

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

The Rising Tide

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Freedoms Foundation Awards FLF



BE IT KNOWN THAT
**FREEDOM LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION, INC.**
IN AWARDED THIS HONOR CERTIFICATE
AMERICANISM VS COMMUNISM PUBLICATIONS
1973
AN OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENT IN BRINGING
ABOUT A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF
THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE.
BY ABRAHAM SHIFRIN

**FREEDOMS FOUNDATION
AT VALLEY FORGE**

The Freedom Leadership Foundation is pleased and honored to have recently received the "Honor Certificate Award" for "Americanism vs. Communism Publications" from the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge.

The award, given for "an outstanding accomplishment in helping to achieve a better understanding of America and Americans," was sent to FLF last month as one of many awards in 21 categories. It commended the *Rising Tide* for "challenging people to be active" in fighting Communism and promoting American ideals.

Freedoms Foundation is a non-profit, nonpartisan, nonsectarian, independent organization whose purpose is: "To create and build an understanding of the spirit

and philosophy of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights," and "to inspire love of freedom and to support the spiritual unity born of the belief that man is a dignified human being created in the image of his Maker, and by that fact, possessor of certain inalienable rights." Its awards program is designed to "Alert the general public to search for worthy efforts which strengthen an understanding of freedom and the fundamentals of a free society."

The highest award of the Freedoms Foundation, the "George Washington Award," was given to John Wayne for his record, "America, Why I Love Her."

Other awards were given for American accomplishments in Journalism, Advertising/Public Affairs, Government, Television and Radio, Speeches, Sermons

and Essays, Education, and other areas.

Nominations are judged according to the Foundation's "American Credo." The basis of the Credo is "Constitutional Government designed to serve the people" and "Fundamental Belief in God." Based on those ideals, the Credo lists 17 political and economic rights which "protect the dignity and freedom of the individual."

Freedoms Foundation maintains a 95-acre complex of buildings and memorials at historic Valley Forge. In addition to its awards program, the Foundation carries on leadership training and other educational activities for youth.

The *Rising Tide* last year won the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Award. This is the second national award the *Rising Tide* has received in its 3 years of operation.

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Abraham Shifrin

Hearing Asks

Who Pays for Soviet Arms?

by G.F. Willis

Hearings begun last week by the House Subcommittee on International Trade concerning the future authority of the Export-Import Bank included testimony on a resolution now before the House that would prohibit the extension of loans or credits of any kind to Communist countries by the American Export-Import Bank. H.R. 774, submitted to the House by Congressman Richard Ichord, specifically provides that "no loan, guarantee, insurance, or credit shall be extended by the Export-Import Bank of the United States to any nonmarket country."

Supporters

Witnesses before the subcommittee ran almost 3 to 1 against the resolution. In

general, the strongest supporters of Eximbank-sponsored trade with the Communist countries were bankers and industrialists, such as James Henry Griffin, President of Armco International. Among those who opposed trade with the Communists were Anthony Sutton, former Research Fellow at the Hoover Institute of War, Peace and Revolution, and Abraham Shifrin, former Red Army Major and Jewish émigré.

On Tuesday, Charles Deer, the Senior Vice President of Allied Products Institute, told the committee that trade between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. with the support of Eximbank financing would "promote employment, increase our balance of payments, and provide new opportunities for détente."

Mr. Griffin of Armco International added that unless the Eximbank financed U.S. exports to the U.S.S.R. the industries of countries like Japan and Italy might gain a competitive advantage over American industries.

A lively discussion developed between Mr. Griffin and Congressman Conlan:

Cong. Conlan: "Many of my constituents ask me, and I don't have an answer, if it is really in our interests to subsidize and encourage the flow of technology to the U.S.S.R. Is it in the interests of our country to strengthen the military and economic base of a country still seeking world domination?"

Mr. Griffin: "Perhaps through trade and peaceful commerce we may find a way to end the present conflict."

Cong. Conlan: "That's what we're here to find out. After we saw the way the Russians acted in the Middle East we've decided to look at our policies again. Why should we put 36 billion dollars in the Moscow World Bank at 7 percent prime rates when there isn't a building project in the country at less than 15 percent?"

Mr. Griffin: "Japan is offering 6 percent."

Cong. Conlan: "Tell me, do you as a businessman feel a moral responsibility about which products you sell and to whom?"

Mr. Griffin: "Once the Administration decided to encourage trade with the U.S.S.R., the decision was made for us."

Soviet Camp Labor

The morality of trading with a government that runs its mines, factories and construction works with concentration camp labor was challenged the next morning by Abraham Shifrin, a Soviet labor camp inmate for 10 years before emigrating to Israel in 1970. Mr. Shifrin, once Chief Legal Advisor in the Contracts Division of the Soviet Ministry of Defense, charged that a lot of the Soviet Union's war industry is fueled by Western technology and supported by the forced labors of concentration camp prisoners.

"It is important to understand," he said, "that the chief constructor of the Soviet Union's ICBM missiles, Korolev, began his work on the ICBM when he was in a concentration camp."

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Another Korean War?

North Korea is arming and fortifying itself, perhaps in preparation for war. Recent military moves and provocations by the North Koreans, the resumption of the "Cold War" atmosphere following the collapse of the north-south talks, and political instability in South Korea increase the likelihood of a resumption of the Korea War in the not-too-distant future.

Since Kim Il-sung's group came to power in 1945, its basic goal of communism of the whole Korean peninsula hasn't changed, although it has showed some surface flexibility in tactics depending upon the situation. Mainly out of strategic considerations, Kim Il-sung agreed to the South-North dialogue in 1972 because of changes in the international situation. However, all attempts at dialogue have now been abandoned, making it quite clear that the North Koreans still believe that "unification of the fatherland" can only be accomplished through war.

Provocations

The North Koreans have lately intensified provocations against the South. In his 1974 New Year's Message, Kim Il-sung urged the members of the People's Army and the People's Constabulary to "Undergo combat training energetically, and to maintain a state of tension and mobilization at all times." Soon after, the North Korean Communists sank one unarmed South Korean fishing boat and hijacked another on the high seas February 15, claiming that the waters contiguous to five islands owned by South Korea are under the sovereignty of North Korea. The North Koreans also continued their abusive propaganda broadcasts against the South, which had been discontinued during the talks.

As long ago as December 1962, the plenary session of the North Korean Workers' Party Central Committee resolved to enforce the so-called "Four Major Military Goals," calling for the "arming of the entire populace, fortification of the entire land, officer's training for all military personnel, and modernization of military equipment."

On October 1966, Kim Il-sung called for all-out war preparations at a meeting of the Workers' Party. Subsequently, Kim revised the "Seven-Year People's Economic Development Plan" into a system of war mobilization and placed all sectors of North Korea under a condition of combat readiness. At the Fifth Convention of the Workers' Party on November 2, 1970, Kim boasted that

"every one of the North Korean people possesses a gun and knows how to shoot... we have completed preparations for war."

Violation of Armistice

Early in 1972, the Republic of Korea and the United Nations Command revealed that the Communists had introduced heavy military equipment and troops into the northern half of the Demilitarized Zone, in violation of the 1953 Armistice agreement.

The Communist material included 224 permanent fortifications, 31 76.2 mm field guns, 78 trench mortars, 450 recoilless rifles, 225 14.5 mm anti-aircraft guns, thousands of automatic weapons and about 9,000 troops. In effect, the Communists have moved their front line about 1½ miles south, cutting the width of the buffer zone in half, and bringing the forward positions of the South within their artillery range.

The regular armed forces of North Korea number roughly 470,000 which breaks down to 410,000 in the Army, 17,000 in the Navy, and 45,000 in the Air Force. North Korea also has a 1,450,000-man Red Workers' Militia, inaugurated in 1959, which is trained and equipped to be readily absorbed into the regular army should the need arise.

The army is equipped with the most modern of the Soviet arsenal, including T-54 tanks, SAM and various other missiles, including the FROG surface-to-surface missile, high-speed missile patrol boats, and up to six submarines (the South Korean Navy has no submarines, and only World War II vintage destroyers and cruisers). The Air Force has 800 airplanes, including Russian MIG fighters and bombers.

North Korea also maintains a 30,000-man special unit trained to conduct either regular or irregular warfare. Their mission is apparently to operate independently behind the South Korean lines, to terrorize the population and disrupt communications. This unit is reportedly capable of sending 2,000 men at a time southward in 100 speed boats and about 70 airplanes.

Battle plan

South Korean intelligence sources have pieced together a picture of the North Korean invasion plan. It involves coordinated land, sea, and air multi-force attack, simultaneously combining a tank and infantry blitzkrieg down the main invasion corridor to Seoul, a mas-

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The Hearst Case and "Brainwashing"

The Great Brain Robbery

Amazing predictions, made by two people subscribing to the brainwashing of Patty Hearst, have consistently come true. Writing shortly before the Hibernia bank robbery, Dr. Fred Schwarz says: "Within groups, such as the SLA, there are always suspicions and jealousies as well as trust and loyalty. Some members of the group probably resent their new recruit and she will continue to be in danger. She could be given some difficult and criminal task to test her and make her burn her bridges. Her predicament remains unenviable and her future bleak."

And Wes Davis, an eight-year student of brainwashing and founder of an anti-Communist coalition called World Humanity Against Totalitarianism, has successfully predicted Patty Hearst's denunciation of her parents and boyfriend.

Both Schwarz and Davis believe that Patty went through a brainwashing process—sometimes called thought reform or mind attack (see Thought Reform, page 2)—conditioning her thought patterns and consequently her behavior. Schwarz gives the following analysis of her conversion.

There are degrees of brainwashing and it is not suggested that Patty Hearst experienced the complete treatment. However, the treatment she has received is quite adequate to explain her change of

doctrine and loyalty. Consider her plight:

1. She is held captive by a group which does not hesitate to kill. Her captivity has lasted two months.

2. She is afraid. She would be unnatural if this were not the case.

3. The fear creates a state of anxiety and exhaustion. She probably finds it difficult to sleep.

4. Her captors are utterly convinced of the correctness of their beliefs and the righteousness of their actions. They create an atmosphere which is highly charged emotionally. Their world is divided into two groups—us and them. They include in the "us" the active supporters of the SLA and a nebulous group known as "the people." They include in the "them" the capitalists, the government, and everybody who is opposed in any way to the SLA. Their slogan is, "Whosoever is not for us is against us." Death is the reward of opposition.

5. Patty has received a liberal education. She probably has some degree of guilt about the privileged position of her parents and the means by which the family fortune was accumulated. She is sensitive to the conditions in which many underprivileged live. Her captors play on this sense of guilt. In her closed environment, their arguments appear logical and convincing.

6. As an intelligent person, she knows her chances of survival are slim if she does not join her captors. They face a fearful risk in allowing her to go free when she can identify them in court. An argument which advances self-interest is readily acceptable so her receptivity to the advances of the SLA is enhanced.

7. Life is unbearable because of mental conflict and emotional turmoil. She longs for relief and rest. She hungers for community and the sense of belonging it brings.

8. The breaking point is reached, the dam bursts, and she surrenders gratefully. She accepts their doctrines, joins their fellowship and belongs. There is an immediate sense of relaxation and euphoria as her emotional tension is discharged. She becomes a new creature, a soldier of the SLA.

I believe something of this nature accounts for the changed attitude of Patty Hearst. While she continues in her present situation, it is probable that her new attitude will endure. If she is returned to her normal environment, it is unlikely that the change will be permanent, but it will certainly leave scars.

Davis believes that the SLA has adopted Chinese Communist brainwashing. This can be substantiated by the SLA's Maoist rhetoric and SLA member

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Thought Reform

It was an interesting coincidence that *The Manchurian Candidate* was aired on nationwide television at the height of the speculation about Patricia Hearst and the Symbionese Liberation Army. Was she a willing participant from the beginning? Was she simply forced to make those statements and lead the bank robbery? Or was she "brainwashed" into accepting a new ideology and lifestyle which had been so repulsive a few short months ago? Seeing *The Manchurian Candidate* must have intensified people's questions about these matters. Surely the movie served to revive concern about the whole question of Communist infiltration in the U.S.A. However, the movie was also in some respects unrealistic, serving to foster certain myths about brainwashing rather than exposing a reality which commands our urgent concern.

The movie portrayed a fantastic conspiracy resulting from the Communists' total mind control of soldiers captured during the Korean War. They were brainwashed into believing a false story about their capture: one of them was to be a "hero" who had valiantly saved their lives for the good of his country. In actuality he had been programmed as a merciless killer who would obey any order given under a post-hypnotic code and then completely forget what he had done. It made a good thrill story—but the reality of brainwashing, even if less dramatic, is even more frightening because of its widespread effectiveness and the openness with which it is practiced.

What we call "brainwashing" takes place in every Communist society to varying degrees. It is most thorough, however, in Communist China and North Korea. Few people realize the extent to which these regimes seek to control the minds of their people. In fact, if such information were public knowledge, I doubt if the American public would have accepted so passively the changes in U.S. China policy over the past few years.

The Chinese terminology for what we call "brainwashing" is *thought reform*. Thought reform, simply put, is the process by which the Communist Party seeks to achieve ideological and political uniformity. Its practice is well documented, though not well-publicized.

What actually happens in *thought reform* is this. Party cadres are assigned to lead small groups which meet for discussion several times a week. These groups are organized through the structure of the factory, commune, school, office, etc. During the small group sessions, group members engage in what is called "criticism and self-criticism," in which each member is required to describe his daily activities and thought patterns. He is then subjected to suggestions and criticism by his fellow group members and must re-evaluate himself in light of their comments. He is urged to give up the "bourgeois consciousness" which he developed as a result of his association with his former non-revolutionary environment.

