



# The Rising Tide

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

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## Massive U.N. Fast Ignored by Press

### North Korean Legation Threatens “Punishment”

by Louise Berry

Almost 700 participated in the 7-day fast from October 22-29 on behalf of the more than 6,000 Japanese wives in North Korea. But you couldn’t read about it in the *New York Times* whose motto is, “All the News that’s Fit to Print.”

The purpose of the fast was to publicize the plight of Japanese citizens who are trapped in North Korea, wives of Koreans induced to repatriate to North Korea after the Korean War. (See the *Rising Tide*, October 28, for details concerning the motivations of the North and the conditions under which the women live.) More specifically, participants in the fast called for the UN to send an inquiry commission to North Korea to investigate the situation of the Japanese wives and for the North Korean government to allow the women to visit Japan.

Fasters arriving at the Isaiha Wall across from the UN to begin the demonstration on Monday, October 21, stood on the foundation of many months of preparation. The Association for Human Rights of Japanese Wives of North Korean Repatriates was previously active in Japan —holding conventions and gaining support of prominent citizens, including congressmen. The American Committee for Human Rights of North Korean Repatriates, under the guidance of Mrs. Fumiko Ikeda of the Japanese group had attracted a broad base of support prior to the rally —hundreds of professors at Columbia University had signed the Association’s petition; Mrs.

### Dan Fefferman Tours Israel

FLF Secretary General Dan Fefferman left the U.S. Sunday, November 17 on a 10-day fact finding mission to Israel as part of a 12-member United States Youth Council delegation sponsored by the U.S. Department of State.

Other members of the delegation include representatives of most major youth organizations in the United States. Young Democrats, Young Republicans, AFL-CIO, NAACP, North American Jewish Council, Youth for Federal Union and American Indian Culture and Research Center are among those groups represented. Coordinating the delegation will be Youth Council Assistant Director, Larry Specht.

The trip originally included a five-day tour of Iran, which unfortunately, had to be postponed until next year.

Coming at a time of dramatic changes and increased tension, Mr. Fefferman’s tour should provide up-to-date first-hand knowledge of the situation in the Middle East in general and Israel in particular. The Youth Council is expected to issue a report upon its return to the U.S.

The delegation’s itinerary included several preliminary briefings on the Middle East political situation before leaving the U.S., and meetings with political, labor, religious, youth, military, cultural and ethnic (including Palestinian) leaders in Israel.

## Soviet K.G.B. Aids Indian Communists in Attacks Against Religious Groups

by Barry Wallach

In a communiqué issued from Patna, India, spiritual leader Shrii Shrii A'ndamur'i charged that the intelligence branch of the Soviet Union (K.G.B.) is active throughout India and is attempting to “suppress, crush and strangle the rising spiritual and moralist organizations” of India.

A'ndamur'i is the founder of A'nda Ma'rga, a social and spiritual movement which became the subject of controversy when A'ndamur'i and several followers were arrested by India's Central Bureau of Intelligence in December of 1971 and charged with “conspiracy and abettment of homicide.” Members of A'nda Ma'rga believe that the charges against their teacher were concocted as part of a general program of repression of A'nda Ma'rga in India. They trace this repression back to the late 1960's when the social and spiritual programs of A'nda Ma'rga collided with the vigorous Communist parties in West Bengal. Furthermore they maintain that the decision of the Central Government of India to prosecute A'ndamur'i stems from the increasing influence of the Moscow-leaning Communist Party of India (CPI) in the Gandhi administration.



K.G.B. target

“As A'ndamur'i is a rising spiritual organization in India, it is the main target of the K.G.B.,” said A'ndamur'i in his communiqué. He also went on to say that the K.G.B. had “undertaken a very well-engineered program to dismember

A'nda Ma'rga.” Included in this program are efforts to “instigate students and youth against A'nda Ma'rga and attempts to destroy the philanthropical educational institution of A'nda Ma'rga.” (A'nda Ma'rga representatives cite the 1968 looting of the A'nda Ma'rga College in West Bengal as an example of such “plundering and arson.”)

A'ndamur'i went on to charge the K.G.B. with attempting to disrupt A'nda Ma'rga with plans to kill the missionaries of the organization and “by character assassination of workers of A'nda Ma'rga who have been implicated in fabricated sex scandals.”

He also said that the K.G.B. program against A'nda Ma'rga included the infiltration of agents into the organization and attempts “to jeopardize the organization by implicating it in violent activities” armed with bombs and pistols. (Members of A'nda Ma'rga cite the “bombs case” of 1971 in which A'ndamur'i was charged with storing weapons at the A'nda Ma'rga headquarters in Ranchi, India. An Indian court recently dismissed these charges acquitting A'ndamur'i and others.)

### Propaganda campaign

A'ndamur'i also called attention to a propaganda campaign which he says is inspired by the K.G.B. and includes the establishment of “anti-A'nda Ma'rga lobbies” in the various state legislative assemblies of India. He also linked anti-A'nda Ma'rga articles in Indian weeklies (such as *Blitz*, *The Link*, *The Patriot*, and *Secular Democracy*) to the K.G.B. activities.

A'ndamur'i's communiqué was transmitted from the jail by recent visitors who described the 53-year-old spiritual leader as “emaciated.” They also noted that his fast, which recently passed the 550 day mark, had impaired his hearing and vision. A'ndamur'i has vowed to continue fasting until the Indian government launches a judicial inquiry into a poisoning attempt on his life in the Patna jail in 1973. A'ndamur'i has also called attention to the arrests of many members of A'nda Ma'rga on “false charges” and pledges to continue his liquid fast until such charges are dropped and his disciples are released.

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ment house guard and asked him to call the police, saying that the fasters were “hooligans and gangsters.”

On the third day of persistent attempts to call or visit the North Korean delegation, a contingent of about 50 fasters went to their offices. Demonstration Executive Director Walter Gottesman recalls the experience. “As we approached, I could see the North Koreans in the lobby, leaving. In the van I followed them down the street. As they were pulling out of the parking lot, they got caught in traffic. They had their window down, I went up and said to them, ‘In the name of the American Committee for the Human Rights of...’ and they rolled up the window.”

Do you understand me?

North Koreans threaten punishment

Trying to deliver the petition into the hands of the North Koreans was one of the major activities of the rally. Attempts to set up appointments via telephone were met with irrational responses—(see box). “You don’t behave... you should be punished,” organizer Michael Warder was told.

The first time the fasters went to see the delegation, its members called the apart-

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## Meany Attacks Detente at Foreign Relations Hearing

On October 1, AFL-CIO head George Meany testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee condemning the “phony detente” policy of the United States. Meany emphasized that “the inability to face the world as it is, and to understand clearly the nature of freedom’s enemies everywhere is really the greatest threat to peace today. That threat is nowhere more clearly posed than in the delusion we call detente.”

Meany called for a redefinition of detente:

“I think it makes a big difference how we define it. It’s not an academic exercise. If we don’t know what it is, then we have no yardstick, no criteria, for determining whether we are making progress in our relations with the Soviet Union or whether we are moving backwards. How do we know if detente is working unless we know what detente is?”

Characterizing detente as “the avoidance of nuclear war,” Meany said, “If this is the meaning of detente, what is the difference between detente and cold war?”

Meany referred to Lenin’s words in giving the Soviet perspective of detente:

“In a sense, detente is not really new. Lenin, in the days of the N.E.P. (the so-called New Economic Policy) sought a kind of detente with the West as a way of attracting desperately needed capital investment into his war-torn country. In 1921 he wrote these words, which echo down the decades, with an eerie, prophetic quality:

‘As a result of my own personal ob-

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## Study Shows C.B.S. Bias on Defense

According to an exhaustive study done by the Institute for American Strategy, “partial and slanted reporting by CBS-TV News has had the effects of narrowing the parameters of public debate” on critically important defense issues.

The findings were released in a 209-page book called *TV and National Defense: An Analysis of CBS News, 1972-73*, the result of a two-year long study of CBS Evening News, specials, and relevant portions of CBS “60 Minutes.”

The principle author of the book is Dr. Ernest W. Lefever, Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution. The content analysis was done by eight outside scholars, and the methodology and the manuscript were checked by an independent Review Panel of eight other distinguished scholars.

The FCC’s Fairness Doctrine, against which the study measured CBS News performance, requires that on “vital” and “controversial” public issues, such as basic national security issues, the broadcast media must provide 1) reasonable opportunity for the presentation of contrasting points of view from reasonable spokesmen and 2) reasonably balanced news coverage on these issues.

Using six different methods on contents analysis the study reached the following conclusions:

1) “CBS national security news was so spotty and lopsided that it failed to provide the essential facts for understanding U.S. defense and military issues, the Soviet definition of detente, or the forward surge in Soviet military might.”

2) “CBS News failed to seek out actively all opposing views” on defense issues, particularly those calling for a stronger policy.

3) CBS News “almost totally neglected” the views of millions of citizens calling for a stronger defense and “failed to provide a reasonable opportunity for the presentation and discussion of related national security views.”

4) CBS Vietnam War coverage was found to be “strongly and persistently critical of U.S. policy and of our South Vietnamese allies and was mildly favorable to North Vietnam.”

Based on the number of opinions in sentences in CBS News programs during 1972, the study found that 83.33 per cent of the themes in stories about South Vietnam were critical of the Saigon government. On the other hand, it found that 57.32 per cent of the themes in stories about North Vietnam were favorable to Hanoi.

“Overwhelming attention was given to problems within and criticism of the Military,” the study said. During 1972 and 1973

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## Here for Propaganda Campaign

by Lorenzo Gazzana

The widow of Salvador Allende arrived in Washington last Wednesday, 45 minutes late for her scheduled 10:30 am appearance. Many of the familiar faces from pro-Castro and other pro-Marxist events past were there. Tim Butz, “a legal adviser,” to nearly every Communist front group in the D.C. area was there with his regular entourage of “bodies.” Mr. Butz who once threatened this reporter with physical violence in no uncertain terms, managed to smile and to wave to the same. The crowd of 75, mostly favoring the Allende side, neatly stacked the question and answer period.

Mrs. Allende herself, a quiet soft spoken woman in her fifties, spoke of “democracy” returning to Chile and blamed Allende’s death on the CIA and the State Department.

Her late arrival, whether planned or not, had the effect of finding who was friend and who was foe in the audience.

To fill the time an American, Saul Lautus led the conference’s first part. Mr. Lautus, a trim looking young man, has all the right Marxist facts and command of truth which living in Chile 1970 and 1971 could have provided him. During this time, Mr. Lautus spoke of U.S. intervention in Chile, how Allende was a popularly elected majority president, and how the right wing oligarchy had been bribed by the ITT and pushed the army into the coup which toppled Allende. When Mrs. Allende arrived she was warmly greeted, by a flurry of applause from her supporters and a kiss on the cheek by Mr. Lautus. She apologized for lateness, expressed that there would be no time for a lengthy speech and therefore she would take questions. A man identified as Charles Wilson of Concerned Voters asked Mrs. Allende if she was a Marxist and if she supported Marxism. Mrs. Allende did not answer, rather stated that she was the widow of the late Allende and that she was fighting for Chile and the restoration of democracy. Feeling that his question had been dodged, Mr. Wilson repeated it without satisfaction. Then he exclaimed that the truth had to be told and that Mrs. Allende was not truthful.

Towards the end of the session a gentleman who said he was a U.S. citizen in Chilean birth inquired on the form of Allende’s death. The retort came as pictures of Allende directing defense operations at “La Moneda” do not show a man who was about to commit suicide. This answer was satisfactory to the gentleman, perhaps one of the many plants in the audience, but it said nothing about how Allende died. Pro-Marxists contend that he was killed by Government troops but this contradicts Allende’s daughter’s original statement that the late President had committed suicide.

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# World In Review

## KGB > FBI

FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley has warned of an alarming increase in the number of Soviet spies in the United States as a result of "detente." Kelley said that all official Communist bloc representatives are "potential agents gathering information." The number of Soviet "diplomats" in the United States this year is 943, 142 more than last year. A substantial proportion of those 943, Kelley says, have been identified as Soviet intelligence operatives. In testimony earlier this year, Kelley said that there are altogether 1,463 Soviet-bloc officials in the U.S.

