

The Rising Tide

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

Vol. IV, No. 17

SEPTEMBER 9, 1974

More Violence Feared in Africa as Portuguese Withdraw

by Hal McKenzie

As Portugal's 500-year-old empire in Africa continues to dissolve, fears are widespread that chaos, civil war and big-power involvement will reign long after the Portuguese leave.

The memory is still fresh of the bloody civil war which erupted after Belgium granted independence to the Congo, now called Zaire, in 1960. The UN, Russia, the United States, and other powers were drawn into that conflict.

The new and politically unsophisticated governments who will take power in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique will have to face a host of tough problems. Poverty, illiteracy, tribalism, rivalry between guerrilla groups, tension between the black and white-ruled regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, and competition between Russian and Red Chinese interests threaten to make this area of Africa a major trouble spot for years to come.

Orderly transition in Guinea-Bissau

The smoothest transition seems to be taking place in tiny Guinea-Bissau. About the size of New Jersey with a population of 600,000, only about 5,000 of whom are white, Guinea-Bissau is the smallest and least valuable of Portugal's former colonies, having almost no industry or major resources. Nonetheless, a guerrilla war has been raging there for eleven years.

The guerrilla movement, called the Liberation Movement of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, or PAIGC, declared independence last September 24 and had been recognized by almost one hundred nations before being accepted by Portugal. On Sept. 25, Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares signed a transfer of power agreement with the PAIGC setting Sept. 10 as the date of independence.

Reports indicated that the transfer has not been marked by major violence or bad feeling. The PAIGC and the Portuguese are cooperating in the transfer of Portuguese military bases and resettlement of refugees returning from neighboring Senegal. A "de-facto" cease-fire had been in effect long before the official cease-fire was



Danger of Civil War in Angola

Prospects for stability in Angola, however, are not so promising. Angola was Portugal's richest colony, about the size of California and Texas combined, having vast economic potential based on oil, diamonds, iron ore and coffee. Much of the land is virgin soil, and mineral deposits await development. However, the promise of freedom has brought only fear and distrust among Angola's 5 million blacks and 700,000 whites and mulattoes.

Clashes between black and white extremists and between rival guerrilla groups caused thousands to flee their homes in Luanda late July and August. More than 50

people were killed and 200 injured in the rioting and looting.

Three rival guerrilla groups vie for power in Angola—the MPLA, the FNLA, and UNITA. The strongest and best organized is reportedly the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), which is said to enjoy considerable white backing. One white sympathizer was quoted as saying that the MPLA is "deracialized, Portuguese-oriented, educated and civilized." However, the politics of the MPLA, as with the other groups, is likely to be influenced to the left of center by the considerable aid they have received from Communist countries.

Blacks and whites are known to mingle in a friendly, easy-going way in the hotels, bars, and sports clubs of Luanda, and blacks and whites alike share squalor and poverty in Luanda's slums. However, almost no Africans are businessmen, bankers or lawyers. Fewer than 10 percent of the university stu-

dents are black. Most Angolans live outside of the cash economy. The largest group of educated Africans are the 30,000 now serving in the Portuguese army.

Bitterness in Mozambique

Portuguese officials have said that they expect a new government dominated by Frelimo (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*), which has been spearheading the fight against the Portuguese, to take power next year. Frelimo is one of the best-known of the guerrilla groups in the West, having the best "press," especially among Scandinavian countries, which donate heavily to Frelimo.

However, *U.S. News and World Report* quotes "an experienced diplomat" as saying, "Compared to African political movements that have won power elsewhere, Frelimo is less ably led, more divided tribal-

(Continued on page 8)



FLF President Neil Salonen addresses Sino-American youth workshop.

Chinese, US Youth Hold Freedom Workshop

More than 200 Chinese and American young people met together August 20 through September 3 to discuss the future of U.S.-China relations at the first annual Sino-American Youth Workshop for Freedom in Pawling, New York.

The workshop featured a number of leading American and Chinese professors and other experts in a series of lectures ranging from the philosophical basis of anti-Communism, to Chinese history, to the current trends in the American and international political scene.