Special emphasis is given to the member's relationship with his parents. The basic breakthrough comes when he recognizes that his reactionary parents are responsible for his non-revolutionary tendencies, and renounces father and mother, accepting the "Great Thought" of chairman Mao as his guiding philosophy and promising to do his best to change his non-revolutionary lifestyle.

Pressure to "change" is so intense that few can resist adopting "Mao Tse-tung Thought." Cadres who lead the group must report each member's progress to their superiors. Not only must one respond well to criticism, he must actively participate in the criticism of others. If a person refuses to accept criticism and repent, he risks being sent to labor camps. The sessions often become quite dramatic.

In the labor camps, social pressure is combined with intense physical hardships and even torture, geared to wearing down resistance. Eventually, the barrier is broken. The person really does undergo a change of heart. He honestly believes all that has been said about him, repents of his sins, receives the forgiveness of Chairman Mao, and can make a new start. Those who do not make the change either remain permanently in camps, where they often die prematurely, or are done away with either privately or as a public example.

The result is a totally ideologized society, one which thrives on a revolutionary consciousness which binds people together through a perceived common struggle and hatred of the "class enemy," and through love of the Great Leader. It is, I think, a mistake to believe that most people in Communist society consciously resent the Leader. They may resent his representatives with whom they have day-to-day contact, but conscious resentment of the Leader would be easily detected in the small group sessions. Perhaps, deeply seeded, the resentment remains; but it can never be expressed, probably not even to one's own self. Herein lies the real horror of the Maoist Communist system.

What we are witnessing in the Symbionese Liberation Army is a microcosm of the kind of society which Marxism-Leninism inevitably creates, especially in its Maoist form. It seems so bizarre to us, so out-of-the-ordinary.

It is an every-day reality for more than one-third of the world's people.

Crime as a Political Tool



by Allen Brownfeld

The case of the Patricia Hearst kidnapping provides us with good reason to fear that political violence and terrorism will increase in the United States, as it has been increasing throughout the world.

The leader of the Symbionese Liberation Army is a 30-year-old escaped black convict, Donald D. DeFreeze, who now calls himself "General Field

Marshall Cinque." It is on the basis of his tape recordings to the Hearst family that inmates at the Vacaville, California State Prison (which DeFreeze left in December, 1972) have identified DeFreeze.

Before DeFreeze was imprisoned at Vacaville in 1970 for robbery and assault, he was not known as a political activist. Once behind bars, however, he

came in contact with the "Black Culture Association." This group, allegedly concerned with educating and rehabilitating black inmates, was a vehicle through which radicals attempted to politicize black inmates.

Prisons breed radicalism

According to prison inmates, DeFreeze was very receptive to the Maoist tone of the "political science" classes conducted by the white outsiders, and was soon subjecting fellow inmates to radical harangues of his own.

This is not a unique situation. American prisons have become breeding grounds of radicalism and the graduates of such prisons—men such as Eldridge Cleaver, Malcolm X, and George Jackson—have become the leading advocates of the view that crimes such as rape, murder, and robbery are, in fact, "political acts."

Cleaver, arrested and convicted on charges of rape, declares that, "I became a rapist. To refine my technique and modus operandi I started out by practicing on black girls in the ghetto—in the black ghetto where dark and vicious deeds appear not as aberrations or deviations from the norm, but as part of the sufficiency of the Evil of a day—and when I considered myself smooth enough, I crossed the tracks and sought out white prey. I did this consciously, deliberately, willfully, methodically—though looking back I see that I was in a frantic, wild and completely abandoned frame of mind—I know that if I had not been apprehended I would have slit some white throats."

Crime becomes "political"

In his book, *Soul On Ice*, Cleaver writes that "Rape was an insurrectionary act. It delighted me that I was defying and trampling upon the white man's laws, upon his system of values, and that I was defiling his women—and this point, I believe, was the most satisfying to me because I was very resentful over the historical fact of how the white man has used the black woman. I felt I was getting revenge."

Cleaver declares that, "We are a very sick country and perhaps I am sicker than most." He condemns judges, policemen, and prison administrators for not understanding that Negro convicts, be they murderers, rapists or thieves, are all really "political prisoners." He writes that, "... rather than see themselves as criminals or perpetrators of misdeeds, they look upon themselves as prisoners of war, the victims of a vicious, dog-eat-dog social system that is so heinous as to cancel out their malefactions: in the jungle there is no right or wrong."

According to this view, a man, simply because he is black, and because blacks have at different times and in different ways in the American society suffered discrimination, now receives justification for the commission of the most heinous crimes. Rape, murder, and other acts of brutality become "political" because by committing such acts the black prisoner shows his hostility to "white society."

This, of course, is a fanciful view. Cleaver overlooks the fact that most crimes of violence committed by blacks are against other blacks, not against the white society which he claims is oppressing them. Behind the flamboyant rhetoric what Cleaver is saying—in words similar to those of the Symbionese Liberation Army—is that every black American in prison, for whatever reason, is a "political" prisoner, even if he has no political opinions, or if he has political opinions diametrically opposed to those held by Cleaver himself. By this definition, "political" crime is synonymous with racial identity and has little to do with the intent or action of the accused individual.

Trojan Horse

Similarly, George Jackson, in his book, *Soledad Brother*, describes the manner in which, while in prison for robbery, he was radicalized by white activists. He came to the view that the struggle of the Viet Cong and what he conceived of as the struggle of another "colonial people," black Americans, is the same. Black Americans, however, had one opportunity lacked by the Viet Cong. They exist within America, rather than outside of it, and the damage they are able to inflict could be fatal. He notes

that, "We are on the inside. We are the only ones (besides the very small minority left) who can get at the monster's heart without subjecting the world to nuclear fire. We have a momentous historical role to act out if we will."

Almost precisely the same view was expressed by Eldridge Cleaver. He noted that "... black Americans ... are a Black Trojan Horse within white America and they number in excess of 23,000,000 strong. That is a lot of strength ... The police are the armed guardians of the social order. The blacks are the chief domestic victims of the American social order. A conflict of interest exists, therefore, between the blacks and the police."

Unfortunately, the difference between the old-fashioned criminal and the "revolutionary" criminal has confused many into believing that men such as George Jackson, Eldridge Cleaver and Donald DeFreeze are indeed "political prisoners." This, however, is not the case.

Justifications for crime

Discussing the difference, Professor Murray Rothbard notes that, "The old-fashioned criminal has always tended to be a 'right winger,' for he has generally acknowledged that his actions were morally wrong, that he had broken the moral law. Hence, while personally trying to keep out of prison as much as possible, the old-fashioned criminal does not challenge the correctness or the propriety of the prison system per se. Hence, when sent to prison, he tries not to be a trouble-maker, tries to win privileges and early parole by good behavior, etc."

"But," he continues, "in the last few decades, leftists have turned their mischievous attention to the prison system, and to the concept of crime and punishment. They have promulgated the absurd theory, for example, that 'society' (i.e. everyone except the criminal, including his victim) is responsible for crime, and not the criminal himself. Criminals have of course become adept at using their increasing literacy to wrap themselves in left-wing justifications for their misdeeds.... Now the murderer, the rapist, the mugger, can preen himself as a member of the vanguard of 'revolution'; every time he knifes an old lady he can proudly proclaim it a 'revolutionary act' against the Establishment."

The Patricia Hearst kidnapping is only one in a long line of violent political acts committed by self-proclaimed revolutionaries. There is every indication that such acts will continue—and become more frequent—and the American prison system itself seems at least in some measure to be responsible for the increase.

"Rights"

Discussing the increased agitation within our prison system, and the manner in which radical groups are able to proselytize among the prisoners, Fred T. Wilkinson, director of the Missouri State Department of Corrections and formerly deputy director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, notes that, "Trouble is being generated in many cases from outside sources. Aggressive militants in prison still have contacts outside. Many people engaged in law practice today are practicing barratry (the incitement of lawsuits). They are willing to create incidents. Some 85 percent of the people in prisons want nothing to do with this, but they fall under control of the militants through intimidation and violence."

The fact is that radicals are today claiming an inherent right to murder, a right to destroy, a right to plunder, a right to thwart the elected representatives of the people and replace those representatives with an elite of their own choosing. When society refuses to permit them this right of destruction, they claim that society is violating their "rights." Such "rights," however, do not exist in this society and cannot exist in any civilized society. To give credence to such a claim would be to lay the very groundwork for the destruction of that society and that civilization.

Unless we prevent such politicization from taking place within our prisons, the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst may only be one of many in a long line of acts of political terrorism. Prison reform may be needed, but the need is along lines far different from the permissiveness called for by so many. Today's crime and violence, unfortunately, are the results of the permissive steps we have taken thus far.

Brainwashing

Continued from page 1

Nancy Perry's pronouncement: "Part of the revolutionary process in which we are engaged involved the constant redefining of thought, word, and action."

Devis was tipped off that Patty was brainwashed by a similar process to that described by Dr. Schwarz above by the exhaustion in her voice on the tapes. Fatigue is the key element in Chinese-style brainwashing in breaking down the victim until his captors become his liberators.

Davis has reached an ominous conclusion:

"The important point being missed by the public is that the girl probably had nothing to do with this (SLA activity prior) even though," he added, "she might have had something of a psychological

predisposition for such a conversion."

"She probably was put through the self-criticism or 'conveyor' method," he believes. "She was probably 'converted' because she associates this (denunciation) with her survival."

"But she's very different from other members of the SLA in that the other members of the SLA have gone through the method of their own free will and Patricia Hearst did not. This makes her therefore a security risk."

"At the same time she's vitally important to them for publicity purposes because she does represent a conversion—a stunning victory that's mind-boggling not only to the public but to the police and federal agencies, who have admitted they have not acted properly or effectively."

THE YEAR OF THE TIGER



Infamous Year Presages Conflict

by Gary Jarmin

According to Chinese astrology, 1974 is the Year of the Tiger. This would not have much significance were it not for the disturbing historical coincidence that nearly every major conflict in the twentieth century has occurred during that infamous year. The pattern of major tragedy began in 1914 with the outbreak of World War I. In 1938 Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia which eventually led to the Second World War. In 1950 the Korean War broke out, and finally in 1962 the world was near the brink of a nuclear confrontation over the Cuban missile crisis. All of these events occurred during the Year of the Tiger.

War Coming

Hopefully 1974, like 1926, may prove to be an exception. However, with the rumblings between the Soviet Union and The People's Republic of China growing louder each day, a major conflict between the two cannot be discounted. In fact, recent military and political developments indicate that a confrontation between the two Communist powers may be coming sooner than we think. These developments include:

1) By the end of this year China is expected to have missiles in its nuclear arsenal capable of reaching Moscow and many of Russia's industrialized cities.

2) The Soviets and Chinese have built up their forces along the border areas at an alarming rate. With decreased

cushioning effect between these two armies and where misunderstandings can easily occur the possibility of war is always likely.

3) The Soviets are facing an increasingly more hostile and irrational leadership in Peking that not only might provoke a military conflict but will definitely become an increasing obstacle to Soviet foreign policies and influence over the world Communist movement.

4) Finally, the lack of political and military cooperation among NATO powers, plus a weakened American presidency facing a hostile congress could hinder any intervention from the West should a Sino-Soviet war occur.

It is already widely known that since the 1969 battles on the Ussuri River the U.S.S.R. and the PRC have been building up their armed forces along the border areas at an unprecedented rate. Already some 50 Soviet and 10 Mongolian divisions face approximately 140 of China's along the 4,000 mile border. Both sides, especially the Soviets, appear to be building up an offensive capability in the event that it is needed.

Predictions

Such magazines as the influential German publications *Der Spiegel*, the *Stern* and the prestigious *British Army Quarterly* have predicted a Sino-Soviet war by as early as this summer.

A major factor of obvious concern to decision-makers in the Kremlin is that

by the end of this year China is expected to have in its nuclear arsenal missiles with a 3,500-mile range, capable of reaching Moscow. At present China is believed to have deployed thirty or more missiles with a 600-mile range along the border and approximately twenty 1,500-mile IRBM's able to reach many of Russia's key cities in Central Asia, Siberia and the Far East. In addition the PRC also has 150 TU-16 Soviet bombers capable of delivering nuclear bombs to targets 1,600 miles inside the Soviet Union. These facts confront the Soviets with the problem of whether or not they should make a pre-emptive strike against China now rather than later, when the risks of nuclear destruction of their own cities may be too great.

In such a decision, however, political rather than military conditions may become an important factor in encouraging the Soviets to launch an attack.

First of all, the totally unpredictable political situation within Peking's governing leadership is probably the Soviet's primary cause for worry. The outcome of what appears to be a major power struggle brewing in China might become the spark to ignite the massive military powder-keg building up along the Sino-Soviet frontier.

The most unfavorable development for the Soviets would be for the radicals, led by Mao's wife Chiang-Ching, to gain the upper hand in the battle for control of Peking's leadership. The radicals are conducting their struggle under the guise of an anti-Lin Piao-Confucius campaign

orchestrated personally by Chairman Mao, according to an editorial in *Tenmin Tih Pao*, a Communist party newspaper.

The brunt of the criticism has been against "moderation" and the restoration of disgraced officials to power, which Confucius was said to advocate. Chou En-lai was the major leader able to moderate the excesses of revolutionary violence to stabilize China's shaken government during the Cultural Revolution. Chou has also been primarily responsible for restoring to power some officials who were disgraced during the upheaval.