Ideally, Kelley would like to have one agent assigned to each spy, but that is impossible under budgetary restrictions. Kelley said "We're losing ground," and that he may have to request 250 new agents to work in the internal security area.

The U.S.-Soviet Consular agreement of 1968 allowed the Soviets to open a new consulate in San Francisco, giving Moscow another base from which to conduct espionage operations. Previously Soviet agents worked mainly out of the Soviet Embassy in Washington and the United Nations in New York.



## "Magnifying the Contradictions"

**C H I N A**

The food crisis has become a tool of the Marxist propaganda machine. The food crisis has presented itself in such a way that the Third World nations which seemed to be advancing in food production are starving or nearly starving. Ironically most of the world's unused arable land lies within the stricken areas. These unused lands require advanced technology to be productive. This technology is only available from the developed countries.

Mutual trust between the developed and underdeveloped countries becomes the key to a successful control of world famine.

The relationship between these two camps has never been highly trustful. Still at this time patience and hope should be renewed and all wounds healed. Red China, the newly self-proclaimed leader of the 3rd world, has taken it upon itself to divide rather than unite during this crisis.

Most unused lands lie within jungles or mountains in the third world. The highly skilled technicians needed to tackle the situation are imperiled by communist guerrillas. A case in point is the Vietnam Mekong Delta. One of the most fertile areas in Asia is threatened by Red Chinese backed North Vietnamese troops. Chinese supplied "liberation armies" in Africa to make life

impossible for natives. Foreign, possibly white, technicians would become immediate targets of these communist brigands.

Throughout the World Food Conference in Rome the Peking representative made inflationary speeches pitting the newly developed countries against their old colonial rulers. The latter now being in position to help their former wards.

A plan which has been presented to ameliorate the food crisis calls for constant checking and pooling of food resources. The Soviet Union and Red China refuse to cooperate. While combined they account for 900 million of the world's people they refuse to release figures of their food situation. This policy leaves a sizeable portion of the globe ignorant of what the food situation will be.

At the root is the Marxist ideology of struggle and division. To the Communist leaders no world issue is seen as an obstacle to overcome for the sake of humanity. Rather it is seen as the base for a greater conflict artificially created to further their own aim of world conquest. The Marxist policies on the food crisis reflect a trend already apparent at the World Population Council. There the Red Chinese denounced suggestions of reasonable population checks as a means to further exploit the masses of the world.



## U.N. FAST

(Continued from page 1)

Media coverage was amazingly sparse. There was some local TV coverage, photos in the *Daily News*, a story in the *New York Post*, and a short story in the *Washington Post* taken from wire service reports originally appearing in Japan. There are rumors that the *New York Times* rejected two articles about the fast by its UN correspondent.

Despite the media blackout, public reaction, say the fasters, was quite good. Washington contingent leader Keith Cooperrider commented: "The response was very good; it was easy to get people to sign the petition. It felt like we were really making an impact."

Fasters followed a rigorous schedule of rising at 6:00 a.m. Every night a group kept watch while most of the fasters slept outside on the plaza, in unseasonably cold weather. Said Keith Cooperrider, "It was very interesting to find how much your body could take without problems—no food, little sleep, cold weather. People who lied around felt lifeless, while those who actively participated felt good—there was good cooperation throughout the fast."

**Senator Percy, Other Notables Speak**

The daily routine of leafletting, picketing, and soliciting petition signatures was one day broken by the surprise visit of U.S. Senator Charles Percy from Illinois. Long interested in human rights activities, Senator Percy expressed deep gratitude for the work of the fasters. Other speakers included Hamilton Fish, Sr., former Congressman from New York, Bertram Harris of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Vietnamese UN representative Pham Huy Ty, Jhoon Rhee, director of Washington's largest Taekwondo school, Father Raymond DeJagher of the Free Pacific Association and Dr. Daisy Atterbury of the Shanghai Tsin Club.



FLF Secretary General Dan Fefferman addresses the fasters at the opening ceremony in front of U.N. Headquarters, New York.

Follow-up included visits to U.N. delegations, several dozen of which have signed the committee's petition. Mrs. Ikeda has travelled to Switzerland and is attempting to gain the cooperation of the International Red Cross. It was reported that while there, she had obtained the signature of Alexander Solzhenitsyn on the petition.

Continued developments and more details will be reported next issue - Ed.

## Coverage of Defense News Challenged

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nearly two-thirds (66.1%) of the stories on U.S. military affairs were unfavorable to military whereas only 13% were favorable.

The report said that in 1972 CBS News gave 34.6% coverage of administration viewpoints; 61.83% to critics who advocated a reduction in defense and foreign policy commitments; but almost no coverage (3.54%) of views which advocated a stronger defense and foreign policy.

On the vital subject of U.S. vs. Soviet military posture, substantial time was given by CBS in 1972 to those who advocated reduction of the U.S. defense budget. But none—not even one second—to those who advocated U.S. superiority over the Soviets.

In contrast, the study reports an Opinion Research Corporation poll which found in 1972 that over two-thirds (68%) of the American people were in favor of U.S. "policy of military superiority over Russia."

John M. Fisher, president of the Institute for American Strategy, said in a letter to CBS that CBS News had clearly violated the Federal Communications Commission's Fairness Doctrine, the Television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters, and the Code of Ethics of the Radio-Television News Directors Association. He said that "The commission of viewpoints held by a majority of the American people violates all the rules of fair play, reduced the parameters of debate, and is a denial of the democratic process."

Mr. Fisher called for CBS-TV News to begin providing fair and balanced coverage of national security news and viewpoints, and to provide compensatory coverage for the viewpoints neglected in the past.

Mr. Fisher concluded his letter by saying that the study would be sent to the managers of all CBS-affiliated stations. "After all, it is their licenses which may be jeopardized if CBS-TV News fails to provide them with balanced programming," the letter said.



"It seems that since 10:30 this morning, comrade, you have been insane."

## Angela Davis

Communist celebrity Angela Davis was accused of being a "hypocrite and a sellout" by Gary Lawton, a member of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, for her failure to aid all political prisoners. Lawton is now under indictment for the killing of two California policemen. He blasted Miss Davis and the Communist-run National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) which she heads for "selective support" of the victims of "repression." In an open letter to Miss Davis, he scored her failure to come to the aid of himself and Ruchell Magee.

Meanwhile, Angela Davis, has attached herself to a new issue. The "Coalition to Fight Inflation and Unemployment," scheduled anti-inflation demonstrations across the country on November 16 which are ostensibly designed to generate pressure on Congress to roll back prices to "at least" 1970 levels. The head of the Coalition is Jane Benedict, a veteran participant in Communist Party front-group activities.



## Has The N.Y. Times Forgotten Alger Hiss

### ACCURACY IN MEDIA INVESTIGATION

Silly question? One would think so, but twice in recent months AIM has noted articles in *The New York Times* giving very strange accounts of why Hiss got into trouble with the law.

On June 13, 1974, one of the top political reporters for *The Times*, Bernard Gwertzman, wrote a story in which he described the Hiss case this way: "Mr. Hiss's case was deeply controversial because of charges that he had communist affiliations." That was all!

We discussed this with the chief of the Washington bureau of *The Times*, Mr. Clifton Daniel, who assured us that *The Times* had not forgotten that the charges against Hiss were considerably more serious than merely having "communist affiliations." Mr. Daniels became quite upset at the suggestion that the effect of this kind of writing was to conceal from younger readers that Hiss had been accused of engaging in espionage for the Soviet Union while working at the Department of State.

We accepted Mr. Daniel's assurances on this point, but on August 9, we noted a very similar description of the Hiss case in a lengthy article on Richard Nixon by Alden Whitman,

another prominent Timesman, Whitman said:

(Chambers) swore that he was a former Communist and that he had known Alger Hiss, a former New Dealer and high State Department officer as a Communist between 1935 and 1937.

Once again, no mention of espionage.

This time we wrote two letters to *The Times*, one to the Chairman and President, Mr. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, and one to the editor for publication. In his letter to Mr. Sulzberger, Mr. Irvine said: "I could understand that the Gwertzman description (of the Hiss case) may have been a slip. I do not understand how Mr. Whitman, in discussing Mr. Nixon's career, could have 'accidentally' failed to provide a description of the Hiss case that would make its historical impact clear to the uninformed reader."

After a few weeks, we received a very interesting reply from Mr. George Palmer, Assistant to the Managing Editor of *The Times*. Mr. Palmer informed us that he had looked up the Hiss case in "Facts on File." He discovered that Mr. Hiss was convicted on two counts of perjury, one of which was that he lied to the grand jury when he denied passing secret State Department documents to Whittaker Chambers. Mr. Palmer did not say whether "Facts on File" told him that Whittaker Chambers was an admitted Soviet espionage agent who testified that Hiss knowingly gave him documents for transmission to the Soviet Union.

Nor did Mr. Palmer explain why *The New York Times* twice in two months described the Hiss case for its readers in an inaccurate and misleading manner and why they did not publish AIM's letter setting the record straight.

From AIM Newsletter, September 1974.

## Meany On Detente

(Continued from page 1)

Observations during the years of my emigration, I must say that the so-called cultural strata of Western Europe and America are not capable of understanding the contemporary state of affairs or the actual alignment of forces; we must regard these strata as deaf mutes and act with respect to them accordingly. The capitalists of the entire world, and their governments, in the rush of conquering Soviet markets, will close their eyes to the realities, and will thus become blind deaf mutes. They will open credits which will serve as a support for the Communist Party in their countries and will provide us with essential materials and technology thus restoring our military industries, essential for our future victorious attacks on our suppliers. Speaking otherwise, they will be working to prepare their own suicides."

Expressing confidence in the American people, Meany warned:

Mr. Chairman, let me suggest that there is a limit to the patience of the average American citizen. He's no dope. He knows he's being ripped off from every angle. This is certainly true of the average worker. He has seen his standard of living decline in the last couple of years. He has seen prices go through the roof, while his wages increase only modestly. He sees that a big part of the inflation is due to spiraling food costs—and he knows the Soviet wheat deal had a lot to do with that. He sees his fuel bill rising geometrically—and he knows that Soviet-Arab oil blackmail had a lot to do with that. He sees corporate profits going up astronomically, especially oil profits—while he is less and less able to make ends meet. And American capital flowing out of this country into the Soviet Union at 6 and 7 percent—while his bank refuses to give him a mortgage. He listens to Mr. Kendall (President of Pepsi) sing the praises of the Soviet dictator, and he sees Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Brezhnev blowing kisses at each other—and he thinks of the dead in Vietnam and the sacrifices of the brave Israelis.



# The Publisher's Column



by Neil Albert Salonen

President Ford's trip to Japan and Korea will be one of historical importance; these two countries hold the key for the future of freedom in Asia.

As this issue goes to press, powerful pressures are being brought to bear to cause the President to cancel his trip, or at least to tone down any remarks he might make about the ideological struggle in Eastern Asia. Several Communist-inspired demonstrations in Japan denounced Ford's diplomatic venture as an imperialist machination. Japanese Premier Tanaka is beset with economic troubles and a financial scandal which have motivated a radical shake-up in his administration just one week before the U.S. President is to arrive. In Korea, a group of anti-government Catholics and a smaller Protestant contingent have asked Ford to cancel his visit to Seoul on grounds that it would imply unconditional support of President Park Chung-hee's rigidly disciplined one-man rule in their country. Moreover, international trends of the last few years have made it difficult for an American President to speak out strongly in support of our allies against the threat of Communism. In the face

of all these things, now, more than ever, America must lift her voice in defense of freedom.

In Korea, the issue of political freedom cannot be divorced from the question of the ongoing struggle between the northern and southern sectors of that nation. The White House has explained that to visit Japan without stopping in Korea might signal a lack of



U.S. President Gerald R. Ford

commitment to the North Koreans, which could cause them to "miscalculate." In light of historical experience, this explanation is not only credible, but extremely important to understand thoroughly. It was only a short time after the U.S. failed to explicitly include South Korea in its Asian defense perimeter that Kim Il-sung sent his Soviet-made tanks across the demarcation line



Korean President Chung Hee Park

and over the hills to Seoul.

Japan also needs stimulation to resist the temptation of linking up too closely with the Soviet Union and Communist China. Eventually, Japan must play the leading role of the Free World in Asia, with the support, of course, of the United States. If Japan is not sure of that support, or if she is unclear about U.S. priorities in relationship to the ongoing advance of Communism, she may falter; and the future of Free Asia would be in nearly hopeless jeopardy.

