

The Rising Tide

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

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-A New Future for Portugal-- Change Brings Optimism and New Problems

by Hal McKenzie

Nearly two weeks after the army coup that overthrew Portugal's half-century of dictatorship, the initial euphoria which characterized Portugal's "Flower Revolution" (named after the red carnations which everyone wore as a symbol of the revolution) has given way to a troubled awareness of deep problems which lie ahead for Gen Antonio Spínola's fledgling regime. The problems looming most threateningly at the present time are 1) the growing danger of a confrontation with a politically powerful and resurgent left, and 2) the issue of independence for the Portuguese African colonies—whether to have immediate independence, as the leftists demand, or autonomy within a Portuguese Federation, which Spínola advocates.

A powerful left

Amid the happy and festive confusion immediately following the coup, it became clear that the most visible and well-organized political force in Portugal apart from the Junta is the Left, primarily the Communists and Socialists. By all accounts, the Communists had a head start on other groups in having the strongest organization and discipline. During the years of repression, they maintained thousands of party activists in factories, offices and schools who would surface from time to time during elections in the guise of "democratic forces." After the coup, the Communists blossomed forth with red symbols and slogans on every hand, especially during the May Day celebration. Some Communists infiltrated the armed forces and are said to be firmly entrenched in the "Movement of the Armed Forces" which led the coup.

A number of young majors and captains organized themselves into a twelve-man coordinating committee to supervise the work of the Junta. Some observers say that this committee is the real power behind the Junta and may well turn out to be the greatest challenge to Spínola's authority. It is not clear how many of the committee members are Communists, but one Major on the committee told *Newsweek* correspondents John Barnes and Miguel Acosta: "We will do exactly what the people want... and if the people want a Communist government, they can elect a Communist government. We will see to it that it takes power."

The Socialist Party

The Communists' main rival, the Socialist Party, was also active in the underground opposition to the dictatorship and has a large following. The main socialist leader is Mario Soares, 49, an oppositionist lawyer who had been jailed twelve times before being deported five years ago, becoming secretary general of the Socialist Party while living in exile in Paris. Upon his return to Portugal after the coup, he was greeted at the train station by a throng of 7,000 in a scene reminiscent of Lenin's famous arrival at the Finland Station in 1917 after the fall of the Czar. A similar throng later greeted Communist leader Alvaro Cunhal, 59, who had been living in Czechoslovakia for the past 14 years after having served 13 years in Portuguese jails. Soares met Cunhal at the station in a show of solidarity, and Cunhal pledged cooperation with the Spínola regime.

After conferring with General Spínola, Soares conducted a tour of European capitals to rally support for the new government and to contact socialist leaders in the European countries. Soares told reporters that "We intend to retain our trade-mark as a democratic party in the European socialist image. I want the Portuguese Socialist Party to stand proudly alongside the Socialist parties of Britain, Sweden, West Germany, Holland and elsewhere in Europe because this is our only hope of keeping democracy in Portugal and of remaining a part of the Western camp.... The Communist goal of a dictatorship of the proletariat is not for us..." he said. "Yet we are ready to collaborate with the Communists in the period of transition to a democracy." During this transition there is likely to be much jockeying for popular support and position of influence between the Communists and socialists, but for the time being, each recognizes that they cannot come to power without the other.

The moderate right and center are just beginning to get organized. There is a center-left organization which is trying to forge a coalition of liberal Catholics, intel-

lectuals and businessmen, to be called the Social Democratic Party.

Communist participation

At the present time it seems almost certain that some Communists will participate in the provisional government now being formed to organize political life for the elections next year. Communist participation in the future government may be of some concern to the United States. So far, none of the leftist political groups have spoken out against NATO, but Communists in the Portuguese cabinet would be likely to try to force America out

of its base in the Portuguese Azores. The only other NATO country with Communists in the government is Iceland, which is pushing for negotiations to get the U.S. out of its base at Keflavik. The base in the Azores was crucial to the U.S. during the October Mideast War, when Portugal was the only NATO ally to permit the United States to operate an airlift of weapons to Israel. Mr. Soares is reported to have said, regarding the base, that the majority of the Portuguese people are opposed to it, but that "this is an issue which can wait."

The right wing in Portugal has so far kept a low profile, especially the leading

families who control much of the banking, industry and commerce. They are watching with increased alarm the growing influence of the Left, while being expected to play their hand soon. The right and conservative factions in Portugal seem to favor a republican system something like France's, with a strong president, and it is hoped that Gen. Spínola can emerge as Portugal's de Gaulle.

Independence or "autonomy"?

Whether the Spínola regime can unite these disparate factions may depend upon

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Mindszenty to Tour US

Freedom's Spokesman

His Eminence József Cardinal Mindszenty arrived in the United States on May 6, and is scheduled to arrive in Washington May 20.

Rarely has this country had the honor of receiving a man of greater moral stature, his life-long, courageous stand against Communist tyranny shines as a beacon in today's darkness of moral relativism.

To commemorate the Cardinal's visit, *The Rising Tide* publishes these excerpts from a radio address the Cardinal gave on Nov. 3, 1956, after having been liberated from Communist prison during the Hungarian Revolution. The "precious help" from other nations that the Cardinal graciously acknowledges in his speech never actually materialized; Communist tanks crushed the resurgent nation that the Cardinal describes in such hopeful terms. Nevertheless, his words give poignant testimony to man's undying struggle for freedom and justice.

"Nowadays men often say they are going to turn over a new leaf and speak frankly. In my case, there is no need for a new leaf. With the help of Divine Providence, I am the same man I was before I was imprisoned. Though prison has taken its toll of my physical strength, I stand by my convictions with the same spirit and mind I had eight years ago. I have always spoken frankly and forthrightly, saying what I believe to be right and true, and I continue in plain-spoken language today. This is not a recording but a live broadcast so I can give my message personally to our nation and to the world."

"For the first time, I can publicly thank our friends in other lands for their

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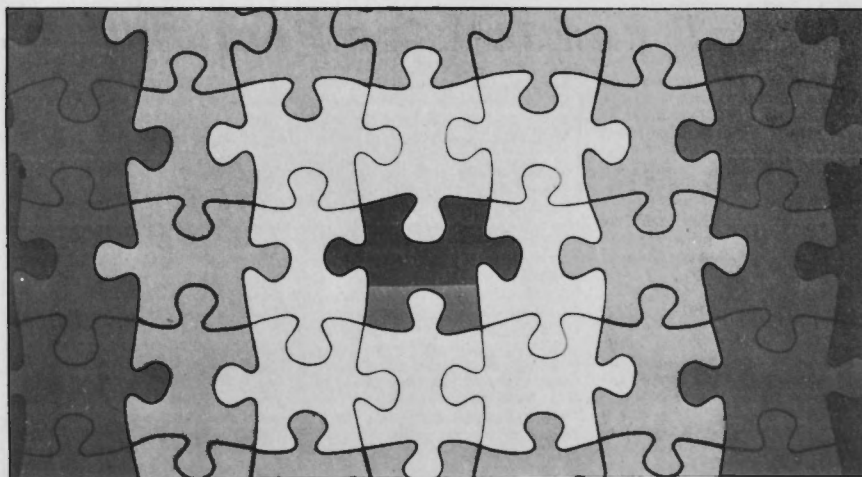
marijuana as there has been regarding the drug itself," Mr. Tartaglino said. "Many have the impression that this traffic is somehow unlike that involving other drugs in that it is conducted more informally by students and young persons for reasons other than profit. This is no more the case today than it is with heroin and other contraband. The traffic in marijuana is often a highly organized, well-financed venture involving hundreds of thousands of dollars of illegal profits. The persons who engage in it are essentially the same criminal types who organize other forms of illicit drug traffic and have the same propensity for violence."

Marijuana dealers

To illustrate the extent and organization of the marijuana traffic, Mr. Tartaglino described a major drug ring under investigation by the DEA. "A group of suc-

cessful professional and white collar financiers," who call themselves the "Gainesville Marijuana Dealers Association." In six months, this organization smuggled approximately 80 tons of marijuana into the U.S. from Jamaica and Colombia, brought by multi-ton ships to predetermined landing points along the Florida coast. From there, the drugs would be conveyed by as many as 10 to 15 trucks in a single shipment to ranches or farms, heavily guarded by watchtowers, owned by Association members. The marijuana would then be delivered by trucks to any of 32 affected states. The DEA investigation so far netted 19 arrests, 35 tons of marijuana and \$1,250,000 of illegal funds, but the investigation is still continuing. Mr. Tartaglino's testimony also described the seizure of a 45-ton freighter trying to smuggle 3,700 pounds of hashish into the U.S. from Morocco.

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What place will Germany now occupy in the European puzzle? Her attempt to bridge East and West has had a sad result.

Germany:

The Wages of Ostpolitik

German Chancellor Willy Brandt's 5 year policy of coming to terms with the Communist states may have come to an end as a result of East German espionage. In tune with the spirit of East-West detente, Brandt has practiced an eastward oriented foreign policy (Ostpolitik) of concessions to the Soviet Bloc. Brandt signed a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, friendship treaties with Poland and the Soviet Union, and gave virtual recognition to East Germany in 1972. On April 25, Gunter Guillaume, Brandt's aide for Party affairs was arrested and confessed to being a captain in the East German army. Guillaume worked for an East Berlin newspaper known to be a

front for espionage activities prior to his "defection" in 1956. Nevertheless, he was cleared by two security checks before being assigned to Brandt's staff.

The discovery of a Communist spy so close to the Chancellor came as a serious indictment of the naive trust which has characterized Ostpolitik. At the same time, disappointment with the lack of anything in return for West German concessions contributed to Brandt's downfall. The hoped-for easing of travel between East and West Germany has not materialized. Neither have the guarantees of security for and freedom of access to, West Berlin. Brandt has had growing difficulties with the Communist world

in carrying out his Eastern policies, while at home detente has increasingly become suspect and under question. Disappointment over foreign policy, inflation and party style have caused Brandt's party to lose votes in local elections since February. According to public opinion polls, if elections were held now Brandt's Social Democratic Party (which in coalition with the smaller Free Democratic Party command a majority in the West German Parliament's lower house) would receive only 30% of the vote: 10% less than one month ago. Faced with this situation, Brandt was motivated to take full responsibility for the negligence of

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And More....

On Wednesday afternoon, May 15, about 150 people quickly gathered at the Lebanese Embassy in Washington D.C. to protest the sudden terrorist slaughter of Israeli schoolchild hostages. FLF participants in the demonstration will provide a full report in the next issue.

Psychiatrist Testifies:

"My Stance Towards Marijuana Has Shifted."

Below is the written statement of Dr. David H. Powelson, M.D., which he presented before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on May 9, 1974.

In 1965, I was chief of the Department of Psychiatry in the Student Health Service at the University of California in Berkeley. It was the first year that hallucinogens were becoming widely used and I, as the person responsible for mental health on that campus, was vigorously involved in the debate about psilocybin, LSD, and mescaline.

In the spring of that year a reporter for the *Daily Californian*, the student newspaper, asked for my opinion on marijuana. At that time I lacked any direct experience as a physician with marijuana users. The medical literature was sparse but in general seemed to be saying that there was no proof of long term harmful effects from marijuana. I summarized this for the reporter and said there was no proof of harm and that it probably should be legalized and controlled. In general, this view met with approval from most of the students and most of my professional colleagues.

My place of observation was unique. I was there at the beginning and in my work I was actively involved with students not only as a psychiatrist but as a teacher, and as a participant in a four-year research project studying maturation and growth in college students. In addition, I was routinely meeting with deans and administrators who were dealing with the drug problem and the students who were in academic and/or disciplinary difficulties as a consequence of the use of marijuana and its derivatives.

Most importantly, I was in daily contact with the constant flow of students through the student health service and the psychiatric clinic and hospital.

I personally interviewed about 200 students a year; many were seen for a single hour, others were seen as intensively as 2-3 times a week for varying lengths of time up to and including 5 years.

During this time (from 1965-1972) an increasing number of patients were using marijuana. My best guess, based on surveys and impressions, is that more than 90 percent used it at one time or another in college. More than 50 percent used it "socially" (approximately 1-2 times per week) and about 10 percent were heavy users (at least 1 time daily).

Shift in thinking

My first important shift in thinking occurred as a result of observations made during psychotherapy with a young man, S., who was bright enough to be getting his law degree and Ph.D. simultaneously and competent enough to be learning to fly

and deal in real estate at the same time. As we proceeded in our work together, I came to know S.'s way of thinking; i.e., how he thought. Most of us do this without thinking about it. All of us come to know to some degree the way our friends and colleagues think. In therapy, the opportunity to hear someone think out loud about a problem important to him maximizes the opportunity to come to know how he uses or misuses logic, remembers clearly or not at all, does or does not exercise good judgment about his own thinking, and whether or not he is able to know his own feelings. We had made enough headway so that S. had begun to be able to observe and understand his own thinking.

Periodically, we had hours (I was seeing him twice weekly) when his thinking became mushy. If I tried to follow him, my head began to spin. When I protested that he'd become impossible to listen to, he'd argue that his own experience was that he was thinking more clearly, more insightfully, than ever. On one such occasion, he mentioned that he'd been to a party two nights before where he'd had particularly good "grass." In Berkeley, 1968, that was not a particularly memorable remark, but we thought there might be some connection with his thinking. This same series of events recurred often enough so that I finally was able at times to post dict that S. had used some "mind-expanding drug," usually marijuana.

Paranoia

S., because he was a good observer, helped show me another aspect of the thinking disorder I'm describing. Central to his difficulties was a paranoid stance toward the world. By this, I mean a style of thinking characterized by a constant suspicion that one is being controlled; e.g., by the establishment, the system, etc.; and simultaneously a constant unwitting search for people and situations which will do just that; e.g., drugs, demagogues. If this manner of thinking is carried further, it blends into the condition usually called paranoia. Here the subject is controlled by voices, God, or whatever, and at the same time, he is very often "against his will" being controlled by a state hospital or jail. S. was forever talking about his search for something or someone he could trust. He very frequently clutched to himself people who were totally untrustworthy, and hurt and rejected others who manifested admired and liked him.

When he had used marijuana, his thinking became more paranoid, i.e., he became more mistrustful of me, for instance, and at the same time, he became more wily so that he talked glibly, using clichés, theories, and "insights," all to avoid noticing concretely and immediately whatever he was really doing and feeling in his relationship with me, as well as his relationships outside. In short, the pathological part of his thinking was

exaggerated in two ways: (1) he was more suspicious, etc. and (2) he was more adept at fooling himself about what he was up to, while simultaneously maintaining how "aware," "in touch," and "loving" he was.

S. continued in therapy but also continued to use marijuana and hashish. Toward the end of his therapy, I had decided that so long as he muddled his thinking in this way, there was no use continuing. He, however, suffered a fatal accident (as a result of an error in judgment) before his therapy actually terminated.

Widespread pattern

As I was becoming familiar with these effects of marijuana on S., I gradually learned to pick up signs when they were more subtle. I came to observe the same changes in others, i.e., that marijuana exacerbated the pathological aspects of their thinking.