The *Tenmin Tih Pao* also printed an attack on those who oppose revolutionary violence in a story about Chin Hsui-ching, a 21-year-old "fighter" in an army unit who, after delving into works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Chairman Mao, criticized Lin Piao for a "reactionary assertion" that it is better to rely on virtue than on violence.

"What we in the proletarian class want is revolutionary violence," the young soldier declared, and concluded his article with: "Long live proletarian revolutionary violence."

Being more hostile towards Moscow, a more radical and irrational leadership might even take the risk of a pre-emptive nuclear strike against Soviet missile sites or large troop concentrations, knowing that at the present, due to their own incredibly weak deterrent,

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Berdyaeв on the Myths of Class and Materialism

We are pleased to present this excerpt from Berdyaeв's Christianity and Class War appearing in the Bulletin of European Solidarity, 1973, Number 3. To our knowledge, this is the only English translation recently published.

Nicolai Berdyaeв, (1874-1948), was a theologian exiled by Lenin due to his opposition to the regime. According to Rev. Royal Davis he "... was for modern orthodoxy what Jacques Maritain was for Catholicism and Paul Tillich for Protestantism." These sections, dealing with basic Marxist myths, strike logically at the core of materialism.

PROLETARIAN MYTHOLOGY

Marxists maintain that there can be such a thing as "class-truth." They have not followed their reasoning to its conclusion, for actually it is impossible to make this affirmation real in thought. The hypothesis that truth can be the reflection of the economic reality and social state of any class is a fundamental contradiction and gnosological (theory of knowledge) absurdity of Marxism; such a supposition makes knowledge impossible; it is equivalent to a denial of the theory of economic materialism, and so destroys the very foundation of Marxism.

What, in fact, is at the bottom of the materialist conception of history? Is it only the fleeting reflection of the condition of the working-class under the capitalist system and a practically useful weapon in the struggle? Or does it represent the truth about the nature of society and the historical process, which, being truth, must be absolute?

Absolutes

Marx would never allow that his theory was relative or rank it with those others that reflect an economic reality and voice the interests and psychology only of a class. He was the bearer of a revelation touching the mystery of the historical process. Now in principle there are no such things as absolute truth. But in reality there is at least one; namely, that there is no absolute truth, and that all truth is only a reflection of economics and the class-war! But this doctrine lifts the knowing subject above all relativity. It would seem that the proletariat, whose truth Marx expounded, has a cognitive superiority over all other classes, its consciousness is no longer the illusive ideological reflection of economics but is open to the knowledge of reality. This problem preoccupied me a great deal in my youth. I was a Marxist at that time and was writing my first book, "Subjectivism and Individualism in Social Philosophy." I even tried to construct a proletarian gnosology. But as I was never a materialist, I could not be an orthodox Marxist; philosophically I was an idealist, and when I got over Schopenhauer I nurtured myself on the theories of Kant and Fichte. I looked on truth, goodness and beauty as absolutes, for I had seen that they are rooted in transcendental consciousness and that only the degrees in which we apprehend them are relative.

The whole question lies in knowing what conditions of psychological con-

sciousness are favorable to the revelation of transcendental truth. I believed that the proletariat, inasmuch as it is a hard-working and unified class, exploited and itself innocent of the sin of exploitation, has a psychological structure that is favorable to this revelation, that its psychological consciousness, so to say, coincides with transcendental consciousness.

I merely found its social and psychological conditions favorable to the apprehension of absolute truth logical, though not psychological, and also favorable to the struggle for the good in the ethical sense. I did not express this in terms of orthodox Marxist philosophy, but it corresponded well with the paths of Marxian socialism and the idea of the great mission of the proletariat. Later on I departed far from the ideas of my youth, but I continued to regard as fundamental the problem that is raised by the relation between human and supra-human knowledge, the question of the absoluteness of known truth; that is, the problem of the conditions that are humanly favorable to the knowledge of truth.

Truth is universal

Truth cannot belong to one single class, but it can be perverted by a class, and history shows that in fact it often has been. Marx was certainly right when he asserted that there was class-falsehood in capitalist society, that it disseminated lies and illusions. The whole of his sociology is a social pathology but his social physiology was at fault. He was obsessed and distracted by the diseased conditions of capitalist society and could see no healthy evolution beyond it. According to him, health; that is, the socialist collectivity of the future, had to be the result of the shocking state of

proletariat under Capitalism. Things had to get worse and worse in order that they might be better ("Verelendungstheorie").

The Marxist theory of Being is false, for it finds it (Being) only in material processes and doesn't perceive its fundamental principles; it does not know the primary source of all power; that can be found only in spirit. Matter is weak, inert, passive. Spirit is active; it moves the very materialists who refuse to recognize it. There is nothing more absurd than to base actuality on a materialist philosophy. Being is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by being. Being is spirit, not matter, which is only a construction of consciousness.

It is perfectly true that academic idealism and juridical liberalism are powerless. Law can express and rely on force alone, but this force is not economic power, which is not so deeply rooted; moreover, the psychological structure of economics is very complex, and its process cannot be identified with the material process. Economics is a creation of human spirit, its basis is spiritual; the conditions of economic development are not solely material and physical but integrally psychical.

"... Psychology of social classes ..."

Marxists are generally bad psychologists—they do not understand the mentality of the different classes, and their explanations of them are elementary exercises in rationalism and utilitarianism. In short, a true psychology of social classes has yet to be created.

The Marxist theory of classes breaks with the old idea of "the people," and strikes hard both at "populism" and at conventional democracy. The sovereign people is

broken up into classes whose interests are opposed and which fight each other fiercely. To Rousseau's democratic myth of the sovereign people Marx opposes the socialist myth of the proletariat, a messianic class feigning to voice the general will and called to bring freedom and salvation to mankind. Although it is manifestly mythological and an unconscious revival of the old idea of Israel as the chosen people of God, nevertheless the Marxist doctrine of class war is more closely related to reality than that of Rousseau on the general will and the infallibility and sovereignty of the people. Marx transferred infallibility from the people to the proletariat, but it exists no more in the one than in the other.

In every people or nation which has assumed the form of democracy, there is indubitably class war and the "general will" of the people is a conventional fiction. There are, of course, national and state interests which transcend the classes and which must be protected if society is to live. And class power is called on to safeguard at least a minimum of these interests. But a democracy, formally understood, hides the actual strife among parties and frequently becomes an instrument whereby one class exercises predominant power—a political masquerade.

Real Democracy

So far in history, democracy has been formal and not real. In that respect the criticism made by Marxists and even by Communists seem to me well-founded. Democracy gives political

rights to a man without giving him the means to profit by them, for the possibility to do so belongs to the social and economic—not to the political—sphere.

In a democracy based on universal suffrage and parliamentarism the nation is organized by the State, but society is not; its organization parallel to the State produces very great difficulties, which lead to social disintegration.

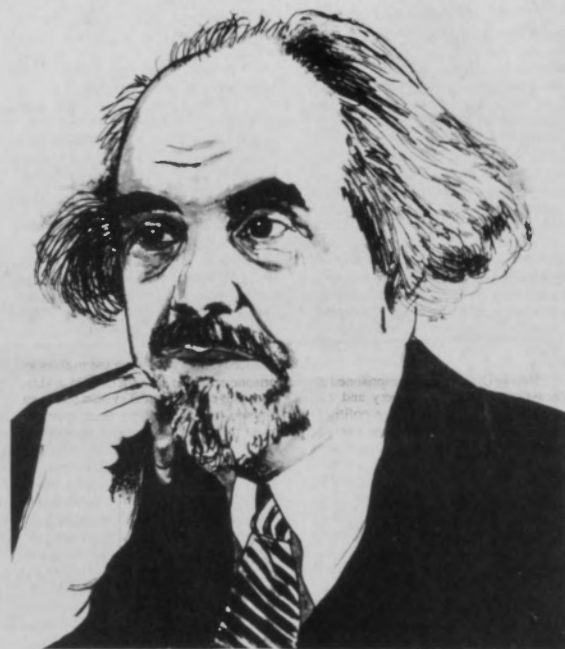
A real democracy must be social, industrial, and economic, giving effect to the interests and proper needs of all sorts of work and of people. Marxian criticism is amply justified, but Marxism in its turn has created a new proletarian mythology. And that too puts fictions in the place of realities. It is a new and fanatical form of infallibility, and it cannot be allowed, for authentic infallibility is a spiritual enlightening and transfiguration of man and of nature.

HOMO ECONOMICUS—THE ECONOMIC MAN

The term "bourgeoisie" is used equivocally in Marxism, being given very different meanings. On the one hand it is applied to a class which arose under capitalism and which is determined by reference to a particular mode of economic production. On the other, it designates the whole of the controlling class, whose members have always been exploiters and well-endowed with material goods. The Bolsheviks prefer to use the word in the second sense, so that all classes, including the intellectual workers and excepting the proletariat, are assigned to the bourgeoisie. Thus the word loses its real meaning and becomes a

symbol.

But Marx's conception of the bourgeoisie was equivocal in another sense as well. It represented the class of exploiters, of "blood-drinkers," who are set against the final development of society and so bound to perish. But it also meant for him the class which had the great positive mission of developing productive material forces and bringing about conditions which would allow the future triumph of socialism, without which the messianic class, the proletariat itself, could never exist. Capitalist industrialism is a good thing, for its factory system has been responsible for the organization of the workers. In one aspect of his social theory Marx was an evolutionist, which accounts for the stages of development in his opinions. But this evolutionist element has disappeared entirely among the Russian Communists, who do their best to make the war between proletariat and bourgeoisie independent of the existence of capitalism; for them, the two classes are symbols rather than realities. In fact, the proletariat is a negligible fraction of the Russian people. The bourgeoisie, always a small body, has now, to all intents and purposes, ceased to exist. Russian Communists do not regard the future Communist Society as a product of the development of capitalism but as a result of "constructivism," the consciously-directed efforts of the almighty Soviet power. The rule of "necessity" has given place to the rule of "liberty"—a radical change-over. Such is the metamorphosis that the Marxian idea has undergone.



Nicolai Berdyaeв

Arpeggio

A Rare Moment with Yehudi Menuhin

by Toni Muller

Last week Washington had a brief visit from Yehudi Menuhin, world-renowned musician and outspoken defender of human dignity and freedom of thought. On Thursday, April 25, the National Symphony sponsored a symposium for Mr. Menuhin at the Kennedy Center. The brief session consisted of questions directed to Mr. Menuhin by the chairman and the audience. The replies were issued in a soft voice and gentle manner.

As a child were you self-conscious; did you realize you were a child prodigy?

"I was blissfully unaware of being anybody special. We all have gifts which are many times condemned to oblivion because of environment and parental neglect. Seeds are planted; they are either fertile or sterile, but a seed does not tell itself that it is better than another seed. We have the scientific analysis of natural phenomenon which is satisfying to curiosity, and to the need for knowledge. But the self-consciousness of our civilization is that it always wants to take apart.

"One can take apart a watch. It is inanimate, it doesn't know. The watch does not grow, it does not improve, and we feel ourselves lucky if it remains reliable. But man cannot look from both the inside and the outside. Lao Tse comments that one cannot fill the jug and drink from it simultaneously. This continual analysis is one of the curses of excessive zeal... the taking of one's temperature every morning to see if one is well... I gave my life to the violin, to music. I did not ask probing questions of the self-conscious."

You once said: "We do not encourage the good and we do not stand against the bad." Do you feel that there has been any improvement over the years?

"If one is to judge by the lamentable state of affairs, no. Good has not been clarified, lived by, acknowledged... defended. It is too simple to divide good and bad. One of the oldest definitions of good is: 'good for the greatest number' but which can be perverted to mean bad for the minorities, which is no better, really."

"Tolerance, patience, respect for life, pursuit of achievement, beauty, living by a code is not at the expense of life, not only in pursuit of wealth and power. For thousands of years we have recognized this. Great religions and philosophers agree that we belong to something greater than ourselves... we do not recognize that part belonging to infinity, to eternity; that part of us that is only ours in trust... we are only trustees, not owners of our lives. This is not respected and we are paying a high price."

Few musicians speak out on human dignity, on world injustice. Is this reticence idiosyncratic; does the artist have a role, a duty to speak?

"I hesitate to lay down dictums. Artists are individuals—inspired, disciplined... many have no chance to formulate statements, or the time, but many have voiced themselves. Some bow to the power that would choke them, others rebel. It depends on the temperament, stamina, personal make-up of the artist. I can't generalize."

"Rostropovich was courageous in defending and offering hospitality to Solzhenitsyn. He is paying for it with two years of internment, as it were. His future is still uncertain."

"Shostakovich is equally great, but he has acquiesced. Nor can we condemn people who, under pressure, let alone torture, confess or sign statements which are extracted from them. All of us have a limit of courage. No one can guarantee when he would capitulate."

In the actions of Rostropovich or Solzhenitsyn, did you feel in any way motivated?

"Yes, as president of the UNESCO International Music Council we were to hold an anniversary concert in Paris last year, and Rostropovich had been invited to perform. There was some difficulty in arranging for his coming, but the authorities finally allowed him to come. I feel this was an example of an effort to declare solidarity as musicians. That year also saw the establishment of a fund for help between artists—music, all kinds."

Do you have any thoughts on government support of music?

"I feel that within the democratic policy that it should be a joint effort—public, and private... not exclusive to one segment... At present, our music life is a tribute to the dedication of our American women."

Should children take lessons from their parents if the parents are professional?