President Ford's trip gives him a new opportunity to show not only his statesmanship, but his courage as the moral leader of the American people. The people of the United States are tired of moral relativity; they are demoralized by the one-sided "detente" of the past several administrations. They want a President who can clarify the moral issues involved and define our international priorities. Thus far, President Ford has moved cautiously, but we can perceive in him an inherent willingness to confront the issue of Communism openly and with strength.

Thus, President Ford has again found himself in a difficult position. The right choice is not always the easiest. Right action at this time could truly revive the commitment and spirit of Free Asia. Assurances of continued support would likely cause Asian leaders to feel more free to democratize rather than clamp down on potentially weakening opposition. And a close relationship with Japan is essential to the peace and strength of the entire region.

First impressions carry far more importance and lasting impact in the Orient than in the West, therefore the President's trip holds even deeper significance for the future of relations between Asia and the U.S. The President will need our prayers while he is on this journey, and he will have them.

## In Brief...

### "Open" China

#### Reporters Screened

#### Diplomats Isolated

With the glowing reports of so many American newsmen who trailed former President Nixon's entourage as well as such succeeding reports, one receives a picture of China as one big, gloriously happy family on the road to socialist heaven.

One must give credit to Chou En Lai's public relations men who must have done an excellent job.

However, the facts remain to demonstrate Communism's totalitarian character.

Recently, during a visit to Taiwan's Provincial Government, Alfred Jenkins, former deputy director of the U.S. Liaison Office in Peking, spoke of his experiences. Despite the fact that he speaks fluent Mandarin Chinese, Jenkins said that he never had a chance to talk with ordinary people in Red China. One wonders why?

The Danish press recently accused the Peking regime of suppressing freedom of expression. The reason: the denial of a visa to Herbert Pundik, chief editor of *Poliiken*. Pundik had applied for a visa to cover the recent visit of Danish Premier Hartling to China.

The question remains. What is Red China hiding and why? Could it be a regime of such repression as to damage the handiwork of China's PR men, and embarrass naive Western newsmen?

Perhaps future reports from behind the Great Wall will be less exuberant and more accurate.

### Communist Strategy in Coalitions

### Democratic Process Ruse for Takeover

With a ring of dread familiarity, the issue of Communist dominated coalitions is once again before us.

In Portugal, the advent of General Antonio de Spinola's regime and his recent downfall has given new life to the Communist Party of Alvaro Cunhal, who now holds the Cabinet position of Minister without portfolio. In Italy Premier Mariano Rumor resigned in the midst of parliamentary siege; the Communist party has been legalized in Greece after a 27 year ban and there is increasing Communist collaboration on the part of Prince Juan Carlos of Spain. In recent private talks with visitors, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has spoken of his fear that the current economic crises might pave the way for Communist gains in Western Europe.

The major technique through which the Communists attempt to exploit such a situation is through participation in coalition governments. Historically, all coalitions including Communists have ended either in Communist dictatorship or in complete rupture between the non-Communist and Communist factions. The rupture has sometimes taken the form of an armed conflict (such as in Spain in 1936), at other times that of the exclusion of Communists from any further participation in the country's government (such as in Finland after World War II). There is no case of Communist cooperation in a coalition within the limits of the traditional parliamentary pattern in which parties accept and expect alternation between positions of power and of opposition.

These are the failures; unfortunately the successes far out number them. The fall of Czechoslovakia to Communist power is proclaimed as the model of Communist coalition strategy. An equally effective model can be seen in the present Laotian Government coalition between Prince Souvanna Phouma and the Pathet Lao (see *Tide*, 6-17-74) in which ¾ of the nation is already controlled by the Communists.

This is in keeping with Lenin's concept of the Communist Party as a small group of

"professional revolutionaries" held together by "revolutionary theory" which only an elite core can grasp. In numbers the Communist Party has been relatively small; it is the strategy of coalition with other groups of greater number that has given the Communist Party the strength to attain power.

Preceding this broad-based "Popular Front," as Lenin called it is the "United Front," another Leninist term. This is a coalition of all leftwing groups who bury the hatchet, so to speak, for the sake of greater strength in numbers. Such action was recently taken by Greek leftwing factions as they formed a "union of the left" last month. This coalition is expected to draw at least 25% of the vote in this month's election in that country. The strong showing of Francois Mitterrand in this year's French election is also an example.

This kind of strategy has led to coalitions with groups which would normally be unacceptable partners. The recent overtures of Italy's Communist Party towards a coalition with the Christian Democrats against the more left Christian Socialists is a modern example.

By uniting in a broad coalition, a forum is provided through which overtures can be made to the masses. This does not mean that the Party actually shares the power. What it means is that the Party entrenches itself and improves its public acceptability.

In addition, it uses this opportunity to stage dissatisfaction within the coalition, publicly denouncing its opponents for sabotaging the coalition and breaking the pact. This has the effect of increasing Communist status as well as public distrust of more democratic factions. Once this has been accomplished, such a coalition outlives its usefulness, and either dissolves into pitched battle or peaceful Communist takeover, the latter being the more common of the two.

The principle of a necessary but temporary alliance between Communists and non-Communists was, in fact, not created

by Lenin although he elaborated its theory and laid down the operating procedures. Ultimately, as an aspect of Communist ideology, the idea goes back to Marx who in 1850 wrote instructions to the Communist League, then operating in Germany. Marx explained that for a situation in which the Communists are still too weak to establish their own power and have to work in combination with "democratic" elements, they can still advance the cause. He then recommended certain courses of strategy to take: "to concentrate the utmost possible production forces, means of transport, factories, railways, etc., in the hands of the state; to drive the proposals of the democrats... to the extreme and transform them into direct attacks upon private property. If the democrats propose proportioned taxes, the workers (i.e. the Party) must propose progressive taxes; if the democrats themselves put forward a moderately progressive tax, the workers must insist on a tax with rates that rise so steeply that big capital will be ruined by it; if the democrats demand the regulation of state debts, the workers must demand state bankruptcy. Thus, the demands of the workers must be governed by the concessions of the democrats."

Here can be seen the dialectic at work, struggle, unity, antagonism, synthesis and greater struggle.

Lenin later developed the same idea in his "Left-wing Communism."

To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, a war which is a hundred times more difficult, protracted and complicated than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to refuse beforehand to maneuver, to utilize the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporize and compromise with possible (even though temporary, unstable, vacillating and condition) allies—is not this ridiculous in the extreme?... the more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by

(Continued on page 4)



### KGB in India

(Continued from page 1)

He is also calling for the return of four co-accused disciples to his cell, as well as for the preparation of his meals outside the prison.

Despite an outpouring of letters from around the world, sent by legislators, human rights groups, members of A'ndana Ma'rga, and concerned individuals, the Indian government has not made any moves to meet the conditions for ending A'ndana'ma'ri's fast. They maintain that he is, and has been, getting adequate treatment and furthermore charge him with attempting to delay the legal proceedings, which have been snarled for the past two years.

Currently the trial has again been halted by a petition submitted by A'ndana'ma'ri's defense asking the Supreme Court of India to transfer the case to another state. The petition charges that "the entire (Bihar) State machinery and the local press had become hostile, prejudiced, antagonistic and vindictive to him (A'ndana'ma'ri) and his followers in the past few months."

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### Pioneering Editor Bids Tide Farewell

Louise Berry, senior editor of *The Rising Tide* and guiding force of the paper's expansion to full standard size and to its winning of two national awards for journalistic excellence, leaves the *Tide* staff with this issue. Miss Berry has accepted a position in a sister organization, and expects to continue to contribute often to the pages of *The Rising Tide*, as well as to participate in expanding Freedom Leadership Foundation activities throughout the country. She remains one of FLF's foremost official ambassadors-at-large.

Building on Miss Berry's foundation will be new Editor, Dan Holdgrewe. A noted political critic, writer and theoretician, Mr. Holdgrewe is well qualified to shoulder the burden his predecessor had carried so well under often trying circumstances. He has been serving as managing editor here

for several months after having returned to Washington, D. C. for Seattle, where he was a field organizer for FLF.

Also leaving is our Director of Public Information, Sydelle Vogelhol Block. Ms. Block had served tirelessly in the thankless duties of maintaining the mailing list, addressing, mailing, and battling with the often uncooperative mechanical equipment in her department.

Rejoining the headquarters staff is Ray Mas, having recently returned from the field on an extended fundraising mission. Mr. Mas will serve as managing editor and director of public relations. We are hoping that a proposed improved mailing system will allow us to absorb Ms. Block's responsibilities without additional full-time help. Volunteers, therefore, are always welcome.

## The Rising Tide

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# Terrorists Dim Hopes for Mid-East Settlement

By Dan Fefferman

One may disagree with American foreign policy under the influence of Henry Kissinger, but one has to admire the Secretary of State's sincere and grueling efforts to lay the groundwork for meaningful negotiations in the Middle East. Thus, it was a shocking disappointment when the Arab League decided to give sole recognition to terrorist leader Yasser Arafat as the "legitimate voice" of the Palestinian Arabs.

FLF has consistently pointed out that improved U.S.-Arab relations, while safeguarding the existence of a Jewish state in Israel, is of critical importance in the global struggle of the forces of freedom against the tyranny of Communist totalitarianism. The Palestinian question has been a most difficult one to resolve in this regard. It was hoped that a settlement could be worked out through negotiations between Israel and Jordan. Jordan, after all, is primarily composed of people of Palestinian origin. Moreover, most Palestinians are Jordanian citizens. Israel had indicated its willingness to negotiate with Jordan on this critical issue, and Jordan for a time seemed interested. Israel, however, would not discuss the creation of a Palestinian state west of the Jordan. It is here that the Israelis might be faulted, for in not holding out the possibility of such a creation, and thereby stimulating the development of a type of moderate Palestinian leadership, the Israelis left the Arabs with few alternatives.

But the alternative the Arabs have chosen is inexcusable. In endorsing the leader of the Palestinian terrorist organizations, Yasser Arafat, the

Arab League has identified itself with fanaticism and savagery.

One must empathize with the plight of homeless Palestinians in refugee camps, but there is little relation between their cause and that of the PLO. How many Palestinians have been helped by the brutal murder of school children, the hijacking of international airplanes, or the tragedy of the Olympic games?

matters any easier. Many Israelis expect war with Syria before the coming spring. Terrorism and reprisals can be expected to be stepped up. The Soviet Union, while arming the most belligerent Arab states to the teeth in preparation for a new war with Israel, sits back and watches Western Europe grind to a halt under the weight of heavier oil prices. And the U.N. invites Yaser Arafat to address the General Assembly!



The prospects for peace in the Middle East are substantially dimmed when the legitimate interests of the Palestinians are represented by an organization which pursues its goals through the murder of innocents.

Arab intransigence on oil prices in the face of a world energy shortage and world financial crisis does not make

Could it be an Arab bluff to force the Israelis to negotiate "more reasonably" with Egypt, Syria, Jordan and non-terrorist Palestinians? If so, it is a dangerous bluff because, while the Arab states can support Arafat or the P.L.O., they can never control them. Whether or not the move is a bluff, it cannot be met by weakness on the part of the United States.

## Communist Strategy in Coalitions

(Continued from page 3)

exerting the utmost effort, *without fail*, most thoroughly, carefully, attentively, and skillfully using every, even the smallest, "rift" among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries, and among the various groups or type of bourgeoisie, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who fail to understand this fail to understand even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific, modern Socialism in general."

In this, Lenin makes it clear that such a thing is part of basic Marxist ideology that must be accepted and understood to qualify for one's being a Communist.

At the same time, however, the end goal is never forgotten as Georgi Dimitrov one time leader of the Comintern (then the official organ of world Communism) and chief coalition strategist said:

"The United Front is only a temporary strategic expedient. We must indefatigably prepare the working class for a rapid change in forms and methods of struggle when there is a change in the situation... we must go further and prepare the transition from the defensive to the offensive against capital!"

In speaking of all this, there remains one valuable factor. For the "popular Front" coalition to be successful, the democratic elements must find it in their interests to unite with the Communists. Such conditions as fascism, reaction and war, threats to democratic liberties and economic troubles all offer themselves as suitable "common causes," for the Communist propaganda machine.

