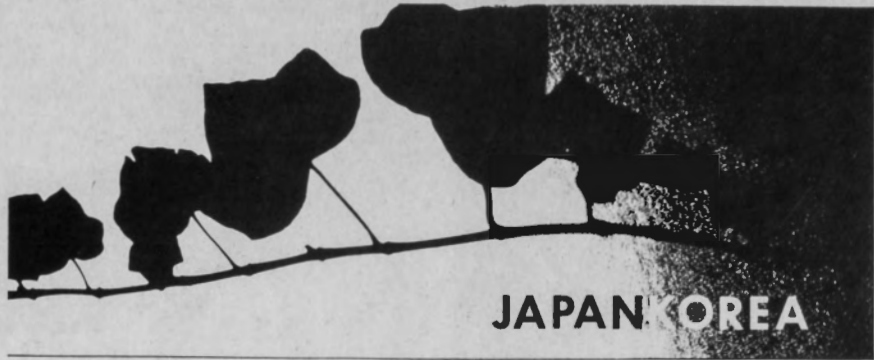
businessmen or professors, scores of Communist agents have been uncovered agitating among students and workers, engaging in espionage and sabotage against South Korea. Although the American public is largely unaware of the intensity of this campaign, it constitutes a clear and deadly threat to the survival of Korea as a free nation. For this reason the Republic of Korea has every right to protest Japan's apparent indifference to Kim Il Sung's use of Japan as a path of

aggression against Korea, especially after the attempted assassination of Korean President Park Chung Hee, in which the Korean first lady was slain.

Kim's Association of Korean Residents is a threat to the survival of Japan as well. Communist inspired violence is on the rise in Japan and North Korean cadres have played a major part in training Japanese leftists.

The most important factor in the defense of the free people of Asia is the existence of strong mutual relationships between Japan, Korea and the United States. Consequently the main objective of the Communists is to drive a wedge between these nations. At a time when Japan and Korea are close to resolving their differences over the incident of the attempted assassination, we must not allow sympathizers of the Communists in the United States to use this incident to weaken U.S.-Korean relations.

Korea has been the most loyal ally of the United States in the Far East, Korea was one of the very few among our allies who sent troops to fight alongside Americans in Vietnam. It would be an inestimable tragedy for America and for the world if the machinations of a Communist despot are allowed to dissolve that alliance.



## Ford Can Bring Generation of Righteousness

by Dan Fefferman

The movement to oust former President Richard M. Nixon, though originally led by elements intending to weaken the American Presidency and the American system in general, was eventually joined by millions of patriotic citizens. Enemies of the Presidency will no doubt continue to attack this most vital American institution. The next three or four years will be a critical test, determining whether the tradition of leadership laid by the Founding Fathers 200 years ago can indeed endure.

We must, therefore, wholeheartedly applaud President Ford's courageous decision to grant a full pardon to former President Nixon. Mr. Ford's action not only goes a long way toward healing the wounds of Watergate by drawing Americans together in the spirit of love and forgiveness; it also

significantly strengthens the position of the Presidency and serves notice to the nation, the media and the Congress that Gerald A. Ford is not going to be pushed around.

Another hopeful sign was President Ford's strong defense of continuing covert activities of the CIA, stating openly that the Soviet Union is engaged in far more intensive, better financed activities of a similar nature. Ford's support of the CIA, like the pardon of Nixon, drew strong criticism. Small wonder, for his statement not only again projected the image of a strong and forceful President, it also articulately defended the anti-Communist point of view on an issue which promises to be most critical in the coming months—the issue of covert operations and security leaks in relation to the national security of the United States.

President Nixon, in his zealotry for detente, nearly completely submerged the fact that the Soviets and we in many ways are still at war, both ideologically and politically. As a result his continued reliance on "national security" as an excuse for Watergate fell on ears deafened by Nixon's own Siren's song of detente. President Ford's statement brings the

problem back into the open. If he continues to be unafraid to speak to the American people about why we need national defense and secrecy on national security matters, he can accomplish two very important things. First of all, he can restore faith in the Presidency as the office responsible for our protection, peace, and prosperity; secondly, he can revitalize America's commitment to peace (or "detente"), with justice and freedom.

It all boils down to this, which is more important, a generation of "peace," or a generation of righteousness? For a generation of peace without adherence to moral principle means no war for our generation but possible enslavement or nuclear annihilation for our children. But a generation of righteousness could lay the foundation for a peace that will last 10,000 years.

Let us pray that President Ford continues to see the difference.

## Readers' Forum

### Conscience and Cambodia

The Rising Tide is interested in the creative contributions from our readers not necessarily falling to the category of letters or articles. We hope to have this as a regular feature

by Marvin Leibstone

The Middle East situation, U.S.-Moscow talks, and the Watergate morality play have given many significant realities of human conflict back page status. The war in Cambodia has become a tiny asterisk in the galaxy of world concern. But to the Lon Nol government and its untrained army, each day of fighting is an eleven-hour moment in the paper-bag battle between democracy and Communism in Southeast Asia.

Present-day Cambodia is actually more depriving of foreign assistance in terms of a political/military credit risk than South Vietnam was in 1965. The Lon Nol government can last. Miraculously, its rag-tag army survives, defeats, and holds steadily to Cambodia's major cities. With more dollars and materials, democracy can reign in Cambodia.

The crunch lies in the fact that the rebels—the Khmer Rouge—have the support of over 8,000 North Vietnamese advisors and soldiers who are in Cambodia illegally in violation of the Paris agree-

ments. Rightly so, in accordance with the agreements, the United States has no more than 200 personnel in Cambodia and no military combat advisors. The Cambodian army fights alone. There are no Australians, no French mercenaries, only a poorly fed, badly-equipped army.

To the layman, a 250,000 man conventional army against 50,000 insurgents may seem overwhelming, but students of guerrilla warfare know that to be effective against an insurgent force the ratio has to be around eleven to one, and if it cannot be, then sophisticated combat equipment has to make up the difference.

Here are some of the deficiencies of the Cambodian army:

- no more than ten helicopters for the entire army;
- hardly enough fixed-wing reconnaissance aircraft to serve a division;
- line companies are slowed down by an 80% presence of soldiers' families as camp followers... the country does not have the funds to assist families when breadwinners have to go into the army;
- few qualified military instructors;
- lack of basic training and advanced infantry training facilities;
- insufficient leadership training areas for NCO's and officers;
- poor pay for soldiers of all ranks and grades.

Cambodia continues to display courage, pride and tenacity in its struggle against Communism. From America and the rest of the world, this little country on a tightrope deserves all the help that can be delivered. As long as the cost/risk factor cannot catapult the United States onto a similar tightrope of global scale, American foreign assistance contributions to Cambodia should continue. If fed and equipped properly, the Cambodian army could become the great sentry of Southeast Asia.



## In Brief...

### Japan and Korea Begin Again

The decision of Japan to apologize for the attempted assassination of Korean President Chung Hee Park in which his wife was slain, and which originated from Japanese soil, was wise indeed. The realization of the threatened breach in diplomatic relations between Japan and South Korea would have tragic consequences for the future of freedom in Asia.

Relations between the two countries, however, remains extremely delicate. South Korea claims that the pro-Communist Association of Korean Residents ("Chosoren") uses Japan as a base for subversion and

fostering revolution in South Korea. Our sources in Japan indicate that these claims are anything but exaggerated. Thus, to prevent a future erosion of relations, Japan would be wise to keep the activities of the Chosoren in check.

Diplomatic sources in Washington indicate that the U.S., despite a public stance of non-involvement, was actively involved in the mediation which made the easing of tensions possible. If so, this is another hopeful sign that the Ford administration may be pursuing an activist foreign policy which emphasizes the importance of maintaining the working unity of responsible forces opposed to Communism.

### SCLC: Why the Decline

The Trotskyist party organ *The Militant* is lamenting the decline of the once influential Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Originally organized as a civil rights organization by the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the SCLC has taken a quite different direction under the leadership of its current president Ralph Abernathy.

It's not hard to understand why legitimate Southern Christian leadership wants nothing to do with the Leadership Conference. Abernathy last made news by appearing at a rally of The National Alliance Against Racism and Political Oppression, which is a front group for the Communist Party U.S.A. There he stood beside Party member Angela Davis and addressed the crowd as "my Communist brothers and sisters."

### A Stab in the Back

During the recent World Anti-Communist League (WACL) conference held in Washington, April 8-11, FLF helped lead a struggle to reform the League. We found it necessary to withdraw from the youth arm of the League (the WYACL), because of the strong-arm tactics used by certain Latin American delegates who had stacked the conference, and because of pro-Nazi sentiments expressed by several delegates which the youth body refused to condemn or even to discuss.

We decided to remain in the WACL itself. It seemed that the adult body was still in the hands of national leadership; and, moreover, the WACL did pass a resolution by the American Council for World Freedom (of which FLF is a member) condemning extremism and anti-Semitism.

Now we find that the current issue of the Mexican Anti-Communist Federation's (FEMACO's) magazine "Replica" carries a cover story about a Zionist attempt to capture the WACL, led by FLF and its president "Jew Neil Salonen."

Ironically, Mr. Salonen happens to be born into a Lutheran family of Finnish descent, but that is not the point. FEMACO now denies that the WACL ever passed the resolution in question. It claims that we, in collusion with other noted "Zionists," fabricated the whole incident. To cap it off, FEMACO calls us "Communist agents" in disguise.

Our next issue will cover the controversy in detail. For now let us say that FEMACO's action—dishonest, fanatical, and irresponsible as it is—seems to be in tune with the organization's character.

The coming conference in Brazil will witness a final struggle by FEMACO and its various front organizations to take over the League. Unless the WACL undergoes a radical transformation soon, we—and hopefully our colleagues in the ACWF as well—will have to look elsewhere for an effective international united front organization capable not only of rhetorically opposing Communism but of taking positive action in the defense and extension of freedom.

### Security: Drawing the Line

Security leaks on alleged CIA covert activities in Chile are the biggest since Daniel Ellsberg's famous exposure of the Pentagon papers. Now that "protecting national security" has been effectively discredited as a reason to keep classified information from the American public, everyone seems to be getting in on the act of leaking top secret information.

The Chile revelations started with the leaking of CIA testimony from a closed Congressional hearing. The allegation was that the CIA was directing the campaign to overthrow Salvador Allende. The CIA story, though not

told nearly so loudly by the press, is that monies were given for the purpose of keeping opposition news media alive, not to overthrow Allende.

A later leak came from minutes of a "top secret meeting" of the State Department in which Secretary Kissinger was alleged to have ordered action aimed at overthrowing Allende. No source was given for these minutes, but the reporter is known in Washington as a muckraker with an ax to grind.

In other countries, England for instance, they have laws against this kind of thing.



7th Annual WACL Conference, April 1974.

## The Rising Tide

**Publisher** ..... Neil A. Salonen  
**Editor-in-Chief** ..... Dan G. Fefferman  
**Senior Editor** ..... Louise Berry  
**Assistant Editor** ..... Hal McKenzie  
**Managing Editor** ..... Daniel C. Holdgreive  
**Operations Chief** ..... Lorenzo Gazdianaga  
**Design Consultant** ..... Alexius Burgess  
**Circulation Manager** ..... Judith A. Barnes  
**Mailing Chief** ..... Sydelle Block  
The Rising Tide is published by

THE FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION  
2025 I St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20006

**Founder** ..... Rev. Sun Myung Moon  
**President** ..... Neil A. Salonen  
**Secretary General** ..... Dan G. Fefferman  
**Administrative Assistant** ..... Elena Barros

FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION, INC., is a non-profit, tax-exempt (Section 501 (C) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code) educational organization dedicated to developing the standards of leadership necessary to advance the cause of freedom in the struggle against Communism.