"... They cannot help absorbing from their parents. The danger is not as great as those who undergo surgery from their parents. The musical dynasty has fed on the advantage between professional parent, and child."

"In Russia today, the hereditary system is rearing its head. Because all is organized, the professions are herded into different faculties. For instance, in Moscow there is an apartment building where all the violinists live together. Many privileges are associated with this: many internment within their profession, the children go to the Central School in Moscow, their parents can teach them... Igor Oistrakh married a pianist because that is one way they can get out together. I don't belittle the genuine love between them, but, you know..."

"The society is beginning anew with the oldest element—the hereditary element."

What happens to all these violinists that Russia is forming?

"Russia and Japan are training the most violinists. The Russian training is basically strong and serious, but they all want to be soloists... Many have immigrated to Israel..."

Mr. Menuhin ended the session with a comment on the composer, Bartok in which he stated: "... The key to the emotional satisfaction of hearing Bartok is in the understanding of the language." It is a remark applicable to Menuhin in his constant balance and interplay of intellect and feeling.



Book Review

Chronicles of Wasted Time Malcolm Muggeridge in the Soviet Union

CHRONICLES OF WASTED TIME: Chronicle 1: The Green Stick. By Malcolm Muggeridge. Morrow. 284 pages. \$6.95.

by Freda Utey

The poignancy and relevance to our time of Malcolm Muggeridge's *Memoirs* are highlighted by the publication in Paris of Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* and the wide publicity it is receiving in the Western World. The truth about Soviet Russia and its system, still today rooted in terror, which Muggeridge and this reviewer vainly attempted to reveal decades ago, are now at long last becoming widely known.

In a moving passage in this book, Muggeridge recalls the Sunday morning when he entered a crowded church in Kiev after witnessing at first hand the dreadful consequences of Stalin's "planned and deliberate famine" designed to break the resistance of the peasants to collectivization.

"Young and old, peasants and townsmen, parents and children, even a few in uniform—it was a variegated assembly... Never before or since have I participated in such worship; the sense conveyed of turning to God in great affliction was overpowering. Though I could not, of course, follow the service, (I understood) bits of it; for instance where the congregation sang there is no help for them save from God. What intense feeling they put into those words! In their minds, I knew, as in mine, was a picture of those desolate abandoned villages of the hunger and the hopelessness, of the cattle trucks being loaded with humans in the dawn light. Where were they to turn for help? Not to the Kremlin, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, certainly; nor to the forces of progress and democracy and enlightenment in the West... Every possible human agency

found wanting. So, only God remained, and to God they turned with a passion, a dedication, a humility, impossible to convey. They took me with them; I felt closer to God than I ever had before, or am likely to again."

Even more disillusioning than his closeup view of the "Socialist Paradise" was the reluctance of the West to hear about the horrors of Soviet Russia, much less believe them.

Although the liberal *Manchester Guardian* reluctantly published some of Muggeridge's articles, albeit with excisions, he later had to turn to the conservative *Morning Post* to be heard at all. His book *Winter in Moscow* was generally ignored, like my own 1940 book *The Dream We Lost*. He found himself in the company of George Orwell, whose *Animal Farm*, by now universally known, was rejected by 14 publishers on the ground that it was too hostile to the Soviet regime.

Editors and publishers preferred to give wide circulation to Bernard Shaw's

to be oppressed by a general idea. This was the fate of the Russian peasant, as it is, increasingly, the fate of us all in the 20th century."

Muggeridge became my friend only after I returned to England after six years residence in Moscow. As the wife of a Russian subject I had perforce remained silent for his sake until after he was arrested and disappeared into one of Stalin's slave labor camps. Muggeridge was among the small band of brave men who were bucking the tide of pro-Soviet sentiment running high during the Popular Front period when "liberals" wanted to believe that only Nazi totalitarianism was vile. Having seen and felt the agony of the Russian people, I share his aversion to the Liberal Pharisees of our time who avert their eyes from the suffering of the victims of the theories they believe in. I also have despaired of the power of reason to better man's condition given his infinite credulity and capacity to believe what he wants to believe.

Where were they to turn for help?

Not to the Kremlin or the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, certainly... So, only God remained

and the Webb's "picture of Stalin as the Good Fabian, and Dr. Hewlett Johnson's of him as building the Kingdom of Christ... These continued to carry more conviction than mine of a bloodthirsty tyrant of unusual ferocity even by Russian standards." People believe lies, Muggeridge concludes, because they want to believe them; thus their credulity is unshakable.

"To be oppressed by an individual tyrant is terrible enough; by an enraged deity, as the Old Testament tells us, even more terrible... but Taine is right when he contends that the worst of all fates is

But unlike Malcolm Muggeridge, whom I count among my dearest and most esteemed and enlightened friends, I still cling to the tenets of the rationalist philosophy in which both of us were reared in England. I still believe that there is hope for man on earth; that he could be the master of his fate; that the Truth can set him free. It is impossible to keep her forever at the bottom of the well to which good as well as bad men wish to confine her, for fear that she will destroy their cherished illusions. Sooner or later, the truth will come out, and man's power of reasoning restored.

Lenin said that the capitalists would

Continued on page 7



Winds of Change in Southern Africa

This is the conclusion of an exploratory series of five articles by Hal McKenzie on southern Africa. In this article he presents his feelings and conclusions based on his research.

by Hal McKenzie

One goal of America's foreign policy should be to have as many of the nations of the world as possible be free, economically viable, friendly toward the United States, and devoid of any major tensions which could lead to war. If that accurately reflects American interests, then there are growing threats to those interests in Africa which require America's prompt attention.

These threats could be categorized under three major areas: 1) Economic and social underdevelopment, 2) anti-Western nationalism, and 3) a pattern of terror and repression between the black nationalist guerrilla movements and the white-ruled regimes. This is bringing increased tension and an arms race between the black-ruled and white-ruled nations, leading inexorably to war.

food returned to the blacks who toiled for it. Another minus for the Africans is the extensive social dislocation brought on by the imposition of European values, culture, and urbanization. This has produced a breakdown in morality and social cohesion so that in many places, crime, vice, and corruption are rampant. Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, is notorious as the "Calcutta of Africa" with its squalid slums and frantic "boom town" atmosphere. Crime is endemic in most urban African areas.

The social dislocation that blacks suffer is particularly severe and tragic in South Africa as a result of apartheid laws. Many black male workers are forced to travel far away from their families for months at a time to work in factories or in the mines, living in seamy concrete dormitories. Also in black townships such as Soweto near Johannesburg, black parents must commute into town every day to work, leaving the children at home most of the day without parental guidance. This puts severe strains on the "extended family system" which has traditionally been the basis of morality, mental health, and social security in African society.

Portuguese Coup

In response to the threat posed by the growth of militarism and guerrilla violence in southern Africa, America can do much to defuse the conflict before it reaches the stage where America must decide to intervene militarily to prevent a Communist takeover *a la* Vietnam. The most urgent task is to break up the growing polarization between the "White Citadel" and the Black ruled nations to the north.

Right now, South Africa is the strongest military force in the region, having a modern arsenal with her own jets. However, there is nothing to prevent the black nations of the north from developing, with Communist military aid, a force capable of challenging South Africa. North Vietnam, for example, although a relatively underdeveloped country, was able to challenge the might of the United States with the help of Russia and China. Something similar could develop in southern Africa. It is more than likely that the Communist powers are pushing for just such a result. A strong American presence in the area at this time could do a lot to block such a development.

Defusing the conflict

Last week's coup in Portugal, led by General Spínola, the war hero who had advocated a political solution to the colonial wars, may unravel the whole fabric of white dominance in southern Africa. It is still too early to tell exactly what may come of the coup, but it faces Rhodesia and South Africa with some hard decisions.

If the Spínola government brings about prompt independence of the Portuguese colonies and the new governments are hostile to apartheid and white minority rule, then Rhodesia and South Africa will either have to come to some sort of accommodation with the black nationalists, or band together to try to defend a vastly expanded border against the guerrillas.

There is also the possibility that conservative Portuguese settlers in the colonies who are still loyal to the old regime may try to pull a Rhodesian-style independence movement under white auspices, in which case the former Portuguese colonies would come completely under the sway of South Africa. South Africa would not doubt welcome such a development, but it would greatly intensify the polarization process leading to a general war.

America should...

To break up this polarization, American policy should be directed toward loosening South Africa's hegemony over the nations of southern Africa, while at the same time defusing the guerrilla movements by taking away the political and social grievances which motivate them.

To carry out this goal, "communication and involvement" is a good tactic in both white and black African regimes. An example of this is the Polaroid Corporation's use of its investments in South Africa to upgrade wages, education, and benefits for its black workers with the hope of encouraging some liberalization of the apartheid system. The actual results have been negligible, but the tactic really hasn't been applied on as large

a scale as it could be. For example, such a tactic would be likely to be even more successful in Rhodesia, since apartheid is not so rigid there. There are already blacks sitting, however disproportionately, in the Rhodesian parliament, and the moderate Rhodesian black nationalist movements provide a peaceful alternative to the terrorist ZAPU and ZANU groups.

Also Rhodesia, having vast natural resources and tremendous economic potential, could become a major economic competitor to South Africa if the U.N. economic sanctions were lifted. This would further break up polarization, and have the added effect of increasing economic activity with greater prosperity for the blacks. America could also help along those lines by giving economic aid and investment to countries like Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, who depend almost totally on South Africa for the stability of their economies.

Ideological issue

Ultimately, however, America will have to face up to the ideological issue of apartheid. In many ways, getting white Africans to abandon apartheid is like getting the Russians to abandon Marxism. The stability and privileges of the regime are based on its ideology, but it is that ideology which is leading the country down a blind alley. An article by Carl T. Rowan in *The Reader's Digest*, called "South Africa: a Nation at War With Its Conscience," mentions, "the anguish of South African whites, most of whom wish to retain the wealth and special privileges they now enjoy, but who have begun to see

the terrible cost of doing so, even in terms of their own liberties." There are no doubt many conscientious white South Africans who are desperately seeking a way out of their dilemma. However, it is human nature to cling to the old patterns, out of fear of losing one's security, fear of the unknown, and fear of accepting the consequences of one's misdeeds. The only thing that can get a person to overcome these fears is to accept a broader, more inspiring, and more certain faith, which can motivate him to sacrifice the old ways for the promise of greater freedom and happiness in the long run.

Such a faith must ultimately come from within southern Africa—it can never be imposed from without. However, America can do much to present alternatives which will at least get people thinking in new ways. Although a long way from solving her own racial problem, the United States, more than any other country in the world, is a model of a successful multi-racial and multi-cultural nation, giving the lie to the apartheid argument that "points of contact are points of friction." The American experience proves that difference can be creative rather than destructive, but only through free cooperation on the basis of equality. This is the great idea of the American Revolution; and, as Jean-François Revel wrote in *Neither Marx nor Jesus*, "The revolution of the 20th century will take place in the U.S.A. It can only take place there." American diplomacy and material aid can do much to help the nations of southern Africa—but it is even more important for America to give of its ideals.



Threats

Economic underdevelopment is a threat, apart from humanitarian grounds, because it generates a sense of resentment toward the western nations. Black miners in South Africa toil for very low wages to produce most of the gold supporting the stability of Western Europe's currencies. In the past, blacks have grown and picked much of the cotton, grown much of the food, mined much of the ore that made Europe rich. However, even now, after colonialism has largely passed away, blacks feel resentful about this, demanding in the United Nations and other world forums a larger share of the world's wealth because they feel that they are historically entitled to it.

One indication of African resentment is that African nations are talking about cooperating among themselves to deny strategic natural resources to the West in the same way that the Arab countries embargoed their oil, with very severe consequences. This is no idle threat, considering that Zambia is a principal supplier of the world's copper, Zaire supplies both copper and zinc, and Liberia, Mauritania, and Sierra Leone are important exporters of iron ore.

This rise of anti-Western nationalism is very much tied to the problem of economic development and the history of colonialism. The record of European colonialism is mixed. On the plus side, Europeans largely stopped the bloody feuding that had gone on between African tribes for centuries, and set up some patterns of responsible government administration. Also modern health care, education, Western technology, and greater economic productivity benefited Africans in many ways.

Bad effects of Colonialism

On the minus side, the Europeans often shamelessly exploited the black Africans for economic gain. For example, Europeans forced Africans to plant cotton, tobacco, peanuts and other cash crops on large plantations which ruined the soil, and could not be used by the Africans for food. The profits went mainly to the Europeans, with very little in the way of cash or

Anthropologist Colin Turnbull deals with this problem in his book, *The Lonely African*. He writes: "The last strongholds of self-respect, of morality, of belief and faith, are threatened by the cheapest and most tawdry offerings that Western technology can devise; a soul can be bought for a piece of printed cloth or a pack of cigarettes." This kind of moral breakdown, as we can see in our own society, creates despair and hostility which finds its outlet either in random crime or political violence.

Values

Turnbull talked about the need for a true "marriage" between African and Western values, such that the good aspects of both can be brought out. For example, in some cases where blacks adopted some of the tenets of Christianity, or where Christian missionaries learned to truly appreciate African culture, a synthesis came about which was even broader and deeper than the narrow faith which the Western missionaries originally brought. Some sort of synthesis of African and Western values is essential to the well-being and social progress of African nations, not a restoration of old superstitions and tribal enmities, but the application and expansion of the "extended family" system to the urban environment and the concept of nationhood.