**"WHAT THE MIDDLE CLASS PRODUCES ABOVE ALL ARE ITS OWN GRAVE DIGGERS. ITS FALL & THE VICTORY OF THE PROLETARIAT ARE EQUALLY INEVITABLE"**

**"NOT ONLY WILL THE MIDDLE CLASS COUNTRIES HANG THEMSELVES, BUT, THEY WILL SUPPLY THE ROPE"**

**"THE SOVIET UNION HARBORS NO ILLUSION AS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A DURABLE PEACE --- WARS OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AGAINST WORLD CAPITALISM ARE INEVITABLE...."**

**"WE WILL BURY YOU!"**

**WE ARE AWARE THAT SUCCESS IN THIS IMPORTANT MATTER (PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE) IN NO WAY IMPLIES THE POSSIBILITY OF RELAXATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE. ON THE CONTRARY, WE MUST BE PREPARED FOR THIS STRUGGLE TO BE INTENSIFIED AND TO BECOME AN EVER SHARPER FORM OF THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE SYSTEMS.**



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# WHO'S WHO IN MID-EAST TERRORISM

ORGANIZATION	FOUNDED	CHIEF LEADERS	FIGHTING STRENGTH	ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION	AFFILIATION TO ARAB STATES
PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization)	May-June 1964	Ahmed Shukairy (till 1969) Yasser Arafat (from 1969)	—	Roof-organization of terrorist organizations. Up to 1969, a separate organization.	Set up by the Arab league and Egypt. Under Egyptian and general Arab influence.
PLA (Palestine Liberation Army)	1964	General Muhdah el-Budeiry, Chief of Staff	5,000	In theory, subordinate to the PLO.	Three divisions: Egyptian, Iraqi (now in Syria) and Syrian; also a Jordanian battalion; each under the influence of the respective Arab Government.
Fatah	Between 1956 and 1958	Yasser Arafat, Abu Ayad, Farouk al-Kadumi, Khalil al-Wazir	Over 7,000	The senior terrorist organization.	Under Egyptian and general Arab influence.
Black September	First operation in November 1971	Ali Hassan Salameh, and apparently Abu Ayad as well	Between a hundred and several hundred	Developed from Fatah Intelligence.	Belongs to Fatah. Under Egyptian, Libyan, Syrian and Iraqi influence.
Sa'iqah	First appeared before 1967. In present form since 1968.	Zuheir Muhsin, Sami Atari	1,300	Cooperates with PLO establishment.	Activated by Syrian Ba'ath.
Arab Liberation Front	April 1969	Abd el-Wahab el-Khiali	Several hundred	Cooperates with PLO establishment.	Activated by Iraqi Ba'ath.
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Split up later into the following three organizations.)	In 1967. Began to break up in late 1968—early 1969.				
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Habash Group)	February 1969	George Habash, Wadi' Hadad, Ahmed el-Yamani	500	Takes part in the PLO.	Gets aid from Iraq and the Republic of South Yemen.
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine —The General Command (Jibril Group)	Broke away in October 1968	Ahmed Jibril	400	Independent; will not accept the authority of the PLO establishment.	Gets aid from Iraq, Syria, and Libya.
Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Hawatmeh Group)	Broke away in February 1969	Naif Hawatmeh, Yasser Abd Rabu	300	Takes part in the PLO.	Gets aid from Iraq, Republic of South Yemen, Syria.
Popular Struggle Front	In July 1967 Joined Fatah in 1971	Samir Ausha	About 100	In theory, part of Fatah; in fact, independent.	Prepared by: Youth Institute for Peace in the Middle East

**Notes From the****UNDERGROUND**

Moscow, 117485  
Profsoyuznaya Street, 102.  
Building 7, Apt. 1  
Telephone: 129 51 60

16 September, 1973

Respected Leonid Ilyich:

The following questions have emerged as a result of the campaign conducted against A.D. Sakharov.

1. Our scientists receive only about one thirtieth of the Nobel prizes awarded for the primary sciences. We have among us outstanding researchers who achieve outstanding results, but you should evaluate the situation as a whole realistically. The overall picture shows that the gap existing between us and the rest of the world in the number of and quality of discoveries is not diminishing. Don't you think that this indicates our country's dangerous lag on the intellectual level in comparison to other developed countries?

2. It is historically true that a new scientific and industrial revolution has begun and is being intensively pursued in the West, while our state philosophy has for a long time fought against all the basic tenets of modern thought, such as the theory of relativity, the quantum theory, genetics, and cybernetics. Now these failures are conveniently forgotten. However, the scientific revolution is far from over, and the exact sciences continue to penetrate into fields of learning which our ideology still deem to be "scientifically established Marxist concepts" not subject to revision. All attempts at objective analysis in these areas are considered as attacks upon the State. Ideological intolerance of this type limits our ability to think broadly and analytically without preconceived notions. Do you not think that for this reason also our intellectual lag will continue in the future?

This does not mean that there is no room for a national ideology. I am profoundly convinced that both the people and the country should adhere to some definite moral principles. These have evolved from human experience a long time ago. They are: love of one's Motherland, human conscience, commonly understood moral precepts discovered and preached by the best representatives of past generations. There is one more principle, the importance of which we must comprehend if we wish to avoid crossing the line into the final cataclysm of history: that a fanatical adherence to principles changes the principles themselves, and that in human relations, any principle must allow for certain latitudes of interpretation and considerable freedom of choice.

Our ideology, however, is of an entirely different character. It is described as "scientific" and this is dangerous for any ideology since scientific concepts are subject to fundamental changes. This is also harmful to science, since ideology tends to freeze it. As for the State, which uses all the means at its disposal to support this ideology, it finds itself in a rather foolish situation.

Does it not follow then that the repressive power of the State should be separated from this ideology and that we, in our progress from kindergarten through the Academy of Sciences, should be free of compulsory indoctrination and obedience to principles which are so uncertain both from the point of view of science and of historical experience?

3. We do not have to give up our own path of progress based upon the repudiation of private property. But we must admit that other parallel paths do exist, possessing their own merits. Thus, for example, Western experience has shown that the "total impoverishment of the masses" has effectively been solved in the framework of modern capitalism by the utilization of scientific methods and technology with some additional facts such as partial government control, pressure from labor unions accomplished within the framework of bourgeois liberties, the influence of public opinion, and the fear of explosions of violence. Further, we see that capitalism has learned how to use "pivotal controls" to forestall dangerously explosive situations, operating in this

fluctuating atmosphere in a normal manner. Finally, we must recognize that the most complex human problems, connected with the concentration of power in a limited number of hands, are advantageously mellowed and hidden by bourgeois liberties, and this is by no means a handicap, whereas the same problems are here before us tall and bold.

At the same time it is quite obvious that if we live in a state of complete isolation from the outside world, we would not know that other stable historical paths exist. Furthermore, we would not know for a very long time the most important scientific truths, since they would lie on the other side of the ideological barrier defended by all the strength and power of the State. And, besides, our own ideology would thus appear to be "fully proven." Strictly speaking, this is exactly what took place until 1953.

Taking these historical facts into consideration, should we not be extremely careful in relating to all "theories" and "laws" of social development? In the area of state government should we not start moving towards a cautious but an actively experimental search for optimal forms with due allowance for our own historically developed ideas and peculiarities? At present such search is hindered by a lack of freedom of expression in discussion of any aspects of the economic and political structure of our society.

4. It appears that a strictly regimented socialism may have some advantages if there exist basic shortages of energy and of the resources—as a viable alternative to wasteful capitalism. At present, however, it is an established fact that man will succeed in providing himself with energy for the next few hundred years. Do you not think that for this reason alone, strict regimentation is unnecessary, and can we not move onto almost unlimited freedom in the field of ideas, excluding only those of violence and rebellion? Further, do you not think that, for the same reason, we could, without fear, move towards far greater freedom of personal initiative in the field of production?

5. The greatest shortcoming of the Marxist theory of social development is that this theory did not incorporate the inborn spiritual needs and qualities of man. Actually, Marxism denies their presence in the nature of man. However, this assumption has not been proven scientifically, i.e. through experimental biology, biochemistry, or biophysics. Science is only beginning to approach these areas. However, observing the discrepancy—on a very large scale—between practice and Marxist theory, we can already point out some of the latter's most significant blunders.

First of all, man's morality and conscience do exist and are one of the most powerful and lasting motivating forces of history. Man develops these virtues concurrently with the development of his reasoning power and with his ability to suffer not only physical but imaginary pain. For this reason man is able to endure suffering, being aware of the suffering of others. Marx himself was that type of person, although he created a simplified system which neglected this factor.

As to violence—which plays such an important role in Marxist teaching—it, too, is a moving force in history. Here, however, we must observe a very fine distinction. Human violence is not always the result of external conditions as in the animal kingdom but, apparently, can often flare up spontaneously and then gain momentum. The problem of violence, therefore, requires constant vigilance on the part of those who oppose it in principle, regardless of the social system or the cultural level.

Furthermore, the need for free and sometimes spontaneous choice is one of the basic properties of man. It is freedom of choice rather than "freedom as a recognized necessity" that is true freedom. It is senseless to fight this need. A modern government should be able to satisfy it, at the same time setting limits within the framework of sensible law.

The desire to express one's personal opinion is also one of the most important basic needs of man, especially when he is well fed.

Do you not think that the approach to the human being and his place in society that is practiced here is rather primitive and out-of-step with objective human qualities and needs?

6. Do you agree that true culture is indivisible and continuous, that our intellectual lag is due to a large extent to those devastating ruptures in the thin cultural layer of our society caused by ourselves throughout our history; and that the intellect of a scientist is developed not only by scientific tradition but also by cultural environment and that limitations upon the imagination in the field of art may restrict imagination in science?

7. Do you not agree that we are not giving serious thought to the problem of incentives in large-scale economic activities and, while remaining strictly within the framework of state ownership, that we could effectively increase the incentive by applying the western experience? Perhaps, for example, it would be useful from time to time to introduce a system of free initiative in certain economic areas, remunerating the executives in proportion to profits. The various branches of industry to be included in such a plan would be determined on the basis of current economic conditions. It is clear, of course, that the most important factor is the opportunity to discuss freely *any* ideas in this field. Do you agree with this thought?

8. It is possible that some dogmatically inclined people will be shocked by proposals in favor of "practical capitalism without private property" or something along that line. In that first place, however, our main principle—the absence of private property—will be preserved; and, secondly, I am forced to state that in our country socialism, as practiced, has taken not only the form of "feudalism without private property" but—under Stalin—became slaveholding without private property. In reality, who were the millions of inmates of concentration camps, or scientists confined to "sharashkas" [closed research centers, where scientists work under strict control and KGB supervision—Ed.] if non state-owned slaves? How does a "kolkhoznik," deprived of a passport [identification document—Ed.] differ from a serf with respect to his personal rights? What is our present system of residential registrations if not the feudal restriction of movement over the territory of one's own country? It seems that our people have still not learned to think beyond the feudal legal norms. Isn't it time for us to move towards a more modern level of free relations?

9. One of the most effective means of achieving the intellectual level of other countries lies in the repeal of the prohibition on travel abroad. We are talking here of trips at any given time and for any length of time as needed by scientists, engineers, students, authors, artists, or any citizens. What are the advantages of this prohibition, unprofitable for the State and humiliating for its citizens?

10. In our opinion, it is a historical anachronism that no one is allowed to criticize the Central Committee of the Communist Party even to a limited extent. Under these

conditions we are compelled to admit that the only legally possible way to feedback our criticism of internal policy is to send our writings abroad so that they could, in a roundabout way, reach the ears of our government. Doesn't anyone in the Central Committee understand the absurdity of this situation?

11. Our method of political administration is a classical example of a regime without feedback. In actual fact we are trying to compete with capitalism, having harnessed ourselves with the most unfavorable conditions. We do not utilize all possible incentives and all possible feedback channels and we do not trust our own fellow citizens. We could avoid many errors and tribulations if, as the first step, we permitted our people to voice their opinion, not even through formal legislation, but by a practical, well-tried step: that of a free press, unshackled by political and ideological censorship, subject only to the above-mentioned limitation. Don't you think that some of the existing tensions that have risen in the country lately could be easily and painlessly removed by the repeal of censorship, if this is done before it is too late?