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE

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



# Thousands Ignore Radicals to Hear FLF Founder Rev. Moon

NEW YORK. Four Communist splinter groups gathered outside Madison Square Garden while FLF founder, the Reverend Sun Myung Moon addressed a capacity audience here on Wednesday, September 18.

Members of the International Workers Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, the Revolutionary Union and the Socialist Workers Party held independent demonstrations on both sides of 7th Avenue to protest Rev. Moon's anti-Communist activities and his support of "forgiveness" for former President Richard Nixon.

Rev. Moon is the founder of the International Federation for Victory over Communism, which is the largest non-government anti-Communist organization in both Japan and Korea.

Twenty thousand people filled The Garden to hear Rev. Moon, and another twenty thousand were turned away for want of seating. Many of those arriving too late to get in milled around outside adding to the confusion. About one hundred leftists well armed with banners and megaphones denounced anti-Communism as the enemy of the working class and ridiculed religion in general as a ploy to divert the workers' attention from the "reality" of the class struggle. Some fundamentalist Christian groups joined with the Communists in protesting Rev. Moon's appearance on grounds of religious difference.

Rev. Moon's religious thought is drawn from many different sources in addition to Christianity; its totality forms the foundation of the Unification Ideology, FLF's Counterproposal to Communism.

Rev. Moon's speech on "The New Future of Christianity" was religious rather than ideological. The New Hope Singers and the Korean Folk Ballet gave colorful performances at the beginning and end of the program.

Dan Fefferman, secretary-general of the The Freedom Leadership Foundation, which is the U.S. affiliate of I.F.V.C., said he was flattered the Communists considered Rev. Moon's movement a threat: "The International Federation for Victory over Communism is dedicated to the ideological overthrow of Totalitarian Marxism-Leninism. The I.F.V.C. has long been a major target of Communist persecution in Japan; we take this demonstration as a tribute to our success in the United States."

If Rev. Moon's followers were able to take the presence of Communist pickets as more of a compliment than a threat, the same was not true of the International Workers Party.

**New Future of Christianity**  
Rev. Sun Myung Moon  
Korean Folk Ballet  
New Hope Singers  
Washington, D.C.  
October 15 at:  
DAR Constitution Hall  
18th & D Streets NW



Members of Youth Against War and Fascism, a Trotskyist group, demonstrate outside of Madison Square Garden during Rev. Sun Myung Moon's speech.

"We, the international working class, are living in the midst of the final death rattle of this historical epoch," reads

the IWP leaflet. "We must not make the serious mistake of writing Moon off as a 'kook'."

# Unconditional Amnesty Demands Desertion of Principles

by Dan Holdgreive

In the wake of President Ford's decision to allow Vietnam-era war resisters to return to the United States, a well organized outcry has emerged to demand universal unconditional amnesty. On the grounds that these young men acted on high moral principles, spokesmen for the exiles reject any offer which includes an implicit admission of guilt on the part of the draft evaders and deserters. In their view it is more important that the United States admit wrongdoing than that they be reunited with their families.

A closer look at the issue of unconditional amnesty reveals, however, that the

cause their primary moral objection was not to be participating in warfare, but to support United States "imperialism" in any capacity.

Here the distinction between moral and political questions becomes extremely vague. While it is certainly a matter of moral principle to eschew all warfare, to apply a standard which condones some wars and condemns others requires a moral judgment of society itself, and of the societies on both sides of the conflict.

The main issue is the principle of American support for the Republic of Vietnam. Much of the outcry during the anti-war movement concerned the tactics of the warfare—indiscriminate bombing, etc. But even if the tactics of the war were shown to be immoral, it would only be a justification for conducting the war differently. The sensational reports of immoral tactics were largely used as a smokescreen by opponents of any form of American involvement.



But the principle of American involvement is not in itself a question of morality. It is dependent on larger questions about the nature and rights of man, about the ideal human society, and about the purpose of human history. From the Marxist perspective, American involvement in Vietnam was morally wrong because it opposed the inevitable development of history toward world Communism. For all those who subscribe to the dogma of Marxism-Leninism, American involvement in Vietnam was immoral irrespective of the mo-

tives or tactics of the United States. Buddhists and Christians in South Vietnam believe American involvement to be morally justified because the alternative would be the annihilation of their faiths such as took place in Russia, China, or North Korea. In many respects the war in Vietnam was immorally conducted, and people of conscience recognized this and spoke against it. But the principle of American involvement in Vietnam was one of self-sacrifice for the sake of democracy in another land. It is a principle of the highest morality for all those who believe democracy to be preferable to totalitarianism.

It would be a denial of this principle for the United States to give unconditional amnesty to young men who would neither participate in the struggle for freedom in Vietnam nor seek to make the conditions of that struggle more humane. It would be an implicit acceptance of Lenin's doctrine of imperialism which teaches that the problems of the world are the result of capitalist exploitation.

Many of these men have "suffered enough" by being exiled from their family and country. There is good reason to be lenient on them for they acted as they thought right. But the United States must not deny our tradition of supporting democracy around the world by accepting the claim of a few radical spokesmen that they were right and we were wrong.

These considerations are not taken into account by the proponents of unconditional amnesty, among whom are numbered all the leading Marxist-Leninist groups and publications. Instead they assert that equal justice demands that a pardon for Mr. Nixon who served the United States in its highest office must be matched by an apology to men who refused to serve their country in any capacity whatsoever.

# The Chilean Connection

by Louise Berry

The current Chilean government has had its first anniversary changed from a celebration to an ordeal.

There were grounds for celebration. The September 11 coup interrupted Chile's path to bankruptcy, inflation rates of several thousand percent, forced nationalizations of industries and farms, increased Marxist indoctrination. Also terminated was Chile's role as a strategic guerrilla training center supplied with guns and men by Castro. Chilean ambassador to the U.S., Wal-

ter Heilman, proudly summarized the years' accomplishments: "I wish I could give you a ticket to show you what has been done in a short time. There has been no blood, but we have had a war. We are a peace loving people with a long democratic tradition. I am sure that Chile will become a masterpiece of democracy."

The progress has been uneven. The government will readily admit that the most reconstruction has been economic. Chile has no doubt needed it; having only several million dollars in reserves and owing millions more a year ago. It is still unclear when

Chile will get a new Constitution or hold elections. And the figure of 8,000 to 10,000 arrests over a recent weekend—given by *El Mercurio* and undenied by the Ambassador—seems a bit excessive.

Enter the CIA exposé. Already having enough problems with its public image in the U.S., the junta has denied any knowledge of or relationship to CIA activity. Just as real issues of national security have been clouded by Watergate, the U.S. unpopularity of both the C.I.A. and the junta have clouded the issue. The downfall of the Al-

lende regime could have been caused only through the "dirty tricks" of the C.I.A., it is thought by some. Others think—the authoritarian junta could be brought to power only through clandestine maneuver of a fascist-type agency.

Those voicing these assumptions must answer to the following admittedly loaded questions. Could the Allende government have maintained itself apart from the ideological and material support of Moscow and Havana? Just how far could \$11 million spent over three years be expected to go? How is the U.S. to support popular movements threatened by repressive governments? What if the \$11 million were being used to bolster opposition parties and media in Uganda and South Africa would it then be seen as a positive force for democratization and liberation?

And finally—what if aid had been sufficient enough to enable the reinstatement of the Liberal Christian Democrat party—the

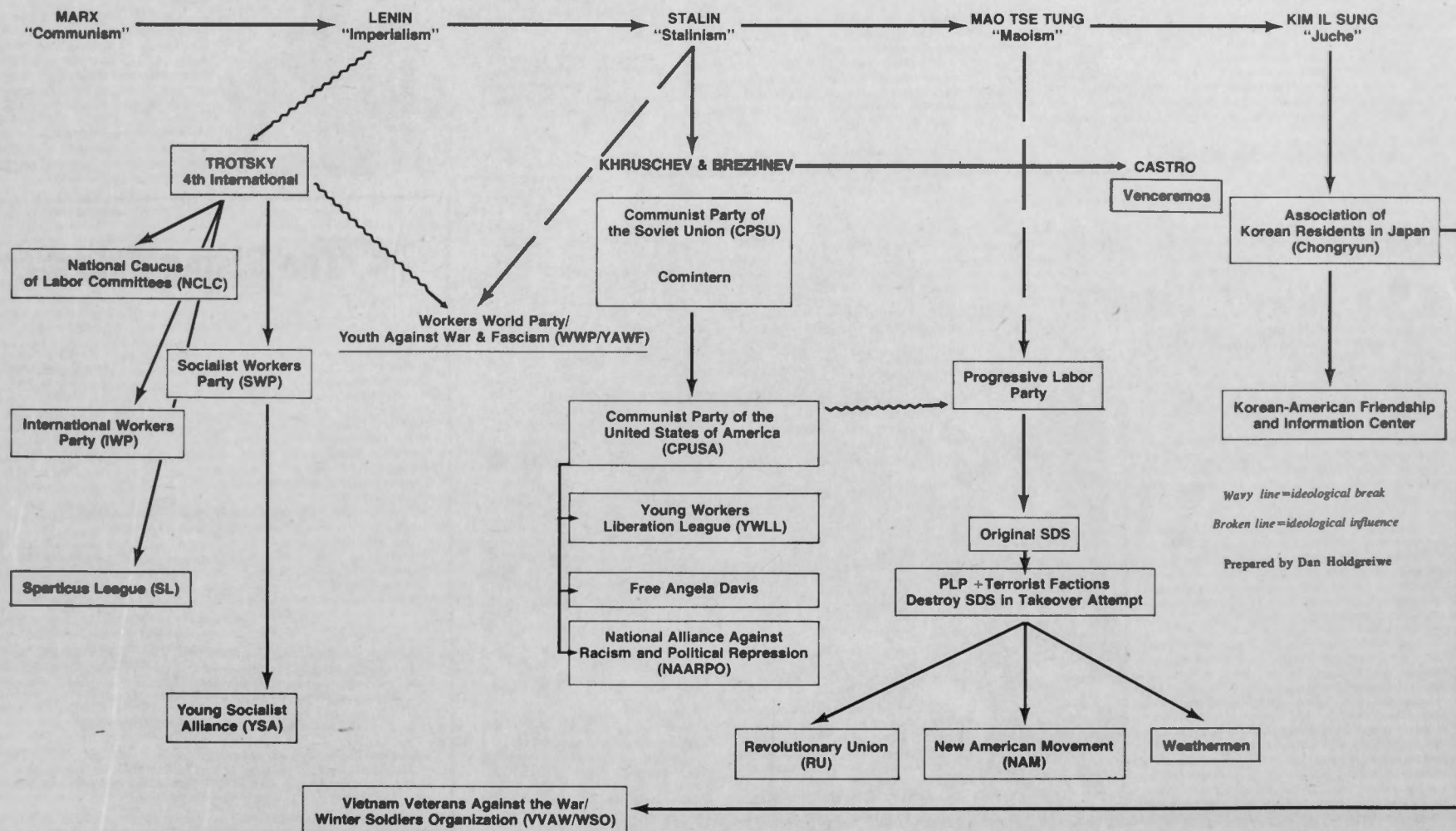


Walter Heitmann

C.I.A.'s apparent ultimate goal? Would that not have transplanted the military coup with its attendant problems an unpleasantness. Indeed, was the C.I.A.—Chile connection too weak rather than too strong?