In Kenya and the Ivory Coast, especially, blacks have proven to be quite capable as whites in building up a modern nation. Furthermore, contrary to the widespread fears of the white settlers, black majority rule, with few exceptions, did not bring about large-scale slaughter and persecution of whites. On the contrary, black-white relationships are remarkably harmonious today in the independent African states.

Building on such experiences, if America supports positive nationalism and economic and cultural development of both blacks and whites, particularly in Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese colonies, then the nationalism which inevitably develops in these nations will not be anti-American, anti-white, or anti-black, but based on a broader vision of multi-racial society.

Islam - Another Casualty of Cambodian War

by Gaffar Peang-Meth

During the four years of the war conducted by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong invaders against the Khmer Republic, the Vietnamese Communists have created extraordinary ruin and suffering for the Khmer people of all religious beliefs, to the point that we can speak of this war as one of genocide. The suppression of one race by another; the imposition of Communist ideology replacing Buddhism, the religion practiced by the Khmer people for many centuries. Motions, protests, appeals have been issued by Khmer Buddhists and, in particular, by the Supreme Chiefs of the two Religious Orders (Thammayuth and Mohanikay), condemning the destruction of the sacred pagodas; the sacred books containing the teachings of the Great Master, Lord Buddha; the summary execution of Khmer Buddhist monks by the NVN/VC.

Why do the NVN/VC force Buddhist monks to take part in their war of aggression by giving them arms and, under their surveillance, sending them to the front? Why do the NVN/VC bind Buddhist monks manifesting the least discontent to tree trunks, piercing their eyes, cutting their necks and ears, hitting them with pick-axes and executing them in front of their compatriots? Why do they burn sacred places down to the ground, destroying sacred books?

Islam: The Other Target

We have heard and read much about the Communist persecution of the Buddhist clergy and the Buddhist faithful. In this article, we wish to expose to the world the persecution endured by Khmer Moslems, the largest minority group in the Khmer Republic, who have not been spared by the NVN/VC.

Perhaps what has happened to the Khmer Moslems has escaped the attention of the more than 800 million Moslems around the world. As the London *Economist* of April 13, 1974 put it: "The Arab delegations that support the claims of Prince Sihanouk's government to representation in the United Nations seem unaware that as a result of such treatment, their (Khmer Moslem) co-religionists are in rebellion against the Communists in parts of Cambodia."

Repression

The Khmer Moslems have become very dissatisfied with the Communist economic policies which require collectivization of land and labor and with the Communist system which regulates most aspects of their lives. In fact, the Khmer Moslems are being forced to give up their private land to work in the commune where the products of their hard toil are taken away from them. The strict Communist travel restrictions which prevent Khmer Moslem villagers from free movement, from trading and selling goods in government controlled areas have added to the Moslems' great disenchantment.

The Communists have maintained strict account of the quantity of food consumed by the people on a meal by meal basis. They force the Khmer Moslems to mix potatoes and edible roots with rice grains so as to keep sufficient quantities of pure rice for Communist troops, the North Vietnamese, the Vietcong and their Khmer Rouge allies. They keep careful records on the numbers of domestic livestock and poultry raised by individual families. The slaughter of these animals must be registered by the Communist authorities. Failure to follow the regulations means severe penalties—including death.

In one specific case, the Khmer Moslem fishermen were forced to register their catch with the Communist local cooperative and sell their catch to the cooperative at a low price. Later, the fishermen were required to buy back

their fish from the cooperative at a much higher price. When on February 23, 1974, the fishermen expressed their resentment in a demonstration, the Communists tried to disperse them through talking. When this failed, the Communists began shooting into the demonstrators, killing and wounding more than 100.

The draconian recruitment conducted by the Communist NVN/VC and Khmer Rouge authorities has led to further resentment of the Communists by the Khmer Moslems. In fact, prior to the attack on Kompong Cham in late 1973, the Communists rounded up many 15- and 16-year-old Khmer Moslems, who were given 3 days of training and then sent to the front lines. Many of them have not returned to their villages and are thought to be dead by their heart-broken parents. To make up heavy combat losses in Kompong Cham, the Communists have resorted to the abduction of Khmer Moslem youth into the military in the Chhlong district.



practice his Moslem faith. During 1971 and 1972 he never mentioned Communism, speaking to his religious brethren only of the necessity of carrying out the revolution.

By 1973, however, Sos Man and his Communist colleagues began to preach openly about Communism, and to open political training schools and organize cooperatives. Most significantly, they began to tell the people that the Moslems devoted too much time to religious matters and not enough time to revolution. Until the revolution was successfully completed, they said, the Khmer Moslems must devote more time to it and less time to religion.

Friction between the Khmer Moslems and the Communists is complete. As the London *Economist* put it: "Moslems of the Cham minority who had joined the insurgency found themselves being trained by the pork-eating Vietnamese and being told to drop Islam."

Unable to accept the Communist system, the Khmer Moslems began to

organize a rebellion against the Communists. Small scale revolts and uprisings occurred. A resistance movement was born: Resistance leaders were chosen and some Khmer Moslem commanders on the side of the Communists now offered their troops to the resistance movement.

From October 1973, the Khmer Moslems carried out demonstrations against the Communist suppression of their religious belief through the beating of ceremonial drums in their village mosques as a sign of protest. When the Communists stressed that they would not allow prayers five times a day as the Khmer Moslems requested, the invaders who had abducted only selected villagers, began to arrest the Khmer Moslems in earnest beginning November 1973. To date, at least 300 Khmer Moslems have been arrested, a large majority of whom are from Kroh Chhim district, Kompong Cham province. Most of the arrested persons were prominent Moslem villagers and religious leaders, especially Koranic teachers.

Time to React

While the Khmer Moslems are being persecuted, their liberty and religion being threatened, many Moslem leaders around the world who defend Islam are unaware of the true situation confronting their Khmer Moslem co-religionists. Too little has been written on the misery of the Khmer Moslems at the hands of the Communists. Too little is known.

Those who know the fate of the Khmer Moslems cannot but wonder what certain Arab delegations were doing at the United Nations last year when they voted in support of the seating of the so-called Sihanouk Government controlled by the Communists.

The London *Times* of April 5, 1974 wrote that Sihanouk expressed "hope" that "he and his family could avoid execution by the 'Khmer Rouges,' nucleus of the present insurgent movement." Enough has been written on Sihanouk. Countless statements have been made by Sihanouk himself that it is the Communists who are fighting for power in the Khmer Republic, and that Sihanouk is a man of the past, a man whose future is very dim.

Do certain Arab delegations know that by voting against the Khmer Republic at the United Nations they are not helping Sihanouk but the Communists? Do they also know that by helping the Communists, they are in fact persecuting their own co-religionists in Cambodia and threatening their own Islamic faith?

It is high time that the Moslem world react in support of its Moslem brothers in the Khmer Republic. As the Khmer Moslems have learned, their freedom of worship is seriously menaced. Communism is the cause.

Moslems' Rebellion

Spring Brings Festivities a la Eastern Europe



Selection from Smetana's "The Bartered Bride"



Hungarian "Csardas" dance



Traditional Moravian (Czech) costume

On April 20th over 500 people attended the 11th Hungarian Ball in Washington, D.C. Under the honorary patronage of Mrs. Gerald Ford, the ball honored the 250th Anniversary of the birth of Colonel Commandant Michael Kovats de Fabricy, Hungarian-born cavalry leader for George Washington who died while defending Charleston, South Carolina in 1779. Dancing at the ball was the Hungarian Dance Group of Cleveland, opening the ball and also performing the traditional Hungarian dance "Csardas."

The Hungarian Ball was presented by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation. Attending were leaders of many Hungarian organizations and several Congressmen.

The Majales spring ball of the Czechoslovak National Council was held the following week, April 27. The ball was for the benefit of the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, the American University, and the Czechoslovak American Educational Council. The American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees was organized in 1948 by friends of Ambassador Jan Papanek, Permanent Delegate of Czechoslovakia to the United States.

The ball was held under the Honorary patronage of Helen Delich Bentley, Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission. She was the first woman to be appointed to so high a governmental position. In opening the ball, Ms. Bentley, who is half Yugoslavian, urged guests to thank God that we live in a free country and to work for freedom around the world.

Majales is the Czech name for the traditional maypole dance. Carrying out the spring motif were the traditional costumes worn by some guests and the ballet in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Czech composer Bedrich Smetana. Performed were selections from "The Dance of the Comedians" and "The Bartered Bride."



Holiday costume from Ratiskovce, southern Moravia

Party Changes Tighten Hungary

by Istvan Gereben
Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party held an enlarged session on 19-20 March of this year.

The Communique of this meeting contains many statements and announcements which aroused the interest and concern of the free world, especially of Hungarians living in the West. The Executive Committee of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation U.S.A. devoted the overwhelming portion of its meeting in Washington on April 20 to the discussion and evaluation of the significance of the changes in the Party hierarchy.

Modifications

These changes indicate the modification of party policy in economic and cultural matters. The extent of these modifications cannot be clearly defined as of yet. The removal of Rezső Nyers—the architect of the "new economic policy" established in 1968—from his position as secretary of the Central Committee and his consequent appointment to the relatively obscure directorship of the Institute of Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences shows that ideology reasserts itself in Hungarian economics.

This assumption seems to be justified by the reference in the communique to the particular importance of the "unity of the socialist forces, multilateral cooperation of Communist and workers' parties, and exchange of experience by them." The communique further says: "In this category we attach great significance to the ideological conference of the socialist countries' Communist parties held in Moscow in December 1973."

This conference was attended by leaders of socialist countries who watched the Hungarian economic experiment with envy and distrust. Some labeled this experiment—which applies selected methods of the free economic systems—as heresy, the prostitution of the traditional Marxist dogmatic way of doing business.

Nyers' dismissal can be a token gesture to placate these "brotherly comrades," but it also can signal the shifting of the development of the new Hungarian economic way in reverse—the readjustment of bold initiatives to more rigid, regimented economic procedures followed by the other socialist countries led by the Soviet Union.

Gyorgy Aczel's removal as secretary of the Central Committee ends the reign of the most influential cultural commissar in party history. Some western experts attributed the relative "liberalization" of Hungarian cultural life to him. His failure to keep his posi-

tion is probably explained by the Communist Party itself referring to cultural and educational matters for which Aczel was responsible. "... public education is lagging behind the contemporary requirements and possibilities of socialist

construction.... The Central Committee considers it necessary that the party's guidance on principle, ideology and policy should be asserted with greater consistency in public educational activities at all levels. Party organizations should regard cultural education as an organic

part of party work and establish closer links between public education and political work among the masses."

This statement—in addition to supplying one of the possible courses of Aczel's dismissal—provides an authen-

tic interpretation of the purpose of cultural activities in Communist ruled societies.

The changes in the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party are only partially motivated by ideological considerations. Circumstances, timing, and the general atmosphere in Hungarian party circles give way to the speculation that the Central Committee, following instructions of the Kremlin, embarked on the long-delayed task of elimination of those who are considered "Zionist" or at least sympathetic to Zionist causes in the Hungarian Communist Party's hierarchy. Similar purges were carried out in all other socialist countries of East-Central Europe in the late 60's. In Hungary, for some mysterious reason, this purge did not take place.

Now political analysts in the West and Hungarians everywhere are eagerly waiting for the results of the practical implementation of the changes outlined in the Central Committee's Communique.

Nyers' dismissal can signal the shifting of the development of the new Hungarian economic way in reverse — the readjustment of bold initiatives to more rigid, regimented economic procedures.

Czech Journalist in Danger

Submitted and translated by
Mrs. Anna Faltus, Czechoslovak
National Council, Washington,
D.C. Chapter

The state of health of Vladimir Skutina, the Czech journalist imprisoned since June 1971, is causing great concern. He has cancer, suffers from chronic disorders of the pancreas and deep depression. His vision is impaired and his weight has dropped from 85 to 50 kg. (from 180 to 115 pounds). Isolated and deprived of visits from his family and correspondence, he receives in the prison infirmary only basic medical care without a proper diet which he needs in order to survive.

Vladimir Skutina, whom I knew personally, did not belong

to any political party. But this celebrated television commentator, who received wide international recognition—including one in Montreux—has supported Dubcek and is the author of the famous slogan: "We are with you—be with us," which became the slogan of the "Prague Spring."

During the Novotny era he was sentenced to two years in prison for "offending" the Dictator; he is the author of the book entitled *The President's Prisoner*. On the eve of the occupation he escaped to Yugoslavia but later decided to return to his own country and suffer the lot of the Czech people.

Following two mock trials in February and July of 1971, he was sentenced to four years and two months in prison for writing two scenarios which have never been published but which are

said to have a tendency to be disrespectful to Mr. Husak. One month later 24 eminent Czech intellectuals tried in vain to obtain a revision of his trial. In their petition they compared the cruelty of Communist repression with the law of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy under which an insult to the Majesty was punished by 48 hours of imprisonment.

Skutina is risking his life in prison for a crime judged unpardonable: for expressing openly his views and for refusing to renounce his ideals.

Solzenitsyn is the proof that public opinion can force the retreat of brute force. We have to save Vladimir Skutina before it is too late.

Jaime Pinto

From "Feuille d'avis L'Express" de Neuchatel, February 21, 1974.



Do We Have Detente? Should We? What Kind?