Following the above described observations, I saw the same picture more and more frequently. The essence of the pattern is that with small amounts of marijuana (approximately three joints of street grade) memory and time sense are interfered with. With regular usage, the active principles cause more and more distorted thinking. The user's field of interest gets narrower and narrower as he focuses his attention on immediate sensation. At the same time his dependence and tolerance is growing. As he uses more of the drug, his ability to think sequentially diminishes. Without his awareness, he becomes less and less adequate in areas where judgment, memory and logic are necessary. As this happens, he depends more and more on pathological patterns of thinking. Ultimately all heavy users (i.e., daily users) develop a paranoid way of thinking.

After I had become aware of the generality of this sequence another reporter from the *Daily Californian* interviewed me to see if my opinions had changed in the interim. In the course of that interview, I realized in a concrete and explicit way that they had. The headline read, "Psychiatrist says pot smokers can't think straight." This time the response of the community and colleagues was not so approving. It is an interesting fact that questioning the claims of marijuana users leads to much more anger, vilification, and character assassination than does the opposite stance.

Long-term effects

In subsequent years in Berkeley, both at the clinic and in my private practice, I have observed the long-term effects of cannabis. Originally, my observation was that students who had "dropped out" into the "drug scene" and were attempting to return, were finding it difficult if not impossible. A frequent story is that the young

person has become aware that the life he's been leading is unsatisfactory and unproductive. He then stops drugs for six months or so and reenters the university. When he returns to school, however, he finds that he can't think clearly and that, in ways he finds difficult to describe, he can't use his mind in the way he did before. Such people also seem to be aware that they've lost their will somehow, that to do something, to do anything, requires a gigantic effort—in short, they have become will-less—what we call anomic. An irony here is that they have now achieved the freedom they sought. They need an external director. They are ripe for a demagogue.

The changes in the capacity to think in some subjects are long lasting if not permanent. One of my original (1967) subjects was a member of the junior faculty. He "dropped out" and used hashish exclusively for 18 months in daily doses. When he realized that it was interfering with his physical coordination he stopped all drugs. Two years subsequent to this he returned to the University. He found that he could not do mathematics at a level which he had found possible before. Three and one-half years later, his conviction was that the change was permanent. My own observations of him and other such gifted people have led me to the same conclusion, i.e., that the damage may be permanent.

"...most dangerous drug..."

My stance toward marijuana has shifted to the extent that I now think it is the most dangerous drug we must contend with—for the following reasons:

1. Its early use is beguiling. It gives the illusion of feeling good. The user is not aware of the beginning loss of mental functioning. I have never seen an exception to the observation that marijuana impairs the user's ability to judge the loss of his own mental functioning.

2. After one to three years of continuous use the ability to think has become so impaired that pathological forms of thinking begin to take over the entire thought process.

3. Chronic heavy use leads to paranoid thinking.

4. Chronic heavy use leads to deterioration in body and mental functioning which is difficult and perhaps impossible to reverse.

5. For reasons which I can't elucidate here, its use leads to a delusional system of thinking which has inherent in it the strong need to seduce and proselytize others. I have rarely seen a regular marijuana user who wasn't actively "pushing."

As these people move into government, the professions, and the media, it is not surprising that they continue as "pushers," thus continuously adding to the confusion that this committee is committed to ameliorate.



Pushing More Than Revolution

by Allan Brownfeld

The Chinese Communists, argues the author of *Psycho-Chemical Warfare: The Chinese Communist Drug Offensive Against the West* (Arlington House, 1974), are engaged in a massive campaign aimed at the West with narcotic drugs as the primary weapons.

This charge is not new, has been denied by the U.S. Government under the Nixon Administration, yet lingers, both in this country and abroad.

In this book, A.H. Stanton Candlin, a native of Tientsin, North China, and a long-time member of the British Foreign Service who was at one time chemical adviser to the British High Commission in Germany and held important intelligence responsibilities, makes a persuasive case.

The use of narcotics as a political weapon by the Chinese Communists, Candlin points out, is not unique in world history. "History," he writes, "is replete with examples of the use of drugs to attain political ends... consider in this regard, examples of the use of drugs for political purposes, such as provided by the sect of the Assassins in Syria, Persia and elsewhere; the Roshaniyeh in Afghanistan; and, in more recent times, the Japanese narcotics or psychochemical warfare offensive. This last was launched in North China as a measure of preparation for the planned military assault that began with the Marco Polo bridge incident in 1937..."

It is from the Japanese that the Chinese Communists learned how drugs could be used as an effective political weapon. The principal characteristics of the Japanese campaign, the author notes, were that (1) It provided a means of exploiting Chinese susceptibility towards drugs, especially opium and its derivatives, whereby they could undermine the fabric of Chinese society and liquidate the authority and influence of the National Government whose jurisdiction was being displaced; (2) By it they could weaken the Chinese will to resist at all levels, not only the growing addiction at the 'grass roots' level, a factor that favors their own advance but they were, also, able to shape the form of the puppet regimes that they sponsored as well as breaking the resolution of opposition leaders and; (3) A means of inducing collective defeatism among their enemies, procuring their defeat and keeping them in subjection once the decision had been gained. They viewed the dissemination of drugs in regions selected for conquest as a measure analogous to artillery preparation prior to an infantry attack.

Candlin warns that the narcotics offensive being launched by the Chinese Communists embodies in a special Marxian sense the application of the ancient military maxim of Sun Tzu (c. 500 B.C.), sometimes called the Chinese

Clausewitz: "To fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence. Supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting."

The book is filled with documentary evidence and statements of corroboration such as that from Harry J. Anslinger, the U.S. Commissioner for Narcotics for many years.

In 1950, after the Chinese Communists established control of the Mainland, Mao Tse-Tung forbade opium smoking in China and a few opium growers were executed with great publicity. Yet shortly thereafter, Commissioner Anslinger placed an American complaint before the United Nations to the effect that the Communist Chinese were smuggling narcotics into Japan. His evidence was overwhelming and proved that during the early 1950s China was heavily engaged in the illicit drug trade.

When Anslinger made these charges at the UN, the Soviet Union vigorously denied them. After the Sino-Soviet split, however, *Pravda*, in its issue of Sept. 12, 1964, charged that Communist China was the biggest opium, morphine and heroin producer in the world. Total proceeds from the illicit narcotics traffic were alleged to yield some \$500 million annual revenue.

Candlin believes that the Chinese Communists were largely responsible for the drug offensive carried out against American servicemen in Vietnam. He reports of the investigation by John Steinberg of the Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency who discovered that heroin which was 99.5 percent pure was being sold for as little as \$1 a vial. Heroin which was 10 percent pure, he noted, could be sold for at least \$10 a vial. It was, states Candlin, thus clear that the increase in narcotics was by no means only a money making venture, but had other purposes.

Prior to "detente," the author notes, there was real concern in Washington over Communist China's role in the narcotics traffic. This increased when Egyptian editor Mohammed Heikal reported a conversation in which Chou En-Lai had told President Nasser that, "We are planting the best kind of opium especially for the Americans."

Now, however, there is an attempt to ignore the material. "The threat," Candlin writes, "has apparently been concealed from the public by persons who evidently had the desire to cultivate better relations with the Red Chinese."

This book, however, places the burden of proof upon those in the Administration who deny any such role for the Peking regime. Time will tell whether or not they will try to meet it.

Leadership Foundation

"Ring The Bell and Tell The People!"

by Judy Barnes

The Mayflower Hotel was the site of the Leadership Foundation Spring Conference this year, May 12-15. In attendance were numerous prominent people, as well as ladies from all parts of the United States. Mrs. Martha Rountree, founder and chairman of the Leadership Foundation, urged the ladies of the foundation, said to be several million strong, to take a more active part in their government. Thus the theme of the Conference, "Ring the Bell and Tell the People," involved finding ways in which these women, nearly all mothers and grandmothers, could take part in shaping their country's future by helping to pass or defeat certain legislation of particular concern to them.

Diminishing defense

One area of concern involves our diminishing defense budget. According to Mr. Larry Olewine, Special Assistant in the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, the U.S. today is spending nearly 50 percent less on defense than it did in 1968. There is much opposition in Congress to the present defense budget, and Mr. Olewine feels that receiving the asked-for \$85.8 billion on defense "depends on whether or not the U.S. will continue to fulfill its responsibilities around the world." Dr. Werner von Braun, former director of the NASA George C. Marshall Space Flight Center, speaking on our continued space flight program told of the numerous advantages of the program not only in space exploration, but also in aiding scientific advances in medicine, communications, meteorology, and in surveying the earth's resources. According to Dr. von Braun, earth is a space craft of 3 1/2 billion astronauts and we are "trying to kill ourselves by using up our resources while multiplying like rabbits." Dr. von Braun is calling for a world-wide resource management system and expansion of our space program.

Speaking on the military balance, Dr. Brenda Forman, of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Internal

Security Affairs) said that while the balance of military might between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. is somewhat even, the Soviet Union's power has grown extremely rapidly over the past few years and is still continuing at a very fast pace. Dr. Forman's words "the U.S. must maintain its will to maintain its role in world leadership," were very much shared by all the other speakers, but she added "I think we can do it and I think we will."

Dinner speakers

The final dinner featured Senator Strom Thurmond, New York Congressman Samuel Stratton, and Former Commander of the Strategic Air Command General Bruce Holloway, as guest speakers. All speakers urged the acceptance in Congress of the proposed \$85.8 billion defense budget. As a special treat to the ladies, actor Hugh O'Brian of Wyatt Earp fame introduced the attendees members of the Leadership Foundation from the many states represented. Also attending were Congressman Jamie Whitten, Daniel Flood, John Conlan, Claude Pepper, and George O'Brien, plus Ambassador John Lodge of Argentina and many other distinguished guests.

Said Senator Strom Thurmond, "It is important that we go through with more research and development... this year." If we are going to keep at all in line with the Soviet Union, "we must have new weapons." It was noted that most of our present weapons were developed during World War II and to even catch up with Soviet weaponry we must continue development on the F-14 and F-15 swift low-flying planes; new B-1 bombers which are much faster and larger than our present B-12's; the Trident nuclear submarine; and improvements on the minuteman missile. Senator Thurmond also noted that when President Nixon returned from his visits to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, his first act was to recommend an increase in the defense budget.

"...be knowledgeable and involved..."

The entire final banquet was being

filmed by Mrs. Rountree. A previous film was shown comparing the weapons of the U.S.S.R. to those of the U.S. Most of the film was actually taken inside the Soviet Union, showing their newest missiles, including the SS9 which is said to have more explosive power than any of our missiles, newest bombers, submarines, etc.

Another important speaker at the conference was Helen Delich Bentley, chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission. Mrs. Bentley strongly urged the women to take definite steps in "fighting for freedom." She urged the ladies to organize committees, rally neighbors, friends, associates, etc. to the cause, get volunteer workers, write letters and call elected officials, circulate petitions, attend meetings, take part in campaigns, demonstrate, and most of all be knowledgeable and involved. Another session included questions and answers between the ladies and Congressmen Robert Michel and George Mahon. Also featured were Gen. Daniel

James of the Department of Defense; Dr. John Fisher, President of the Institute for American Strategy; General Bernard E. Schriever, former commander of the Air Force Systems command; and other ladies speaking on the problems in our school system (including prayer in schools); women's roles in leadership and freedom, and other issues of concern to the Leadership Foundation.

One of the first speakers, Dr. Edward L.R. Elson, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate, gave an inspiring talk on the great importance of religion in our country today. He said he saw two positive accomplishments from the Watergate problem. First is better election laws, and secondly that citizens will give primacy to the character of the candidates rather than to the party. Dr. Elson reminded us that at the founding of our country the writers of our Constitution were neutral between religious denominations, but were "never neutral about God" and that "we are not under man, but under God."



Dr. Werner von Braun addressing the Leadership Foundation Conference.

Critique of the World Council of Churches

--Are All the Things You Hear about the WCC True?

by Joy Schmidt

It was a stormy year. Civil upheaval in China gave birth to the People's Republic of China. The Jews declared their independence on the soil of their promised land, and sealed it with military victory. The move towards idealistic organizations for world unity that spawned the United Nations took a religious turn with the formation of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948. They both grew surrounded by controversy, and now in their 25th year, face continuing opposition.

The World Council of Churches now comprises more than 250 Protestant and Orthodox denominations in 83 countries, including former mission bodies newly recognized as autonomous and, recently, one of the largest indigenous African Christian groups, the Kimbanguist Church.

According to its literature the WCC is "a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfill together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit."

Organization

In 1910 a world missionary conference held in Edinburgh, Scotland, brought an awareness of the need for a renewed and united Church. Three movements emerged from the vision of the Edinburgh conference; the International Missionary Council (1921) which brought together missionary societies for study and common action; the Life and Work Movement (1925) which explored responsibility for the social questions of peace and justice; and the Faith and Order Movement (1927) which tried to resolve divisions on doctrine and authority.

Three program units continue in the presently constituted WCC: Faith and Witness, Justice and Service, Education and Communication. The Faith and Witness program sponsors theological studies of issues dividing the church; keeps records of unity negotiations; and promotes ministerial training, training of writers, health care, discussion on ethical issues, and inter-faith dialogues.

The Justice and Service program sponsors refugee aid, medical care, aid to struggling churches, representations at international events, development aid, and

anti-racism efforts.

The Education and Communication program coordinates renewal movements; supports education experiments, especially to the least privileged; and provides information service.

The policies of the WCC are set by delegates to the Assemblies, which convene every seven years. A Central Committee of 120 elected by the Assembly meets annually to make more detailed decisions. It also elects a smaller Executive Committee. A permanent staff of some 300 persons is based largely in Geneva, Switzerland.

A search for a range of opinions in current periodicals on the programs and policies of the WCC, showed the *Christian Century* to be the major defender of the WCC. Dissatisfaction was voiced, notably in *Christianity Today*, the *London Economist*, and the *Moody Monthly*. A scathing denunciation appeared in the *Reader's Digest*, answered in a *Christian Century* editorial.

Major areas of objection to the WCC have included: a watered-down theology, concern with social issues to the exclusion of spiritual matters, too much influence by the Soviet Church delegation, a totalitarian approach to faith and order, and most recently support of African terrorist movements.

Anti-racism program.

In recent years the WCC debates were fueled with objections to the funding of groups of "racially oppressed peoples approved, without a single dissenting vote, by the Central Committee meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1970. In 1966 a conference on Church and Society had decided upon a program of revolutionary change. Concluding that racism was the root of all evil, they chose anti-racism programs as a method of action. The Executive Committee approved it as a policy directive in 1969, and the Central Committee allocated funds in 1970. When the decision was announced, complaints—outrages in fact—from around the world scored the WCC for concealing its plans until final decisions were made.

The 1970 vote of approval set up a \$200,000 fund to aid 19 liberation movements, mostly in southern Africa, fighting to wrest power from the ruling white minorities. Of the 19, according to an article in the October 1971 *Reader's Digest*, 14 were known to be engaged in guerrilla activities. Many of them were terrorists,

and four of the most generously financed groups were avowedly Communist. Three of the four were receiving arms from the USSR. The terrorism of the four groups was directed not only at whites, but also at blacks who opposed them. Objections in the world press focused on the association of the name of Christ with the cause of the revolutionary groups were promoting.