# Genealogy of the New Left

# Like Father, Like Son





# 'Unstable as Water, Thou Shalt not Excel'

## Toynbee joins Solzhenitsyn, Calls for Ethical, non-Materialistic World-View

by Arnold Toynbee  
from *Freedom at Issue*,  
July-August 1974

Democracy is now running into serious trouble. Every present-day democratic country is suffering, in some degree, from an inflation of its currency, from dissension over the distribution of its gross national product, and from a failure of its government to function effectively.

In England till the other day, the government's power over its subjects, collectively as well as individually, had been unchallengeable since the reign of King Henry VII, now nearly five centuries ago. Since 1689 the government of England and Scotland had been constitutional in the sense that it had been dependent on the support of a majority of the members of an elected parliament. In the United Kingdom, this constitutional government had been democratic for men since 1869, and for women since 1919, in the sense that the electorate has been made nearly co-extensive with the adult population. But, in Britain within the last few years, a constitutionally appointed government, representing a majority of the members of a constitutionally elected parliament, has been challenged and defeated by those trades unions that have come to possess the power of paralyzing the community's life almost immediately by withholding their members' services.

In the latest contest between a trades union and the government in Britain, an appeal to the electorate by the government then in office resulted in this government losing its parliamentary majority and being replaced by a government that does not command a majority in parliament and that is therefore now governing on sufferance. The present government could be turned out, any day, by a hostile combination of members of the present parliament, as well as by a challenge from any one of those trades unions that now possess the power to paralyze the community's life.

Manifestly, democratic constitutional government has now become unstable in Britain, and so it has in the United States, where the President, as well as the Congress, is elec-

ted by the citizens direct (in practice, though not formally). The Constitution of the United States empowers the Congress to depose an unsatisfactory President, before the expiry of his term of office, by impeaching him. But, today, this provision in the Constitution is a very damp squib, and meanwhile the Administration is becoming progressively enfeebled.

### Survival of democracy

This current failure of democracy is not confined to Britain and the United States. Similar symptoms have made their appearance in Italy and Japan, and are threatening also to appear in West Germany, France, and elsewhere among the handful of countries that have been living hitherto under democratic regimes.

Democracy's loss of stability is putting in doubt the survival of democracy itself. In Britain the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Healey, began his budget speech on 26 March 1974 with the warning that democracy would be unlikely to survive a persistent failure to check the progress of inflation, and inflation is only one of the symptoms of democracy's present sickness. The essence of the malady is social instability in all fields of human affairs, and mankind is bound to pay almost any price for the recovery of stability; for Man is a social animal; mankind cannot survive in anarchy; and, if democracy fails to provide stability, it will assuredly be replaced by some socially stabilizing regime, however uncongenial this alternative regime may be. A community that has purchased freedom at the cost of losing stability will find itself constrained to re-purchase stability at the price of sacrificing its freedom. This happened in the Graeco-Roman World; it could happen in our World too if we were to continue to fail to make democratic institutions work. Freedom is expendable; stability is indispensable.

What has gone wrong with democracy in our time? Today, democratic institutions are failing signally to keep within bounds the greed that is innate in Man, as it is in every species of living creature. The primary task of a political regime of



"Democracy is

now running

into

serious trouble..."

any kind is to restrain human greed to at least the minimum degree required for making sociality practicable. An authoritarian regime imposes this necessary restraint by coercion. No doubt, even the most automatic regime would not be viable if it did not command at least a minimal consent on the part of its subjects; and these acquiesce because they recognize that despotism is a lesser evil than anarchy. But a democratic regime permits only a minimum of coercion and requires a maximum of consent; and, human nature being as wayward as it is, democracy is the most difficult of all regimes to operate successfully.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, in the original version of the letter which he addressed to the government of the Soviet Union before he was banished, made some trenchant criticisms of democracy as part of his general attack on the Western form of civilization. Naturally, this Russian critic singled out the United States for censure. The United States was a legitimate target for a traditional-minded Russian's shafts, since the United States is the leading power in the democratically governed portion of the World. To a Western reader, this distinguished Russian commentator's animadversions on current political events in the United States may appear to have fallen wide of the mark. Solzhenitsyn denounces the American judiciary; he accuses it of demagoguery. Yet surely the truth is that, in a dismal political landscape, in which the President is under fire and the

Congress is irresolute, the judicial branch of the government shines out by contrast. The judiciary has vindicated itself, under a crucial test, by still displaying its habitual courage, independent-mindedness, and impartiality.

However, Solzhenitsyn has also laid his axe to the root, not just of democracy in the United States, but of Western democracy in general. He denounces Western democracy for being devoid of ethical foundation and for being little more than a framework in which "parties and social classes engage in a conflict of interests, merely interests, and nothing higher." This Russian stroke is well-aimed; we ought to take it to heart; and indeed it does penetrate to the heart of our Western democracy's present sickness.

### Doctrine of greed

This sickness originated, two centuries ago, in Adam Smith's enunciation of the specious but fallacious doctrine that the uninhibited pursuit of self-interest by individuals or combinations of individuals is the best recipe for the promotion of the affluence and the welfare of society. This doctrine opened the safety-valve for an explosion of greed, and it was proclaimed at a date at which the Industrial Revolution was giving greed a bag of tools of unprecedented potency for doing greed's sordid and, in the long run, self-stultifying job. In those countries in which the government has been democratized in the course of these latest two cen-

turies, Adam Smith's doctrine has given greed license to run amok.

In these democratically governed — or un-governed — countries, human nature's innate greed is now being given vent shamelessly by citizens of all parties and all classes. The creators of modern mechanized industry have been frankly greedy from the start; they exploited both their own industrial workers and the "native" peoples of the not yet industrialized countries to the utmost of their power, for as long as this power remained in the Western entrepreneurs' hands. In the first act of this unedifying social drama, the victimized Western industrial workers fancied that they were socialists and internationalists; in the current second act, in which, in the Western countries, the balance of power has inclined against the employers in favor of their employees, the industrial workers, now armed with the formidable monopoly power that they have acquired through the strategy of unionization, have become the most militant advocates of unrestricted economic free enterprise and also of economic, as well as political, nationalism.

Already, however, a third act is being staged. The leaders of "the Third World," which now embraces a decisive and rapidly increasing majority of the living generation of mankind, are copying the strategy of the economically "developed" democratic countries' cartels and trades unions. The balance of power in the World, which, in the West, has already inclined against the employers in favor of their employees, is now beginning to turn against the Western industrial workers themselves in favor of some sections of the poverty-stricken masses of the population of Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

### A religious crisis

Mankind's present situation is ominous. Since August 1914, the World has never been at rest. World wars have alternated with regional wars and with political and economic "cold wars" that are substitutes for "shooting wars" — substitutes which, though less murderous, are hardly less devastating in their social and

psychological effects. What is the remedy for this potentially lethal malady? Solzhenitsyn has suggested a remedy in negative terms in his telling denunciation of democracy for its lack of ethical foundations.

When we analyze Solzhenitsyn's exposition of his personal creed, we can discern that this Russian critic of our Western civilization is an heir of the Byzantine religious tradition that is the root of civilization in Russia. The present crisis in the West is, in essence, a religious crisis. It has raised, once more, the fundamental spiritual question of the true end of Man. Is the proper goal of human life the glorification of God and the enjoyment of Him forever? Or is it the maximization of mankind's gross global material wealth? That respectable and well-meaning spiritual revolutionist, Adam Smith, succeeded in diverting human endeavors to the pursuit of his materialistic objective in place of the spiritual goal that is commended by all the historic higher religions alike, irrespective of the diversity of their theologies. For two centuries, Adam Smith has held the field. Karl Marx tilted against him, only to succumb to him by adopting his materialistic doctrine. Lenin made Marx's materialism brutally plain, if Lenin's reported aphorism that "socialism means electrification" is authentic.

If salvation lies in reverting to the ideals that were prevalent before Adam Smith's generation, mankind will be hard put to it to save itself. The road along which we shall have to beat our retreat is steep and rough, and we shall be reluctant to confess that our previous triumphant downward advance along this broad way has been a mistaken deviation from the narrow way that was indicated to our forefathers by the founders of the World's historic higher religions and philosophies. Do we have, within us, the spiritual power to make a new start — this time in a more promising direction? This is the challenging question that Alexander Solzhenitsyn has addressed to his fellow men and women. He has challenged us all alike, whether we happen to be living today under a democratic or under an authoritarian regime.

## Sweden's Courtship with her Communist Party Leading to Marriage or Breakup

from *Problems of Communism*, May-June 1974.

by Daniel Tarschys

Sweden's Social Democratic Prime Minister Olof Palme is on the horns of a dilemma. The tie in the Swedish Parliament resulting from the September 1973 elections—175 socialists members now face 175 nonsocialists—has left his government without a working majority and will sooner or later force him to choose between two options. A "socialist" course would no doubt lead to the dissolution of Parliament and the holding of new elections that might restore some seats to his party but could hardly be expected to give it an absolute majority. A "liberal" course might pave the way for an accommodation with one or two of the opposition parties, but this would infuriate the Social Democratic left wing and risk driving some of the party's supporters over to the Communist electoral camp.

Last year's elections were the immediate cause of Palme's predicament, but the basic problem is not a temporary one. Before the constitutional reform of

1967-69, Sweden's electoral system frequently helped the Social Democrats to acquire a parliamentary majority, although only two elections in history—those of 1940 and 1968—gave them more than half the actual popular vote. Under the present system, however, every party receiving more than four percent of the votes cast gets a parliamentary representation proportional to its strength in the electorate, with the result that the Social Democrats can no longer expect to gain and maintain an absolute majority in the *Riksdag*. Hence, the party that has ruled Sweden for 42 years has become much more dependent on outside support and will have to reconsider its long-term strategy.

(Tarschys outlines the history of the Party. For a long time it was controlled by a rigidly pro-Moscow faction (Norbotten faction) led by Hilding Hagberg. They did not fare very well in the 1972 elections; however, and subsequently, the Party looked in a new direction.)

The choice of Hermansson proved felicitous. Soft-spoken and reasonable, the new leader made a very good impression on the TV audience and was soon a popular figure in Swedish politics. Though many

members of the old guard remained in powerful positions in the leadership and in the apparatus, resistance to Hermansson within the party was weak. At least initially, the promise of new party strength was sufficient to silence the remonstrances of the Norbotten conservatives.

Although an outright denunciation of the East European version of socialism was impossible in view of the lingering sympathies of many old Communists, the leadership adopted a posture of somewhat indulgent detachment toward the Soviet bloc. The Swedish party thus became a conspicuously passive member of the Communist world movement, while at home Hermansson took great pains to underscore the party's independent and national character. Eager to dispel all doubts about their patriotism, the "modernizers" went in for a demonstrative kind of nationalism that appeared almost outmoded.