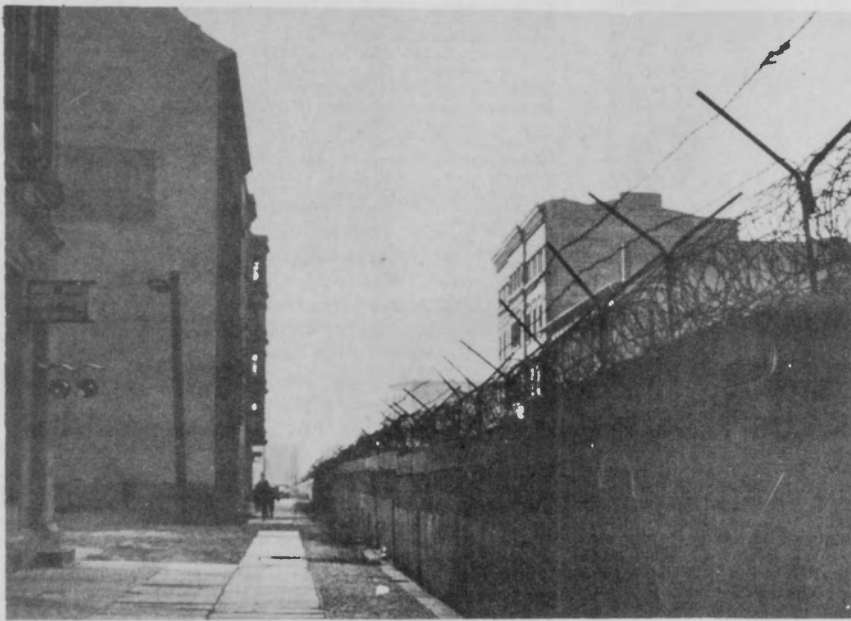
The following is from a recent symposium on "The Future of Detente" sponsored by the Coalition for a Democratic Majority. Included here are an introduction by Norman Podhoretz, editor of Commentary magazine and concluding statements by Eugene Rostow and Dimitri Simes. Mr. Rostow, formerly Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, is a professor of Law at Yale University. Dr. Simes, a recent Soviet emigre, is Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University.

We are here to talk about the future of detente. If we are to discuss this subject intelligently and coherently, there are two questions that probably should be examined in some detail. One is a moral question—whether detente should be pursued at any price, or what price the United States ought to be willing to pay for detente. The other question might be called an analytic one. Is there in fact a detente between the United States and the Soviet Union?

Normally, the logical order for two such questions would be to begin with the analytic rather than the moral one—to ask whether there is a detente before asking how far it can or should go. But I am reversing the logical order here because I think it was reversed in actual experience. Until the outbreak of the fourth Middle Eastern War very few people doubted that the phenomenon suggested by the word "detente" was indeed a reality of interna-

tional politics. A mood was created through the exchange of visits between Nixon and Kissinger and Brezhnev, the SALT agreements, the grain deal, the Pepsi Cola-vodka trade—which some of us think is an even worse swap than the grain deal—and the evident willingness of the Russians to let the President mine Haiphong and bomb Hanoi. Some of us even thought the expulsion of Russian troops from Cairo might be connected in some secret way with the detente. We were obviously wrong. But in any case, until the outbreak of the Yom Kippur war, the only analytic question that was raised about detente was whether these developments bespoke a fundamental long-range change in the structure of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, and in the character of international relations generally, or whether they merely signified a short-range trend in which the Russians were taking advantage of a weakened United States.

The moral question, on the other hand, was kept burning all along by the debate over the Jackson Amendment, which tied most favored nation treatment to the freedom of Jews, and anyone else who wished to do so, to emigrate from the Soviet Union. The issue of the treatment of the Soviet dissidents deepened the moral question surrounding detente even further. And of course the moral critics of detente were given a great life by the statements of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, who warned against assisting the Soviet regime without demanding that it make



certain concessions in the field of human rights.

Mideast war raises questions
It was only after the outbreak of the

damental matter that we haven't begun to absorb

SALT "ominous."

As for the question of nuclear agreements, this is a very complicated matter. I tend to agree with the general thrust of our policy, which has sought to maintain second strike capability against constantly changing technology. When the president came back to explain his agreement he said, "Think how much worse it would be if we didn't have any." That must be one of the most bleak defenses of diplomatic negotiations I've ever heard. Nevertheless, we may be able to repair the balance somewhat in the second round of SALT talks. All that is necessary, I think, is to maintain the kind of deterrence which can minimize the risk of nuclear weapons being used to influence world politics. But as Mr. Simes tells us in a very convincing way, there are those in the Soviet Union who by the early 1980's hope to have effective first strike capabilities. That is a very ominous thought.

Dr. Simes: On SALT, I completely agree with Mr. Warnke that the United States has second strike capabilities, but the United States had such capability before the SALT agreements. From a strategic point of view, the SALT agreement was a confused agreement and as a defense agreement, it was meaningless. I meant something only from a political point of view.

Tensions in Russia

Let me make a final point on the matter of civil rights in the Soviet Union. Today, there are political tensions in the Soviet Union. Everyone knows about these; they were not created by the United States. Is not the U.S. supporting the Soviet regime in the attitude Nixon takes toward these problems? Why support Brezhnev? Is this itself not a kind of intervention in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union?

Five years ago when one opened a Soviet newspaper he read in every issue that the United States was the major enemy of the Soviet Union. Today, it is always the Chinese who are the major enemy. The United States now appears to be a much more sensible force. There are exceptions, of course, such as the representatives of Zionism and Senator Jackson. But the United States is not attacked so often, and the Chinese are attacked everywhere. Now what kind of a guarantee is there that overnight the Soviet Union will not declare the United States its major enemy again? Given the complete lack of public opinion inside the Soviet Union most people there would not be even surprised.

Now is it not in the strategic interest in the United States to encourage some kind of public opinion in the Soviet Union which can restrain Soviet leaders? We are faced not merely by a problem for the Soviet Union or a problem for Soviet dissidents—it is a basic foreign policy problem.

I very carefully read the last speech of General Secretary Brezhnev at the Congress of Peaceful Forces in Moscow. Many times he said that agreements must be reached on every point. He said that the Soviet Union is ready to begin to reduce their forces—as early as 1975—but that agreements had to be reached today. The U.S. must sign some agreement now, despite the fact that a Soviet delegate only yesterday said the problems which divide the Soviets and Americans are so serious that it is impossible to predict the success of negotiations in the near future.

Why is Mr. Brezhnev so interested in this agreement? Because in making Soviet foreign policy they distinguish real success in detente, a real relaxation of international intentions, from the success of the Soviet peaceful offensive in which everything looks like detente but is not. The diplomacy of smiles, the kind of agreements which are just pieces of paper but which mean nothing, provide important advantages for the Soviet Union. The country doesn't have public opinion. Today nobody can ask the Soviet leaders why they must have great military expenditures if there is detente. This is why the demand for human rights for Soviet dissidents is consistent with our desire for detente.

Mr. Podhoretz: Thank you very much, gentlemen, for a very interesting, informative discussion.

Share the Wealth! Adventures in Profit Sharing

by Joy Schmidt
in Way of the World

"Wouldn't it be better for a business to earn 100 francs and give 50 to the workmen, than to earn only 25 francs and retain them all?" These thoughts came to M. Edme Jean LeClaire again and again. He was a house painter in Paris. One day he overheard one of his friends, M. Fregier, say that there was no way to get rid of the antagonism which existed between workman and master except in the participation of the workman in the profits of the master.

The prevailing economic theories said that the owner of a business should get everything he could out of his workers, paying them the least possible wages, and gaining all the profit he could.

But LeClaire could not forget his friend's idea. No one had ever tried it before. Perhaps there was some workable system for sharing his profits with his workmen. The main objection was that a profit sharing program would not increase the output enough to justify the extra payments made to the employees. But what if that supposition was without foundation?

From 1835 to 1842 LeClaire mulled over the thought. On February 15, 1842, LeClaire announced that he would share among his employees a part of the profit achieved by the work of all. At first, his plan was looked at with suspicion and incredulity on the part of some workers. The police thought it was "unfair competitive practice." But LeClaire moved ahead with it.

On February 12, 1843, LeClaire assembled his 48 eligible participants and overcame their suspicions with a showman's masterstroke. He threw down on the table before them a bag containing 12,266 francs in gold. He opened it and distributed to each worker his share, based on his annual earnings.

Their suspicions disappeared. The men returned to their paintbrushes with a new confidence and understanding that if they did their jobs well the company would grow, and they would get direct benefits in more profits. In 1844 Sedley Taylor observed Maison LeClaire and wrote of the workers:

"They know that if the work executed is always of the best kind, the reputation of the house and their earnings will remain at the highest point, but that every piece of work badly done tends to drive away its customers and prejudice their own interests. Accordingly the scamping of work and the introduction of inferior or defective materials, in fact every form of trade dishon-

esty, is sternly discountenanced by the men themselves."

Over the years, part of the profits were distributed to the employees in cash and part to Maison LeClaire's Mutual Aid Society, for employee benefits in cases of sickness, accident, death, and retirement. In 1926, the firm employed 1,141 persons and enjoyed a reputation for high-grade work on its jobs in Paris and throughout France.

According to the 1959 revision of its by-laws, after deductions for losses and special reserve funds, the profits are divided up as follows: 6 percent to the "partner managers"; 44 percent to the Provident Society (Mutual Aid Society); 50 percent to the work force, as a supplement to their salaries.

The example of Maison LeClaire has not passed unnoticed. Profit-sharing plans of various forms have been adopted in England, Germany, and the United States.

It is valuable to compare LeClaire with his contemporary, Karl Marx. Marx observed the evils of the newly-emerging industrial society and saw the only hope in violent revolution of the workers against the capitalists. LeClaire, on the other hand, recognized that only through cooperation between owner and worker could society

thrive. He demonstrated that by sharing the profit with the workers, and in effect making every one part owner of the business, the general spirit, efficiency, and prosperity of the business increased. While LeClaire put his ideas into reality in 1843 in France, Karl Marx published his *Communist Manifesto* in England in 1848 and (perhaps fortunately) never lived to see the fruits.

What is profit sharing?

The Profit Sharing Research Foundation defined profit sharing as "A plan in which the company contribution to employees is based upon business profits, regardless of whether the benefit payments are made in cash, or deferred, or are a combination of the two." The description of Maison LeClaire above showed 20th century refinements of LeClaire's profit sharing program to be a combination of these two types.

Mr. Crawford H. Greenwalt, chairman of the board of E.I. duPont, once said:

"The difference between the notably successful institution and one whose record is simply run-of-the-mill is seldom very great. It does not consist of brilliant and inspired flashes of genius—certainly not over a considerable period of time. The difference rather is in the small increment of extra perfor-

mance diffused over a very large number of individuals at all levels of the organization... Give them the maximum of freedom, the maximum of incentive, and the achievements of the individual will be fused into the accomplishments of the institution."

The greatest challenge of managers today, according to Bert L. Metzger, director of the Profit Sharing Research Foundation, is to achieve that fusion, to create that "unity of purpose" between stockholders, management, and employees. "We must learn to make technology serve man," he said, "not only in the end product, but in the doing."

This type of goal requires, however, considerable rethinking and reshaping many principles of organization and motivation. Mr. Metzger comments that modern corporate structure has carefully stratified management, workers, and stockholders and has pretty effectively hindered this "unity of purpose." Different means of motivation are used for each level. Not only has this stratification divided people, but increasing technology links each individual to his ever-narrowing tasks and gives no incentive to think beyond his immediate work environment.

Modern business needs incentives that strengthen organization vertically, focus on quality work and teamwork, appeal to social fulfillment of the employee, facilitate change and progress, and relate people to the common goal of all.

Profit sharing is one of a new breed of incentives called "total systems incentives," which link all individuals together in pursuit of common goals. Common reasons why companies start profit sharing include:

- to achieve a labor-management partnership
- to offer employees an incentive to superior work
- to create added security for employees
- to attract and retain capable people
- to reward employees in relation to the growth and profitability of the company
- to teach employees that profit making must precede profit sharing, and
- to build flexibility into the compensation structure.

Current plans.

In 1963 there were 33,522 qualified profit sharing plans in existence. It is hard to determine an absolutely objective standard of what plans are successful.

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Changes in Colombia

by Lorenzo Gastanaga

The Colombian presidential elections this year have been unusual even by Colombian standards.

A left-center liberal ran against a conservative and won. Also, a female candidate showed up third place.

Alfonso Lopez Michelsen became president of Colombia on April 22. Lopez, a member of the Liberal Party, won with 2 million votes or 52%. He defeated Alvaro Gomez Hurtado, a conservative, who received 750,000 votes.

The running of candidates by the liberal and conservative parties marks the end of a 16-year-old agreement, which pledged both parties to alternate candidates every four years. This tactic had helped reduce tension between them.

Mr. Lopez ran on a platform of moderate social, economic and political reform. Lopez is also known as a critic of U.S. policy towards Latin America which he labels "three faced" because of the different policies coming from the Congress, the State Department, and the Department of Commerce.

He seems to encourage trade relations with Communist China and the readmission of Communist Cuba to the O.A.S.

Mr. Gomez ran his campaign on a combined platform of law and order with economic development. Gomez is a member of outgoing President Misael

Pastrana Borrero's Conservative Party.

The Liberal and Conservative parties, the most powerful in Colombia, took 80% of all votes. This means that a coalition will govern Colombia for the next four years.

While the Liberal party now controls the Executive and both Houses, parity in ministerial appointments, mayoralities, and governorships will slow down any radical Lopez move.

There were three other candidates in the election: Mrs. Eugenia Rojas de Moreno Diaz, Hernando Echeverri Mejias and Hermes Duarte.