Aid to draft dodgers.

Later the same year, the WCC launched a campaign to raise \$210,000 to support American draft dodgers in Canada and Sweden. Is it the Christian's purpose to incite civil disobedience, people asked? The WCC countered, "As Christians we are committed to working for the transformation of society. Today, a significant number of those who are dedicated to the service of Christ and their neighbor assume a more revolutionary position."

Although the WCC talked of revolution, it didn't spell out what it meant by the word, or just what kind of systems the church should help to tear down.

The WCC lead was followed by a \$10,000 gift in 1970 by the United Presbyterian Church of U.S.A. to the Angela Davis defense fund and a \$25,000 gift to the bail defense fund of a Black Panther accused of plotting public bombings. The Episcopalians gave \$40,000 to the "Alianza de New Mexico," an organization reputedly dedicated to guerrilla warfare, and in 1968 voted \$200,000 to black militant James Forman, whose movement is dedicated to building a socialist society, where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the state—led by black people. Clergy and laity of both denominations raised a storm of protest against these actions.

Soviet influence.

The following month, *Reader's Digest's* roving editor Clarence Hall continued the charges, this time that the Orthodox churches of the Soviet bloc control WCC policies. At the Third General Assembly meeting in New Delhi in 1961, the Russian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Polish Orthodox churches were granted full membership in the WCC, celebrated with great jubilation. After years of abusing the WCC as a "facade for Western imperialism," the Kremlin at last allowed its state-controlled churches to enter the WCC. These new churches claimed 70

million members, which was considered a highly inflated figure. This allowed them however, extra membership on committees and a virtual veto power over policies not to their liking. The *Cincinnati Enquirer*, among other papers, warned that receiving these churches would only give "international Communism yet another platform from which to assail the free world." The WCC took little notice of the objections in the American press.

Never noted for supporting Western-style democracy, since 1961 the WCC has sided with the views of those whose nations are anything but free, according to Hall. John Roche, former chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action said, "Anti-Americanism has become the substitute for the Nicene Creed as the focus of Christian unity." Harold E. Fey, an editor of the liberal *Christian Century*, was quoted as saying that at the 1966 WCC conference he was "profoundly shocked" by the vicious anti-American talk there, and especially by the American delegates, who would not reply to charges. He said that while the other delegates followed their countries' policies, the American delegates tried to outdo their detractors.

Selective opposition to tyranny.

The WCC has also been accused of being "curiously selective" in the causes it has supported. The WCC called for a halt on boycotts of Castro's Cuba, but demanded boycotts of Rhodesia and South Africa. Virtually every free church body in the world condemned Russia's 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, except for the WCC. In April 1970 the WCC gave \$25,000 to send medical supplies to the Vietcong in South Vietnam, out of "concern for all who suffer," but ignored a plea for aid from Sudanese Christians who were fighting for survival against a hostile government.

In spite of exhaustive documentation in their files of persecution of Christians in the Soviet Union, the WCC has refused to champion the cause of the underground Christians, presumably because they are outside of the state-approved churches.

At an Addis Ababa meeting on racism in Africa, one journalist persistently questioned what the WCC would do about anti-Semitism in the USSR or about political tyranny in general. The WCC leaders replied that protests were often made



quietly in cases where publicity would be embarrassing. This would have credibility if any past discrete protests had come to light, or if the South African Christians had not been greatly embarrassed by the publicity of the grants to terrorist groups.

A recent tactic of the WCC has been the initiation of Marxist-Christian dialogues. The *Reader's Digest* concluded that it seemed that while no Marxists have evinced a change of mind, Marxist influence among Christian thinking had been considerable. J.D. Douglas, writing in the March 26, 1971 *Christianity Today*, speculated that "the WCC looks first at the extent of a country's or a church's representation in its councils, and the probable reaction before certain policies are protested." Therefore, it is safe to clobber South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia. It is also safe to attack the U.S. and Great Britain, because they will not defend their policies. Douglas reported that the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, although guilty of an "odious doctrine," acidly stated how noticeable it was that "movements organized against Communism don't receive support from the WCC."

Christian Century rebuttal

Most fascinating was the *Christian Century* editorial of October 20, 1971, in reply to the *Reader's Digest* series. It devoted most of its single-page article to smears at the *Reader's Digest* and charges that *Christian Century* editors Harold Fey and Martin Marty were misrepresented. The only criticisms that the *Christian Century* editorial ventured to answer were the question of the \$200,000 grant under the Program to Combat Racism and the grants to assist draft dodgers, which, as Hall himself had said, "have never promoted or encouraged exile itself." In answer to the first, the editorial chided Hall for exhuming dead issues and citing only white critics. It also said that the funds were used for medical, relief, and educational programs, not for guns, and that "some erstwhile critics of the grants now support them." Most African churchmen support them. "It would seem that the burden of proof should lie with the supporters of the programs, but the WCC was reported only to have accused Hall of making 'unjustified' charges. Neither of them quoted any responsible Africans who supported the programs.

African opposition

In a recent conversation with this writer, the Botswana Ambassador to the United States explained that because he had thought that the WCC stood for Christian principles, he was very disillusioned to discover that it funded violent revolutionary groups in South Africa in the name of Christ. He was at least one non-white critic.

In the *Washington Post*, it was reported that Anglican bishop Alpheus H. Zulu of South Africa, one of the six presidents of the WCC, had urged the organization to give money to local churches in South Africa instead of liberation groups. "The grants to the liberation groups have not helped the Christian witness because it wasn't the action of the local church," he said at a press conference in Washington during his visit to the United States.

Salvation redefined

The eighth ecumenical World Mission Conference was convened in Bangkok, Thailand in 1972/1973 to discuss "Salvation Today." Peter Beyerhaus, professor of missions at the University of Tübingen, West Germany, reported on the conference in the March 30, 1973 *Christianity Today*. From the years of biblical study and research devoted especially to the conference theme, only one small booklet was made available to delegates. According to Beyerhaus, the breakdown in preparation was due, first, to the lack of conviction within the WCC on the authority of the Bible for Christian faith; second, to the habit of interpreting everything within the framework of current political, social, cultural, religious, or psychological problems; and third, to an attempt to make Christianity more relevant to the Third World. Theological debate was never permitted at the conference. At Bangkok, conversion was defined

with a story of a Chinese intellectual whom the Cultural Revolution assigned to work in a pig stable. There he discovered his need to be "converted" and to accept simple farm workers as his real fellow human beings. Nothing was said on how to reintroduce the gospel to China, but only on what the Chinese Cultural Revolution meant to "salvation today."

The decisive results of the Bangkok conference, Beyerhaus concluded, were the emphases on "dialogue with men of living faiths," on "salvation through political confrontation," and on a "moratorium" for Western missions. "One might term it an effort at the self-liquidation of the Western missionary movement." He closed with a challenge to fellow evangelicals to "present the biblical alternatives by articulating our faith and by acting accordingly."

"Archangel mentality"

Jean Caffey Lyles, writing from Madison, Wisconsin in the May 16, 1973 *Christian Century*, reported on the U.S. conference of the WCC, which met at Madison to discuss the church's role in responding to social change. "Long on talk and short on action and decision-making," the meeting gave rise to speculation that annual meetings may be cut, the New York WCC office closed, and closer relations to the National Council of Churches sought. The U.S. contribution to the WCC was down from 83 percent to 44 percent, and the Germans were taking up more of the budget responsibility, although usually with strings attached.

At the meetings, Eugene Smith warned against the "archangel mentality" found in the "preoccupation with rank and protocol" in the council. The policy-making committees of the WCC, he noted, are made up of the ecclesiastical archangels, while its tasks are related to the little ones. He also urged a moratorium on sending of money and missionaries from the Western world (Maybe missionaries should come from the East to the West?) A Catholic spokesman, Thomas Stransky, explained the Roman Catholic reluctance to enter the WCC and take on new headaches. But his conclusion was, "There is no headache that exists in only one church, but a common Christian headache."

Vanguard of prophetic action

A brief evaluation of the WCC at 25 years in the August 15-22, 1973 issue of *Christian Century* praised it for being in the vanguard of social reform, for bridging the gap between the Western and the Communist countries, and more recently, for bridging the gap between the Northern and Southern hemispheres around the issues of poverty and liberation. The article tied the slackening of support from the major denominations to the shift in power to autonomous mission bodies in the Third World. The article concluded with a hope that the WCC would not succumb to the present mood of religious retreat, but continue to be "in the vanguard of Christian prophetic action."

In England, the July 14, 1973 *Economist* crusaded against a "super-church" trend led by Rev. Kenneth Slack, moderator of a new united denomination in England. Churches, unlike politicians, cannot compromise on matters of faith. A new superchurch would not attract many new converts to its bland message, the article continued, for in the Communist countries (one of the few remaining recruiting grounds for religion), the intellectuals who want to escape materialism look for a full-blooded faith. Solzhenitsyn, who joined the Russian Orthodox church, was given a case in point. "Many of the younger people of the countries of the East and West alike seem to go for sects such as the Jehovah's Witnesses or the Baptists, precisely because they offer a sharply outlined view of life and man."

A desperate search for relevance, the *Economist* continued, had already pushed the WCC into a one-sided commitment to revolutionary third world politics, leaving the churches with little more than the role of ancillary social agencies. "What many people want is real spiritual food, and they are not getting it," said the article. Helping one's fellow man should be the concern of the Christian, but always with a strong spiritual orientation, which has been less and less evident in today's churches.

Cambodia --

A Case History of Communist Aggression

by Gaffar Peang-Meth

For more than four years now, the Khmers have struggled to maintain their independence. Although desperate and lonely, the Khmers have kept the door to freedom open for their countrymen: Tens of thousands of Khmer villagers and Buddhist monks have walked toward liberty in lines stretching as far as the eye can see, received with open arms by their brother countrymen. There is no better evidence that the Khmer people have rejected the Communist regime and wait for the opportunity to liberate themselves.

Greater North Vietnam

The North Vietnamese have a dream for a Greater North Vietnam comprised of Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam. In April 1953, the North Vietnamese broadcast a radio message directed toward Cambodia that "The Lao Dong Party and the Vietnamese people have a mission to make revolution in Cambodia and Laos. We, Vietnamese elements, have been sent to serve the revolution and to build a union of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos."

After Geneva, in 1954, in addition to the establishment of Vietnamese Communist cells throughout the Khmer state, the North Vietnamese gave birth to the Khmer Communist Party, the *Pracheachon* (the People's Party), whose leader Nong Suon himself, was forced by the eleventh National Congress in 1961 into virtual public admission that he operated under Hanoi's directives.

The massive infiltration of North Vietnamese Communists into Laos and their military build-up in Cambodia since 1962 are in conformity with their objective: a Communist Indochina ruled by Hanoi.

By 1968, Hanoi had transformed some one-fifth of Cambodia into military bases with their own military headquarters, including the famous COSVN. The emergence of military bases on Khmer soil created security problems which Hanoi solved by forming its own administration superseding the Cambodians' Khmer citizens who lived in the area were considered as security risks and were driven from their homes. Grass-roofed bunkers were replaced by mortared enclaves—Hanoi was digging in: Khmer citizens who lived nearby their bases were given North Vietnamese or Vietcong identification cards for safe-travel. Even Prince Sihanouk himself was denied permission to visit

Cambodia's northeastern Ba Kham by the North Vietnamese.

Aggression

Following the legal deposit of Prince Sihanouk from his functions as Chief of State on March 18, 1970, the North Vietnamese and Vietcong, who had about 60,000 troops on Cambodian territory, began to attack Khmer forces from their sanctuaries. The small 30,000 strong ill-trained, ill-equipped army, used largely for ceremonial functions in peace time, was beaten back badly. Prediction after prediction forecast a short life for the new Cambodian regime.

Although the North Vietnamese and Vietcong struck hard, the Khmers were united, putting up stiff resistance.

War

To weaken Khmer resistance, Communist troops destroyed all things in their way. Men and women, old and young were mercilessly massacred; towns and villages were burned; our Khmer economic and social infrastructures were destroyed. And even our clergy did not escape execution. On June 11, 1970, Cambodia's most precious cultural heritage, Angkor Wat, was seized and occupied by the Communists.

There is no doubt that this savage war waged by the NVN/VC Communists is one of genocide. The North Vietnamese are intent on suppressing the Khmer race, on imposing their Communist ideology replacing the Khmer way of life and its traditions and religion. The invaders want to leave nothing but empty land to be used for settlement by the expansive and aggressive Vietnamese Communists.

Hope

From the beginning of the war, the Khmers have never abandoned hope in the future. After four years of suffering, the fruits of the struggle are being born. 1974 has witnessed a reassuring and encouraging phenomenon: the spontaneous rallying of Khmer Communists to the Republic's side.

In fact, in the past few months of 1974, nearly 90,000 "Khmer Rouge"—either the partisans of Prince Sihanouk, the Khmer Nationalist "Rumdos" (rebel group), or the elements trained in Hanoi (the pure Khmer Communists)—have rejoined the Khmer national community. They have come with their wives, children, cattle and ox-carts. Many others who have not yet

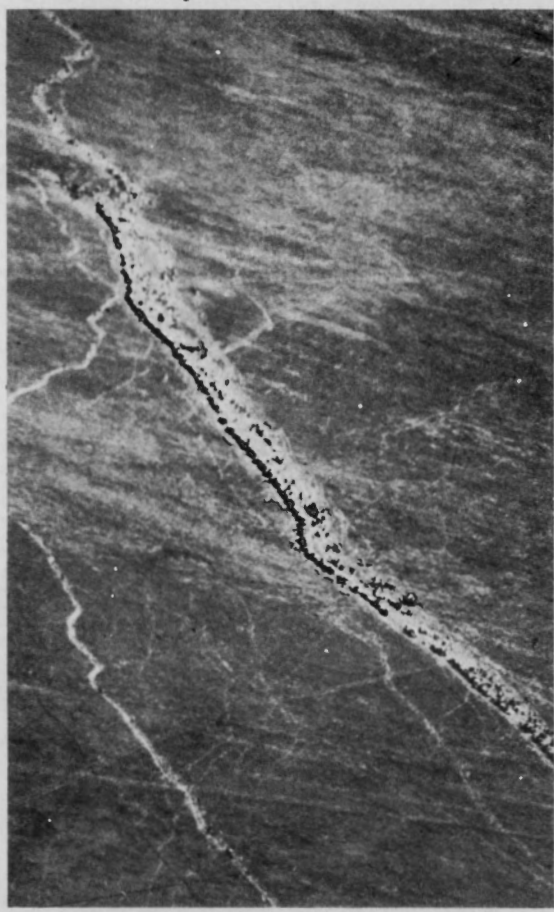
defected are in open struggle with the North Vietnamese troops.