Co-chairmen of the workshop were Lee Edwards of the Committee for a Free China and Richard T. T. Liu of the Organization of Free Chinese in the United States. Participants came from as far as Texas and California for the event.

Professor Cheng Chung-ying of the University of Hawaii was the first speaker, sharing the rostrum with Fr. Daniel Lyons, S. J. The two men discussed "Communism and Human Freedom." Dr. Cheng speaking from the point of view of a student of philosophy, and Fr. Lyons drawing on his many experiences through years of travel in numerous Communist nations.

The men pointed out the fundamental contradiction between Marxist-Leninist systems and essential human freedom and dignity.

The second panel featured Yale professor Dr. David Rowe and Hon. K. C. Shah, Chinese Consul General of New York, speaking on "The Chinese Lesson: Half a Century's Struggle against Communism."

Dr. Rowe examined the historical roots of Chinese Communism. He pointed out that Western involvement in China was not always for the noble purpose, citing the opium war as a tragic case in point. He went on to say that the Chinese Communists, while rejecting Western imperialism, adopted the wholly western materialism of Marxism and rejected practically all that is historically Chinese.

The Maoist revolutionaries, he said, "were so divorced from the historical tradition and environment of China, that in today's society we would call them 'in-mane.'" He continued, "Mao has violated the fundamental principle of Chinese psychology—the Golden Mean. In its place, he substituted the doctrinaire legalism of the first Chin emperor."

Amb. Shah kept the audience spell-bound with his firsthand testimony of the Chinese war experience. Held at a severe disadvantage by dishonorable Western agreements with Japan, the Chinese forces of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek were forced into an uneasy coalition with Mao's Communists. The Red Chinese turned against Chiang quickly and repeatedly.

He was forced again and again to compromise, sometimes to guard against defeat at the hands of the Japanese, sometimes because of pressure from the U.S. The result, however, was always the same: The Communists used deceit and treachery to gain land and aims, then cried "peace" when the advantage was solidly theirs.

Sunday's program featured Mr. and Mrs. (Lord and Lady) Lindsay, drawing from their years of rich experience on the Chinese mainland, both as friend and foe to the Chinese Communists. (Excerpts from Lord Lindsay's remarks can be found on page 2 of this issue—ed.)

A particularly exciting panel was given Sunday afternoon by Dr. Richard Thornton of George Washington University and Dr. Tai-chu Chen, First Minister of the Chinese Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Dr. Thornton presented a historical analysis of the development of U.S.-China policy over the last two decades. He em-

phasized the U.S. interest in keeping Communist China apart from the Soviet Union, while at the same time preventing a war between the two Communist states.

Dr. Chen, on the other hand, pointed out the moral responsibility of the United States to uphold commitments made to its historically loyal and ideologically compatible ally on Taiwan. Speaking as a diplomatic representative of the Republic of China, he expressed his confidence in U.S. assurances, and cited currently "cooling relations" with the Chinese Communists as evidence that an upgrading of U.S. diplomatic

(Continued on page 8)

The Rising Tide
P.O. Box 678 Ben Franklin Station
Washington, DC 20044

Nonprofit Org.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Permit No. 44294

Address Correction Requested

Communists Sabotage Population Conference

by Dan Holdgreive

One quarter of all the people who have ever lived are alive today; mankind has doubled its numbers in the last fifty years and is expected to double them again in the next thirty. Concern for how to deal with this unprecedented growth in population led the United Nations to proclaim 1974 as World Population Year and to hold the World Population Conference in Bucharest, ending on August 30.

Regrettably, this serious effort to insure the well-being of future generations was treated by the delegates from the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Republic of China as a platform for political demagoguery.

Over-population was denounced as a ruse to cover "exploitation" of the underdeveloped nations, and also was encouraged by the Chinese to develop larger populations for use in the "fight against imperialism." The Soviets and Chinese, joined by some third world nations, had all references to the existence of any population problems removed from the Preamble to the Plan of Action in the first sessions of the conference.

As a result, the Plan of Action which the conference has produced is a worthless, ambiguous document that gives more

attention to economic problems outside the scope of the conference than to the central issue of population. The Chinese delegate hailed this as "a victory for the third world."