At the doctrinal level, the most significant shift involved the party's position with respect to the established political system and the party's road to power. In the 1950's, Swedish political opinion had drawn a line between the four democratic parties that accepted the "rules of the game" of the Swedish system—the Social Democrats, Agrarians, liberals, and Conservatives—and the Communists, who were generally seen as rejecting the system in favor of their ideal of proletarian dictatorship or "popular democracy." Now, Hermansson strongly protested this discriminatory differentiation and asserted that the Communist Party had no qualms about living under the existing democratic system. His crusade was fairly successful. Within a few years the depreciatory distinction was dropped, and the mass media and the other parties began treating the Communist Party as a legitimate member of the democratic family. By the mid-1960's, to be a Communist no longer was to be an outcast.

### Courtship the New Left

At this juncture, the emergence of a vigorous New Left movement in Sweden brought about a marked change in the national political climate confronting the Communists. More influential in Sweden than in most other countries, this movement profoundly affected intellectual attitudes in the late 1960's. Radical youth, disenchanting with a political establishment that had held power for more than 30 years without reforming the basic economic structure of society, began casting about for other alternatives, but the Communist Party, politically inefficient and still wrestling with its uneasy heritage, hardly seemed an attractive substitute. The main inspiration came from elsewhere—from exciting new social theorists on the European continent, from the rediscovered young Marx, and above all from the revolutionary ideologist of the Third World. The ideas of such personalities as Andre Gorz, Frantz Fanon, and



Swedish Democratic Alliance, largest anti-Communist group in Sweden, demonstrates against Communist repression.

Ho Chih Minh appeared far more relevant to Sweden's youth than those of such old fogeys as Tage Erlander or Hilding Hagberg.

To the new leader of the Communist Party, the New Left movement presented both a challenge and an opportunity. Striking a balance between the anarchist extravagance of the students and the orthodoxy of the old party cadres, Hermansson sought to establish himself as a spiritual leader of the youth movement. In a book published in 1965, *Vänsterns väg* (The Road of the Left), he played upon several key themes of the non-Communist socialists, indulged in some pungent self-criticism of past Communist errors, and even raised the question of dissolving the Communist Party in favor of a broader organization of the Left. This courtship of the New Left met with some criticism inside the party, but the still powerful conservative party forces apparently gave it their assent for the sake of preserving party unity.

The modernizers had clearly won the day, but their victory proved short-lived. Within the next couple of years, the modernist line came under challenge from various groups of more or less orthodox dissidents inside the party. In true Hegelian fashion, the triumph of modernism became the inception of its fall as the realization of its program unleashed contrary forces of negation.

### Retreat to orthodoxy

The first challenge came from a left-wing group which broke away from the VPK (Communists) soon after the 1967 Congress. Calling itself the Marxist-Leninist League, it was at the outset an organization of intellectuals but soon gained some proletarian backing. Condemning the "new revisionism" of the VPK and the bourgeoisie of its politi-

cal style, the League set itself the task of founding a truly revolutionary party.

In their own activities, the Marxist-Leninists adhered to the classical principles of democratic centralism, unquestioning compliance, and work duty for all members. To get in touch with and organize the masses, they began to set up or penetrate various front organizations with "minimal" platforms likely to attract people from all walks of life. The most successful of these fronts was, and still is, the "United NLF Groups" of Sweden, which underwent rapid expansion during the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

Another faction alienated by the modernization of the party was the old guard around Hilding Hagberg and the Norbotten Communists close to the newspaper *Norrskensflamman*. This group had unsuccessfully fought against some of the programmatic innovations adopted in 1967 and remained dissatisfied, though refraining from open polemics. With Hermansson's strongly-worded denunciation of the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia, it could no longer remain silent.

These combined pressures proved too strong to resist. Because of the mounting competition on the left, Hermansson could no longer use sweet words to appeal to the Social Democrats without being attacked as a revisionist, nor could he give vent to "democratic" indignation over abuses of power in Communist Eastern Europe. No longer, too, could the party echo the phraseology of the Socialist People's parties in Denmark and Norway. The days of "modernization" were gone. And so, in fact, were many of the "modernizers."

In response to these currents, the VPK adopted a new and somewhat more militant party program in 1972. The document bore the imprint of the views of several factions, while it simply glossed over many moot issues. There was, for instance, no refer-

ence at all to developments in Eastern Europe.

### The Communist's limited political role

In a party which for twenty-five years has never garnered more than six percent of Sweden's electoral vote, the endless debate on the issue of "the road to power"—whether parliamentary or otherwise—must be tinged with a sense of futility. The real import of the debate, however, is largely symbolic: its purpose is not to lay down a firm strategy for distant takeover but rather to indicate the party's attitude toward the Social Democrats. Even in the long run, the Swedish Communists themselves have little hope of commanding anything like a majority in parliament or the electorate, or even of building a sufficient base for a violent overthrow of the system. The Social Democrats have a firm grip on the Swedish working class, and only this party would be capable of bringing about a socialist society. Hence, the logical conclusion for most Swedish Communists is that their party must work for the radicalization of the whole labor movement.

To do this requires a party message with an appropriate mixture of honey and vitriol. The Communist leaders are constantly critical of the Social Democrats, but at the same time they try to be pleasant and cooperative—and would likely jump at almost any invitation to collaborate with the government. Unfortunately for the Communists, the Social Democrats never invite them to do so, and the Communists' yearning for a joint workers' front is shared by only a thin minority in the major party. The traditional posture of the government has been to decline any cooperation with the Communists, and only rarely have there even been talks between high-ranking representatives of the two parties.

(Continued on page 7)

## Jane Fonda Finds a New Cause

Recently, leftist actress Jane Fonda's new act was to openly endorse the cause of so-called Puerto Rican independents.

Although generally not the center of much publicity in North American media, the newly emerging Communist backed "independents" of Puerto Rico have been active from within and from without.

Eyewitness accounts of their activities at the University of Puerto Rico show why they attract the support of the world's Jane Fonda's. According to former U.P.R. students, a group of about one hundred is always busy passing out leaflets, holding rallies, or singing folk songs with guitars and drums to appeal for their cause. This outwardly peaceful though active scenario can turn into violence and vandalism.

During the past year, Communist inspired "independents" flooded basement classrooms, heaped three feet of trash on a monument symbolizing Puerto Rico, strewing garbage all over the campus at the University of Puerto Rico. The vandalism was so thorough that Puerto Rico's Department of Health ordered students off the campus so as to prevent epidemics from contact with a dangerously unhealthy environment. Hatred for Americans is displayed as often as possible.

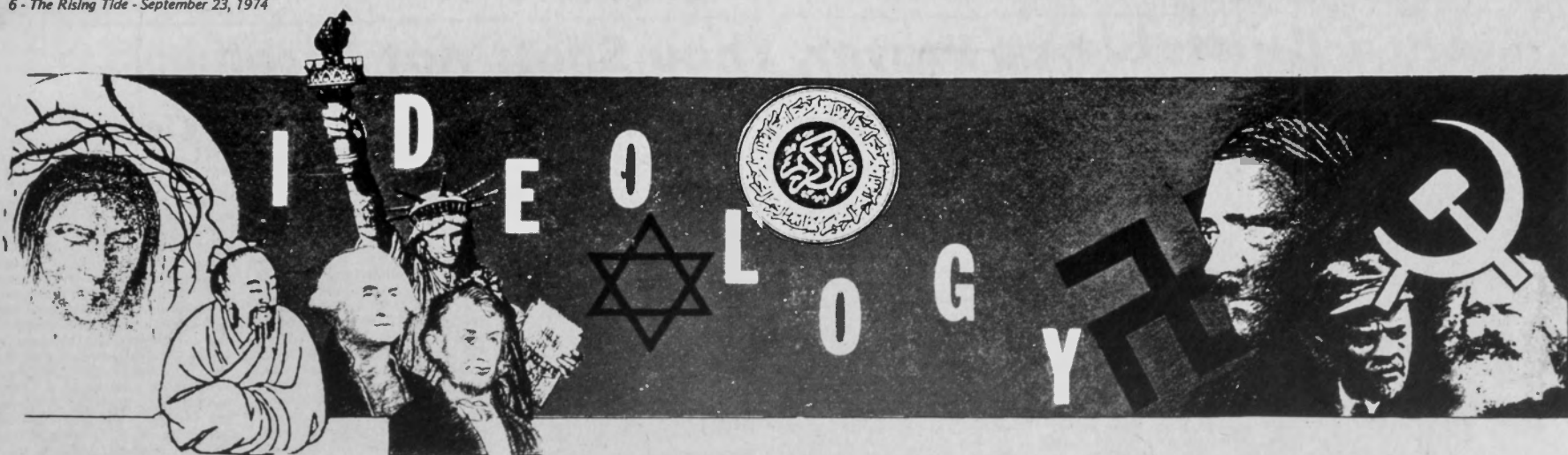
Two Communist/independents broke down a classroom door while a class was being conducted within. The teacher,

an American woman, defended herself with a tear gas gun. This led to trying of the teacher by school officials. The agitators made wild and false accusations against the teacher, who had obtained her Ph.D. in Spanish from U.P.R. and had taught there for 13 years. Teachers and students who had witnessed the incident from the beginning were threatened with their lives. The behavior was so disrupting that the judge fined them heavily and acquitted the teacher.

The members of F.U.P.I. as they call themselves repeatedly sabotaged classes through bomb alarms, keeping students from entering the campus buildings. F.U.P.I. is connected and maybe sponsored by Cuba, according to reliable sources. Some of their leaders are frequent visitors of Castro and apparently held in high esteem on their periodic visits.

Within the U.S., F.U.P.I. is a very small organization. It puts out an introductory newsletter called "Carta Roja" (the Red Letter). According to statements made in "Carta" it is most difficult for these "independents" to foment support or even viable organizations in areas of large Puerto Rican concentration like New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia and Boston. Perhaps the response F.U.P.I. gets from the people it supposedly serves is the real indicator of who its members are and what they really want for Puerto Rico. Jane Fonda does not even know Spanish.





## The American Scene: In Defense of Human Freedom How Materialistic Trends Affect Our Foreign Policy

Summary of a lecture presented to the First Annual Sino-American Youth Workshop for Freedom, September 2, 1974, in Pawling, N.Y., by Dr. G. Paul Holman, Jr., Assistant Professor of History and Acting Director of the Russian Area Studies Program, Georgetown University.

Most of us like to believe that the defense of human freedom is of some importance on the American scene today. I am afraid, however, that this belief may no longer be valid. At the very least, we should not assume that either the mass of American citizens or the U.S. Government feels any strong dedication to defending human freedom beyond our own borders.

If human freedom is not a burning issue for most Americans, what subjects do stir our deepest passions? I propose to answer this question by talking very generally about America's domestic situation and foreign policy. This does seem to be a good time for asking some basic questions about our national mood—questions which would have been inappropriate or irresolvable during the months of political confusion which preceded President Nixon's resignation.

### TECHNOLOGY

Four basic phenomena dominate our national spirit. The most basic is probably technology. It is a rather recent and a specifically Western contribution to world civilization. I hardly need to remind this predominantly Chinese audience that many of the most important inventions in the rise of Western science originated in China. The list of those inventions is long, but gunpowder seems the best example. China had gunpowder long before Europe, yet its role in Eastern and Western civilization was vastly different.

Indeed, without gunpowder it seems most unlikely that Europeans could ever have created their vast colonial empires and dominated global politics. Organized violence spread Western civilization around the world. Western social, economic, and political institutions all played significant roles, yet technology—

especially in the form of constantly improving weapons, communications, and means of transportation—lay at the root of this unprecedented and still unending process of cultural change.