Mrs. Rojas de Moreno was a candidate for the National Popular Alliance advocating "Colombian-style socialism." She took 400,000 or 10% of the vote.

Echeverri took 100,000 votes. He ran with the Maoist "National Opposition Union." Duarte, a Christian democrat, got only 4,000 votes.

All three major candidates were the children of previous Colombian presidents. Lopez's father was president twice, in 1934-1938 and 1942-1945. Mrs. Rojas's father was the Populist dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla.

At this time 22 provincial legislatures and 1,000 municipal councils were up for election. It is estimated that only half of the nine million registered voters went to the polls. While generally quiet the elections were marred by student protests and leftist guerrilla terrorism. Five Colombians were killed.

Background

Colombia was explored and colonized in the 16th century by Spain. In 1538 it received the official name of New Granada. In 1824 it became independent along with Venezuela under the leadership of Simon Bolivar. During the wars of independence Colombia served as a refuge for Bolivar and his troops from the Spanish. In time Colombia separated from Venezuela, becoming a Republic in 1886. Long internal fights and civil wars occurred between Centralists and Federalists (i.e. Liberals and Conservatives) resulting in much political instability.

In 1903 Colombia became a truly South American Republic when Panama seceded for the second and last time.

In 1958 an agreement was made between the Conservative and Liberal parties to alternate presidential candidates every four years. Being the two most powerful political parties, they could unite to insure the victory of any candidate. This agreement ended with this year's election in which each major party ran a candidate. The significance of the agreement was that it had brought relative peace after more than a century of bloody strife. Though accused at times of being undemocratic, it may have been a wise move.

The economy of Colombia remains agricultural with coffee occupying first place among exports. Maize, potatoes,

rice, and sugar cane are also big crops. On a smaller scale, minerals like gold, silver, copper, lead, mercury, manganese, emeralds, and platinum play a role in Colombia's economy. Industry accounts for about 1/5 of the G.N.P. during the 1970's. The deposits of those rich minerals plus a suspected abundance of untapped oil make Colombia an excellent raw material source.

Colombia's 23 million people inhabit a mountainous land. Most of the population lives in the western part where three Andean ranges run north and south. This leads to a large urban concentration and vast expanse of virgin land, a common situation in many underdeveloped countries. Colombia's population breaks down at about 70% mixed white and Indian, 20% white, 7% black and 3% Indians from nearly 400 tribes. Such diversity makes Colombia akin to Venezuela, Brazil and Ecuador, but different from Bolivia where Indians outnumber other races, and Chile and Argentina where whites are predominant.

Colombia is the only South American Republic surrounded by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. However, Colombia economically is barely ahead of Bolivia, a landlocked mountain and jungle bound country. Colombia is more than 10 times the size of New York State, about 430,000 square miles, which should deflate the myth of its being a small-sized "Banana Republic."

Profit-Sharing

Continued from page 6

ful. Managements have rated their plans in terms of their own objectives as follows: "successful" or "very successful": 80-85 percent; "mediocre": 15 percent; and "disappointing": 1-3 percent. The greatest factor which determines the success of profit sharing experiments is communication on all levels.

Deferred-payment plans have increased the fastest, with larger companies generally preferring deferred-payment and smaller companies cash payments. Overall, about seven out of ten plans cover the majority of regular employees, and approximately 30 percent are restricted to salaried employees only.

In 1960, the Profit Sharing Research Foundation conducted studies of 14 top department store chains, seven of which had employee profit sharing programs, while seven did not; and 16 top food store chains, 11 of which had profit sharing plans, while five did not. Both of these studies revealed that the group of companies with employee profit sharing programs performed in a superior fashion on all measures between 1952 and 1958. As a group, the shareholders in large profit sharing chain stores also fared better than shareholders in large chains without profit sharing.

A follow-up study in 1969 of large department store chains produced this conclusion:

"On all measures of significance to stockholders, the profit sharing group of companies outperformed the non-profit sharing group by substantial and widening percentages."

Also, a study by the Profit Sharing Council of America of nine industry groups (A Study of the Financial Significance of Profit Sharing, by Bion B. Howard and Peter O. Dietz) came to this conclusion:

"The results of this study show that the financial performance of the profit sharing companies was clearly superior to non-profit sharers for the nine industries as a group."

"The profit sharing companies were superior to the non-profit sharers in seven of the nine industries on an overall basis, and equal in one industry. In only the drug industry did the non-profit sharers surpass the profit sharers."

"There are innumerable factors that bear on the operations of a particular business. They all, to a greater or lesser extent, affect its revenues, expenses or asset investment and hence its financial performance. Obviously, it would be improper to conclude that the adoption of a profit sharing plan leads directly to

superior financial results. Nevertheless, the strong showing made by profit sharing companies in this study would indicate that it is an important factor in the final result."

Objections to profit sharing, beginning as early as LeClaire's time, have been frequent and numerous. The early history of profit sharing ventures (19th and early 20th century) is spotted with many failures as well as successes, in the United States and in Europe. In 1939, the Vandenberg-Herring Subcommittee of the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, gave new impetus to profit sharing. The committee concluded on the basis of their studies that profit sharing can be "eminently successful, when properly established, in creating employer-employee relations that make for peace, equity, efficiency and contentment. We believe it to be the ultimate maintenance of the capitalistic system."

Social synergy.

Profit sharing companies view their activity as a three-sided partnership between shareholders, management, and

employees. Each partner in this three-sided triangle has his own special contribution to make, and all are interdependent.

This type of organization has been called a high "synergy" system. Social synergy was a term first used by Ruth Benedict to apply to an institution that arranged it so that a person pursuing his own selfish ends was automatically helping other people thereby, and a person trying to be altruistic and help other people was also automatically furthering his own selfish ends. An institution so structured brings about a dissolution of the polarity between selfishness and unselfishness. Abraham H. Maslow of Brandeis University, in his book *Eupsychian Management*, discusses this concept of synergy with penetrating insight, particularly as it applies to the business organization. The result of synergic action is that the total effect is greater than the sum of the individual effects taken independently.

Under a profit sharing system of organization, the more an individual employee tries to make for himself, the more he makes for the rest of the group as well; the more he strives to contribute

to the "common good" or the purpose of the whole, the more he automatically feathers his own nest. So this is a high level of synergy. In this sense, profit sharing appeals both to man's selfish and selfless interests. This is so because profit sharing utilizes a measure of total group performance (profits) but allocates

benefits back to the individual employee in relation to his specific contribution to the business (based on his salary).

This is a fine example of the operation of a basic principle of creation: There cannot be any purpose of the individual apart from the purpose of the

whole, nor any purpose of the whole that does not include the purpose of the individual. All the creatures in the entire universe form a vast complex, linked together by these dual purposes. If it can work in a business organization, it can be applied to other forms of social organization.

Muggeridge

Continued from page 3

sell the rope on which they were to be hanged. Today it would be truer to say that they will give it away because they have been drugged by the illusions propagated by the most popular writers of our time. While understanding why the author of this important book has turned to God in despair of the power of human reason, even if one does not share his faith, one must recognize the truth of the concluding paragraph of his book:

"Wise old Shaw, high-minded old Barbusse, the venerable Webbs, Gide the pure in heart and Picasso the impure, down to poor little teachers, crazed clergymen and millionaires, drivelling dons and very special correspondents like Duranti, all resolved, come what might, to believe anything, however preposterous, to overlook anything, however villainous, to approve anything, however obscurantist, and brutally authoritarian that one of the most thoroughgoing, ruthless and bloody tyrannies ever to exist on earth could be relied on to champion human freedom, the brotherhood of man, and all the other good liberal causes to which they had dedicated their lives. All resolved, in other words, to abolish themselves and their

world, the rest of us with it. Nor have I from that time ever had the faintest expectation that, in earthly terms, anything could be salvaged; that any earthly battle could be won, or earthly solution found. I have all just been sleep-walking to the end of the night."

Malcolm Muggeridge both benefits and suffers from his well deserved reputation as humorist, witty TV commentator and superb narrative talent.

No doubt the circulation of his book is increased by praise from reviewers as one of the most delightful and entertaining memoirs of our age. But those lavish in such praise are prone to disregard, or happily dismiss as unimportant or tiresome the disturbing import of what the author is pleased to call "Chronicles of Wasted Time." His most profound observations garnered from his own rich experience, are dismissed as a Jeremiah, or as the comments of a "soured Utopian," tolerated only because of his puckish humor. Later day liberals who could learn most from this book are happy to record that his prophetic mission will misfire, accusing him of "attitudinizing," and dismissing him as an Englishman with an un-American kind of passionate reaction to politics.

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they could lose everything in a quick, surgical nuclear blow from Russia. A similar consideration was even made by Malinovsky, who introduced pre-emptively to a Soviet defense debate in 1961, when the Soviet deterrent was vulnerable to a total counterforce blow by the United States.

Changes in Leadership

The radicals have also greatly strengthened their position by changing the commanders of most of China's military regions—a blow to those in opposition to the leftist leadership.

Many military commanders, led by Lin Biao, gained their prominence during the Cultural Revolution by supporting Mao's Red Guards. However, many of them are now suspected of supporting some kind of accommodation with the Soviets. Allegedly Lin Biao favored such a policy. By shifting around these military commanders the radicals have shown that (1) they are not the least interested in any rapprochement with the Soviets and (2) have possibly strengthened their control over the army enough to instigate a war with Russia should they decide to do so.

A major reason why the Soviets have increased their forces along China's border is to pressure Peking's leadership into accepting a more conciliatory posture towards the Soviet Union. Moscow is well aware that within Peking's leadership some elements have favored moderating differences with the Soviet Union and have opposed antagonizing them by making friendly gestures toward the United States.

Izvestiya writes "... dissatisfaction with the Maoist political and ideological regime grips a considerable part of China's active population—evidently the 'upper levels' too and not just the 'lower levels'."

Should another "Cultural Revolution" or major civil war erupt in China resulting from the current power struggle, the Soviets might try to intervene and successfully bring to power a pro-Moscow oriented leadership.

Soviet Intervention

They could invade on the pretext that China, under the direction of "the great helmsman," has strayed so far away from true Marxism-Leninism that it can no longer be considered a "socialist state". Therefore, Russia must liberate it from heretical Maoism as it did Czechoslovakia on the basis of what has become infamously known as the Brezhnev doctrine.

To make the political preconditions more favorable in the event of a pre-emptive strike and/or invasion, Moscow has gone to great lengths to discredit Peking among the world body of Communist nations.

The Soviets have been holding preparation meetings in Moscow, Prague, and Warsaw for a Communist summit meeting at which it is expected they will try to get the official endorsement of other socialist states to excommunicate Peking.

Hermann Axen, one of East Germany's chief ideologists, has helped to fan the flames against Peking by stat-

The Year of the Tiger

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ing the attitudes of its leaders "has proved that the ideology and policy of Maoism represent a clear break with Marxism-Leninism." China is also no longer officially referred to as a "socialist state" in the 1973 Yearbook of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia.

Whether or not the Soviets may attempt military action against China may depend, in part, on how much support for their position against Peking they can engender among their allies. The mere fact that the Soviets are doing so is an indication they may be seriously planning to deal with Peking in some military fashion.

Finally, in terms of the Soviets' relationship with the West, the political situation looks favorable towards neutralizing any reaction to a Soviet attack on China.

Western weakness

NATO has been sufficiently weakened by inter-European disunity and the recent cooling-off in relations between the U.S. and her Atlantic allies. The failure of Western nations to establish any common policies in regard to the Middle-East is further proof of their weakened ability to cooperate militarily and politically.

The Soviets undoubtedly hope to gain further advantages from the upcoming European Security Conference. Allied forces in Europe may be reduced while Moscow may merely shift some of

its forces to the East, thus reinforcing their military posture towards China. Aware of this, the Chinese Communists have been urging a strong NATO to offset the Soviet military threat.

Detente with Russia, the goal of most Western powers, is unfortunately working more to the advantage of the Soviets than for anything else. And should detente, from the Kremlin's view, be threatened by President Nixon's weakness due to Watergate, America would probably be left with a crippled leadership powerless to prevent or influence the outcome of a war between Russia and China.

Whether or not the Soviet and Chinese would risk the tragic consequences of a nuclear war is still very doubtful. Yet, without question, the facts suggest a war between the two is very probable—the two Communist powers appear to be doing very little to prevent it.

Coincidence or not, all major wars during this century have begun in the Year of the Tiger. Not only that, most were touched off by relatively minor incidents when people were hailing "peace in our time" and considered a war as being unthinkable. Today, however, many people are not only thinking about a Sino-Soviet war, some are actually predicting when it will happen. With the prospect of a war between Russia and China becoming an increasing possibility the Year of the Tiger may still live up to its fateful reputation.