In defense of this position the Communist bloc argued that overpopulation is an effect of underdevelopment rather than a cause; and that redistribution of the world's resources would automatically bring populations into equilibrium. The Chinese delegate cited Malthus' prediction that *population must outstrip wealth*, pointing out that in the 170 years since Malthus' death there has been a greater rate than population.

What the Marxist analysis failed to understand is that technological innovation has been responsible for the vast increase in wealth over the last 200 years.

The Marxist labor theory of value denies that technological innovation can produce wealth. Marx taught that labor alone produces wealth. Confronted with the situation of the poorest countries being those with the most labor, while the richest have relatively less, the doctrinaire Marxist-Leninist must believe that the rich countries—in some mysterious manner

connected with their ownership of the technological means of production—steal the vast wealth produced by the underdeveloped, overpopulated nations.

This leads to the simplistic solution of redistributing the world's resources. In reality many underdeveloped nations already have more natural resources than the wealthy nations, the difference being in the employment of these resources through advanced technology.

It is quite possible that the Soviets and the Chinese are not themselves deceived by their "solutions" to the problem of overpopulation. Lenin taught that the objective of the Communist Party was not to ease contradictions in non-Communist society, but to intensify them. Many of the proposals of the Communists have been made with the purpose of aggravating problems and weakening resistance to Communist influence.

On the other hand, given Marxism-Leninism's ability to deal with the creation of wealth by technological advances, it is possible that this simplistic analysis is the greatest sophistication they can bring to bear on the population question.

Cuban-US Detente Ignores Repression

Brezhnev's plan for detente between Cuba and the United States is quickly becoming a reality. The Soviet government moved into Cuban internal affairs initially to restructure and solidify the Communist Party, later wielding Cuba's economic dependence on the Soviet Union to force Castro to listen to and obey the Soviet line.

The Soviet line now is to collect as much "detente" as possible, while, in the process, taking the most and giving the least to the West.

The Soviet Union has poured millions into Cuba (See *Rising Tide*, June 3, 1974). It is logical for the Soviets to unload some of the economic burden to the West and as well as obtain official tolerance of the Cuban Communist regime by the United States.

The West, of course, is buying. U.S. allies such as Great Britain, Japan and Spain have never ceased trading with Castro. The policy, though, is reversed in the Western hemisphere itself. Venezuela was the first country to demand sanctions against Castro on the basis that Castro exported revolutionaries to a half-dozen Latin American countries, Venezuela included.

been watching, perhaps bewildered, the drastic shifts in U.S. policy. The memories of the Japanese shock at Nixon's visit to Peking are still vivid. It is conceivable that the Latin American leaders, perhaps a trifle tired of being the last to know what their North American brother is doing, jumped ahead with some Cuban detente on their own. Traditionally staunch anti-Castro countries such as Venezuela, Costa Rica, Argentina, and Honduras have made an about-face in their policy.

This shift in policy is rationalized with the arguments that Castro no longer exports revolution, that the Castro government—although still a police state—has solidified its government processes (a result of Soviet influence—see *Rising Tide*, June 3, 1974), and that trade with Cuba would be lucrative.

The U.S. press has praised detente with Cuba calling it belated. A *Washington Star-News* editorial of September questions if "anyone seriously believes that Castro's Cuba is any worse than that of his predecessor, Fulgencio Batista, with which we (the U.S.) had cordial relations?"

(Continued on page 7)

Consistency

For a long time the detente policies of the Nixon administration seemed to be aimed primarily at the Soviet Union and Red China. But in all fairness to the logic of "detente," such exclusivity could not remain for long. Last spring, when Castro and the late Juan Peron of Argentina were negotiating for the purchase of 42,000 Argentine vehicles, the U.S. approved the deal. (The vehicles were made by U.S. corporations in Argentina.)

Nevertheless, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger denied rumors that this was only a stepping stone for U.S.-Cuba detente. "We don't have any intention of restoring diplomatic relations with Cuba, and I don't expect that this will be a big subject this week" were Kissinger's words after attending the opening session of the Organization of American States conference in Atlanta, Georgia on April 21, 1974.