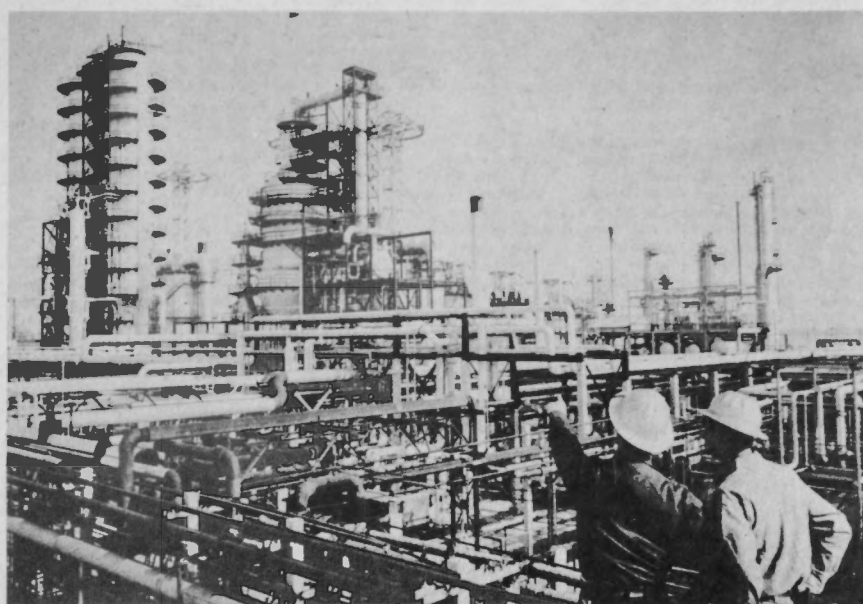
There is much irony in the impact of technology on all societies. With the forcible expansion of Western civilization went the often unintended diffusion of Western concepts of human freedom. Western contact exported to the old, despotic empires new notions of personal freedom. Moreover, the gradual creation of labor-saving devices, first in the West but increasingly throughout the world, tended to free humanity of its most demanding physical burdens. Thus technology both spread the desire for human freedom and seemed to promise its attainment, as one country after another fell forcibly under Western domination.

Yet technology has also eroded the bases of human freedom, threatening to make us the unwilling or even the willing slaves of our own machines. This process is far from understood. Even so, its harmful effects are partially discernable now and will become increasingly obvious in the future. The most paradoxical of these effects—and the second major phenomenon in American life which I'll discuss—is affluence. Technology has given birth to the affluent society. Few of us have the power to decline its many attractions, and at least a certain level of affluence may be essential to make freedom worth having.

### AFFLUENCE

Visions of unlimited affluence, however, contain the seeds of their own destruction. Each new increment in rising wealth creates the desire for still more fruits of our technology, not only among individual souls but in segments of the population less well endowed than the majority and ultimately among the society as a whole. If there exist any theoretical limits on the human desire for increasing wealth, I am unaware of them.

Unfortunately the practical limits of national affluence are very real. As our environmentalists are telling us (albeit sometimes too hysterically),



Have technology and affluence destroyed America's Judeo-Christian ideals?

America may already have exceeded those limits. At the very least, we should thank Rachel Carson, Ralph Nader, and their colleagues for spreading the knowledge that affluence can be a painfully mixed blessing.

The cultural or spiritual impact of affluence is more subtle but no less deadly to the cause of human freedom. Affluent societies tend to adopt increasingly materialistic standards of value. In the sphere of ideology, the many varieties of Marxism and Marxism-Leninism reflect this trend. Even among the non-ideological (or unconsciously ideological) masses of our population, cruder forms of materialism are depressingly common.

### BREAKDOWN OF INSTITUTIONS AND VALUES

Affluence leads directly to the third major phenomenon of American life:

the breakdown of traditional institutions and values. Surely the most important of these is organized religion. This change is especially worrisome for the cause of human freedom because Western civilization is so intimately tied to the Judeo-Christian tradition. Other societies, of course, have experienced the decline of their traditional religions in previous centuries.

Yet our current situation is unique in one crucial respect: no new institutions or religions seem ready or able to replace those which are now declining. Christianity replaced the ancient Roman religion, but what new creed is prepared to bear the cultural burden which Christianity no longer seems capable of carrying? Some new creeds do exist, especially thanks to the growing interest in Eastern religions, but all of them are still quite limited in their impact. Indeed, some of these new creeds or attempts at

regeneration of old ones (such as the Jesus cults) have reacted to the bureaucratization of American life by rejecting legitimate institutionalization and adopting various kinds of anarchism.

### POLITICIZATION

Finally, politicization seems the result of the decline of traditional institutions and the fourth major phenomenon of the American scene. If there is one new religion which commands wide interest, it is politics. Communism, for example, has been aptly described as a secular religion. Although officially rejecting all belief in a transcendent God, Communists pursue their political strategy with a clearly religious fervor. Stalin himself, through his early education in an Orthodox Seminary, provides the classic case of the transformation of a believing Christian into the most con-

summation and ruthless sort of politician.

The harmful effects of politicization are not limited to the left wing of the political spectrum. Many explanations are possible of the Watergate affair, but it seems safe to say that President Nixon and/or his staff gave precedence to very short-range political priorities, to the detriment of legal or moral standards of judgment. The same tendency plagues almost every political faction and mass movement. Even those which seek to defend human freedom will do little good if they are unable to see beyond more politics in choosing their objectives and their tactics.

### FOREIGN POLICY

As one would expect in a democracy, all these features of the American scene influence our foreign policy quite directly. It may be easiest to discuss that policy in terms of three concepts, all taken from the public statements of President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger: detente, the Nixon Doctrine, and the much-promised generation of peace. The extent to which America has been working for human freedom beyond our borders can be determined by an analysis of these slogans and the reality which underlies them.

### DETENTE

Strictly speaking, detente means a relaxation in international tensions. Such a relaxation does exist in Moscow-Washington and Peking-Washington relations, although it has been much exaggerated. Exchanges of formal diplomatic courtesies, trade agreements, scientific cooperation, and arms limitation agreements constitute modest steps away from the worst days of Cold War confrontation. They should be encouraged, in principle, but their importance should not be over-rated.

Unfortunately Nixon and Kissinger have both misused and overused the concept of detente. Tensions were very high indeed during the fall of 1973, when the Soviet Union

(Continued on page 8)

based. In order to release these men from exploitation it is unavoidably necessary to destroy the capitalist society.

### Criticism of Constant Capital

Marx's first serious error was in his assertion that labor alone could produce surplus value. He observed that labor has the ability to produce more value than is consumed in the production of labor; that is, that a man can work more hours than it takes to satisfy his needs. According to Marx all other commodities only possessed the value of the labor that produced them—but labor force, considered as a commodity, could produce surplus value. To designate this quality of producing more value than it contained, Marx called labor "variable capital."

Clearly Marx is correct in designating labor as variable capital. However, asserting that machinery could not produce value he designated machinery "constant capital." Marx never directly attempted to prove that machinery could not produce surplus value. Instead he developed the theories of depreciation and of relative surplus value.

Depreciation is the gradual wearing out of a machine as it is used. Marx claimed that the value which the machine imparted to the manufactured commodity was equal to the value which the machine depreciated during manufacture. Depreciation, however, is related to the structure of a machine while productivity is related to its function. There is no necessary relationship between the loss of exchange value during depreciation and the level of use value which determines machine productivity.

In reality, since the time of Marx technological advances have produced machines which wear out more slowly and produce more rapidly. Today, automation is producing greater profits with less labor. The only explanation for this is that the machinery does indeed produce surplus value. Confronted with this problem, Marx defended his theory by inventing the concept of "relative surplus value."

Even in Marx's time there were instances of capitalists producing profit without lengthening, and even while shortening, the labor day. They accomplished this by introducing more modern machinery which produced additional surplus value, while social pressure and legal protection of laborers forced them to raise wages and shorten hours.

Marx countered that improved machinery reduced the number of hours needed to produce the laborer's necessities of life. (This is itself a tacit admission that machinery produces value.) Since fewer hours produced his labor power, the necessary labor of the worker was reduced. By this formula Marx could claim that no matter how far hours were reduced, actual working hours still exceeded necessary working hours, and that this surplus labor was the source of profit.

In this, however, Marx has contradicted himself. He claims that when the introduction of machinery allows the necessities of life to be produced in fewer hours, the value of the necessities of life decreases. If this were true, the price, which is based on labor quantity according to his labor theory of value, would also decrease. If the price of daily necessities decreased, the capitalists could lower the wages. This problem began, however, with the situation of shorter hours and higher wages. In addition, since the time of Marx the number and kinds of commodities consumed by the average worker have greatly increased, far exceeding the "daily necessities" of Marx's day.

Although it was roughly applicable in his own time, Marx's theory has become far removed from reality in the past one hundred years. This is largely due to technological advances which have shifted the major production of value to machinery instead of labor.

### Counterproposal to the Theory of Surplus Value

Machinery is, of course, variable capital which produces value in the same

(Continued on page 8)

## Roots of the Ideological Struggle

### Part III

## Critique of the Theory of Surplus Value

Searching for a fundamental contradiction in the capitalist economy, Marx came to the conclusion that all profit in the capitalist system was produced by the surplus labor of the work force.

Profit, of course, is the motive for production in the capitalist economy. Analyzing commodities, Marx came to the conclusion that profit could not be produced in the exchange process: if equal value were exchanged, there would be no profit; if unequal values were exchanged one party would profit but the other would suffer loss, so the system as a whole had not profited.

For the capitalist economy to function, however, all producers must be making profit. Therefore, according to Marx, profit must be produced before exchange takes place; profit must be produced in the production process.

### Surplus Value and Profit

From the point of view of the producer, profit is the difference between the cost of production and the price. Since no one would purchase the commodity if the price were greater than the value, Marx wrote that, "normal and average profits

are made by selling commodities not above but at their real values" (Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit*). Therefore, in the production process some value must be added to the commodity which the producer does not pay for; thus the production cost is less than the value produced. Marx called this added element surplus value.

In the production process various elements are brought together, such as raw

**If equivalents are exchanged, no surplus value results, and if non-equivalents are exchanged, still no surplus value. Circulation, or the exchange of commodities, begets no value.**

Marx, *Capital*, Chap. V

materials, machinery, labor, buildings, tools, etc. But according to Marx the labor force alone is the source of surplus value. By theorizing that surplus value, the source of profit, was produced by labor alone Marx could claim that the laborers deserved all of the profit. On such a theoretical foundation he could claim that it was the system of capitalism itself, rather than unjust distribution of profit,

which exploited the laborer. This fit in with his idea that capitalists and laborers were irreconcilable enemies. When it is clear that this theory is untrue, both Marx's economic analysis and his justification for violent revolution are discredited.

Marx's explanation for surplus value

### Necessary labor and surplus labor

Marx's explanation for surplus value

The wage earner must be paid enough to buy food and clothing and provide for his children, otherwise the labor force will dwindle. In return for this wage, the laborer should only be required to work the number of hours which were needed to produce his necessities of life. If the food, clothing and shelter which a laborer and his family consume in one day took a certain number of hours to produce, Marx maintained, the necessary labor which earned his wage was that same number of hours. Any more than that was surplus labor.

Marx's explanation for surplus value is that the capitalists force the laborer to work more hours than what he is paid for. This unpaid labor is the source of the surplus value and thus the source of the profit on which the entire capitalist system is





# Theory and Practice of Communism I

This is the first part of a series on the findings of the Senate and House Internal Security Committees. Below is a summary of the testimony of Abraham Shifrin on Soviet Anti-Semitism.