12. Any form of criticism of the Central Committee is considered a crime. Therefore, people either go along with the "vacillations of the Party" or are pushed with their backs to the wall in a fierce struggle. You realize, of course, that at present a small but growing number of people have appeared who are being forced to the wall. The logical cause of the struggle is provoked by the government itself. I am wondering if there is any sense to it? Isn't it more reasonable towards the end of the Twentieth Century and sixty years after the Revolution to create normal channels of communication between the citizen and the State? I emphasize again that the first step should be the abolition of press censorship, free exchange of information, publicity.



Drawing by Alexius Jerome Burgess

13. You undoubtedly understand that confining members of the opposition to mental asylums and crippling them there by various shots is akin to the sterilization of political opponents during the Nazi regime. On this point, indeed, there are no questions that I can pose.

Respectfully,

Signed: Y. Orlov  
Professor  
Doctor of Mathematical Physics  
Corresponding Member of the  
Academy of Sciences, Armenian SSR

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**The Other Side****Can You Trust the Communists?**

by Lee Edwards

Of course you can, as Dr. Fred Schwarz pointed out years ago—to be Communists.

The question is prompted by the continuing fascination of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and others, with detente as a means to relax tensions, promote disarmament and advance the cause of universal peace. That's what we mean by detente. But what is their perception of detente?

In a little noticed recent statement, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger asserted that the Soviets "are embarking on one of the most dramatic strategic-deployment programs in the history of arms." In contrast, he charged, the Department of Defense "suffers from a wasting disease." If it continues for many more years, he said, America will become a "second class" military power.

That wouldn't make too much difference, perhaps, if we could trust the Communists—not to be Communists.

But despite detente, the SALT talks and summit meetings galore, the Soviet Union is well ahead and deliberately increasing its margin over the United States in a number of important strategic areas. According to U.S. News and World Report:

- In intercontinental ballistic missiles, the U.S. now has 1,054—the U.S.S.R. has 1,575.

- In submarine-launched missiles, the U.S. now has 656—the U.S.S.R. has 720.

- In nuclear missile payload, the U.S. now has 3.1 million pounds—the U.S.S.R. has 9.0 million pounds.

- In attack submarines, the U.S. now has 71—the U.S.S.R. has 253.

- In army manpower, the U.S. now has 785,000—the U.S.S.R. has 2 million.

However, we are ahead of the Soviets in strategic bombers by 437 to 140, in missile warheads by 6,922 to 2,237 and in attack carriers by 14 to 2.

But ten years ago we had overwhelming superiority in every category of nuclear power. Today we can claim rough "parity" with the Soviets only because of our manned bombers (most of which are at least 10 to 15 years old) and because our nuclear warheads have MIRV's—multiple, independently targeted warheads.

In the name of detente and peaceful coexistence, we allowed the Soviets to catch up with us, but they have not been content to stay even with us. According to the Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the Soviets, in striving for strategic superiority, spent an estimated \$90 billion on national defense in 1973, about 15% of their gross national product

**4-Year Struggle Frees Kudirka**

Drawing by Alexius Jerome Burgess

by Hal McKenzie

Simas Kudirka, the Lithuanian seaman who was beaten and dragged from a U.S. Coast Guard ship and imprisoned by the Soviets four years ago when he attempted to defect, is now living in the United States. He, his mother, wife and two children were allowed to leave the Soviet Union when it was found that his mother was born in Brooklyn, which enabled she and her son to be declared U.S. citizens.

Kudirka and his family arrived in New York on Nov. 5, and are staying with one of the families who helped to bring about their release.

Kudirka made his dramatic bid for freedom off the New England coastline when his Soviet fishing trawler was tied to the U.S. cutter *Liggett* during negotiations between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. over fishing rights. He leapt the distance between the two craft, and told the surprised U.S. officers that he wanted to live in the United States. The Coast Guard officers, receiving

no immediate instructions from the State Department, allowed Soviet sailors to board the U.S. craft, beat Kudirka and drag him off. He was imprisoned and tried in Lithuania for treason, receiving a ten-year sentence.

Most Americans shared the feeling voiced by President Nixon over the incident: "I was, as an American, outraged and shocked that this forcible return could happen." Most Americans could not but feel relieved that Kudirka has finally achieved the freedom that he risked so much to achieve four years ago.

However, the story surrounding Kudirka's release only demonstrates the struggles that individual men and women must undertake to move the big powers to act for freedom and human rights. If it weren't for the courage and persistence of Kudirka and his family, as well as the untiring efforts of a few individual ordinary people in the United States, Kudirka could still

be languishing in prison.

One of the prime factors in his release was the indomitable spirit of Kudirka himself. He refused to denounce the United States during his trial in Vilnius while expecting a possible death sentence, although he was under great pressure to do so. After sentencing he continued to speak out for individual and human rights, writing letters and petitions denouncing the cruel treatment of prisoners in Soviet prisons. For his pains Kudirka received further harsh treatment, seriously affecting his health, and he was completely cut off from any contact with his mother or family, giving rise to fears that he was dead. Nevertheless, he went on a hunger strike, which forced the hand of the Soviets to release him sooner rather than have a sick or dead man on their hands during the sensitive trade negotiations with the United States.

Another factor was the courage and fighting spirit of Kudirka's mother, Mrs. Sulskis. The news that she was born in the U.S. was smuggled out of Lithuania in the summer of 1973 under great difficulties. She had to keep in telephone contact with the people working for her son's release in the United States, in the face of constant harassment and threats from the Soviet authorities. She had to break through a Soviet blockade of the U.S. legation in Lithuania, which was kept in a state of virtual siege by the Soviets to prevent dissidents from contacting the U.S., even through Mrs. Sulskis, as a U.S. citizen, had every right to seek U.S. diplomatic services. She was even offered a bribe of a cow, hay, and the right to correspond with her son if she gave up her efforts to reach the U.S. In her state of impoverishment, uncertainty, frustration, and anxiety, she and her family must have been under tremendous pressure to give up the fight.

In the U.S., it was a tiny and seemingly powerless group of private individuals who received the news that Kudirka's mother was born in Brooklyn, searched for and found the records of her baptism, then fought to get the State Department to recognize their citizenship claims. To do this, Kudirka's helpers had to undertake countless complex negotiations, maintain difficult and expensive telephone contact with Lithuania, and face official U.S. government opinions ranging from indifference to hostility to verbal threats never to let a case like this crop up and spoil "detente."

With Kudirka's release, a deep stain on America's national honor has been removed after four years. However, Americans cannot feel proud that so much time and effort was needed to free one man whose only crime was to seek freedom from oppression. There are countless millions more men and women behind the iron and bamboo curtains who have the same longing as Simas Kudirka, but who don't have the good fortune to have a mother born in the United States. It will take many more and harder struggles such as the one that freed Simas Kudirka before the brutal and oppressive nature of the Communist State is ameliorated.



## Roots of the Ideological Struggle

### Part 5: Marx' Laws of Economic Movement

Having fabricated the Labor theory of Value and the Theory of Surplus Value, Marx was able to propound laws of economic movement showing the inevitable ruin of the capitalist economy. Marx asserted that as the contradictions in capitalism developed, the rate of profit would decline, poverty would become more serious and widespread, and capital would be centralized in the hands of fewer and fewer men. With the development of these, life in advanced industrial societies would become unbearable for the masses of people who would then revolt and establish the new order.

#### The Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall

Believing profit to be the product of surplus labor by the workers, Marx argued that to increase profit capitalists had to increase surplus labor. There are two ways to do this: either by lengthening total working hours, or by shortening necessary working hours through introduction of machinery. Total working hours are limited either by law or by the physical endurance of the workers, therefore capitalists will introduce improved machinery to reduce necessary working hours.

With new machinery there is a great difference between production cost and market price; this is the so-called reduction of necessary working hours.

Competing for customers, the capitalist will lower his price; and if he finds it profitable other capitalists will do likewise. By this process retail prices will "inevitably" decrease. To avoid a corresponding decrease in profits, these other capitalists are forced to introduce improved machinery.

From this Marx concludes that the proportion of labor to machinery has been reduced. Here, however, Marx reintroduces a major fallacy. He calls labor variable capital (meaning that it is capable of producing value) and he calls machinery constant capital (meaning that it is not capable of producing value.)

"The gradual growth of constant capital in relation to variable capital must necessarily lead to a gradual fall of the general rate of profit, so long as rate of surplus value, or the intensity of exploitation of labor by capital remain the same."

Marx, Capital, Chapter XIII

That is, if the rate of surplus value

$s/\text{surplus labor}$

$v/\text{necessary labor}$

is constant, then the rate of profit

$$\frac{s}{v+c}$$

diminishes as  $c$  (constant capital) increases.

This is the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. In this way capitalists will be ruined and the capitalist production method based on profit will be destroyed by the very element which made the capitalists prosper.

The present world situation shows this law to be quite erroneous. Far from the rate of profit decreasing, profit has very much increased. Had Marx's analysis been true there would be no capitalist countries existing today, 100 years after his time.

Marx's formula for the rate of profit is

$$p = \frac{s}{c+v}$$

$p$  = rate of profit;  $s$  = profit;  $c$  = constant capital;  $v$  = variable capital. Marx used  $s$  to represent profit based on his theory that profit was the result of surplus labor. However in the critique of the theory of surplus value it was shown that machinery can produce value and therefore profit.

Since machinery is capable of producing profit, instead of  $c + v$  the denominator of the formula should read  $v + v$ . In today's highly technological economy the situation has developed that machinery produces the

major portion of wealth, while the contribution of labor is relatively constant. It is more accurate therefore to call machinery variable capital ( $v$ ) and labor constant capital ( $c$ ).

$$p = \frac{s}{c+v}$$

This formula is similar to the original formula.

Let us take the accounts of an exemplary business over one fiscal year. The amount of depreciation of the machinery in one year, is the cost of the wear and tear of the machine in that year. If we call this cost  $d$ , the formula now becomes:

$$\text{rate of profit} = p = \frac{s}{c+d}$$

$p$  = rate of profit;  $s$  = profit;  $c$  = constant capital (wages);  $d$  = variable capital (machine depreciation).

Now if we compare the rate of profit of two machines, one old and one new improved machine, then the rate of profit in the old one becomes:

$$p = \frac{s}{c+d}$$

and we can express the rate of profit in the new one as:

$$p = \frac{s'}{c'+d'}$$

Let us examine changes in the two rates of profit, the wages,  $c$ , staying constant in all examples. First if the products are the same in quality and quantity even after the new improved machine has been introduced, then the cost of depreciation will have decreased because an improved machine has been introduced, then the cost of depreciation will have decreased because an improved machine will wear out less because the improved machine is more durable than the old one. Now we have that  $d > d'$ , therefore  $c + d > c' + d'$ . Accordingly, the rate of profit increases as follows:

$$\frac{s}{c+d} < \frac{s'}{c'+d'}$$

$s = s'$ ;  $c = c'$ ;  $d > d'$ . Therefore  $p' > p$ .

(data) (conclusion)

Second, if the cost of depreciation remains constant, the production will be increased in quality and quantity because the new machine is better than the old one in function. In this case the amount of profit increases  $s < s'$ , as follows:

$$\frac{s}{c+d} < \frac{s'}{c'+d'}$$

$s < s'$ ;  $c = c'$ ;  $d = d'$ . Therefore  $p' > p$ .

(data) (conclusion)

Thirdly, suppose the function is improved, the quality and quantity elevated,  $s > s'$ , and also the expenditure on machinery decreased,  $d > d'$ . The profit rises from  $s$  to  $s'$  and  $c + d$  decreased to  $c' + d'$ . Consequently, there will be an even greater increase in the rate of profit, as follows:

$$\frac{s}{c+d} < \frac{s'}{c'+d'}$$

$s < s'$ ;  $c = c'$ . Therefore  $p' > p$ .

Therefore, Marx's formula:

$$p = \frac{s}{c+v}$$

which he thought proved that the rate of profit would fall and ruin capitalist society, is completely erroneous. In fact, in today's capitalist economy, far from the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, we find the tendency of the rate of profit to rise.