Another reassuring and encouraging phenomenon of 1974 is the mass exodus of Khmer peasants from the Communist-controlled zones to the Government's area. Tens of thousands have fled the enemy's zones where they have lived since the war began in 1970:

Kompong Thom, Kompong Chhnang, Pursat and others.

These Khmer refugees are simply unable to accept the Communist economic policies of collectivization of land and labor, and the Communists' stringent system of regulation of most

(continued on page 8)



A stream of refugees coming from a Communist-occupied zone.

The Media in an International Age

Excerpted from a speech given to the International Leadership Training Seminar, Tarrytown, New York. Dr. Isaac is Associate Dean of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University. From *Way of the World*, January 1974.

For this discussion to be useful, all of us I think, need to figuratively transport ourselves to some convenient mountain top and seek to take an over-all look at the world's press. What we see at first glance is an astonishing range—in scope, in competence, in motivation. There is everything from the single page preachment of some crusader for a personal cause, to the voyeurism, sensationalism and prurience of those papers which look on journalism as a form of commercial gamesmanship, to what you call the quality or class newspapers of Great Britain, or the French refer to as the *journaux de prestige* or the Germans as *weltblätter*.

Our confusions can be multiplied when we focus on international communication. Obviously, we cannot have any rational flow of free international communication when perhaps half of the world is closed, to all practical purpose, to any unimpeded, uncensored exchange of information. The editors of newspapers and magazines in the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China defend their press with vigor and passion, holding their journalism to be the most truly free because they are dedicated to serving the people's interests. The Anglo-American view is that in all of these closed nations, the images of reality are carefully shaped by the government and ruling parties.

Time to grow up

I am convinced that the freest communication is coming through the columns of the best of the printed press in the United States and over the air waves of the best of our broadcasting operations. At the same time, I am quick to concede that even the best of our journals has yet to match on a consistent basis the erudition and knowledgeability on world affairs of the top publications in Western Europe. Quincy Howe, the distinguished editor, has argued that the European insights are offered nowhere else.

He has explained this: "The British have had long experience in India and China; the French in North Africa and Southeast Asia, and the Germans in Latin America, the Middle East and Southwest Africa. And the Italians and Swiss have traveled, worked and settled everywhere. Their newspapers and people who write for them—even the people who read them—reflect this interest and experience." Perhaps, then, our astonishing range of travel and our general global experience of the past quarter of a century will bring us a polish we American journalists now lack.

I am among those who subscribes to the belief that there can be no real understanding among the world's peoples without much more complete information about each other. Barbara Ward, a few years ago, said, "We are all neighbors, sitting on each other's doorsteps." I applauded the sentiment; I only wish it were true.

The fact is that the world's affairs are being covered unevenly; terribly thinly on some continents. Basic coverage out of Latin America is woefully slim, as is that of Africa.

In what we regard as the free, or relatively free, parts of the world, we find the major American news agencies competing actively in both commercial and news-gathering terms. Including the major supplemental news services (*The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, *Chicago Daily News*, *Sun-Times*, and similar agencies), I estimate the total number of United States correspondents serving abroad full-time at about 300.

While the media's influence in international relations is an immense one, it is also an erratic one. Editors of the great wire services have repeatedly attempted to provide more consistent international coverage, only to have to retreat because of the pressure of the majority of American dailies for more emphasis on domestic affairs.

Broader international coverage

More important, in terms of this particular discussion, is whether there will be any expansion in international

coverage. There will be, I believe, if editors can be induced to consider the advantages of a companionate marriage with the social scientists. The *Sunday Times* in England demonstrated the effectiveness of this technique when it sent teams of social scientists from the University of Leicester into Northern Ireland for some in-depth studies of the problems there. As a result, the *Sunday Times* was leagues ahead of both press and government in England in understanding the complexities involved.

At the time of the Nigerian-Biafran tragedy, all of us on all the continents were the victims of rampant propaganda. We were unable to get qualified correspondents into the area and we parroted all manner of nonsense. Yet, a team of Swedish social scientists had been in the area for some time, had reams of documented material, and would have been delighted to share the knowledge if journalists had only the wisdom to recognize the academic community as a part of the communications enterprise.

Most newspapers in the United States have no foreign affairs reporters on their staffs, nor any editors specifically trained in the field. At most, I think there are fewer than two dozen newspapers in this giant country with foreign correspondents of their own. The other newspapers rely on the standard wire services. In itself, this is not at all bad. Much rather an Anthony Lewis reporting from London, or a Keyes Beech from Tokyo, than a young, inexperienced courthouse reporter trying desperately to find his way about.

The real necessity is for American newspapers to invest in some mid-career training for its sub-editor staffs; providing these deskmen with opportunities to travel to foreign lands to get the feel of the countries, to spend some time at the United Nations, to become acquainted with the men and women who report and write the news. When this comes about, we will see much sharper awareness of developing situations, much wiser placement of important material laying the issues before the citizen. As matters now stand, the press is playing a major role in the policy-making network without a real awareness of so doing.

Editors, I am convinced, will be compelled to re-think the present prac-

ought to have, and we ought to have, the thoughts of Theo Sommer, the brilliant editor of *Die Welt* of Hamburg; of Jean Schwoebel of *Le Monde*; of the editors of such papers as *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires; *The Age* of Melbourne; *ABC* of Madrid; *Borba* of Belgrade; and on and on.

In 1970, following the American editors' tour of the Soviet Union, the Soviets sent a team of equal size around the United States. The editor of *Izvestia* wrote his impressions for his newspaper and many of us here reprinted them. I must say that while I disagreed with some of his emphasis—which may well have been necessary in light of the Soviet Union's standard posture about free enterprise—I found his observations penetrating and fascinating. It was good for our readers to learn how others see them.

These, then, are some of the challenges I see ahead, not only for the press of this country, but for the press of Bri- of all our news judgements, the investment in mid-career training for key editors so that they may better understand international affairs, the collaborating with the academic communities in all our countries, the building of specialists who, in turn, build themselves into authorities, and the consistent exchange of viewpoints among the leading editors of the world.

I am quite aware that for many this outline I have drawn of the news media's immediate and middle-range future is probably much too expansionist for comfort. It is not quite comfortable for me, either, since I have tried to portray

the press as it is—inadequately prepared, in my view, for these new challenges.

We are all neighbors

Yet what other alternative faces us in a world society where there is such widespread instability in political structures; where we live under the constant threat of nuclear holocaust; where all of us struggle with the horrors of polluted water, air and land—a pollution already almost out of control; where nations even as powerful as the United States fall victim to terrible inflation and where its monetary base is held in wide disregard by international bankers; where everywhere citizens clearly want less of secrecy and more of participation?

The only rational answer is that along with a rebirth of individual accountability there come organizational accountability—including that on the part of governments, too. Accountability demands openness so there clearly must come an end to the constraints imposed on information. How, I ask, can any nation confine information to its cabinet rooms when there are satellites overhead with the capability of delivering on-the-scene developments to every point on the globe?

No. We are stumbling into a new era and a whole new process. How it will all work out none of us can really tell. My own optimism leads me to believe that with openness and an honest dedication to the search for truth, we will finally arrive at the kind of world Barbara Ward was dreaming about when she said, "We are all neighbors, sitting on each other's doorsteps."

AIM Defends Ambassador Martin

An article written by David E. Shippler appearing on the front page of the *New York Times* on February 25, entitled "Vast Aid from U.S. Backs Saigon in Continuing War," illustrates the intensity of what has been called "the information war." In a country like the United States, where so much depends upon public opinion, it is essential that

in part nine of the 69 points. The *Washington Post* mentioned only eight.

Both *The Times* and *The Post* failed to inform their readers about the most damning errors and distortions in the Shippler article as pointed out by Ambassador Martin. *The Times* could spare only 15 column inches on page 3 to discuss an Ambassador's criticism of an article that had been given 118 column inches of space, beginning on page one. *The Times* did a poor job of reporting the criticism, and as a correction of Shippler's errors, its story was totally inadequate.

The *Washington Post* story was even worse. AIM's Chairman, Reed J. Irvine, wrote to *The Post* about this story. The following is an excerpt from his letter:

"For having the temerity to criticize a 'newsmen,' Ambassador Martin has been subjected to a vicious attack in the news columns and in an editorial in *The Washington Post*. Murrey Marder's 18-column inch article... covered only 8 of some 69 points made by the Ambassador, especially in regards to the war in Vietnam. So far, the information war has been going badly for the United States, but sometimes a courageous individual stands out for truth and prevents us from being overwhelmed by falsehood. U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam Graham Martin is such a man.

The following excerpts from the April issue of "AIM Report," published by Accuracy in Media, Inc., describes the basic issues in Ambassador Martin's 5000-word paragraph-by-paragraph critique of Shippler's article, and the smear campaign directed against him in the press for daring to stand up against misinformation in the media.

The American Ambassador to Vietnam, Graham A. Martin, on March 6 fired off an extraordinary 5000-word telegram to the Department of State detailing the errors and distortions in an article published by *The New York Times* on American aid to South Vietnam.

The article was written by David K. Shippler, a correspondent for *The Times* writing from Saigon. It was a front-page story in *The Times* on February 25, and was distributed world-wide by *The New York Times* News Service.

Criticism of news stories by our embassies is not unusual. What was different about Ambassador Martin's critique was that he did not stamp a "confidential" label on it. On the contrary, he suggested that it might be released to Congress and the press. He added: "The Shippler story and this response might well be made available to the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism as a case study of propaganda under the guise of 'investigative reporting' rather than a responsible journalistic effort."

How The Ambassador's Blast Was Reported

There are two stories in this episode. One is the Ambassador's detailed criticism of the Shippler article. The other is how the press reported that criticism.

Those who had to depend on such papers as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* to learn what the Ambassador had to say about the Shippler article learned very little. The only good source available to the general public was the *Congressional Record*, which carried the full text of the Ambassador's telegram as well as the Shippler article (See *Cong. Rec.* 3/21/74, pp. S4187-94).

AIM identified some 69 points in the Ambassador's telegram. We found that in reporting this criticism on March 9, 1974, *The Times* covered in whole or



South Vietnam into their hands bound hand and foot, but few Americans accept that interpretation.

Shippler is wrong in saying that large numbers of Americans have become "integral parts" of South Vietnam's supply, transport and intelligence systems. They provide limited and temporary technical aid, only to help the Vietnamese achieve self-sufficiency.

Shippler is wrong in saying CIA gives advice to the national police.

Shippler erred in saying that the military aid budget would rise from \$813 million in FY 1974 to \$1,450 million in FY 1975. The FY 1974 figure is \$1,060 million.

Shippler said most of the \$400 million increase in military aid was probably for ammunition. The increase in expenditures for ammunition is about \$130 million.

Shippler says U.S. aid enables South Vietnam to attack the Vietcong. He does not mention that these attacks are in retaliation for Vietcong attacks.

Shippler in his long article makes no mention of thousands of Communist violations of the ceasefire agreement.

Shippler's description of Thieu's approach to elections is a complete re-

Shippler's statement that national police continue to get regular advice from Americans is false, and Shippler knows it is false.

Shippler is wrong in saying that aid to police and prison programs is continuing despite the legislative ban on such programs imposed last December. The ban is being scrupulously complied with.

Shippler does not explain that effective police force is the most effective deterrent to subversion and terror and this is why Hanoi is so anxious to see aid to police ended.

The replacement of some F-5A jet fighters with more maneuverable F-5Es is not a violation of the truce agreement, as charged, since the F-5E is a newer version of a jet no longer available. This is no secret.

Rather than providing more equipment than is permissible under the one-for-one replacement rule of the Paris accords, the U.S. has not been able to provide replacements for all the material South Vietnam has lost defending itself against continuing Communist aggression.

In discussing the problems the ICSS has had in carrying out its duty to control the introduction of war material,



versal of the facts. The steps required for elections under the Paris agreement were not carried out because the Communists have not observed the ceasefire or cooperated in delineating the areas under their control.

Thieu has repeatedly offered to set dates for elections and they could be agreed on at once if Communists would accept international supervision. They do not want internationally supervised elections because they know they could not win more than 10 percent of the votes.

Shippler implies that Communist artillery and rocket attacks are justified, failing to mention that children and unarmed civilians are often the main target of these attacks.

Shippler implied skepticism of charges that North Vietnam had violated accords, asserting that U.S. intelligence contends that thousands of tanks and artillery pieces have been sent to the South in violation of the accords. Actually the best intelligence estimates indicate that since the ceasefire North Vietnam has sent to the South not thousands, but at least 450 tanks and about 265 122 mm. guns.

Contrary to what Shippler says, U.S. has no military advisers in South Vietnam giving advice in contravention of Paris agreements.

Contrary to Shippler's statement, South Vietnam does not get all the equipment and ammunition it asks for. More than 200 aircraft which could be supplied under Paris rules were not provided by U.S.

Shippler neglects to mention the fact that the Communists have refused to cooperate and have tried to prevent deployment of ICSS teams in their territory, going so far as to shoot down an ICSS helicopter in April 1973.

While Shippler alleged that the South Vietnamese were unlikely to permit the investigation of replacement of weapons, the South Vietnamese have repeatedly indicated their willingness to cooperate if the other side would show a cooperative attitude. Shippler puts the blame on the wrong side.

Shippler neglected to mention that ICSS has no supervision whatever of military shipments from the North, nor does he mention infiltration of combat troops from the North, even though he knew of it.

Shippler implied that former Ambassador Eldridge Durbrow said no American officials were doing anything to prevent violations of ceasefire by South Vietnam, omitting to say that Durbrow's point was that no one could ask South Vietnam to observe the ceasefire unilaterally while the other side was ignoring it.

The article was designed to give the slanted impression that the U.S. and South Vietnam are flagrantly violating the ceasefire and blocking any political accommodation with the Communists, and it treats skeptically the very little it does say about Communist violations of the Paris accords, all of which have been pointed out to Shippler and *The Times*.

(continued on page 6)



Soviet editors discussing an edition of "Leninist Youth." Controversial subjects will seldom surface in their deliberations.

Solzhenitsyn's Testimony to the Truth

by Hal McKenzie

Summarized below is one of the most important documents of our time—a letter from Alexander Solzhenitsyn to the leaders of Russia. Dated Sept. 5, 1973, it was his first public statement after his exile.

In it Solzhenitsyn denounces the aggressive Communist foreign policy directed against a weakened Europe and America which poses no threat to Russia. He warns against the danger of war with China. He deplores the folly of pursuing mindless economic expansion in the name of "progress," which threatens the whole world with ecological destruction and has despoiled much of the beauty of Russia's city and countryside. He affirms that the real worth of Russia is in her own soil and in the ageless soul of her people. He upholds morality, the family, and Christian values. He calls for kindness and love of people and country from Russia's rulers. Throughout, he eloquently renounces the outdated, fallacious dogma of Marxism, pleading for its abandonment as the only way of saving Russia and its people.

Many "liberals" in the West expressed disappointment at Solzhenitsyn's statement. To some it was too conservative, too Christian, too un-progressive. However, in an age when the "progressive" myths of the 19th century are everywhere being questioned and discredited, in an age when the survival of the earth and its people is the main concern, Solzhenitsyn's letter is of crucial relevance. Solzhenitsyn's great love for mankind and the earth, which shines through all his works as well as in this letter, assures him an eternal place among the greatest of humanity's champions.