## Soviet Anti-Communism

On February 20, 1973, the committee heard the testimony of one such person who had intimate experience with aspects of the communist movement while living abroad in the Soviet Union. The testimony of Abraham Shifrin, a Soviet Jew, focused upon Soviet anti-Semitism. In opening the hearing, Chairman Ichord observed that the Communist Party, USA was under the discipline of the Soviet Union with the aim of establishing a Communist Party dictatorship within the United States, and he added:

"I might point out that the policies of the Soviet Union regarding its Jewish citizens have been a matter of considerable discussion and concern in recent years. All decent human beings are appalled by the mistreatment by the Soviet Government of its Jewish minority and, interestingly enough, as further evidence of the discipline and obedience of the Communist Party, USA, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the United States continues to support and defend every twist of Soviet

birth and his first name so that when he was released from the hospital he was sent to a regular regiment. He quickly received a field promotion and went on to earn many decorations for valor so that by the time the war ended and he was honorably discharged he had achieved the rank of major. He then completed law school and became a legal adviser in the Ministry of Defense.

"Then in June 1953, they arrested me," he said.

### No charge for 2 months

When he was arrested, he was held initially in Lubyanka prison and later in Lefortovo prison for 6 months of interrogation before he was brought to trial. He was questioned constantly for nearly a month, and they permitted him no sleep — only small amounts of food and water. His accusers in prison tried to make him confess to being an American Jewish spy. When they failed to break his will, they placed him in a cell so small he could not sit or lie down and had to stand up

prison, 5 years of exile, and 5 years deprivation of rights. "Then they sent me to a concentration camp," he testified. "I was in many concentration camps; I was in Siberia, in Potma, Kazakhstan. After 10 years they released me and sent me to exile."

The witness said that his arrest came at the end of a 2-year campaign by the KGB against Jews. On fences and the sides of buildings in Moscow was much graffiti urging the killing of Jews, and in 1952 Stalin had held major show trials to expose an alleged Jewish doctor's plot. Communist Party officials in the Soviet Union made speeches attacking Jews as "enemies" of the Nation and would-be "destroyers" of the Soviet Government.

There were many "little pogroms" when Jews were beaten up in the streets, and large numbers of Shifrin's friends were harassed and arrested.

### A Spy for Guatemala

In prison, Shifrin met another who was sentenced to 25 years. The man

Shifrin declared that former Premier Nikita Khrushchev did not exaggerate when he told the Communist Party Congress that under Stalin, 15 million people had been put in concentration and slave labor camps. Shifrin added, "Not just Jews; Ukrainians, Russian, Baltic, millions of people."

On going into exile in 1963, Shifrin was sent to Kazakhstan where he was required to live for 4 years without contact with his family. Then he was permitted to go to the Black Sea port of Odessa, and he worked there for more than 3 years. He became an increasingly active Zionist — "The real reason" for his arrest in the first place — and he worked with Jewish boys and girls in the Odessa region. In 1970, he helped organize Zionist demonstrations. He arranged for approximately 100 Zionists to set up a tent village on the shores of the Black Sea to demonstrate their support for Israel. The group sang and danced to Jewish music and otherwise flaunted their Zionism under the watchful eye of the KGB agents for a period of 30 days. Then Shifrin and 10 others from the camp were ordered by the KGB to leave for Israel within 3 days, thus becoming the first avowed Zionists to successfully emigrate.



tism in the Soviet Union is never formalized in a document. Jews are refused entry to the universities and professional men are denied jobs, but no one in an official capacity ever writes down that the person is rejected because he is a Jew. Some other reason is always given. In job application forms, the fifth blank to be filled in is "nationality." A Russian Jewish joke is that Jews are the "invalids of the fifth paragraph because you are made an invalid by this paragraph. When you write 'Jew' in answer to it, they won't permit you to work."

He recounted a number of incidents in which Jews were arrested, beaten up, imprisoned, and even murdered by the Soviet secret police. There are only four synagogues in Russia to serve an estimated 3 million Jews. The KGB has attempted to place one of their agents who is a rabbi in charge of the synagogue in Moscow.

A once widely circulated magazine named Krokodil frequently featured cartoons making cruel fun of Jews. When the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party wants to launch a particularly venomous attack on Jews, they order Jewish Communist Party members to do the writing so the non-Jewish leadership will not be accused of anti-Semitism. Some Soviet-produced anti-Semitic literature has been sold in the United States and is defended by the Communist Party, USA, as acceptable reading.

### Jewish "Republic"

Shifrin said the Soviets tried to set up a Jewish autonomous republic near the Chinese border, 6,000 miles from Moscow, but Jews refused to be relocated there. He said that in 1952, Stalin ordered the building of a spur line off the main rail line around Lake Baykal. The spur ran up to the edge of high cliffs overlooking the lake. The explanation ultimately given was that Stalin planned to ship Jews toward the Jewish autonomous republic and then divert the railroad cars carrying them so that the trainload would plunge over the cliff.

Shifrin declared that he was so shocked by this story that when he got out of prison he went to Lake Baykal and saw the rail spur line for himself. He said that while the incident occurred in 1952, he learned in the past year that the rail spur is being maintained and that in the proposed Jewish autonomous republic, called Birobidzhan, "many, many thousands of barracks" have been built and remain empty. Shifrin claimed most Soviet Jews are convinced the regime will someday try to either kill all the Jews or put them all in a prison camp at Birobidzhan.

He added that the regime in power in the Soviet Union "is 10 times worse than the regime of Hitler."

## internal security

policy. Even though some of the members of the Communist Party, USA, would seek to publicly criticize the Soviet Union for its anti-Semitism, the Communist Party, USA, has attempted to prevent them from so criticizing."

When Hitler's Nazi German armies attacked the Soviet Union, Shifrin entered the army. His father at that time was in prison, having been arrested in 1938 on charges which the KGB (secret police) admitted, 20 years later, were trumped up. Shifrin's father died in prison in 1948.

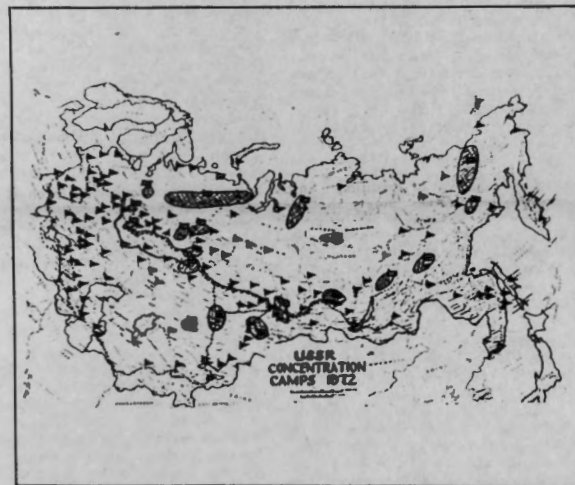
Upon entering the army, young Shifrin was classed with other older children of prisoners of the Soviet state as "enemies of the people" and assigned to a penal battalion especially set up for that purpose. The battalion of some 500 soldiers was given only 60 to 100 rifles and sent immediately into battle. Within a matter of days all but about 50 of his comrades in the battalion had been killed or wounded. Shifrin was wounded in the right elbow, was hospitalized and, after recovering, was sent back to the front in another penal battalion. He was wounded a second time near Leningrad. He testified that enroute to the hospital "I decided they want to kill me and I must do something for myself and that is why, on the way to the hospital, I changed my identity."

In order to enter the hospital he had to fill out a questionnaire. He changed the date and place of his

for 28 days.

Not until he was in prison for 2 months was a formal charge of spying for Israel placed against him. When he finally came to trial, three officers of the military conducted the proceedings since he was employed by the defense ministry. After 1 or 2 hours of verbally assailing him as a spy, the officers convicted him and sentenced him to death by firing squad. Two weeks later his sentence was modified to 25 years in

told Shifrin that he had been beaten repeatedly by the police over a 2- to 3-month period, that he concluded he was going to be beaten to death, and that he finally offered a confession that he was a spy. When the police asked for which he spied, the man decided not to name a large country such as America or France because that would automatically bring a death penalty in the Soviet Union; he said he had spied for Guatemala.



## Exile in Siberia

(Continued from page 2)

Those who faint were splashed with water by soldiers and pushed back to work. By midday, I felt in merciful faint. It was good not to feel anything for a while—death must be like that, I thought after recovering. Lifting my pick, I started to sing to God, followed by the rest of the prisoners. Our cry to God gave us strength to survive until the end of the day.

It was nearly dark when I finished my hole. Aching, not even hungry anymore, and lying in my cabin, the thought of tomorrow lay heavily on my mind.

How we survived the next few months, only God knows. Eventually, with considerable loss of people, we finished the job. The Siberian winter was approaching. Days, to our relief, began to shrink.

One cold morning we were segregated and loaded again onto the lorries. We were taken to the villages of Siberia. My family and I went to Pawlodarsk, which was a small town by the River Irtysh, the one at the end of the railway line. We were given a room in an ordinary house with a bed and straw packed mattresses, one chair and a table with a broken leg. It was heaven.

Somewhat, we got used to our ration of bread, soup and sweets. We were equipped with cotton-padded trousers, jackets, boots made from felt and Siberian hats, with an opening only for the eyes and nose. We understood this generosity when the Siberian winter did come. Also we understood why we have been moved from the steppes. It would be impossible to survive there.

The town was built mainly with wood. There were shops including a chemist, and a large building for the Soviet K.G.B. There seemed to be more soldiers seen on the streets than civilians. There was an endless queue of people, Russian people, waiting at the shop for food, for their rations of flour, sugar and corn. We realized that the Soviet

While queuing for our rations, I developed frost-bite in my legs and the tip of my nose. It was long and hard healing and the heels of my feet became gangrenous. My mother exchanged the rest of our clothes for some goose fat and she dressed my feet frequently. I was very ill for three weeks and confined to bed. Eventually my feet healed.

In that time my mother had to go for our food. Once she brought some kind of meat pies back. We ate them hungrily, but they tasted sweet. Later, there was a rumour that the pies were made with human flesh!

While hunting for food in such cold weather, my mother developed pneumonia and was taken to the local hospital. Only once I had a chance to see her there. Irena was taken with her and I was taken to the military building. Not knowing why, I was locked in a cell in the basement with a bright light bulb staring at me and a hard bench. Nobody gave me any explanation. I stayed there without any food for three days or more.

The captain of the military police entered my cell with a pad and pencil in his hand. He read out my name correctly and mentioned all the members of my family. In fact, he knew everything about my family, and more. He knew who my father was before the Revolution. "Your mother is very ill," he said after finishing reading. "If you want her to have medical attention, you have to help me. We know that your brother belonged to the White Russian organization. All we want to know is who were your brother's friends."

I looked at him stupidly. The captain knocked at the door and a soldier brought a tray with meat, bread and butter, and a steaming hot soup. My nostrils moved and my stomach cramped with pain. "I don't know anything," I said. "I was too young to know such things. I am only a school-girl; my brother was away from home at his practice after finishing university. This is all I can tell you." That was the truth. The admission age to an organization was eighteen

years. He did not believe me. His anger was rising and he slapped me across the face several times. Tears rolled silently down my

face. I felt it was the end for me. I retreated into silence, praying to God with my soul. The tray with the food was taken away, but my jug was filled with water. The door was slammed.