It often appears in advanced capitalist countries, that the profit does diminish. But this is not the necessary phenomena it would be if the law of the rate of profit to fall turned out to be true. Marx said that because

## Australia Faces Economic Crisis

by Dr. Fred Schwarz

Australia can be likened to a bus with disabled brakes rushing down hill towards a bend overhanging a precipice while various drivers fight for the right to hold the steering wheel.

Perceptive citizens view the situation with intense alarm and many are warning of coming disaster. The former Prime Minister, John Gorton, has just added his voice to the chorus warning that chaos and civil violence lie ahead.

Inflation has been and is much more serious in Australia than it is in the United States. Ten years ago the cost of living in Australia was much lower than that of the United States. Today it is higher. Inflation this year will be about 25 percent, and a group of economists associated with the University of Melbourne has predicted that within a few years this rate will increase to more than 100 percent. The effect this is having upon those with fixed incomes can be imagined.

The economists argue about the cause of this inflation. It is usually blamed on one of two causes: 1) Too much money available for too few goods causing "demand pull" inflation; or 2) High cost of production leading to increased prices causing "cost push" inflation.

Until recently, Australian inflation was blamed on "demand pull". There was an

abundance of money readily available for borrowing at reasonable rates as money from outside, particularly from Japan, poured in. This situation has now changed. Money has become scarce. A credit squeeze has been imposed so that interest rates are very high and many find loans unobtainable.

It is generally agreed that present inflation is of the "cost push" variety. Large increases in wages have been secured by strike activity and this increased cost has been passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices.

The difficulty in securing loans has

imposed great strains on various businesses and an increasing number of them are going bankrupt. Building construction and real estate sales have suffered severely. One major construction property management corporation which has gone bankrupt is Mainline Incorporated which was in the process of building the largest building in Australia. Twelve months ago it was making large profits and had extended its operations into the United States by the purchase of the Squaw Valley ski facilities in California.

Because buyers cannot secure loans at reasonable rates, real estate operators cannot sell houses, apartments, etc. and many of them are going out of business. An increasing flood of bankruptcies is anticipated.

The natural result of business bankruptcies is increasing unemployment. This is anathema in Australia. For decades unemployment has been kept in the region of one percent and full employment has been regarded as a permanent state of affairs. Unemployment is now approaching two percent and will probably go much higher. To Americans this may seem insignificant but the industrial and political consequences in Australia threaten to be disastrous.

(Continued on page 7)

more capitalism develops, the poorer the laborers become.

The general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages (Wages, Price and Profit, Section XIV, Selected Works, p. 229).

The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth (Manifesto of the Communist Party, Section I, Selected Works, p. 45).

Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, gross the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation... (Capital, Volume I, Part VIII, Chapter XXXII, p. 763).

Judging from the present phenomena, this law is also unreasonable. In fact, in spite of wages constantly rising, capitalists are making enormous profit in advanced capitalist countries. The wages are determined in accordance with labor agreements made with labor unions. Capitalists are not free to reduce the wages. On the contrary the wages constantly increase as a result of labor disputes. Nowadays laborers find they can live in ease and comfort. So we find that because machines are an excellent example of variable labor, in advanced countries there are marvelous riches and not poverty. In other words, profit is not produced by the surplus value produced by surplus labor but is a reward for the creative activity of use value that is created by the cooperation of various kinds of production elements, including machinery.

By the action of give and take between

policy of higher wages, capitalists can get more profit because the consumer public has greater purchasing power. Thus the reciprocity between profit and wages occurs not in the process of production but in the profit distribution process.

#### The Law of Centralization of Capital

Marx said that the goal of capitalists is to produce profit by surplus value. Accordingly, the more profit they want to get the more surplus value they have to create. There are absolute surplus value and relative surplus value. The capitalists tried to increase absolute surplus value by lengthening the total working hours but, due to labor laws and disputes, they were limited so they had to somehow increase the relative surplus value. This they did by introducing new machinery and hence shortening the necessary working hours. Therefore the amount of capital invested in the machinery increased.

Owing to competition, capitalists constantly tried to improve and introduce more efficient machinery. Without accumulating capital it is impossible to introduce new and expensive machinery. Thus the capitalist who doesn't have enough capital is necessarily destined to defeat. The small capitalists will be absorbed by the large capitalists. Eventually the minor entrepreneurs are degraded to become the proletariat. The large capitalists who have absorbed the smaller businesses overwhelm their smaller competitors by mass producing even cheaper commodities. Monopolies such as cartels, trusts, and concerns are formed and the capitalist society is divided into two antagonistic camps. A few large capitalists will exploit and monopolize the

and price agreements), trusts (combining enterprises into a company), and concerns (family enterprises forming a vertical relationship of parents and children among different enterprises centering around financial capital). Yet this does not necessarily mean that all the capital is concentrated into the hands of a small number of capitalists. Because of the entrepreneurs consisting of cartels, trusts and concerns, the more the capital is developed the more the stocks of the larger enterprises tend to be scattered. This is because the larger to the scale of an enterprise, the more difficult is its maintenance and organization. A joint stock company (corporation) is an enterprise that distributes profit because of the joint possession of the means of production such as buildings and machinery. In a corporation none can possess the means of production in his personal name; all belongs to the company, which is a legal body. If we judge whether a company is socialist or not, the more evenly the stocks are divided, the more socialist the company will be considered. We must consider the following differences between capitalism and Communism. First there is the question of whether joint enterprise is singular or plural. In the capitalist society the joint enterprise is plural, whereas it is singularly owned in the Communist society. All the means of production in the Communist society belong to the government (in reality the possession of the Communist party), with the whole country forming an enterprise. This enterprise, the Communist party, governs the entire economy of the country. The price, item and quantity are all determined solely by the government. In this respect the socialist system in the Communist society is indeed a monopolistic system. The second question is whether a joint enterprise is privately or state operated and whether there is a free or controlled economy. Free production, exchange and private ownership of the product are permitted in a capitalist society but in a communist state, everything is planned, controlled and managed by the officials of the dictatorship.

(Recently the Soviet Union permitted a certain pursuit of profit by adopting Lieberman's law but the freedom was much restricted. If total freedom were permitted, it would mean the transformation of the Communist economic system to the capitalist system.) In a capitalist state, as enterprises grow, they change into joint or compound stock companies. Accordingly, the means of production is transferred to become the possession of more people, resulting in distribution. This, then, is an outline critique of the theory of the accumulation and monopolization of capital. Recently in capitalist societies the number of smaller enterprises has increased as well as the increase of the large enterprises. Moreover, the middle class, especially those in the third industry, such as teaching, consulting, and literary professions have recently grown. The increase of such service professions and small enterprises indicates the distribution of capital. In every respect, as capitalism develops, capital is dispersed and popularized rather than concentrated and individualized. The population is not divided into two antagonistic camps, the bourgeoisie and proletariat. With the rapid growth of the middle class, the gap is not only constantly narrowed but the spectrum becomes continuous. Hence the two classes will eventually be united into the middle class. Though economically this will be a capitalist society, in reality this will be a classless society. Capital will be completely dispersed and laborers, farmers and intellectuals alike will be able to possess their own capital. In economically advanced countries such phenomena have already begun to appear.

## MARXISM vs. HISTORY

### Marx's Prediction

Concentration of capital in the hands of fewer and fewer super-capitalists.

Small business crushed by competition; middle class reduced to proletariat.

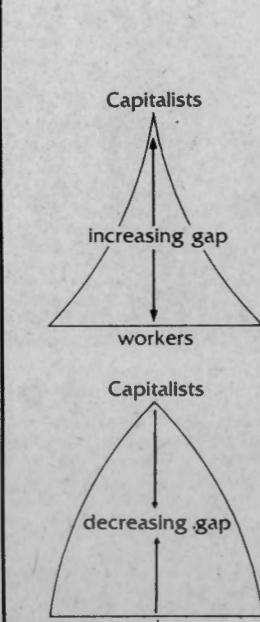
Increasing poverty among the workers; lower wages, longer hours, more miserable conditions.

### History of Industrial Capitalist Nations

Dispersion of capital through joint-stock ownership, co-operatives, etc.

Multiplication of small business; rise of service industry; vast increase in size of middle class.

Higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions.



final objective of the capitalist society is to pursue profit, it is hard for us to expect the capitalists to lower the profit. The wages, then, decrease. At the same time, by the introduction of new machinery, the number of laborers is diminished and they become the industrial reserve. Accordingly, the

profit while those in the middle class will decline and become the proletariat. Eventually laborers who have been competing for employment will unite.

Is this law true? There are indeed many monopolistic practices such as cartels (eliminating excessive competition by sale

# America's Maoists: The Revolutionary Union

from The ANNUAL REPORT For The Year 1972

House Internal Security Committee, June 21, 1973

Communism in the United States in recent years, as has been true in other parts of the world, has been characterized by the apparent inability of some of its prime leaders to agree on basic interpretations of Marxism-Leninism. Communist splinter groups, consisting of from 10 to several hundred members, have long shared the Marxist-Leninist stage in America with the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the Trotskyite Communist Socialist Workers Party. What once appeared to be a monolithic international Communist movement directed by the Kremlin in the Soviet Union has been fragmented by disputes over the tactics and methodology to be employed in achieving the common Communist goal: making Communism the universal political religion

cipation.

The Goffs testified that the RU was formed in 1968 in Palo Alto, California, and soon thereafter became active in San Jose, California, a much more industrialized area. This was in keeping with the prime tenet of the RU that its work toward an armed overthrow of the Government be focused upon the working class. It was in the San Jose area that the Goffs were affiliated with the RU. From a nucleus of 12 individuals in 1968, the membership of the RU in the San Francisco Bay area had grown to an estimated 400 members by mid-1971, according to the Goffs. RU membership in the San Jose area numbered 50-55 at the time they were affiliated with the organization. Within a year after its founding the RU had a dozen or

tee, made up of leaders of all RU collectives guided the area-wide RU effort, kept itself fully informed on the activities and progress of each collective, and evaluated RU performance overall.

The Goffs testified that in addition to the collectives in San Jose there were specialized committees comprised of selected collective members. The Goffs, during their affiliation with the RU, were members of a security committee, a proficiency committee, and a newspaper committee. Regarding security, the Goffs testified that the RU is a highly compartmented, security minded, secret organization. The rank-and-file RU member was to be aware of the RU affiliation of only his fellow collective members and of the details of operation of only his own collective. The security committee in San Jose had the responsibility to assure that information regarding RU operations was not divulged, that the organization was protected from infiltration by informants, and that RU meetings enjoyed adequate physical security. The proficiency committee was to develop expertise among RU members in the various means of waging violent revolution, such as the use of firearms and explosives, techniques to be used in protest demonstrations and confrontations, and physical training for RU members. Also a responsibility of the proficiency committee was the acquisition, storage, and inventorying of weapons and ammunition for eventual revolutionary use. The San Jose RU newspaper committee handled the logistics of publishing and distributing the local RU newspaper, initially known as *Maverick* and later as *Salt of the Earth*.

## Political Committee

At the top of the organizational pyramid of the RU was a political commit-

members.

The Goffs testified that the RU is a closed organization and membership therein is by invitation. RU members were recruited largely from students at the college and high school level. Particular emphasis was placed on recruitment of members of the working class, employed and unemployed, but with considerably less success. The route to RU membership is through RU-controlled front activity. It was through his affiliation with RU front groups on campus at the San Jose State College that Mr. Goff was invited to become an RU member. He testified that the political maturity and direction of the potential RU member are continuously elevated until he is considered worthy of such membership.

Total and complete indoctrination in Mao's brand of Communism and training, both intellectual and physical, were the most important internal RU activities. According to Mr. Goff, the newly accepted RU member was made the responsibility of a senior organization member who observed and guided the neophyte's attitudes and activities. The senior member would sit with the new RU member at meetings of the organization to help him understand that everything that was done, personally and collectively, related to Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by Mao Tse tung.