"...for the salvation of our people..."

Solzhenitsyn addresses his letter to the top leaders in the Kremlin. "I do not hold out much hope that you will be well disposed to examine ideas not formally solicited by you, although they come from a fellow-countryman of a rare kind... one who does not stand on a ladder subordinate to your command, who can be neither dismissed from his post, nor demoted, nor promoted, nor rewarded by you... from whom you are almost certain to hear an opinion sincerely voiced, without any careerist calculations... I do not hold out much hope, but I shall try... to set out what I hold to be for the good and salvation of our people."

He writes, "I wish all people well, but it is the fate of the Russian and Ukrainian people that preoccupies me above all, for, as the proverb says: It's where you're born that you can be most useful. And there is a deeper reason, too: the incomparable suffering of our people."

Expressing hope that the Russian leaders are also concerned about the fate of their people, and have not lost completely

although never realized, would in the event be made irrelevant by the giant strides that Russia took into the Mediterranean and the oceans; and that even that mightiest trans-Atlantic power, having emerged all-victorious from two world wars as the leader and provider for all mankind, would suddenly lose to a tiny, distant Asiatic country and show internal dissension and spiritual weakness.

"For instance, at the end of the Second World War, Stalin, who had always easily outplayed Roosevelt, outplayed Churchill, too, and not only got all he wanted in Europe and Asia, but also got back (probably to his own surprise) the hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens in Austria and Italy who were determined not to return home but who were betrayed by the Western allies through a combination of deceit and force... The Western world, as a single, clearly united force, no longer counterbalances the Soviet Union, indeed has almost ceased to exist."

However, while achieving all these successes, "we ourselves bred two ferocious enemies, one for the last war and the other for the next year—the German Wehrmacht, and Mao Tse-tung's China."

This particular failure of Russian foreign policy, Solzhenitsyn asserts, stems "from an exact adherence to the precepts of Marxism-Leninism."

"I am talking to total realists and the simplest thing is to name the danger of which you have a much more detailed knowledge than I, for you have been looking uneasily in its direction for a long time. China."

War With China

"I hope you will not repeat the mistakes made by many of the world's rulers before you. Don't reckon on any triumphant blitzkrieg." The Russians would have to fight a nation of almost one thousand million people, possessing a "high degree of fundamental industriousness (which is higher than ours is today), tenacity and submissiveness; and it is firmly in the grip of a totalitarian system no whit less vigilant than ours. Its army and population will not surrender en masse with Western good sense, even when surrounded and beaten. Every soldier and every civilian will fight to the last bullet, the last breath. We shall have no ally in that war."

For Russia to launch a nuclear attack against China would do "insufferable damage" to Russia's reputation; but a conventional war "would be the longest and bloodiest that mankind has ever fought." Solzhenitsyn estimates that sixty million Russians would die in such a war, which would ultimately lead to the utter ruin of Russia and its people.

"This calamitous future, which is just around the corner at the present development," has two primary causes. One

is the absurd economics (a million rubles a day just to Cuba).

Civilization In an Impasse

The second danger, that of ecological ruin, is one which Russia shares "with all of the advanced countries, which are in an even worse impasse than we are;" and the solution to both dangers is the same: i.e., the renunciation of Marxism.

"How fond our progressive publicists were both before and after the revolution, of ridiculing those retrogrades (there were always so many of them in Russia)

twentieth century, as I believe they have, than any other people in the world. In addition to the toil of two world wars, we have lost, as a result of civil strife and tumult alone—as a result of internal political and economic "class" extermination alone—66 (sixty six) million people!!! That is the calculation of a former Leningrad professor of statistics, I. A. Kurganov, and you can have it brought to you whenever you wish. What other people has had to pay such a price? After such losses, we may permit ourselves a little luxury, the way an invalid is given a rest after a serious illness. We need to heal our wounds, cure our national body and na-

thing and leisure as they have gained under capitalism! It missed the point when it asserted that the prosperity of the European countries depended on their colonies—it was only after they had shaken the colonies off that they began to accomplish their "economic miracles." It was mistaken through and through in its prediction that socialists could only ever come to power by an armed uprising. It miscalculated in thinking that the first uprising would take place in the advanced industrial countries—quite the reverse.

"And the picture of how the whole world would rapidly be overtaken by revolutions and how states would soon wither away was sheer delusion, sheer ignorance of human nature. And as for wars being characteristic of capitalism alone and coming to an end when capitalism did—we have already witnessed the longest war of the twentieth century so far, and it was not capitalism that rejected negotiations and a truce for fifteen to twenty years.

"Marxism is not only not accurate, not only not a science, has not only failed to predict a single event in terms of figures, quantities, time-scales or locations... it absolutely astounds one by the economic and mechanistic crudity of its attempts to explain that most subtle of creatures, the human being, and that even more complex synthesis of millions of people, society. Only the cupidity of some, the blindness of others and a craving for faith on the part of still others can serve to explain this grim humour of the twentieth century: how can such a discredited and bankrupt doctrine still have so many followers in the West! In our country there are fewest of all left.

"To someone brought up on Marxism it seems a terrifying step—suddenly to start living without the familiar ideology. But in point of fact you have no choice, circumstances themselves will force you to do it, and it may already be too late.

"The step seems a hard one at first, but in fact, once you have thrown off this rubbishy ideology of ours, you will quickly sense a huge relief and become aware of a relaxation in the entire structure of the state and in all processes of government. In our country today nothing constructive rests upon it: it is a sham, cardboard, theatrical prop—take it away and nothing will collapse, nothing will even wobble... This ideology does nothing now but sap our strength and bind us. It clogs up the whole life of society—minds, tongues, radio and press, with lies, lies, lies. For how else can something dead pretend that it is living except by erecting a scaffolding of lies. Everything is steeped in lies and everybody knows it—and says so openly in private conversation, and jokes and moans about it, but in their official speeches they go on hypocritically parroting what they are 'supposed to say,' and with equal hypocrisy and boredom read and listen to the speeches of others!

and it is precisely because our state, through sheer force of habit, tradition and inertia, continues to cling to this false doctrine with all its tortuous aberrations, that it needs to put the dissenter behind bars. For a false ideology can find no other answer to argument and protest than weapons and prison bars.

"Cast off this cracked ideology! Relinquish it to your rivals, let it go wherever

it wants, let it pass from our country like a stormcloud, like an epidemic, let others concern themselves with it and study it, just so long as we don't! In ridding ourselves of it we shall also rid ourselves of the need to fill our life with lies.

"Let us pull off and shake off from all of us this filthy, sweaty shirt of Ideology which is now so stained with the blood of those 66 million that it prevents the living body of the nation from breathing. This Ideology bears the entire responsibility for all the blood that has been shed. Do you need me to persuade you to throw it off without more ado? Whoever wants can pick it up in our place."

How can it happen?

Solzhenitsyn does not advocate a violent upheaval to free Russia from the Marxist curse. "Intensive study has convinced me that bloody mass revolutions are always disastrous for the people in whose midst they occur."

He does not even call for the establishment of a parliamentary democracy, which he feels Russia is as unprepared for now as it was in 1917.

"Let it be an authoritarian order, but one founded not on an inexhaustible 'class hatred' but on love of your fellow men—not of your immediate entourage but sincere love for your whole people. And the very first mark that distinguished this path is magnanimity and mercy shown to captives. Look back and contemplate the horror from 1918 to 1954 and from 1958 to the present day not one person in our country has been released from imprisonment as a result of a humane impulse!

"It is not authoritarianism itself that is intolerable, but the ideological lies that are daily foisted upon us."

As a counterproposal to the present system, Solzhenitsyn suggests the restoration of traditional Russian democratic forms; the Soviets, which were long ago suppressed; and Stalin's famous constitution, which guarantees all manner of liberties but with no thought of actually granting them.

"Would it be still within the bounds of realism or a lapse into daydreams if we were to propose that at least some of the real power of the Soviets be restored? I do not know what can be said on the subject of our constitution: from 1936 it has not been observed for a single day, and for that reason does not appear to be viable. But perhaps even the constitution is not beyond all hope?

"What have you to fear? Is the idea really so terrible? Are you really so unsure of yourselves? You will still have absolute and irrefragable power, a separate, strong and exclusive party, the army, the police force, industry, transport, communications, mineral wealth, a monopoly of foreign trade, an artificial rate of exchange for the trouble—but let the people breathe, let them think and develop! If you belong to the people heart and soul, there can be nothing to hold you back!

"You may dismiss the counsels of some lone individuals, some writer with laughter or indignation. But with each passing year—for different reasons, at different times and in different guises—life itself will keep on thrusting exactly the same suggestion at you, exactly the same. Because this is the only feasible and peaceful way in which you can save our country and our people."

"This ideology does nothing now but sap our strength and bind us. It clogs up the whole of society -- minds, tongues, radio and press with lies, lies, lies. For how else can something dead pretend that it is living except by erecting a scaffolding of lies."

people who called upon us to cherish and have pity on our past, even on the most god-forsaken hamlet with a couple of hovels, even on the paths that run alongside the railway track;... to keep horses even after the advent of the motor-car, not to abandon small factories for enormous plants and combines, not to discard organic manure in favour of chemical fertilisers, not to mass by the million in cities, not to clamour on top of one another in multi-storey blocks.

"No, we had to be dragged along the whole of the Western bourgeois-industrial and Marxist path in order to discover... what any village greybeard in the Ukraine or Russia had understood from time immemorial... that a dozen maggots can't go on and on gnawing the same apple forever; that if the earth is a finite object, then its expanses and resources are finite also, and the endless, infinite progress dreamed into our heads by the dreamers of the Enlightenment cannot be accomplished on it. All that endless progress turned out to be an insane, ill-considered, furious dash into a blind alley. A civilisation greedy for 'perpetual progress' has now choked and is on its last legs."

Based on the computer studies of the "Club of Rome," which predicts ecological disaster and the breakdown of civilization sometime between the years 2025 and 2070, Solzhenitsyn advocates a "zero-growth economy." This, again, necessitates the abandonment of the 19th century "progressive world view... Wouldn't it be better," Solzhenitsyn asks, "to give up the dead letter for the sake of a living people who are utterly dependent on your power and your decisions? ... Why dawdle, if we shall have to snap out of it sometime anyway?"

Solzhenitsyn holds Russia's vast expanses of as yet unspoiled land as the chief hope of achieving the stable economy and peaceful way of life he desires for his people.

... here lies Russia's hope for winning time and winning salvation in our vast north-eastern spaces, which over four centuries our sluggishness has prevented us from mutilating by our mistakes, we can build anew—not the senseless, voracious civilisation of progress—no; we can set up a stable economy without pain or delay and settle people there for the first time according to the needs and principles of that economy. These spaces allow us to hope that we shall not destroy Russia in the general crisis of Western civilisation.

"... throw away the dead ideology that threatens to destroy us militarily and economically, throw away all its fantastic alien global missions and concentrate on opening up (on the principles of a stable, nonprogressive economy) the Russian North-East."

"For half a century we have busied ourselves with world revolution, extending our influence over Eastern Europe and over other continents; with the reform of agriculture according to ideological principles, with the annihilation of the land-owning classes; with the eradication of Christian religion and morality; with the useless show of the space race; with arming ourselves and others whenever they want it; with everything and anything, in fact, but developing and tending our country's chief asset, the North-East. Our people are not going to live in space, or in South-East Asia, or Latin America, or in Siberia and the North that are our hope and our reservoir."

Considering the incredible suffering imposed on the Russian people as a result of the Marxist doctrine of class hatred and war, Solzhenitsyn feels they need and deserve the luxury of being able to concentrate on internal development.

"I would not consider it moral to recommend a policy of saving only ourselves, when the difficulties are universal, had our people not suffered more in the

tional spirit. Let us find the strength, sense, and courage to put our own house in order before we busy ourselves with the cares of the entire planet."

Internal Development

The focus of Russia's attention should be switched from "external to internal problems... our families, our schools, our nation, our spirit, our life style and our economy demands this of you."

"Our 'ideological agriculture' has already become the laughing-stock of the entire world, and with the worldwide shortage of food-stuffs it will soon be a burden on it as well. For centuries, Russia exported grain, ten to twelve million tons a year just before the First World War, and here we are after fifty-five years of the new order and forty years of the much vaunted collective farm system, forced to import twenty million tons per year! It's shameful—it really is time we came to our senses."

Along with economic poverty, spiritual poverty is a cause of concern. "People don't put any effort at all in their official duties and have no enthusiasm for them, but cheat (and sometimes steal) as much as they can... everybody is trying to make more money for less work."

Bearing in mind the state of people's morals, their spiritual condition and their relations with one another and with society, all the material achievements we trumpet so proudly are petty and worthless."

The burden of the Soviet military-industrial establishment also weighs heavy on the Russian spirit. "If we are to stop sweating over the short-term economic needs of today and create a land of clean air and clean water for our children, we must renounce many forms of industrial production which result in toxic waste. Military obligations dictate, you say? But in fact we have only one-tenth of the military obligations that we pretend to have. For the next half-century our only genuine military need will be to defend ourselves against China, and it would be better not to go to war with her at all. No one else on earth threatens us, and no one is going to attack us."

Solzhenitsyn also deplores the breakdown in quality of education and intellectual life; the burden on Russian youth of universal compulsory military training; and the breakdown of the family.

"Apart from not getting what they need from the schools, our future citizens don't get much from the family either. We are always boasting about our equality for women and our kindergartens but we hide the fact that all this is just a substitute for the family we have undermined."

"The demands of internal growth are incomparably more important to us, as a people, than the need for any external expansion of our power. The whole of world history demonstrates that the peoples who created empires have always suffered spiritually as a result."

Solzhenitsyn aims his biggest guns at the source of Russia's suffering—Marxism—and calls again for its renunciation.

Ideology

"A primitive, superficial economic theory, it declared that only the worker creates value and failed to take into account the contribution of either organisers, engineers, transport or marketing systems. It was mistaken when it forecast that the proletariat would be endlessly oppressed and would never achieve anything in a bourgeois democracy—if only we could shower people with as much food, clo-



"It was mistaken when it forecast that the proletariat would be endlessly opposed and would never achieve anything in a bourgeois democracy -- if only we could shower people with as much food, clothing and leisure as they have gained from capitalism!"

their national consciousness, Solzhenitsyn suggests that there are two primary dangers which confront Russia at the present time: War with China, and ecological catastrophe "in the crush and stench of a fouled earth."

The Weakness of the West

Acknowledging the overwhelming "success" of Soviet foreign policy in the face of a weak and vacillating West, Solzhenitsyn states that even as late as 1941, "not even the most unbridled patriotic soothsayer" would have dared to predict that the time would come when "... all the great European powers taken together would cease to exist as a serious physical force; that their rulers would resort to all manner of concessions simply to win the favour of the rulers of the future Russia, ... and that they would grow so weak, without losing a single war... that our eternal dream of controlling straits,

is population pressure; "but the main reason for this impending war, a reason that is far more powerful and indeed is the chief and insuperable one, is ideological. This should not surprise us: throughout history there have been no crueler wars and periods of civil strife than those provoked by ideological (including, alas, religious) dissensions."