I spent three weeks locked in that basement. A slice of bread and water was given to me daily. The warden passed me a cigarette occasionally, which I saved. His black eyes burned in silent sympathy through the spy window. He once attempted conversation. "So you are Russian," he said. "This town is made of Russian prisoners, most of them have lived here for over twenty years—doctors, surgeons and such from Moscow and Petersburg. Oh yes, there are thousands of them from the Revolution. They work here. There is no escape."

I was trying to understand the meaning of the words. By now I could not think, I just sat on the bench, awaiting death.

After three weeks the same captain came again with the same story and the same demands. Seeing the state that I was in, he told the guard to lead me out. I dragged my body up the steps and out into the street. Snow hit me in the eyes with brilliant whiteness, reflecting the brilliance of the sun. My eyes hurt and my legs swayed. The soldier helped me to walk towards the house where we lived.

There was Irena gathering things for mother. Seeing me she burst into tears. "We thought that you were dead. Oh God, what happened to you!" she cried. I held her to my heart and we cried together.

Irena lit a fire, taking some straw from the mattress and she broke a chair for the wood. She boiled some water and gave me it to drink. Then she covered me with coats and a blanket. "You stay here. I will tell mother that you are home and perhaps fetch some food." But she did not come back. She was detained in hospital with my mother to prevent her from helping me.

I woke up perhaps two days later. I felt my face had swollen and my feet were too fat for my boots. I knew that I had to get some food, although I did not feel hungry anymore. My mouth was dry and my tongue was stiff. I spotted a shoe and I cut a piece of leather from it, stuffing it into my mouth

with some water. How long I was in this state I cannot tell—a week, maybe more. I felt light and I started to walk, first around the room and then outside. All I knew was that I had to be on the move. I found myself by the hospital door and with relief I passed out.

When I regained consciousness, I was in the next bed to my mother. We stayed there for three weeks and slowly regained our health.

Looking back, I still cannot understand the miracle of my survival. When spring came, I was separated from my family and taken to a collective farm to work with other prisoners. By the river the earth was good. We had to dig, rake and plant corn. After that I was taken to a salt mine. We had no news at all from home. One day somebody said something about defense and the fall of Warsaw, which was later found to be true.

I was working in the salt mine for three months and when the summer came, I was moved again to a farm to work on the harvest.

This remarkable day I was endlessly turning the handle of a threshing when half a dozen horsemen appeared in the yard and called everybody.

The officer in charge took a paper from his pocket and announced that the amnesty for Polish prisoners had been signed and that we were free people. We were free to go home or anywhere in Russia if we preferred. Only now I noticed how beautiful and bright the sun was. We all joined our hands and sang the Polish National Anthem. "Poland cannot be destroyed, whilst we are still alive." There were kisses and laughter and bewilderment in the middle of Siberia.

Our request to join our families were granted and I was taken to my family immediately. We did not go back to Poland. There was still a war Poland was swallowed by war between Germany and Russia.

A few weeks after our amnesty, a long train appeared at Pawlodarsk station. The train was to take us the south of Russia, where the remains of the Polish army and people, who were released from different prison camps, began to form another army.

### Exit Tax

Shifrin testified that the emigration fee he was charged was only 40 rubles, but that 6 months later, he learned the rate had gone up to

1,000 rubles. Later it jumped to 5,000, then 25,000 or 30,000, as the Kremlin tacked on a so-called education tax. This made emigration virtually prohibitive for Zionists who had an income of between 80 and 120 rubles per month.

Even paying only 40 rubles meant half a month's income to him at that time, because he was a wood carver by trade when he came out of prison.

In the early 1920's, a great many Zionists were thrown into prison or sent into exile. Those who could get out made an exodus to Palestine in 1930. "Then in 1935 they began another wave of anti-Semitism," he said. "From 1935 to 1939, they arrested many thousands. I think hundreds of thousands, of Jews as part of the mass arrests of the intelligentsia in the U.S.S.R."

Shifrin claimed that most of the Russian intelligentsia were Jews, and they became the scapegoats for the Communist leadership in much the same way as did the Jews in Hitler's Germany.

### Anti-Semitic Policies

He acknowledged that anti-Semi-

## Sweden

(Continued from page 5)

Thus, the key position of the Communist parliamentary group has been of little avail to the VKP. As previously, the Communists are not allowed to participate in the actual policymaking process at any stage and cannot exert any direct influence on the government. Yet there are other and more subtle ways in which their parliamentary activity can exert an impact. By giving vent to popular complaints and demands, they can put the government under pressure and restrict its freedom of action. On several issues, the Communists skillfully articulate views that are widespread among the Social Democratic rank and file and hence are difficult for the government to oppose. Moreover, by making himself the mouthpiece not only of his own party but of the entire Left, Hermansson can make trouble for the Social Democrats in the labor movement.

Hence, in order to arrive at an accurate assessment of Communist influence in Sweden, it is crucial to distinguish between institutional power and cultural power (i.e., influence deriving from the special politico-cultural context of Swedish national life). The impact of the VKP on national politics is predominantly indirect and rarely achieved through actual participation in the policymaking process. The party's peripheral position in the political spectrum, in combination with its consistent strategy of seeking collaboration with the Social Democrats, greatly reduces its ability to maneuver in Parliament and to put a price on its votes. What the VKP can and does exercise, however, is a certain degree of influence on the "definition of the situation"—that is to say, on the general perception of political problems and the parameters of choice. In this politico-cultural sphere, the lively minds of the Swedish Left play a far greater role than they do in the political institutions.

### Outlook for the future

The future role of the VKP depends to a great extent on how Prime Minister Olof Palme decides to resolve the dilemma facing the ruling Social Democratic Party as a consequence of the current balance of forces in Parliament. For Mr. Palme, the tacit collaboration of the Communists during 1971-73 was an inexpensive arrangement that required virtually no concessions and enabled the Social Democrats to pursue their own course. Had it been possible to go on in this fashion, he would certainly have done so, but since the dramatic elections of 1973, the obliging compliance of the Communists is no longer sufficient to provide the government with a stable parliamentary base. To stay in power, the Social Democrats must either (1) secure a broader majority in Par-

liament through new elections, or (2) win the cooperation of a part of the nonsocialist opposition.

Each of the two solutions has its drawbacks. As for the first, an effort to restore the socialist majority in Parliament might well result in failure, which would mean the advent of Sweden's first non-socialist government in forty-two years. Early this year, the country's most prestigious pollster gave the non-socialist opposition parties a 4-percent lead over the Social Democrats in voter support, and even if the Social Democrats—whose election machine is unequalled in Northern Europe—might be able to catch up in an eventual electoral campaign, the prospects of their emerging with a safe margin of parliamentary superiority are dim.

The second solution—a Social Democratic alliance with one or two of the non-socialist opposition parties—would appear to be a far better way of stabilizing Social Democratic supremacy, but it is liable to encounter strong resistance among the party rank and file.

If these obstacles could be surmounted, the task of forging a common policy for such a coalition would probably not be all that difficult. Contrary to the impression created by such manichean labels as "socialist" and "nonsocialist," the attitudinal differences between the government and the opposition in Sweden are not very great, and neither domestic nor foreign issues evoke fundamental disagreement. The "nonsocialists" have no intention of scrapping the welfare state, and the Social Democrats, though they toyed with the idea of nationalizing private industry in the late 1960's, are now less than eager to take such a step. Subtler techniques of manipulating the economy are preferred by the government, and most of them are also accepted by the opposition. This may explain why, after four decades of "socialist" rule, the state-owned sector is still smaller in Sweden than in France, Italy, or West Germany.

To the Communists, of course, this itself is sufficient proof of the *embourgeoisement* of the Social Democratic Party. If the VKP continues to attract the young, more radically-inclined voters, as it has in recent years, Mr. Hermansson's expostulations on this score may finally have some effect on the Social Democrats, but they are not likely to produce any major shift in the government's policy. In the uneasy equilibrium created by last year's elections, Mr. Palme and his cabinet appear to be more disposed to look for new friends in the non-socialist opposition. The VKP would then very likely lose its strategic position in Parliament—a position that has earned it a measure of prestige but very little real influence in Swedish politics.



## Book Review

# Kennedy Seen Darkly Through Soviet Eyes

THROUGH RUSSIAN EYES:  
PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S 1036 DAYS.  
By Anatoli A. Gromyko. International Library, Inc. 2425 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington, Virginia, 22201. Reviewed by Dr. Richard M. Mills, Department of Political Science, Fordham University.  
from *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Spring, 1974

With over 200,000 copies in print in the Soviet Union, Dr. Gromyko's is the most widely available book on American politics there. Son of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Gromyko is currently with the Soviet embassy in Washington working on Congressional relations. He was trained as an academic specialist on American domestic and foreign affairs and has been studying them for over twenty years. In 1957 he published a book, *The Congress of The USA: Elections, Organizations, Powers*, to date the most comprehensive Soviet analysis of that body, but not yet translated into English.

Whereas the 1957 study was an essay in Soviet scholarship, the Kennedy volume, originally published in 1968 and reprinted in 1971, is a popularization intended for a mass audience. The first half of the book is primarily a political biography of Kennedy's formative and pre-presidential years in politics, except for one chapter on the attitudes and political role of the American "ruling circles." The last half treats the Kennedy administration's foreign policies comprehensively.

To read *Through Russian Eyes* through American eyes is a dizzying experience. The book is an extraordinary conglomeration of facts and misconceptions, insights and blind spots, empathy and unfair accusations. It is natural that American readers will be appalled by the misconceptions, blind spots and accusations. But it ought not to be forgotten that a portion of this volume's original Soviet audience, those who have developed an expertise in sorting out the elements of information presented them in books of this sort, can develop an incomplete but essentially valid picture of some of the issues, traditions and processes of American domestic politics.

That is true even though Gromyko's view of American politics is strangely reminiscent of the long-standing aristocratic critiques of democracy: The politician, motivated by his greed for success, manipulates issues and people, engaging in un-



seemly campaign fights which do not address themselves to the real issues; he hides his true thoughts until he is in a position to put them into practice. Alas, when President Kennedy was finally in that position and "began to put into practice the positive aspects of his ideas" he was faced with a major struggle which "perhaps" cost him his life. So were the positive ideas thwarted.

Gromyko's analytical vagaries are illustrated in his treatment of the primaries. It is a misconception to describe them exclusively as struggles between economic monopoly groups attempting to secure the nomination of "their" candidate. Simi-

larly, it is not a fact that the primaries came into existence because the "ruling circles" were dissatisfied with the older method of selecting the candidates—and,

what is worse, Gromyko says not a word about the origin of the pressures for electoral reform leading to the primaries' adoption.

On the other hand, there is much hard information on the role and function of the primaries in Kennedy's strategy and on the reasons why he succeeded in the primaries. The book also contains data showing that primaries involve far more than just a struggle among monopoly groups.

Still, American politics are seen as dominated by centers of economic power identified as either "the monopolies" or "monopolistic groupings." These are large manufacturing and financial organizations which allegedly dominate the economy and politics of the nation in general, and the President in particular through financing campaigns and via prevailing upon him to staff the higher appointive positions in his administration with persons suggested by the monopolies. Together with the Pentagon (i.e. as the military-industrial complex), the CIA and the Cold War-oriented Washington bureaucracy, the monopolies dominated Kennedy, constraining him to continue the foreign policies of President Eisenhower until 1963. When in that year, for reasons which Gromyko does not make clear, Kennedy decided to initiate an independent policy of improving relations with the Soviet Union, he produced a wave of discontent among Cold War advocates. The assassination took place under those circumstances.