## Violent Revolution

The Goffs testified that while the RU does not anticipate the inevitable violent revolution in this country will take place for some 15 years, it is a requirement of the organization that each member maintain and be proficient in the use of firearms at this time. The organization urged its members to acquire and to be proficient in the use of one or more of its chosen basic weapons: military rifles, carbines, shotguns, and automa-

number of major protest demonstrations and confrontations in which they had participated as RU members. Some were held on college campuses. Others were in support of striking workers at factories. One such demonstration in December 1970 was directed against the presence of South Vietnamese Vice President Ky in San Francisco and



Revolutionary Union member at 1970 anti-Vietnam war demonstration in San Jose, California. The staff to which his protest sign is attached has a double-headed nail driven into its end, said the enhance its effectiveness as a weapon against police in the event of a confrontation.

another was directed against President Nixon when he visited San Jose in October 1970. Most of these affairs involved general unruliness and violence and resulted in the arrest of RU members. The RU organized itself well beforehand, forming "affinity groups" of four or five members with specific disruptive assignments such as attacks against police or assuming direction and control of mob activities.

## Importance of Propaganda

The RU considers its most vital task in this period prior to the violent revolution of the masses to be its intensive and continuous propaganda effort. RU members are constantly being impressed with the importance of such activity which takes several forms. One is by word of mouth at public protests and demonstrations, among workers at plants, and on campus. Another is through its printed and verbal propaganda efforts and the showing of films on campus and among factory workers, welfare rights organizations, and unemployed groups in the community. Yet another major propaganda outlet is the RU newspapers. The Goffs identified three such publications, all tabloid size and printed biweekly or monthly. *Maverick* in San Jose, which later changed its name to *Salt of the Earth*; *Wildcat*, published in San Francisco; and *People Get Ready* produced by the RU in Richmond, Calif. The Goffs stated that some 2,000 copies of the San Jose RU newspaper were printed each 2 weeks. Efforts were made to sell the paper, but it was also given away where it was considered that such action helped the revolutionary cause.

With regard to the RU and the U.S. military forces, Mr. Goff testified that the organization was convinced that the average GI would make a fine revolutionary since he was already trained and disciplined. The RU reasoned further that, with the war in Vietnam and current problems within the military, little effort would be required to convince the GI that he is being killed for imperialist reasons. The main thrust of the RU program against the military, according to Mr. Goff, was to recruit the GI into the revolutionary movement and to build a "base" for concerted revolutionary action within the Armed Forces. Mr. Goff testified that an RU collective established in the Salinas-Monterey area, close to Fort Ord, Calif., had as its specific purpose the contacting and influencing of GIs there in order to bring them under the discipline of the RU. A GI coffeehouse, established by the RU just outside Fort Ord, was considered perhaps the most valuable and important tool of the organization in its campaign directed against the GI there.

# internal security

of mankind.

In early 1962 a group of disenchanted former Moscow-line Communists in the United States, along with their followers, formed the Progressive Labor Movement, now known as the Progressive Labor Party, sharply critical of so-called Soviet "revisionism" and unswerving in its support of

San Francisco, California. By late 1970 he was residing in northern New Jersey engaged in RU organizational efforts in the East.

## Maoist Ideology

According to the testimony of Lawrence and Betty Sue Goff before the com-

more collectives established in the San Francisco Bay area, and in mid-1970 the organization launched an effort to become a national one. Top representatives of the RU visited various parts of the country to contact new left leaders and/or organizations. As of early 1972 the RU was active in such places as Chicago; Detroit; Reading, Pa.; Trenton, N.J.; and Eugene, Ore., as well as on several college campuses. As of April 1972 the RU also publicly listed addresses in Los Angeles; Cincinnati; Bronx, N.Y.; Philadelphia; and Dover, N.H.

In September 1971, a delegation of the RU visited Communist China as guests of the Chinese Government. After their return, three delegation members launched a series of public appearances to extol the accomplishments of the Chinese revolution.

## Red Papers

According to the Goffs, *The Red Papers*, published by the RU and considered to be the rule and guide for all RU activity, were derived from the essays and writings in Mao's "little red book," *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. The Goffs stated that *The Red Papers* are the subject of continuing and intensive study by all RU members. While they do not provide a precise organizational structure for the RU, *The Red Papers* prescribe that it is to be based on a group of cells known as collectives. Each collective has its own function in working toward armed revolution. The Goffs testified regarding their personal knowledge of the activities of collectives of workers and of students and of a "community collective" in the San Jose area during their RU membership.

The workers collectives concentrated on spreading RU influence among factory workers. Worker collective members were under order to obtain jobs at the "blue collar" level at specified plants in order to identify those issues which could best be exploited to foment unrest and dissension among the workers and to seek recruits. The Goffs testified specifically regarding RU's successful efforts to infiltrate into defense industries as well as into communications, specifically the Bell Telephone System, both considered strategic to the organization's revolutionary program.

According to the Goffs, RU student collectives existed on college campuses in San Jose. The RU considered the college student population as a prime source of its recruits, operating front groups under the control of two or three RU members, which exhibited anti-Vietnam war, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist films on campus; disseminated RU-prepared propaganda; and led or cooperated in campus protests and demonstrations. The RU, according to the Goffs, was also particularly active in attempts to influence much younger students in the local high schools and even in the junior high schools.

The community collective in San Jose worked within community organizations to infiltrate them and to turn their programs to RU objectives. It also formed such groups as workers committees and tenant unions to exploit the problems of these groups and it published a monthly San Jose RU newspaper.

In San Jose a local executive commit-

## RED PAPERS

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE MOTHER COUNTRY?  
Some of us have followed Huey's advice and are getting together to start building revolutionary organization. Something solid, based on the principles developed by Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. And on the people.

ARE WE FOR REAL? read: THE RED PAPERS, a pamphlet published by the BAY AREA REVOLUTIONARY UNION. An attempt to integrate Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao-Tse-tung, with the concrete struggles against U.S. imperialism.

Includes: "Statement of Principles of the Bay Area R.U.", "Against the Brainwash," a defense of Marxism-Leninism, "Serve the People," an application of the thought of Mao among the working class.

## A CALL FOR AN EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE BETWEEN REVOLUTIONARY COLLECTIVES.

Send 25¢ to: BAY AREA REVOLUTIONARY UNION  
Box 291  
1230 Grant Avenue  
San Francisco, Cal. 94133

Bulk rates available  
Bob Avakian, Steve Hamilton, Bruce Franklin,  
Correspondence Committee, Bay Area R.U.

(Advertisement in The Black Panther dated April 27, 1969, page 12)

tee. The membership of this committee was not to be known to the rank-and-file RU member. It provided overall guidance and policy for RU activities. Known to the Goffs as members of this committee were RU founders Robert Avakian, H. Bruce Franklin, and Leibn Bergman, among others.

Mr. Goff also furnished information in his testimony regarding the existence of an RU "secret apparatus" formed to conduct illegal operations such as assassinations, bank robberies, and sabotage. Plans were made for the establishment of an underground escape route for "secret apparatus"

tic hand weapons. In view of the strained financial status of most RU members, arrangements were made that each member possess at least one weapon, primarily through the loan of weapons among members. The RU itself bought arms and ammunition, and the Goffs recalled that on one occasion a San Jose RU delegation had spent some \$1,500 to purchase weapons at a Los Angeles gun show. A continuing program was carried on by the RU to assure that its members were well versed in the maintenance and proficient in the use of firearms.

The Goffs gave testimony regarding a

# Striking Unions Wreck Economy

(Continued from page 6)

## Strike Epidemic

Labor in Australia is heavily unionized. Union membership is compulsory for a large majority of workers. There is a system of arbitration and conciliation in which independent arbitrators such as arbitration courts, judges, and conciliation commissioners adjudicate industrial disputes. Their decisions are supposed to be binding on both employers and unions.

In practice, however, arbitration decisions bind only the employers. If the decisions do not suit the union, they simply ignore the law and go on strike. The unions consider themselves and are in fact above the law.

Many unions are reacting to the increase in prices by demands for large wage increases backed up by strike action. They often demand immediate increases of about 50 percent and their industrial power is such that increases approaching this magnitude are being granted. An epidemic of strikes is plaguing Australia and the general public is the immediate victim.

Small groups of workers strategically placed can cause unbearable hardship for the Australian people. Recently the oil refinery workers went on strike. Drastic consequences followed. Rail, bus, and air services between the states was reduced to a trickle and individual cars were threatened

with gasoline becoming unavailable. It was obvious that such a strike could cause massive starvation within a few weeks.

When the strike of the oil refinery workers was about to be settled, the gasoline truck drivers threatened to strike.

Such groups of workers can blackmail the authorities by threatening destruction of the life of the entire community. The usual response has been to grant their demands. This has added fuel to the inflationary conflagration.

Formerly, unemployment tended to reduce inflation. When individuals were unemployed, they were prepared to accept lower wages to secure work. This reduced the cost of production so that goods could be sold at lower prices. This process no longer operates. The workers are universally unionized. The unions demand higher wages even when unemployment is extensive. This creates the phenomenon of increasing unemployment and increasing prices which has been named "stagflation".

## Communist Policy and Power

The situation is made much more serious because Communists control powerful labor unions, and their policies are supported by many who do not acknowledge Communists' affiliation.

Communist policy is to destroy the Australian economy. The national president of

the Australian Communist Party is Jack Mundey. Formerly Mr. Mundey was secretary of the Builders and Laborers Federation. He appointed himself the "ecological conscience" of Australia. If he considered that a building was of historic importance to Australia, he placed a union "black ban" upon it. This meant that no labor was available to tear down the building so that residences or office blocks could be constructed. This endeared him to many liberal intellectuals, and he became something of a charismatic figure. He also organized a roving team of goons who enforced the "black ban" and strike decisions.

Although his actions were illegal, this has not prevented his becoming a hero to many people. For example, at the beginning of the year, Mr. Patrick White, Australian novelist and Nobel prize winner, was crowned "Australian of the year". In his acceptance speech, he said that the honor might have gone to Mr. Jack Mundey concerning whom he said, "He gives me hope for the future."

Mr. Mundey is an efficient Communist. He practices social science. He has harnessed the force of ecological concern and used it to multiply his personal power. He follows the formula: "Find out what people want, promise it to them, go to work to get it for them so that you can come to power over them."

On Sunday, August 4, Mr. Mundey

appeared on Australian television. He coolly announced that the Communist Party had decided to use its considerable trade-union power to bring about a general nation-wide strike in the early months of 1975. The following day his fellow Communist, Mr. Carmichael, Assistant National Secretary of the Metal Workers' union, confirmed and backed up his statement as did other Communist spokesmen.

This threat must be taken seriously. The Communists have great power. They control or heavily influence key unions in the metal industry, like the AWU, with a membership of over 180,000 and a growing annual income of over \$5 million; in the transport industries like the Seafarers, Railways and Waterside Workers; and in the power industry like the Miners Federation.

In one group of 25 unions, there are no less than 230 Communist Party members in executive positions. Of these, approximately 150 are fulltime officials.

The Communist parties have 35 fulltime officials in the Metal Workers, 25 in the Watersiders, 25 in the main building industry unions, and 8 in the numerically small but strategically and financially powerful Seafarers' Union.

These unions have hundreds of thousands of members, millions of dollars in annual income and strategic positions from which to disrupt production and dis-

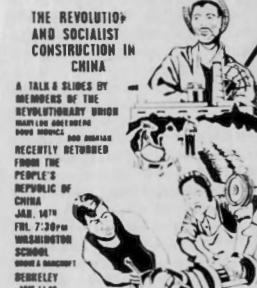
(Continued on page 8)



Revolutionary Union anti-Vietnam war protest march

the Chinese Communist brand of Marxism-Leninism as expounded by Mao Tse-tung. For a period of 9 years the Progressive Labor Party was completely faithful to Mao's "thought" and programs. However, in 1971, this organization angrily concluded that Peking, like Moscow, had become "revisionist" in seeking "peaceful co-existence" with both Soviet Communist satellites in Eastern Europe and with non-Communist nations elsewhere in the world. The final blow had been the merging indications of seeming rapprochement between Peking and Washington and the proposed visit of President Nixon to Communist China.

Prior to this open split with Mao and Communist China, however, internal dissension had developed within the Progressive Labor Party. Some PLP followers wanted to move more swiftly toward positive militant revolutionary activity. This group, along with like-minded revolutionaries in other splinter groups, formed the nucleus of what was to become the RU. The



public debut of the RU occurred at a meeting of the national council of the Students for Democratic Society held in March 1969 at Austin, Texas. Founded in 1968 in the San Francisco Bay area of California, and calling itself the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, this aggressive group led the fight to expel Progressive Labor Party influence from the SDS at the national leadership level, and it became the political core of a powerful faction of the splintering SDS.