To avoid this war, he calls upon the Russian leaders to abandon Marxism. Stalin, for example, in World War Two "wisely discarded it (ideology) and unfurled instead the old Russian banner—and we conquered." Solzhenitsyn advocates making "the same turnabout today as a preventive measure." With the ideological motivation removed, a Sino-Soviet war could be avoided. "Give them their ideology! Let the Chinese leaders glory in it for a while. And for that matter, let them shoulder the whole sackload of unfulfillable international obligations, let them grunt and heave and in-



"Our 'ideological agriculture' has already become the laughing stock of the entire world, and with the world-wide shortage of foodstuffs it will soon be a burden on it as well."



Berdyaev:

How Marx Misjudged Human Nature

We are pleased to present this second excerpt from Berdyaev'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.

Will the success of the proletariat, the abolition of classes, the establishment of organized rationality be a victory for man? He was borne down in the past by classes and class warfare. Will he survive in the future?

No. He will definitely disappear, leaving only a "collective" behind him. Hegel's philosophy long ago presented us with a marked anti-personalism, and this was taken over by Marxism. The proletariat is no longer content to be a class; it must be the one and only mankind. That is the final result of a class war waged on behalf of the oppressed and exploited. And that brings us to the very heart of Marxism and its theory of classes.

The Proletariat

Marx watched the antagonism between the classes of the capitalist society in which he lived; his observations thereon are often perfectly just and he was the first to draw certain true conclusions therefrom. But at the same time his proletarian theory was not scientific but religious, messianic, mythical; he created the myth of the messiah-proletariat, the unique class free from the original sin of exploitation, the elect people of God, saviours of mankind, endowed with every virtue. This myth belongs to a very different plane from which the empirical class war is actually carried on.

The proletariat is assuredly the most oppressed and outcast class of capitalist society and therefore especially calls for sympathy and deserves in justice to be released from its burden. But this is not equivalent to a guarantee of its virtue: it is made up of men who are like other men, good and bad, intelligent and dull, noble and base, and, as in all other classes, the wicked and the stupid predominate. The very fact of its numerical superiority carries with it a certain proportion of evil. There never has been and there never will be such a thing as a "good class"; it is not

"consciousness" of Marx determines the "being" of the proletariat. His teaching about the proletariat, which is at the center of all the class-war theory and controls the conception of other classes, pertains strictly to a doctrine of values (axiology). The distinction he makes between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie corresponds to the distinction between good and evil, light and darkness, superiority and inferiority. If it had not been for this moment of reference to worth, Marx would never have reached his conception of the class, which he always considers in terms of valuation. Theoretically and in his speech he was an immoralist, but in reality he was permeated by an excessive moralism which is apparent throughout his theory of the class war.

All his materialism, his atomism, his nominalism disappear and give place to another Marx who is an idealist, a pan-logist, a moralist, a man of religion and a maker of myths. His conception of class is only a scientific disguise; it is the axiological idea that is the decisive influence. He was obsessed by the facts of exploitation and of the conflict between the exploited and their exploiters, but the inference that he deduced therefrom was neither scientific nor economic: it was axiological and ethical. He tried to make the fact of exploitation clear by means of the theory of the surplus-value, which he took to be purely economic, although it contains an effective ethical element which determines it. Exploitation roused Marx to indignation and enmity. But for what reason? Why is exploitation blameworthy and why should it be condemned?

Without any doubt Marx here starts from an ethical premise, from which he concludes that exploitation is an evil and a sin, even the greatest evil and the worst sin. He could not reach this ethical premise scientifically or borrow it from economics. The problem of class war is not solely social and economic—it is also, and must be, ethical; but the two elements must be distinguished. Now Marx's theory of surplus-value and the class war is a mixture of the two notions: economics are "ethicized" and ethics are "economized." But his moralism is perverted, even demoniacal: he looks on evil

as the only highway towards good, and increase of darkness is the only means of getting light; brotherhood, equality, and friendship among men are born out of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, violence and repression bring freedom in their train. In some dialectical way iniquity changes into goodness, dark into light; the mischiefs of capitalist society must get worse and worse so that the glories of socialist collectivity may be established.

But Marx's moralism is perverted, even demoniacal: he looks on evil as the only highway towards good.

The Bourgeois spirit

Nevertheless Marx did not understand that the "working-man" can quite easily become a bourgeois and that subconsciously he is moved by middle-class ideas and instincts, as the history of the European socialist and labour movements has abundantly proved.

For the mythology of liberty, equality, and fraternity Marx substituted the messianic proletariat. He was unable to see the real proletariat in all its complexity of good and bad....

The working-man quite definitely wants to become bourgeois, and it is necessary from the social point of view to admit his right to do so. It is not the workers but a number of intellectuals and other representatives of a high degree of culture who show a strong aversion from the bourgeois spirit, and these live in the hope of seeing a new era in which they will be delivered from it.

Communists are themselves only the bourgeois of tomorrow or the day after. They can, like Marx, fight the bourgeoisie with the revolutionary spirit, but that is an unstable and passing phase, a brief moment in the conflict; things soon quiet down, the building-up of life begins again, and the bourgeois spirit reappears. This is true even of Soviet Russia where, at the heart of the Communist revolution, a new bourgeoisie is unquestionably forming, a bourgeoisie crueler and more avid for life than the one that preceded it.

The positive ideals of socialists and Communists are eminently middle-class: the ideals of the dreary paradise of the factory, of power, of material prosperity. This does not at all exclude the presence of a positive truth in Communism and socialism. But it is no good fighting the bourgeois spirit with an economic system (that is a valid weapon only against capitalism), it must be fought with another spirit: a class economic power cannot resist it, but a spiritual power can. It is in a sense true to say that all class mentality, even the proletarian, is bourgeois and shot through with a desire to exploit; the matters of tomorrow will be no less bourgeois than those of today or yesterday. The European bourgeois spirit of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries shows a great weakening of spirituality, an interest exclusively directed toward things visible, a denial of things invisible—it represents in fact, that "economism" so thoroughly absorbed and made absolute by Karl Marx.

Communism seems to us to be anti-bourgeois only in the degree that it is still a hidden thing and therefore calling for faith, self-sacrifice, and enthusiasm. In so far as it has been actualized and can be seen by all it is as bourgeois as capitalism. The bourgeois spirit is an eternal principle: capitalism did not create it but was born of it; and capitalism faithfully reflects the spiritual condition of contemporary society.

Freedom, Labor, Coercion

I often call to mind a well-known anecdote, attributed, if I am not mistaken,

to Louis Blanc. A well-to-do man was walking past a cab and he said to the driver, "Are you free?" (i.e. disengaged). "Free," was the reply. "Long live freedom!" exclaimed the passer-by and went on his road. Truly, such an interpretation of the words freedom and liberty is quite permissible, and it is the one most favoured in capitalist society. But we must combat it with a real conception of

liberty in social life, a freedom that will enable man not only to gain his livelihood but also to use his creative powers and follow his true calling: in a word, real freedom requires that the organization of society be such as will guarantee the opportunity of work and creation to every man.

This implies the disappearance of both social ranks and classes and their replacement by the trades and professions. A society based on work organized in its hierarchical degrees, that is, on real life, inevitably must produce a new type of corporate organization that would form as it were the primary cells of the body politic. All this implies a notion of work diametrically opposed to that of Marxism and materialistic Socialism, which look at quantity at the expense of quality.

Only a society of trades and professions and creative vocations which has rejected the rank and class system can be free from fictions and shams. But it does not end there. It must be a society wherein the sinful desire for power, which breeds vampirism, crass delusions, and the swindle of politics, shall have been reduced as far as possible. All hierarchy of quality will not be absent from this new society which man is so painfully seeking, but the aristocracy of birth and fortune will give place to an aristocracy of quality in work and creation, ability and calling, an effectively human aristocracy. In such a society freedom and love would be one.

In the Communist system the supreme center, the depository of reason and the fount of consciousness is the "collective," which is supra-social as well as supra-personal; it is not the interest of the workers that matters but the might and the development of the collective for the glorification of the Communist state. This is the result of the pathos of power which Marxism is imbued.

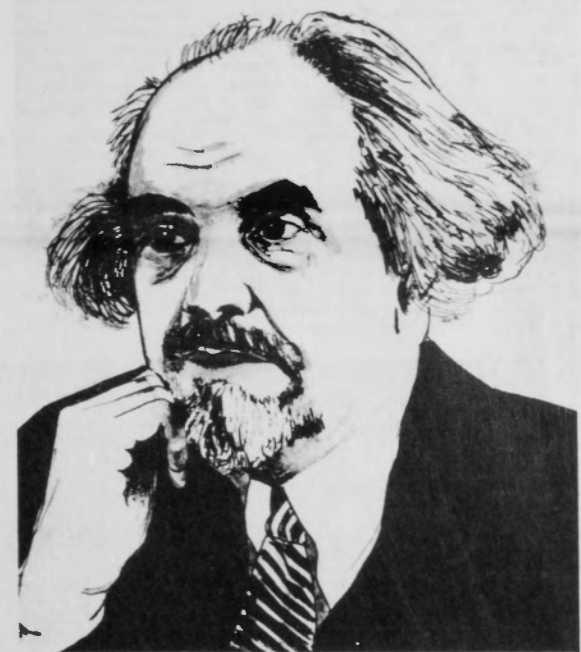
To this idea must be opposed a campaign on behalf of a certain dignity in life, of the right to work and to enjoy the property accruing from one's work of the rights of the consumer as well as of the producer. The consequences of the rationalization of industry, particularly as seen in the United States, show that actually the social problem is much more a question of distribution and of consumption than of production. It is also clearly a matter of technique, whose bewildering achievements (unforeseen by Marx) are precisely what have made the Marxian theory of class war ineffective for today. But technique and "rationalization" alone cannot solve the problem, for they leave its essential point, the relations between man and man,

untouched; they are more useless than anything else, because it is technical progress itself that so aggravates the moral and spiritual sides of the difficulty.

It is very necessary to examine the correlation of freedom and force, liberty and violence, for they are often responsible for mistakes and misunderstandings. Apparent freedom may well conceal a real compulsion and, inversely, apparent compulsion may be really a setting-free. Defense of freedom, that is, of the ultimate value, can easily be turned into a mere conservative principle which upholds the existing abuses of power to which we are accustomed; freedom is often understood and defended in such a way that all change or progress is impossible. A man in a materially privileged position is prone to see an arbitrary violation of his liberty in every reform which alters and improves the social regime; especially does he view a reduction of his income in this way. During a revolution, it is not

with bad conditions on pain of losing his job and consequently his livelihood, though his work may be called free because he can leave it at will, nevertheless there is frightful pressure put upon him and his liberty is an illusion. If a man is accorded the right freely to hold his convictions and beliefs but at the same time his material well-being depends on individuals who require of him other convictions and beliefs, there again is coercion and a suppression of freedom enforced by fear of starvation. The domination of public opinion sometimes involves terrible violation of the personal conscience, and even degenerates into a complete tyranny.

In studying the reformation of society from a Christian point of view the problem of freedom and force is found to be so complex that it requires very deep thought and a most acute perception for its examination. Christianity can in no way subscribe to the forms of violence and com-



only the fact of being imprisoned, of being refused freedom of speech, of being shot, that appears to him a criminal violence, but also the deprivation of those legal and economic advantages that were formerly his due. On the other hand, a man who is materially poor and degraded welcomes the reorganization of society as a deliverance, and sees criminal violence in the maintenance of a regime in which he was destitute and unhappy.

When a man is deprived of elementary economic rights and has no control over the means of production he is forced to sell his labor as a commodity; that is coercion, and a regime which allows that state of things is based on despotism. If the workman is ill-used, if he has to put up

pulsion exercised by the Russian Communists, who use murder, terrorism, and the deprivation of the elementary liberties of man, of his conscience and of his mind, as permissible means for the creation of a new society. Nevertheless, the Christian conscience may and must sanction certain kinds of social pressure, which must be looked on as instruments for the service of one's neighbor, for without them not only real freedom but also the material support of unfortunate men are impossible. Real liberty implies in physical life an economic guarantee for all; it supposes a social regime in which no man is required to make a living at the price of over-arduous or degrading work or of the integrity of his conscience.

AIM

from page 4

repeatedly.

• Gives permission to release this telegram to Congress and press, suggesting that it might be made available to the Columbia School of Journalism as "a case study of propaganda under the guise of 'investigative reporting' rather than a responsible journalistic effort."

The press tries to smear Martin

Evidently outraged by Ambassador Martin's outspoken criticism of advocacy journalism as practiced by *The Times* some newsmen demonstrated how dishonest modern journalism can get when Senator Edward M. Kennedy on April 2 released to the public a confidential telegram from Ambassador Martin to the Secretary of State. The telegram had been passed to Senator Kennedy by an anonymous informer.

In his confidential telegram, the ambassador advised the State Department that certain questions Senator Kennedy had asked about Vietnam policy be answered in testimony shortly to be presented "before the appropriate Congress-

sional committees which would consider foreign assistance legislation for FY 74." Ambassador Martin suggested that the State Department inform Senator Kennedy in a short letter that his questions "would be thoroughly covered in the testimony to be given in the near future by Executive Branch witnesses."

The ambassador argued that Senator Kennedy's staff was spearheading an effort to cripple South Vietnam through a drastic reduction in American military and economic aid. He said that any substantive answer to Senator Kennedy, so soon before the full Administration position was to be presented before the appropriate Congressional committees, would "permit another calculated campaign of distortion that would pre-empt the attention the presentation of the Administration's case should receive." Using language that he obviously would not have used had he known that his confidential cable would be divulged to Senator Kennedy, Ambassador Martin said: "I think it would be the height of folly to permit Kennedy... the tactical advantage of an honest and detailed

answer to questions of substance raised in his letter."

Anyone reading the telegram knew that the ambassador was not proposing withholding information about Vietnam policy from Congress or the public. He was suggesting that an opponent of Administration policies in Vietnam be told that his questions would be fully answered very shortly in the course of testimony by Administration spokesmen before two committees of Congress.

"An Ambassador's advice: Forget about honesty"

The above was the headline over a story about Ambassador Martin's telegram in *The New York Times* on Sunday, April 7, in the weekly news roundup. Nowhere in this 440-word story was there any hint that the ambassador had advised telling Kennedy that his questions would be answered fully and honestly in testimony soon to be given. The story simply quoted the passage recommending that the Senator not be given a tactical advantage and left the innocent reader with the impression that our ambassador in Saigon had indeed advised the Department of State to forget about

honesty.

It was not Ambassador Martin who forgot about honesty. It was *The New York Times*, which published this dishonest story under a dishonest headline in its Sunday edition.