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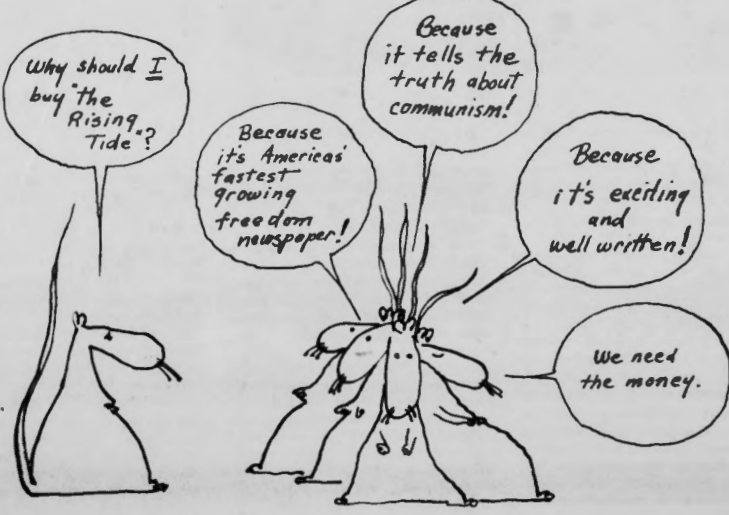
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Emigrating from the USSR—One Family's Story

by Judy Green

Eleonora Polinnikova Yampolsky is a lovely twenty-six-year-old woman who carries with her a cosmopolitan air suggestive of a big-city American childhood and an intellectual present. Her background is very different, however; Elena is a Soviet Jew raised in Novosibirsk, Siberia, emigrated to Israel and has been fighting ever since to get her family out of the USSR. She is presently in the United States with her husband, trying desperately to bring pressure to bear on the Soviet government to release her parents and her sister. She was interviewed on April 14 at the meetings of the World Anti-Communist League by Judy Green. By odd coincidence, her husband, Mark, was interviewed one year ago by Louise Berry during his hunger strike in front of the Soviet Embassy on behalf of his wife's family. Portions of that interview appear below in italics.

Elena, how difficult was it for you to leave the USSR?

I was much luckier than the rest of my family. I got out comparatively fast within half a year after I applied. My family has been fighting for two and a half years. I think I was so lucky because my profession was not so valuable for the Russians. I am an English teacher, and they don't pay so much attention to teachers. Also they don't want to allow such people to work due to their ideology. That's why they let me go.

How did the Soviet government react when your family asked permission to leave?

My parents are physicians, and my father is one of the most renowned eye surgeons in Russia. He's very well known in Siberia. That's why when he applied for a visa to Israel, it was a sensation to all the Jews in the area. So the KGB decided to make an example of my family to show to the others what would happen to them if they apply. Because my parents are so well-known, they are the best family for such a purpose.

What action did the government take to make an example of your family?

My sister, who is older than I am, was the first in our family to apply. Immediately after she applied she was fired from her job. She is also a physician, and she worked in a scientific research institute studying tuberculosis. A month after she applied for a visa to Israel she was fired. She was told that she was not satisfactory for the position she had occupied. She was not given any answer about the visa application for four months, and then she was told that she could not go because her parents were not going with her. Although my parents had given her permission. This to a person of twenty-eight! Then we all applied, and after three months wait, my father was told that he could not go because he is too valuable a specialist. Then they realized that it was stupid of them to give the real reason be-

cause we had contacts in the West and a certain amount of renown. They don't want the people here to understand their real reasons. Then we started getting quite stupid experiences. First, they said that it

was just inexpedient for us to go. But it wasn't just inexpedient; they were nervous about having us go to Israel. Then, my aged grandfather and I got permission to leave, but he didn't want to leave unless my mother was given permission. They told us that she could go, and that the rest of the family would be given permission within 10 days.

A chilly wind settled on 16th St. last Wednesday afternoon. There was no sign of anything out of the ordinary. "Maybe I've come to the wrong place," I thought as I walked to the International Union of Electrical Workers building across the street from the Soviet Embassy. Then I saw him. Wearing an inconspicuous olive-drab jacket, he was seated at the far end of the stairway, reading a paperback book. He could have been anyone—an employee on a lunch break, a student waiting for a bus.

What reason did the government give for detaining your family after such a promise?

Three weeks after we came to Israel, they were given an answer, another refusal, with an explanation that they have no blood relatives in Israel. My mother and sister went to Moscow—they wanted to petition the Supreme Soviet. They were arrested and sentenced to half a year of corrective labor. And only thanks to the fact that I was already out, I arranged to organize a big noise here.

How were your friends in the United States able to help?

My friends here brought the case to the attention of many Senators and Congressmen, and many letters were sent to the Russian officials. Due to this the sentence was changed to fourteen days of prison.

How did the prison experience affect your mother and sister?

My mother suffered two heart attacks before, and she just couldn't stand it—she suffered another heart attack in prison. My sister suffers from tuberculosis; she had a terrible attack which has not stopped.

What action did the Soviet government take against your father?

My father who served for thirty years as an Army physician, retired with the rank of colonel, was receiving a regular pension. He was deprived of his rank and of his pension, not for anything he did, according to the authorities. He remained without any income—a terrible situation—without any help to get out, without any money. By this time they had sold all their belongings, including their apartment, because they wanted to get ready and they didn't want to stay there. They were told that they would never be given permission—never. And this time the explanation was that my father had military secrets because he served in the army. By this time it was already two years since he retired. But they told him that he might know some secrets—a physician!



You said your grandfather had been unwilling to leave Russia without your mother. How did he react to the news that she would not be allowed to leave?

My grandfather was staying with relatives in Switzerland waiting for my parents to come. I was new in Israel, and couldn't give him proper treatment there, so we accepted the invitation of our relatives for him to wait with them in Switzerland. Last March he died. He spent his last three weeks just waiting in his room, and finally lost his mind. He said that he couldn't leave the room because any minute a call might come with the information, and he would not know. So he sat near the phone for three weeks, waiting, and finally he died. All those weeks, my relatives' physicians were sending telegrams to the Russian office asking them to give at least my mother permission to leave, since they had no reason to keep her. There was no answer.

This is not Mark's first confrontation with Soviet authorities. He has twice been imprisoned—once for going to synagogue and again for placing a memorial wreath at Babi Yar, site of a Soviet massacre of Jews. "When they arrested us at Babi

Yar," he said, "they said that they would have liked for us to have been at Munich this summer."



How did your parents react to news of your grandfather's death?

After they learned about his death, they started a hunger strike. They came to the Immigration Office in order to get permission to go to the funeral. They were told that, "Due to the special circumstances, we will reconsider your case." My parents said that they had been cheated for too long, and they declared a hunger strike. My father sent a telegram to Kosygin, sending back all of his military awards (of which he had a lot), saying that he didn't want medals from such a government. Then they started their hunger strike at the Immigration Office.

Wednesday marked the second day of Mark and Eleonora's strike and the sixth for her family. Mark is drinking only water and is staying at his location from six in the morning to twelve midnight. Not many people seemed to notice us as we sat on the steps. Being within the 500-foot territory surrounding the embassy, Mark is not allowed to demonstrate—he can post no signs, distribute no literature, and have no bedding. Without a blanket the nights will be quite cold, I commented. He said he has a friend living nearby where he can stay during the night. He was hoping that another friend would be granted permission to park a station wagon in front of the IUE building so that he could sleep in it, making him closer to the Embassy. "Do you know the origin of the 500-foot rule?" he commented. "It was initiated in 1939 to protect German diplomats, and now it's being used against us!"

Were you able to help them here in the United States?

I staged a hunger strike here in front of the Russian embassy, and it was well-covered by the press. As a result of the

hunger strike, the American Department of State contacted the Russian government. They received no reply. The State Department contacted the Russians again, assuring me that they would soon receive a reply. That they should receive no reply was unheard of. It was the eighth day of my hunger strike, and they urged me to go home. I wish I had not listened to them and had stayed there until my parents were free. The State Department heard nothing, and my parents are still in Russia.

You grew up in the Soviet Union, and lived under a Communist government until you left the country. Thus you should have been the perfect product of the Soviet system. What was it like to grow up in the USSR, and how did you feel about your government?

Since I was a small child, I have felt that the system in Russia is wrong, that it is wrong for people to live in fear. We have a saying in Russia, "Walls hear." You never say anything without feeling that the KGB will know. When I was a little child I was afraid to talk even to myself, for fear that I would say something wrong and be arrested. People talk together some evening at someone's home, and the next day the KGB arrests one of them. So no one ever says what he really thinks. But we all feel it is wrong. Only a few old people really believe the Communist ideology, because they would not be alive if they did not. All the people of their generation who openly disagreed were killed long ago, after the revolution.

John Dornberg wrote in his book, *The New Tsars*, that for every Soviet citizen who signs a petition or participates in a demonstration, there are thousands more who feel the same way about Communism, but do not speak out. Is this true, and if so, why do they not protest?

We cannot speak out. People lose their jobs if they criticize the killers, and then they cannot live. But we know it is wrong. I probably would have lived in Russia for the rest of my life without saying anything, but for the Zionist movement. They had the courage to speak out.

He was similarly afraid that the Jackson Amendment (trade with the Soviet Union on a Most Favored Nation basis to be undertaken only when its emigration policy is eased) would not be completely effective; citing as an example the secret Soviet reversion to stiff exit taxes after having let up on them for awhile. "The Soviets are trying to show the Americans that they are good guys. Americans are so naive as to believe them. They are not going to relax." But he said as I was leaving, "It is difficult to break them, but then, it is difficult to break us too!"

Korea

Continued from page 1

sive airborne and amphibious assault behind the lines using the special forces mentioned earlier, an Israeli-style air blitz, and hit-and-run naval attacks with speedboats and submarines. The North Koreans are apparently planning for a quick, massive victory before the United States has a chance to respond. The North Koreans have also hardened their main industries and defense facilities, building some factories and even airfields almost completely underground, in anticipation of U.S. retaliation from the air.

The South Korean defense plans are classified, but probably depend heavily on U.S. support. South Korean officials admit privately that their forces are inferior to those of the Communists; U.S. firepower is the only thing that can swing the balance in their favor.

Meanwhile, two noteworthy developments have taken place which point even more to the direction of imminent war. The *New York Times*

quoting U.S. Department of Defense officials, reported on February 22, 1974, that the North Koreans had:

—modernized its armed forces with the same warplanes, tanks, and artillery as those which the Soviet Union supplied to Arab countries before the October War;

—moved ground forces near the truce line and constructed new barracks and related facilities;

—constructed new naval bases near the truce line and intensified naval patrols.

The other development consisted of a change in the North Korean power structure. The newspaper *Tong-il Shinmun*, published in Japan, reported that North Korean representatives who participated in the South-North dialogue have been downgraded in seniority, while top military officers have been upgraded. This indicates a sharp turn toward war posture on the part of the North Koreans.

Hearings

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Prisoners work in the production of "warships, submarines, and armaments; missiles and firearms; mining of uranium, nickel, molybdenum, chrome, coal and gold; oil drilling and construction; and on railways and highways." Mr. Shifrin documented the location of these camps and the rigors of life for the prisoners.

In addition, the Soviets convert even the technology from the "domestic" sector to war-related activities he said. "In such a way," according to Mr. Shifrin, "an assembly of machines for production of very high temperatures played a crucial role in the development of the Soviet H-bomb. I heard many times from researchers and engineers that they could not fill state orders for urgent work for the military industry because of defective instruments had no yet arrived. In 1971 my friends told me that without imported equipment (especially from the U.S.) they simply could not work."



"Thus any technical help from the U.S. and the West increased the military might of the U.S.S.R. This represents a policy of suicide on the part of the free world," he concluded.

Source of Soviet technology

Mr. Shifrin's charges were echoed the same day by Anthony Sutton, a former Fellow of the Hoover Institute. Mr. Sutton's field of research since the late 50's has been the impact of Western technology on Soviet industrial and military development. "The method used in this research," according to Mr. Sutton, "was to examine each major Soviet process or technology and determine its origin."

"Soviet merchant ship technology mostly originates in the West. About 68 percent of Soviet merchant ships have been built completely in the West, and about 80 percent of the main diesel en-

gines in the Soviet merchant marine have been built in the West. The remaining 20 percent are Soviet-built to Western design. Merchant ships are, of course, used for supply of North Vietnam and the Middle East.

"In computers I can identify no significant Soviet indigenous computer technology. This conclusion is confirmed by Professor Judy at University of Toronto and Professor Reiter of the Israel Institute for Technology.

"Ball bearings technology is absolutely essential for weapons systems and originates in the West. Soviet ability to miniaturize its missile equipment required miniature ball bearings. Equipment to enable mass production of those bearings came from the United States. Export of the machines was termed a 'life or death matter for America' by the Congressional

"In military trucks, I have identified Western construction of Soviet plants producing military models. At the moment U.S. firms are building in the Soviet Union the world's largest plant for ten-ton trucks. The Administration has stated the plant has a military end use.

"The Soviet military-industrial complex is therefore dependent on technology transferred from the West, mainly from the United States. No distinction can be made between civilian and military technology and all transferred technology has some military impact.

"The term 'peaceful trade' in regard to Soviet trade is grossly misleading and should be abandoned. The crux of the problem at issue is technical transfers through the medium of Soviet trade and the use of such technical transfers for military purposes.

"Discussion of Soviet trade usually concentrates on single sales without considering the long run cumulative historical results of all sales. It is easy to construct an argument that any single sale has minimal effect on Soviet technical ability. But the sum of all sales and all transfers of technology to the Soviet Union is the present technical structure. It is the total structure, not individual sales, that should concern us.

"The essential point is that all weapons systems require inputs from the industrial sector i.e. steel, non ferrous metals, fasteners, castings and so on. The specifications differ but the inputs are produced on the same machines and equipment. Therefore almost any industrial technology can be used for either peaceful or military purposes. It depends on the intent of the recipient.

"Looking at the spectrum of evidence available, I conclude that there is no substantive evidence of a willingness on the part of the Soviet Union to live in a truly free and peaceful world. If 'detente' is measured by individual freedom, then it is a failure.

"The paradox that we face is that we provide the technical means to build the Soviet military industrial complex and this encourages the Soviets to both repress their own people and pursue their overseas objectives. This is also the view of Andrei Sakharov, the Russian atomic physicist."



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