By April 1969 the Bay Area Revolutionary Union took advertising space in movement periodicals in order to distribute its *Red Papers*, a public statement of its philosophy and program. The following succinct outline of objectives of the RU appears in this first offering of *The Red Papers*:

The recognition of class struggle leads inevitably to the recognition of the necessity for violent revolution and the political rule of the working class. It is the task of the revolutionary party of the working class, guided by Marxism-Leninism, to lead the people to victory. The organized repressive violence of the state must be met with the organized revolutionary violence of the people. POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Among the handful of publicly identified Maoist activists who founded the Bay Area Revolutionary Union were two worthy of particular attention. One was H. Bruce Franklin, then a 35-year-old tenured professor of English at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, who proclaimed his Maoist revolutionary philosophy in public and in the classroom. In January 1972, Franklin

# Scholarship Penetrates Last Stronghold of Stalinism

**Robert A. Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee,** *Communism in Korea, The Movement* (Berkeley, California: The University of California Press, 1972. Pp. 685. \$25.00).  
**Robert A. Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee,** *Communism in Korea, The Society* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1972. Pp. 1533. \$30.00)

by Lucian W. Pye

Dr. Pye is Ford Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His review is reprinted from



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The history of scholarship has no parallel to what Robert A. Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee have done in these two volumes: they have pioneered in the discovery of an important subject and they have also possibly closed the subject by writing what must be classed as a definitive study. Adventures into new territories are expected at the very best to leave behind only rude charts, rough approximations and rude materials, yet here we have a finely polished and deeply researched study which exceeds the standards common to the most well-worked areas of scholarship. The only explanation as to how this could have possibly happened is that the two authors must be blessed with the quality of genius.

Let nobody presume the possibility of hyperbole because a mere recital of the bare facts should be adequately awesome: Scalapino and Lee have in 1533 pages, with more than that number of footnotes based on a 73 page bibliography of books in Korean, Japanese, Russian, Chinese and English, recounted the detailed history of the

of that country's society. When most Asian specialists presumed that it was impossible to learn about realities in North Korea, possibly the most isolated country in the world, Scalapino and Lee diligently collected any scrap of information and interviewed nearly everyone who came out of that country. As a consequence of their labors we have as detailed an account of the Communist movement in Korea and as judiciously balanced an analysis of life under the Korean Communists as we have for the Chinese Communists.

It is impossible in a few pages to do justice to the findings of their study, but before attempting to touch on some of the substance of the two volumes it is worth taking a few words to note the significance of why North Korea has been and is likely to continue to be ignored by scholars and writers.

#### North Korea: unreconstructed Communism

In the present climate of opinion it seems almost vulgar to discuss North Korean realities because, first, the mere

mention of the name is enough to evoke memories of the unpopular Korean War and the mood of the 1950's when the danger of Communism was seen everywhere and, second, any honest description of contemporary practices in North Korea must employ language reminiscent of how Communism was characterized at the height of the Cold War. And, of course, it is now bad form to talk of even modified models of totalitarianism when one is supposed to dwell on detente and reports of trips to China where a future that works is supposedly on display.

Up to a point North Korea has cooperated in reducing embarrassment by setting itself off from the rest of the world. But only up to a point, because whenever North Korea achieves visibility it presents a disturbingly aggressive front. More awkward, however, is the fact that at present in spite of its open and benign approach towards most of the world China is now enthusiastically backing Pyongyang in its hard line positions. There are many reasons why the voice of Peking is so different when heard elsewhere, not the least important being Peking's need to take an uncompromising attitude toward the legitimization of separate regimes in divided countries. Such considerations are, however, of small comfort when balanced against the stark fact that North Korea is an unreconstructed, monolithic Communist system, fully endorsed by China and still receiving economic assistance from Russia.

It is no wonder then that at a time when tensions are supposed to be declining and thinking men are supposed to be more relaxed about Communist practices, political writers would like to forget about the existence of the Pyongyang regime and the blatant denials of freedom in North Korea. In writing this two volume encyclopedic study Scalapino and Lee have made it impossible hereafter to avoid thinking about the extremism of North Korea on the grounds that nobody knows what goes on there. Unfortunately, the meticulous scholarly character of the books and their shocking price tags mean that they will have far less impact on the public mind than they deserve to have.

#### Developmental history

In the first volume Scalapino and Lee trace the development of the various strands of Korean Communism. Readers who know nothing about this history are likely to vacillate between a sense of déjà vu and wonderment at utterly unlikely occurrences and coincidences. The feeling for the familiar comes from the extent to which the Korean story repeats the story of Chinese Communism. There are the same little clusters of intellects exploring Marxism, the same appearance of Comintern agents, the same combination of nationalism, anti-imperialism, and dreams of future grandeur. At points the Korean story does blend in with the Chinese as Korean emigres assume roles in Chinese events. More surprising, however, is the fact that Koreans out-numbered Chinese at certain international meetings which have always been remembered as significant in the development of the Chinese Party. Indeed, the aggressiveness of individual Koreans, their readiness to risk clandestine roles, and the large numbers of Koreans in Manchuria, China proper, Japan and the Soviet Far East all combined to ensure that Koreans were involved in radical developments throughout northeast Asia.

The very factors which made it possible for Koreans to participate in revolutionary activity in so many places also contributed to the constant divisions among Korean Marxists. Scalapino and Lee also link this tendency to factionalization to features in the Korean political culture and suggest that Koreans are driven to strong authorities because of their inclinations for feuding. Factions in China, Manchuria,

Russia, Japan and in the underground at home all aspired to be the spearhead of revolution, all sought to belittle the others, and all were suspicious of the pitfalls of cooperation.

The similarity of the Korean and the Chinese Communist histories is startling. Both depended highly upon intellectuals, neither were able to build followings among workers but both had great successes among peasants. The similarity is especially startling when it is realized that the Koreans also had a phase of guerrilla warfare, engaged in a united front with nationalists, and were torn apart by all the same twists and turns of the Comintern "line" during the 1920's. The great difference is that the Korean movement was far more fractionalized with the party being formed and crushed, re-

development policies should contain some comparisons with the North Korean experiences. In general terms it can be said that Korean practices fall between Chinese and Eastern European developments. Once the North Korean regime was well established in power, differences began to appear as compared with China and generally the Soviet model was more rigorously followed. The direct Soviet hand in North Korea meant that initially the story was much the same as what happened in Eastern Europe. The Korean War, however, ensured that the paths of development forked again as nationalist became much more effectively merged with Communism in North Korea than anywhere in Eastern Europe. By the end of the war, control was absolute and the lack of any possible hints of dissatisfaction brought North Korea back closer to the situation in China. And now North Korea stands rigidly alone.

The two authors are most cautious and judicious in their evaluation of policies in industry and agriculture. They recognize that Kim Il-sung's greatest achievement to date has been in the realm of industrial development. Building upon the bases of the Japanese period, and relying heavily upon Soviet assistance, the North Koreans have realized impressive expansion in heavy industry. (During the Three-Year Plan, heavy industry expanded 4.1 times, light industry 2.1 times and agriculture by 1.4 times; and in the Five-Year Plan the figures were respectively 3.6 times, 3.3 times and 1.4 times.)

In dealing with economic policies, Scalapino and Lee achieve a remarkable balance between seeing the policy decisions from the perspective of the government and reporting the conditions of work and living of the ordinary worker and peasant. On the latter score it seems that they have been able to collect more reliable data on consumption patterns, wage scales, and consumer prices than we have had for China until recently.

#### Unqualified fan of freedom

The authors are able to maintain a balanced perspective because their analysis at all times involves three major variables: Communism, emergence, and tradition.



#### Contemporary North Korea

Most readers will probably find the first volume which is an essentially historical account of Communism in Korea from its origins to the present practices of the Kim Il-sung regime the most interesting and valuable. The second volume provides us however with an amazingly rich description of contemporary North Korean society. The chapters deal with such basic subjects as the Party, the cadre and the Leader; the state administration and the control system; the development of ideology and the fate of intellectuals; the military and their political role; agriculture; industry; and a final overview of Korean Communism. These different chapters will appeal to different readers, and since they are self-contained studies they can be readily referred to by any specialists interested in making comparative analyses.

Indeed, Scalapino and Lee have done such a thorough job of data compilation that in the future any study of Communist de-

velopment. This means that the party which obtains the majority vote in the House of Representatives elects the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is the leader of the majority in the House of Representatives. He can be dismissed at any time by a majority vote of the House.

The Labor Party presently has a small majority in the House of Representatives, and the Prime Minister is its leader, Mr. Gough Whitlam. He presides over a cabinet of about 25 members all of whom are labor members of Parliament. Both he and the cabinet are responsible to the labor caucus which is made up of all the labor members in Parliament, and a vote in the labor caucus can overturn any decision of the Prime Minister or any Cabinet Minister.

Australian political parties are tightly disciplined. Every labor member of parliament must vote in accordance with the majority decision of the caucus. If a member dares to vote his conscience, contrary to the decision of caucus, he is automatically expelled from the Labor Party. This is equivalent to a political death sentence.

Many factions exist within the Labor Party and these factions fight for the control of caucus. Mr. Whitlam is generally regarded as a centrist with powerful groups both to his right and his left. It is reported that some of the majorities in caucus supporting Whitlam's policies have been slender indeed. At present there is bitter internal wrangling concerning the best measures to control inflation. Different groups are fighting for the right to hold the steering wheel on the runaway bus. The present government is rendered even more unstable by its position in the Senate. The Australian Parliament consists of two houses: the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Senate does not initiate legislation but reviews legislation passed by the House. The Senate must pass this legislation before it can become law. Thus, the Senators cannot create laws but they can prevent them.

Originally the Senate was regarded as a House to represent the states. Consequently

North Korea is thus placed in the context of the history of Communism, the problems and aspirations of all developing countries, and the Confucian and anti-Japanese traditions of Korean political culture. These themes when combined with the richness of data which they have compiled do have the effect of suggesting at many points that there was an inevitability to North Korean developments. Unquestionably this is true of many of the large dimensions of the history, and certainly the location of Korea does place it in a valuable situation.

Yet, the intensity of the totalitarian traditions in North Korea reflects also the perspectives of Kim Il-sung and his colleagues. Regrettably Scalapino and Lee provide us with little hope that the current generation of readers will be succeeded by more moderate and secure men. On the contrary the cocoon quality of the country seems to have succeeded in isolating North Koreans from even the currents of thaw that have blown through every other Communist country. The North Koreans are still living in the atmosphere of mobilization and perceived threat which characterized the lands during the height of the Cold War.

These considerations are most disturbing when it is remembered that the Korean peninsula is the site for the closest confrontation of Russia, China, the United States, and Japan. The fact that to date neither claims of detente nor ping-pong diplomacy have had any significant effects on the Pyongyang regime does not mean that Pyongyang could not be the cause for reversing the trend toward more relaxed relations.

Beyond such foreign policy considerations it is important for the world to learn what Scalapino and Lee have found out about North Korea as a reminder of how Communism in its militant form is an unqualified foe of freedom. At a time when it is popular to presume that we may have exaggerated in the 1950's and early sixties the totalitarian nature of Communist systems it is useful to reflect on what is still taking place in North Korea. Fortunately, we can now do precisely that on the basis not of ideological disputation or moral passion but the most careful and dispassionate scholarship that has possibly ever been done on any Communist system. For this extraordinary demonstration of the invincible power of solid facts and rigorous reasoning, all who believe in freedom will be permanently indebted to Robert A. Scalapino and Chong-Sik Lee.

## Parliamentary Government Paralyzed and Unstable

(Continued from page 7)

adequate for conquest, it is certainly adequate for the creation of chaos.

#### Unstable Government

The government of Australia is presently in the control of the Australian Labor Party. The Australian Labor Party is an av-

owedly socialist party with the announced policy of the nationalization of production, distribution and exchange. It is based upon the labor unions which exercise considerable influence over its policies. Since the labor unions are influenced by the Communists, the Australian Government is in-

fluenced by the Communists to some extent. The system of government in Australia is parliamentary and similar to that which exists in Canada and England. The executive is responsible to the legislature, not independent of it. The chief executive, the Prime Minister, is elected by the parlia-

## The Rising Tide

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