The Times has displayed a little more honesty in its news story on this telegram in its April 3 edition. The reader who went far enough into the 2000-word story eventually discovered that the ambassador had suggested telling the Senator that answers to his questions would be given in Congressional testimony. What is more, *The Times* was good enough to append the full text of the ambassador's telegram, enabling the careful reader to discover what the ambassador actually said and why he said it.

Prevarication at the Post

Apart from *The Sunday Times*, the *Washington Post* gets the award for the most dishonest treatment of this story. In a front-page story by Dan Morgan on April 3, *The Post* said:

U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, Graham A. Martin, advised the State Department last month to deny Congress an "honest and detailed"

answer to inquiries about American policy in Indochina, according to a confidential cable made public yesterday. (Emphasis added) In order to keep his readers from learning that the ambassador had not suggested denying information to Congress, Mr. Morgan avoided mentioning in his 800-word story that the ambassador had recommended telling Senator Kennedy that answers to his questions would be supplied in Congressional testimony to be given shortly. Morgan quoted the first part of the sentence in the ambassador's telegram that said that, but he terminated the quote just at the point where the ambassador went on to say that the answers would be provided in testimony. This was obviously a deliberate omission to distort what Martin had said.

AIM asks the Post for a correction

In a letter dated April 4, Reed J. Irvine, Chairman of the Board of AIM, sent a letter to *The Washington Post* correcting the serious error in Dan Morgan's story. In a covering letter to Benjamin Bradlee, Executive Editor of *The Post*, Mr. Irvine said: "I believe that

Dan Morgan's lead was an inexcusable misrepresentation of what Ambassador Martin stated in his cable. I hope that you will have this letter printed in *The Post* or make some other appropriate correction."

What you can do

1. The story on the Martin telegram in *The New York Times* of April 7 was outrageously wrong. We suggest sending letters to Mr. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger President and Publisher, *The New York Times*, Times Square, N.Y., N.Y. 10036. Ask Mr. Sulzberger to have this story corrected. Also ask that he correct the grossly inaccurate story of February 22 on the National Academy of Sciences' study on defoliation in South Vietnam.

2. On the *Washington Post* story on Ambassador Martin, write to Mrs. Katherine Graham, Publisher, *The Washington Post*, 1150 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

3. You may wish to check your own newspaper to see how it handled the Martin story on April 3. Your editor may have used the story from *The Times*, *The Post* or the AP. If so, both you and he have a basis for a complaint.

Mindszenty's Appeal to the West

from page 1

precious help. First, I express my gratitude to His Holiness Pius XII who so often remembers the head of the Catholic Church in Hungary in his prayers. Then, I extend my deepest appreciation to those heads of Governments and Parliaments, to the leaders of various churches, and to many organizations and individuals for showing their concern and extending a helping hand to me and to my country during my years in prison. May God bless and reward them.

"I also want to thank the representatives of the world press and radio who have played such an indispensable role in reporting what happened in Hungary. I am glad to be able publicly to express my appreciation to them.

"Now I want to talk about our present crisis. Every civilized nation has sided with us and is trying to help. This is a great tribute to the moral force exerted throughout the world by one very small country. Hungary has one special distinction: in a thousand years of history, no nation has suffered more for freedom. After the reign of our first king, St. Stephen, we became a great power. After the victory of Belgrade 500 years ago, we had a population as large as England's. But again and again we had to fight for our survival and to man the ramparts of Western freedom. Because we spent so much of our energy defending Western civilization, our own ranks were thinned and our progress limited.

"This is the first time in our embattled history that Hungary has won the powerful sympathy and friendship of practically every nation. We are deeply touched and every Hungarian is glad to see that our friends abroad are showing their love of freedom by their willingness to lend us a helping hand. This may be the plan of Divine Providence to make mankind more conscious of a oneness with other nations. Our national anthem echoes the same theme: 'Bless Hungarians, God on high; reach to them

Thine arm of might.'

"In performing our duties, let us never forget that our struggle is a fight for freedom and not a revolution. After 1945, following an unsuccessful and, for us, a meaningless war, the Communist regime took power by force. The Hungarian people have branded the officials of that regime with every sign of contempt, hatred and aversion. That regime has been swept away by the people themselves. This is conclusively proved by the fact that the flower of our nation's youth is today battling in the front lines of a life-and-death struggle for freedom.

"Our Hungarian people are fighting for freedom because they want to be free to decide their own destiny, to elect their own Government, and to keep for themselves the benefits of their own economic production. We will not allow the noble purpose of this effort to be diverted for any ulterior political motive or exploited for an illicit advantage.

"The brutalities committed by the officials of the overthrown regime reveal the need for future legal prosecutions in every part of the country. However, this must be carried out only by independent and impartial courts. We must not indulge in private acts of vengeance. Officials and functionaries of the former regime are certainly responsible for what they did, for what they failed to do, and for all their unjust actions. However, preoccupation with revenge and the hasty denunciation of others can only handicap the resumption of production and the economic recovery of our nation. Our primary task is to extricate our nation from its present perilous military and economic situation.

"It is a mark of modern times to respect and seek progress in all things. Even old national feelings, therefore, must be reexamined and reevaluated. National aspirations and the spirit of patriotism should not be a constant source

of conflict among nations, but should promote true peaceful cooperation based on justice.

"Patriotism, therefore, should thrive all the more in a world which respects a nation's legitimate values and culture. One nation's progress should help others to progress.

"It is one of nature's laws that physical survival requires people to depend on one another. This is also true in the life of nations. We Hungarians wish to serve as the standard-bearer of true peace in the European family of nations. We seek a genuine friendship with all of them, as well as with more distant countries. A small nation, we want to live in mutual friendship with the great United States, and with the powerful Russian Empire. We seek to be good neighbors to Prague, Bucharest, Warsaw and Belgrade. I must mention our particular gratitude to Austria because of her brotherly friendship during our present struggle. For this help, she is held in special esteem in the heart of every Hungarian.

"Our whole future depends on the attitude of the 200-million-strong Soviet Empire—and on the intentions of its army stationed within our boundaries. Radio broadcasts inform us that the Soviets are sending reinforcements to their units stationed in Hungary. We are neutral and have given the Russian Empire no provocation for bloodshed. We know that, in the past, the thought that we would esteem them far more if they did not enslave us, never entered the minds of the Soviet leaders.

"Only an enemy nation attacks another nation. We have not attacked Russia! We sincerely hope that Russian armed forces will soon be withdrawn from our country.

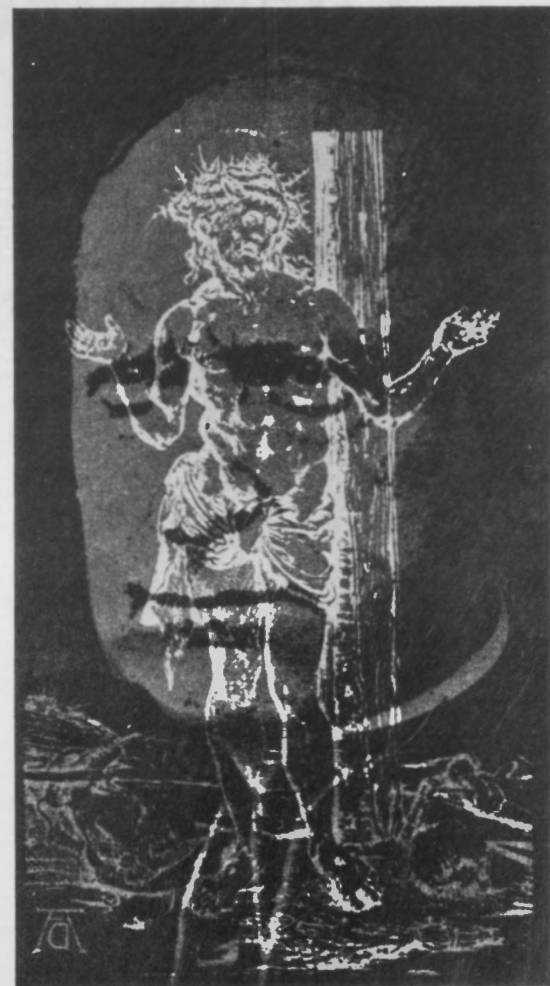
"I must stress the following obligations and duties. We live in a constitutional State, in a society without rigid

social classes, with a national objective of developing democratic institutions grounded in the principle of private property fairly and justly regulated. We seek to become a country governed exclusively by those loyal to the principles of our own national culture. As the head of the Catholic Church in Hungary, I solemnly confirm—just as we made clear in a pastoral letter issued by the Bishops' Conference in 1945—that we will aid legitimate and just progress. The Hungarian people want progress while still preserving all our valuable institutions which have such a glorious past.

"In my capacity as head of the Catholic Church in Hungary, I pledge that the 6½ million Catholics will assist in eliminating every trace of the former regime's violence and tyrannical impostures against the Church. Such action is the natural consequence of our attachment to our ancestral faith and morals, plus our devotion to the laws of the realm which are almost as old as the Church itself. This message to our nation does not pretend to be exhaustive, but I want to say enough to make my sentiments on these matters clear.

"Finally, I must pose this question: What are the supporters of the fallen regime thinking now? If their leaders had been adequately grounded in religion and morality, would they have had to flee when their actions were publicly exposed? This is only one of the reasons why the Church insists that freedom of religious education be resumed immediately. We also expect, in all justice, the restoration to the Church of Catholic institutions, societies, and press.

"From this moment on, we will stand guard to make sure that promises and performance go hand in hand. What can be done today, must not be left till tomorrow. We sincerely want to promote the welfare of the whole nation and we put our trust in Divine Providence."



Marijuana

From Page 1

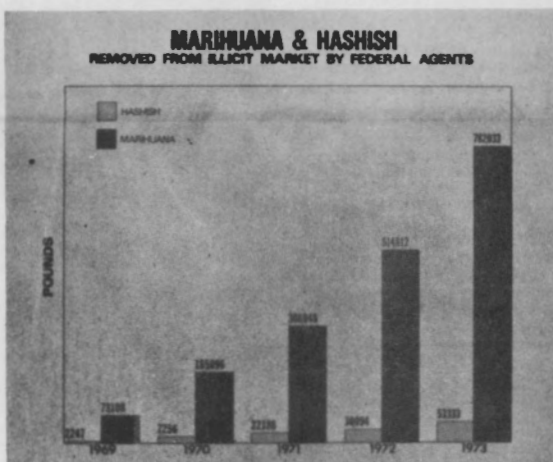


Chart showing increase in marijuana and hashish intercepted by Federal agents. Does not include figures from state and local authorities, which would make the totals even higher. (Below) Map shows marijuana and hashish traffic routes.

Another case involved a New Mexico motel owner who maintained a small air force of 20 high speed aircraft which smuggled an average of 500 to 700 pounds of marijuana into the U.S. every week. He and several of his associates were finally arrested by the DEA, but he was given only an 18 month suspended sentence and a \$1,000 fine. "Neither he nor any of his associates served any time in prison for their extensive crimes," Mr. Tartaglino testified.

In conclusion, Mr. Tartaglino said: "The traffic in, and abuse of marijuana products has taken a more serious turn in the last two or three years than either the courts, the news media, or the public is aware. The shift is clearly toward the abuse of stronger, more dangerous forms of the drug which renders much of what has been said in the 1960's about the harmlessness of its use obsolete."

Effects on Berkeley students

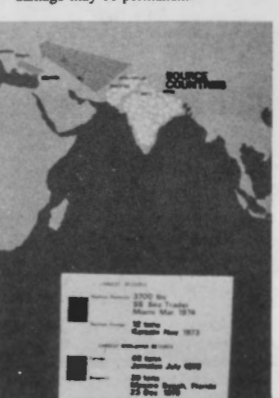
The second witness, Dr. David H. Powelson, M.D., was chief of the Psychiatry Department in the Student Health Service at the University of California at Berkeley, from 1965 to 1972. 1965 was the first year of the student riots and the year when hallucinogens were becoming



widely used. Dr. Powelson, being responsible for mental health on the campus and having to interview hundreds of students every year as a psychiatrist, was in a unique position to observe the spread of marijuana and its effects over a long period of time. (See the full text of Dr. Powelson's testimony on page 2).

At first, Dr. Powelson, lacking direct experience in marijuana use and having only sparse information available at the time, publicly asserted the popular assumption that there was no proof that marijuana is harmful and that it should probably be legalized and controlled. However, his opinions completely reversed after he saw the mental deterioration of some of his student patients as a result of their taking marijuana and hashish.

"I saw the same picture more and more frequently," Dr. Powelson recalled. "With small amounts of marijuana, memory and time sense are interfered with. With regular usage, the active principles cause more and more distorted thinking. The user's field of interest becomes narrower and narrower as he focuses his attention on immediate sensation. Without his awareness, he becomes less and less adequate in areas where judgment, memory, and logic are necessary. As this happens, he depends more and more on pathological patterns of thinking. Ultimately all heavy users (i.e. daily users) develop a paranoid way of thinking." Dr. Powelson also noticed that the effects of marijuana continue for several years after the user has been off the drug leading him to the conclusion that the damage may be permanent.



In conclusion, Dr. Powelson said: "My stance toward marijuana has shifted to the extent that I now think it is the most dangerous drug we must contend with... primarily because of the 'beguiling' nature of the drug and the fact that 'the user is not aware of the beginning loss of mental functioning.' Under

questioning, Dr. Powelson added that marijuana, contrary to popular belief, is much worse than alcohol, whose effects are more noticeable and not so permanent.

Ideological "pushers"

Dr. Powelson also mentioned that marijuana use "leads to a delusional system of thinking which has inherent in it the strong need to seduce and proselytize others. I have rarely seen a regular marijuana user who wasn't actively 'pushing' (in an ideological sense). As those people move into government, the professions, and the media, it is not surprising that they continue as (ideological) pushers." Further questioning by the Subcommittee's Senior Analyst, David Martin, brought out the fact that there are currently several groups "pushing" marijuana use and its legalization, sometimes under the cover of objective "education." Two groups Dr. Powelson mentioned were the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML), which advocates legalization and publishes a handbook for marijuana users; and the National Coordinating Council for Drug Abuse Education, which, under the cover of "rational approaches to drug abuse," publishes material and provides information which tends to favor marijuana use and its legalization.

Dr. Henry Brill, senior psychiatric member of the famous Shafer Commission which published its report on drug abuse in 1972, testified that the conclusions of the Shafer Report had been misrepresented in the media. "As a result it has been claimed that the Commission's report was intended to give marijuana a clean bill of health and as a covert, or indirect support for legalization of this drug. Nothing could be further from the truth." He said that the Commission had in fact recommended that "this drug should not be legalized, that control measures for traffic were necessary and should be continued, and that use of this drug should be discouraged because of its potential hazards." Under questioning, he said "We thought it (the Shafer report) gave a balanced presentation, but the way it was presented in the media was completely unbalanced." He thought that "wishful thinking" led people to emphasize only those parts of the report which seemed to de-emphasize marijuana's harmful effects.

New evidence

Dr. Brill said that "Scientific reports which have become available since the

report was written confirm still further the need for caution." He mentioned "descriptions of mental deterioration and acute psychotic reactions from even small amounts of cannabis." He added "... in my own view marijuana must still be classed as a dangerous drug, dangerous to enough people to warrant full control."