This conveniently simplistic analysis has understandably outraged American reviewers of the book already. In some ways, however, the analysis is too simple even for Gromyko. For example, while stressing heavily the controlling role of big money in politics he quickly runs into

what he calls an apparent paradox: in a 1960 primary the billionaire Rockefeller was defeated by the relatively impecunious Richard Nixon. Of course, there is no paradox here for those who do not subscribe to the ideological interpretation of American politics which creates the apparent paradox for the author. Indeed, he has an explanation (ingenious or disingenuous, depending on one's point of view) of this seeming paradox—but the reader may savor those delights for himself on pages 41-43 of the book. Gromyko's extended explanation does not save his ideological assumption that economic power is automatically translated into political power. Actually, although he does so almost in passing with no commentary as to its significance regarding his ideological stand, Gromyko does recognize that professional politicians have a measure of independence (or try to establish it) from the "ruling circles." Gromyko gingerly asserts that neither the monopolies nor the politicians are uniformly big, bad wolves. He characterizes one element among them as being "sensible" and "realistic" in its perception of foreign and domestic politics, while another is torn between being sensible and extremist in its views. Then there are the extremists.

In the context of Gromyko's writing the points which I have noted in the preceding paragraph can be considered as discriminating distinctions which ought not to be overlooked (for reasons to be given below), even though these are still far from taking into account the kaleidoscopic variety of forces influencing American politics.

Once the author begins discussing foreign policy his analysis becomes considerably weaker. No longer is his focus the interaction of monopolies, some of whom are not as bad as others, but he is comparing the policies of the United

States and the Soviet Union regarding their gamut of international problems in John Kennedy's day.

The comparison is made in such a naive, biased way that the book's second half is a tale of virtue and vice juxtaposed. Despite his unrelievedly dark portrayal of American conduct in international affairs, Gromyko allows for the slight possibility that one day the forces of moderation, sobriety and reasonableness will prevail in American domestic and foreign politics—even though they face a stiff, uphill fight.

Dr. Gromyko has written a special introduction to this edition in which he notes the recent changes in Soviet-American relations. These he attributes to greater American realism and sobriety. However, he does not take this opportunity to relate these changes to the domestic political processes he studied in the body of the book.

The book's availability in English provides a splendid opportunity for Americans to learn how to read Soviet publications, to learn how not to allow ritualistic ideological assertions to deflect one's attention from whatever attempts at discrimination a Soviet author is trying to make, nor to fail to see whatever flexibility is tucked away among the more militant materials. In short, the effort must be made to see everything that is there, then to consider and calculate the possibilities and probabilities therein contained while at the same time keeping one's powder dry—just in case.

Professor Morgenthau's Epilogue may already have begun to create a conventional wisdom regarding the book. The Epilogue's argument is: If the Soviet leaders look at the United States the way Gromyko does, how is "the improvement of United States-Soviet relations without illusions on either side" possible? (p. 231)

## Trends in Foreign Policy

(Continued from page 6)

threatened to intervene in the latest round of Arab-Israeli hostilities. By raising the alert status of American strategic forces, Nixon and Kissinger left no doubt that detente has far to go before it will mean very much. Tensions are not much lower in Southeast Asia today. Peking and Moscow continue to support Hanoi's objective of dominating, if not absorbing its neighbors. Another North Vietnamese offensive will surely come, and President Ford's response will tell us much about his own understanding of detente.

The continuing existence of such tensions leaves little doubt that the era of detente differs only slightly from the era of the Cold War. Overuse of the term "detente" has created a false sense of security, which recent events clearly do not warrant.

Theoretical statements by Soviet and Chinese Communist leaders are quite consistent with their actions: Regular assertions from both countries repeat the fundamental Communist belief that conditions of "peaceful coexistence" do not represent any peace or truce between the competing classes. On the contrary, as Mao and Brezhnev have said, the ideological struggle will continue, even becoming more intense. Both of the major Communist states proclaim their support for wars of national liberation, although each impugns the other's sincerity. Indeed, Soviet military journals take justifiable pride in the growing power of the Red Army and Red Fleet, promising more effective assistance than ever before to anti-imperialist, pro-Soviet forces of national liberation.

Optimists will argue that the existence of detente offers a greater degree of security for the United

States, at least for the immediate future. Even if one agrees that nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union is less likely than it once was, detente promises nothing whatever to countries under attack from national liberation forces. In this first respect, therefore, human freedom has very little to do with our foreign policy.

### THE NIXON DOCTRINE

The Nixon Doctrine is much vaguer and more difficult to define than the concept of detente. In fact, most Asian heads of state are quite uncertain what the Nixon Doctrine actually means. Stated most succinctly by Nixon himself, it consists of the promise that future American commitments will be shaped by American interests, rather than the reverse. Treaties with our allies, in other words, will not necessarily be binding upon us, if we decide that it is not in our interest to live up to them. Thus, if a given country were under attack from foreign or domestic enemies, the United States might simply abandon that country to its fate, rather than risk involvement in another Vietnamese war. Such a possibility augurs very poorly for the cause of human freedom, yet Nixon significantly qualified the harshness of his doctrine. He did promise material support, training, and economic aid—everything, in fact, except American troops—for those countries which it was in our interest to defend. This statement was doubtless intended to reassure our allies, at the same time as exhorting them to bear the main cost of their defense by themselves.

The Nixon Doctrine might possibly have a good effect, marking a just compromise between the two opposite

perils of isolationism and over-involvement in foreign wars. It is, however, still too early to assess the long-range impact of the Nixon Doctrine. It has taken concrete form only in one case: our retreat from Vietnam. Even there, no one knows what course America will follow when the next Communist offensive begins. Since neither Kissinger nor Nixon ever managed to explain what our national interest happened to be, the Nixon Doctrine seems a very murky notion in both theory and practice. The defense of human freedom is surely less important than it used to be as an objective of our foreign policy, but its exact position among our national priorities is not yet clear.

### A GENERATION OF PEACE

Nixon's promises for a generation of peace offer more tragedy than hope to those who care about human freedom. It is not at all certain that even America will enjoy such a generation, but many other countries definitely will not. There is no peace for Arabs or Israelis, for Vietnamese or Cypriots, and war is still quite possible between Russians and Chinese. We have no assurance that American threats or American aid could necessarily resolve such conflicts, yet some of us may suspect that peace for America will not be a peace worth having, if it means the triumph of aggression abroad.

It seems appropriate to conclude these remarks by reflecting on a plea from Sun Yat-sen. While leading his revolutionary movement, Sun often sought American aid, even hoping that the United States would give the Chinese revolution its Lafayette. Although many dedicated Americans did their best to help China, none had the required military skills until the

late 1930's, when American pilots finally served with the Republic of China against Japan. By that time, of course, Soviet advisers had briefly played the role which Americans could have had, training Sun's army while assisting the Chinese Communist Party in its quest for power.

Sun's appeal for an American Lafayette deserves careful consideration. Americans frequently forget that the government which sent Lafayette to aid our country had no moral or ideological reasons for so doing. Prior to the French Revolution in 1789, the French government sought only to weaken its British enemy, and independence for the thirteen colonies would hurt Great Britain very seriously. Good strategy for France simply happened to coincide with Lafayette's desire to advance the cause of human freedom—a cause which his royalist superiors in Paris emphatically disapproved.

This anecdote contains several lessons. As the case of Lafayette demonstrates, individuals who hope to work for human freedom can do so even when their governments may be pursuing purely strategic goals. We should also remember that the American government which refused to aid Sun's movement was deeply influenced by a tendency toward isolationism. The eventual change from isolationism to enthusiastic support of China during World War II suggests that some dramatic changes in policy may again be in store for us. Even during an era of national disappointment and decline, Lafayettes can still be found. Dedicated individuals can still work for human freedom, either by implementing national strategy or by improving that strategy, and their impact can be very great.

## Surplus Value

(Continued from page 6)

way that labor does. If machinery cannot produce profit, why would capitalists go to great expense to introduce new machinery? The technical power of man is transferred to a material form in machinery. Thus machinery has the same technical creative power as labor. Marx could never admit this without destroying his



rationale for violent revolution.

Neither labor nor machinery can create value alone. Value is created through the cooperation of entrepreneurs, technicians, office workers, laborers, and all the elements of the production process. All these contributors, therefore, are entitled to a share in the profit. Marx's claim that labor is entitled to all of the profit is just as unjust as the monopolization of the profit by the capitalists. Justice demands the impartial distribution of the profit to every element that participates in the production process. Since the capitalists set up the machinery by their investment, and since the machinery contributes to the creation of profit, a part of the profit should rightly belong to the capitalists.

In Marx's time the workers were indeed exploited, but the exploitation did not come from the unpaid labor of the workers. The exploitation of the workers in the capitalist economy was that the profit was not equitably distributed between both the capitalists and the workers.

Profit itself is the reward for the production of value. This value is use value, and is the very source of profit. Entrepreneurs and merchants provide a service to society by increasing the total wealth of society as they create, transfer or sustain use values. Society rewards them, not for their labor, but for the use value they create. Rewarding labor rather than the creation of use value is the cause of underproduction and low quality goods in the Soviet Union and other countries which attempt to establish a Marxist economy.

## Australia Returns Defector

(Continued from page 1)

satisfied this man wanted to leave and they lifted the black ban." In the course of harsh controversy in the Senate, Senator Willesee stated: "I have very little regard, and in fact very profound contempt for people who have tried to climb the bandwagon, let their emotions run away with them and strike at the government of the USSR with which we have diplomatic relations." The Opposition motion was defeated by a tie vote of 30-30.

Finally, on August 15, after a four-day delay, Georgi Ermolenko and the other Russian musicians were flown to Singapore in a Royal Australian Air Force plane. Without even consulting Defense Minister Barnard or any other minister, Prime Minister Whitlam and Foreign Affairs Minister Willesee made the arrangements before the lifting of the last remaining union ban. When the use of military aircraft was questioned in Parliament the next day, Senator Willesee answered that it was to avoid possible incidents at Perth's International Air-

port. Nevertheless, the use of military aircraft was strongly criticized, even by Labor Party member, Dr. Klugman.

On August 18 *The Observer* reported that Moscow had sent the Australian government an ultimatum threatening that if Ermolenko were not allowed to return to the Soviet Union, they would request the removal of Sir James Pimlott as Australian Ambassador to Moscow. The Soviet ambassador, would not be permitted to return to his post in Australia, and trade agreements with Australia would be disrupted.

From these instances it is evident that Australia is departing from Western ideals which respect individual freedom and national self-determination: Prime Minister Whitlam and Senator Willesee thwarted Georgi Ermolenko's escape to the West, and they abrogated the hope for freedom of six million Balts. If their policy of bending over backwards to please the Soviet Union continues, then Australia may eventually become a Soviet ally. This would be a great loss to the free world.

## The Rising Tide

Winner of  
Freedom Award—Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation  
Award Certificate—Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge

"America's fastest growing freedom newspaper." *The Rising Tide*, is gaining recognition in professional, scholastic, and diplomatic circles. Students, journalists, ministers, educators and national leaders alike have praised the *Tide* for its responsible and effective job.

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

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

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

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

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City/State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

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

General (\$15) Student and G.I. (\$5)  
(one year subscription to TRT included in all the above.)

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