Three other Subcommittee hearings

are scheduled through May 20, which will give further testimony on the medical effects of marijuana, experiences with the drug in other countries, the international marijuana epidemic, and the role of militant propaganda in spreading this epidemic. *The Rising Tide* will provide coverage of these hearings in the next issue.

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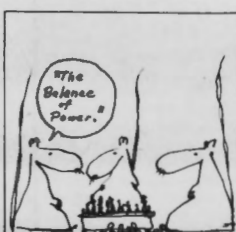
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THE RATIONALISTS

by Alexis Jerome Burgess



Cuban Detente and Its Implications

by Lorenzo Gastanaga

Advocates of detente with Cuba have used the argument of fairness to Cuba: after all, if we make friends with the Soviets and the Red Chinese, why not with tiny Cuba? A much more politically effective argument is the State Department's. The idea is that in order to improve our relations with Latin America, Cuba had to be included at the O.A.S. conference as a member of the hemisphere. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger went to great lengths to bring Cuba to the table at Atlanta. At his initiative the Mexican foreign minister openly invited the Communist Cubans, who then indicated that they had no interest in coming to the O.A.S. meeting.

Castro's Cubans for their part feel that since the U.S. broke relations with them in 1960, it is the U.S. who should try to renew them.

Although not officially, they probably feel the same when it comes to the O.A.S. Cuba's Communists were expelled only in part at the urging of the United States.

Protests

The idea of re-inviting Cuba drew protests from both Chile and Costa Rica. Costa Rica's president-elect Daniel Oduber Quirós stated "We don't have to beg Cuba to return to the O.A.S." President Quirós had travelled through many Latin American countries to promote his idea. He says that since the O.A.S. threw out Castro only the O.A.S. can allow him back, referring indirectly to the U.S. invitation to bring Communist Cuba back. Pres. Quirós has been working to strengthen the Latin American community by establishing joint Latin American economic ventures such as oil refining in Venezuela, backed by Venezuelan and Central American capital.

The Chilean Chancellor to the

O.A.S., Vice-Admiral Ismael Huerta, stated that "the Cuban case is a point of conflict and a disruptive factor in the hemisphere. The re-entry of Cuba to the Inter-American system would produce fissures in the structure and a break in its unity." Admiral Huerta at the same time denounced Cuban interference in Chilean affairs.

Castro Guerrilla Infiltration

During the past decade Castro has infiltrated Latin American nations with guerrillas to overthrow the national regimes and establish governments more to the Communists' liking. Castro supported guerrillas in Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, to name a few. Castro's infiltrators have operated in many ways. In Colombia they supported the local guerrillas with arms, money, literature, and propaganda from powerful Radio Havana. In Venezuela, Castro supported urban guerrillas as early as 1961 and 1962. The victims were often Cuban refugees, many of which were shot at, mugged, or had their homes bombed.

In Bolivia, Castro's guerrilla efforts gained greater renown. Here he went all out, sending Ernesto "Che" Guevara as leader of the guerrilla group. Many theorize that since Guevara's catastrophe in Bolivia, Castro had stopped exporting revolution. Those who think this way overlook two things: one is the use of subtler methods of subversion learned from experiences of more than a decade; the other is the specific case of Chile. Also, none should forget that the destination of nearly every hijacking which plagued a good part of the '60's was Cuba. Even though an agreement was worked out to stop hijacking, the terms of this agreement to Cubans inside and outside Cuba are both enraging and hilarious. The hijacking agree-

ment stated that Castro would return hijackers to the United States for prosecution if the United States would return Cuban escapees who fled by hijacking or stealing their transportation. This is based on the untenable comparison of the hijackers of a free world airliner (usually proven to be mentally unstable or criminals) with Cuban citizens driven by some of the worst oppressions to seek freedom. The agreement in effect cut down the number of hijackings and to date no Cubans have been returned to Castro. But in principle Castro gained because the agreement was signed on his terms.

Venceremos

Another more subtle tool of Castro is the Venceremos Brigade. A newsworthy item for a few years after its incep-

tion in 1969, Venceremos today is seldom heard from in the media, but it is very much alive, well, and active.

Today the Venceremos Brigade serves as a mouthpiece of the foiled Allende regime in Chile. Originally Venceremos was formed by Americans seeking solidarity with the Cuban revolution, and to date about 2,000 Americans have visited Cuba through Venceremos. They include minority groups such as blacks, Puerto Ricans, as well as white Americans. These groups claim to have gone for periods of as much as two months at a time and actively participated in the "liberation" struggle of the Cubans.

Venceremos is publishing considerable amounts of literature dealing with its own work and raison d'être. Most of it, including the magazine "Venceremos" deals in propaganda of the

achievements of the Castro revolution; such things as equal education and job opportunities for Afro-Cubans and women, (which existed in Cuba long before anyone ever heard of Castro); the 95% literacy rate (not mentioning of course that in 1958 Cuba already had better than 75% literacy). Other propaganda deals with Cuba's ability to produce crops to export and consume domestically, particularly the citrus industry on the Isle of Pines.

The Venceremos has just announced that their Brigade will go to Cuba in the spring of this year with about 150 people. Last July they sponsored Expo-Cuba in New York for two days. In their own words from their 1974 brochure, "the Venceremos Brigade plays a primary role in developing this solidarity with the peoples of the world. It is the only project that provides an opportunity for broad sectors of progressive North Americans to visit Cuba and see first hand its battle against underdevelopment and Cuba's support for the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The Brigade focuses its educational work on these struggles, and mobilizes large numbers of people in their support. We will continue sending progressive people from the U.S. to Cuba. We will continue our educational work around Cuba, and Vietnam, Chile, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and other peoples struggling for freedom."

Focus of Attention

Chile became the focus of attention in Latin America between 1970 and 1973 due to the election of minority president Salvador Allende. As the first democratically elected Marxist, Allende became the hope of the left for victory using constitutional means. Allende's personal and ideological supporters such

as the M.I.R. (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), and G.A.P. (President's Group of Friends) were armed, trained, and indoctrinated with the help of Castro. Castro sent advisors to insure Allende's success. Now that the Communist regime in Chile is gone, the leftists feel compelled to oppose by any means those who successfully toppled South America's only freely elected Marxist government.

Apparently the issue of Chile is being pushed very energetically by the leftists, and Castro's Venceremos Brigade is behind much of the pushing. The weekend of May 10 saw Castro-inspired pro-Allende activity in the Nation's Capitol, in which the Brigade sponsored a Forum dealing with the fall of Allende.

Edward Boorstein, described as a North American economist, was the first of two scheduled speakers. Boorstein claimed to have served as economic advisor to Pres. Allende and earlier had been an economist to Castro for three years. From this latter experience he wrote a book called *The Economic Transformation of Cuba*. The other speaker was Jeffrey Fox, a sociology professor from Illinois University who travelled to Chile in February as a member of the "Citizens Commission to Investigate the Status of Human Rights in Chile." The next day, May 11, the same Venceremos-sponsored group held a march and rally. The *de rigueur* allegations of CIA meddling, Fascism, racism, and sexism were made in the form of chants and speeches. At one time there were about 200 people at the rally. The events were sponsored by Venceremos, Young Socialist Alliance, and Vietnam Veterans Against the War. They called for the ousting of Chile's military junta and a return of the Communists to power.



Chilean students demonstrating against Allende.

Cambodia

from page 3

aspects of their lives. When people are forced to give up their private land to work in a commune where the products of their toil are taken away from them—when they are robbed of their few private possessions—they rebel. The Communist tactic of suppression by means of mass execution also has led to mass exodus.

Concerned with the plight of the war victims, the Khmer Government has used all available means to put them back on their feet. The Resettlement & Development Foundation—an autonomous association free from politics, financed by the national budget and aided by friendly countries—was established to provide land and living quarters for at least 30,000 refugee families each year.

Besides, many voluntary agencies such as the Catholic Relief Service (CRS), the Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE), the World Vision Relief Organization (WVRO), and the Indochina Operations Group of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) have been active in emergency relief and resettlement efforts. The United Nations agencies and many foreign countries have assisted as well.

Peace and Freedom

The Khmers are deeply interested in peace and freedom. Ethnically and culturally unique, the Khmers of the Republic—and now, many new Khmer "rallies" from the Khmer Rouge—do not want to allow the absorption of their race and culture.

It is ironic that the world which still mourns dead civilizations appears little concerned with the future of the Khmers' civilization, which is seriously menaced with extinction.

It is also ironic that the same western institutions which preach life, liberty and democracy appear unmoved by the Khmer struggle to achieve these same objectives.

More than an irony—perhaps hypocrisy and cynicism at its height—many people who preach peace refuse to acknowledge this most barbarous war, waged by the Communists in Cambodia, in the Indochinese conflict.

Lessons from this war could apply to many situations. As Ambassador Um Sim of the Khmer Republic read from an open letter of the Khmer Government to the Congress and People of the United States at a press conference on August 21, 1973, a few days after the halt of American tactical air support: "If the United States grows weary of aiding its friends and abandons them, even though they are willing to fight and continue fighting as long as humanly possible in the defense of their freedom and the freedom of the world, your great country will someday find itself alone."

Germany

From Page 1

allowing an East German Agent to be placed in his staff, and so he resigned.

The Party selected Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt to replace Brandt as Chancellor. Schmidt is expected to take a tougher approach in dealing with the Communists, with more emphasis on the Western alliance. The chief theoretician and negotiator of Brandt's Ostpolitik, Minister without Portfolio Egon Baur, will not be included in Schmidt's new Cabinet. Together with the death of French President Pompidou, Brandt's resignation is a severe blow to Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's policy of detente, which requires Western acceptance of the division of Europe. The Soviet press has expressed regret over Brandt's resignation while carefully neglecting any mention of the East German spy scandal which precipitated it.

Latvia

One of the newest FLF members comes to our organization with a unique perspective. Dzidra Rutensbergs, anxious to organize FLF at Towson State College, is herself a refugee from Communism. The young mathematics professor escaped with her parents from Latvia in 1952. Dzidra is especially interested in organizing student ethnic groups, especially among those from the Baltic nations, so that word of their activities can go back home, encouraging many who have almost no acquaintance with the Western world.

According to Dzidra, many Latvians fled the country in 1941, after having experienced one year of Soviet rule. At that time Latvia was caught between two evils. Hoping that the Germans would treat them better than the Soviets had, those Latvians remaining during the German occupation were very disappointed. Chaos reigned, Latvians

did not get any kind of self-determination. In fact, they were destined to be put in the category of an inferior race, to be used as workers.

Around the time that the Germans left Latvia, while the Soviet troops were on their way in, another wave of refugees was able to escape. Since the Soviet occupation, says Dzidra, "Latvians have been dispersed. The nationalist spirit is strong, and the Soviets fear the force of this sentiment." The ostensible reason is industrialization—workers have to be brought into Latvia. But at the same time, Latvians are being transported out—generally to Siberia.

Human rights are in about the same status as in other Communist-dominated countries. There is no freedom of information or movement; civil rights are routinely violated. "There was, for example, a young woman who tried to get

her parents out. Last March they made it. Their stories were horrifying. In order to obtain an exit visa, they had to have a medical examination. Subsequently they were told that they had cancer and underwent treatment. They were actually given drugs so that they became narcotics addicts. And there is a Baptist minister who lost his job because he prayed "for those who suffer." There is no one suffering here," he was told, as he was condemned for anti Soviet activity.

Of special concern to Dzidra is the information vacuum in Latvia. "There has never been such an absence of information. People are ignorant of both the West and the East, which is covered in a very distant way." The problem goes so deep that, says Dzidra, Latvians are becoming ignorant of values. "The idea that the individual has some value of his own is completely foreign. What is happening is that this attitude is leading



Dzidra Rutensbergs

to a pervasive apathy. Dzidra is hoping that the American Latvian community can generate enough spirit so that channels of communication can be opened with Latvia—she sees communication as essential in shaking apathy. She and her friends are investigating avenues of radio and samizdat communications.

"Not believing that the individual has any value, most people wait for the state to direct their lives. We can act to correct this."



Portugal

From Page 1

whether it can work out an acceptable policy toward its African territories. All of the factions on the left demand immediate independence and a settlement with the African guerrillas while the conservatives, supported by many whites in Angola and Mozambique, want the Portuguese government to maintain troops in the area and not to "abandon" them to the guerrillas. Spínola is known to oppose full independence, but desires autonomy within a Portuguese federation in which Lisbon would have ultimate say over foreign policy and economic affairs. Spínola reasons that hasty withdrawal would precipitate economic and political chaos and that Portugal—the poorest nation in Western Europe—desperately needs the mineral and agricultural wealth of the territories.

On May 6, Gen. Francisco de Costa Gomes, a leading member of the Junta, travelled to Angola to offer a cease-fire to the African guerrillas on condition that the liberation movements accept the "framework of the democratic program of the armed forces." Gen. Gomes promised that the guerrilla forces, which have been fighting for 13 years, would be able to participate in free political activity leading to a referendum on the territories' future at an unspecified date. Eventual independence was not specifically excluded. However, he stated clearly that Portugal

was not going to hand the territories over to the guerrillas. "No province, no race will have permission to impose a solution that does not pass the democratic test," he said, warning that the war against the guerrillas would go on as long as they refused to lay down their arms.

The guerrilla movements in all three territories, however, have announced their intention to fight on, regardless of the reforms promised by Spínola. Luis Cabral, president of the revolutionary provisional government the rebels set up in Guinea-Bissau, said in an interview, "Spínola talks a lot and he has been known to make a lot of promises. But we know that the only language he listens to comes from the guns of our forces hitting him and hitting him and hitting him again." In Dar Es Salaam, the Mozambican guerrilla group, Frelimo, declared that the war there would only end when the Portuguese Junta understood the right of the territory's people to independence. And Augustino Neto, president of the largest Angolan insurgent group, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, said that his organization would not disarm.

Native African parties

How the territories adapt to the new Junta and move toward a settlement with the nationalist guerrillas will depend to a great degree on the growth of native mod-

erate political parties, and the degree to which they will be able to mobilize both blacks and whites to seek a peaceful road to independence, rejecting the guerrillas. Initial fears of a Rhodesian-style independence movement failed to materialize, as the governor-generals of the territories quietly resigned and returned to Portugal. However, so far there doesn't seem to be any strong center party to moderate between the guerrillas and the Spínola regime, although movements in that direction are being hastily organized.

Spínola's problems are similar in many ways to the problem that deGaulle faced in Algeria, however Spínola is further handicapped by a lack of democratic traditions and political stability at home. Nonetheless, he has the respect and admiration of his countrymen, and even a grudging respect from his enemies, the African guerrillas. Spínola's enlightened policies in dealing with the native Africans went a long way toward removing the guerrilla's political base among the natives. Mr. Soares said about Spínola, "What intellectual stature the man has!—He accepted what was thrust upon him by the revolution, and he has done a great thing for his people." The respect and affection that the Portuguese and African people have for General Spínola may be the only thing standing in the way of anarchy for Portugal and its African territories.



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