Inexperience

Many now speculate that President Ford's direct overtures towards Castro actually reflect the action of a president not experienced in foreign affairs relying greatly on his Secretary of State. This may be so. It is rumored that Kissinger wanted to open the way to Castro since the initial overtures to Moscow and Peking but that President Nixon's personal antipathy towards Castro prevented this.

Latin American nations traditionally aligned with the U.S. in foreign policy have

In This Issue Underground

Samizdat describes underground Christian insurrection, dissident writer's plight.....p. 2

VC-NVA Defectors

'Chieu-Hoi' tell why they defected, warn US visitors of Communist duplicity.....p. 5

Marxism in China

China expert describes how dogma prevents Chinese progress.....p. 7

FLF Founder

Rev. Sun Myung Moon's life. Itinerary of US tour described.....p. 4-5

Youth Council Trains Youth in Voter Registration Techniques

Over 100 leaders of American youth organizations attended a conference on "Youth and Politics after Watergate" here in Washington on August 29. Participating in the conference were representatives from the Republican and Democratic youth organizations, the NAACP, the Catholic Youth Organization, the Freedom Leadership Foundation, the Young Peoples Socialist League, and other members of the Youth Council.

Held in the Senate Caucus Room, where the Senate Watergate Committee hearings took place, the conference focused on the decline in popular participation in the electoral process, especially the lack of participation among young voters.

In 1972, according to one speaker at the conference, only 55% of all eligible voters participated in the election, and only 44% of the eligible voters under 24 exercised their newly won franchise. Citing these figures as an indication of a dangerous trend among young people, the delegates turned their attention to the causes and remedies of popular alienation from the democratic process.

In the closing address to the conference, Assistant Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger urged that young people respond to Watergate not by

eschewing politics as a career, but by taking upon themselves the responsibility of making government adhere to moral principles.



Richard E. Murphy (left), Legislative Director of the Service Employees International Union, debates postcard registration with Karl Rove (right), chairman of College Republicans and Special Assistant to George Bush. Moderator is Michael Cornelius.



'Communism is Dead in Russia'

by Raisa Petroff

Yuri Handler is currently working as a writer/broadcaster for Radio Liberty in New York City. He has appeared on U.S. TV and has lectured extensively on campuses throughout the United States.

American audiences were first introduced to Yuri Handler through a special edition of NBC News examining Soviet concentration camps, a program on which Handler related experiences of his five years in camp and exile before coming to the United States with his family nine months ago. In a 1968 Leningrad trial, Handler was sentenced for his active role in dissemination of samizdat literature, collaboration on the first edition of the underground *Chronicle of Current Events* and for writing letters to Soviet officials protesting government actions that he felt were in obvious violation of Soviet law.

Camp life, for Yuri Handler, opened up "the entire tragedy of the Russian people" and served to reinforce and heighten antagonism to the Soviet State. "I saw the fates of men sentenced for religious and political beliefs. If before camp I had any relation to the State, after camp I was completely divorced from it. I became a post graduate in the school of life."

"No one in the Soviet Union believes in Communism," Handler volunteers.

"Communism is spiritually dead in Russia. I haven't met a single man who fanatically believes in Communism even among my Party friends. They joined the Party because it is economically pragmatic. Living standards are higher for Party members."

Handler's perspectives on the USSR were formed through associations with dissident circles in Leningrad, friendship with dissident leaders Yakir, Krasin, Sado and Vagin, and intimate interchanges of ideas with fellow cell mates and exiles.

Yuri Handler believes that faith in a Communist regeneration of society in Russia has been replaced in recent years by a revival of nationalism and an idealistic search for new alternative systems of government.

"Russians need to believe in something," Handler notes. "These beliefs often take extreme forms."

Outstanding is the upsurge of religious faith among Soviet youth raised in an atheistic society. "Russia today is the most Christian nation in the world," Handler asserts. Much of the religious activity in the Soviet Union is centered around the Underground Church where a roving layman priest conducts secret services in private homes. Locations of services are continually changed, thereby making them difficult to trace for

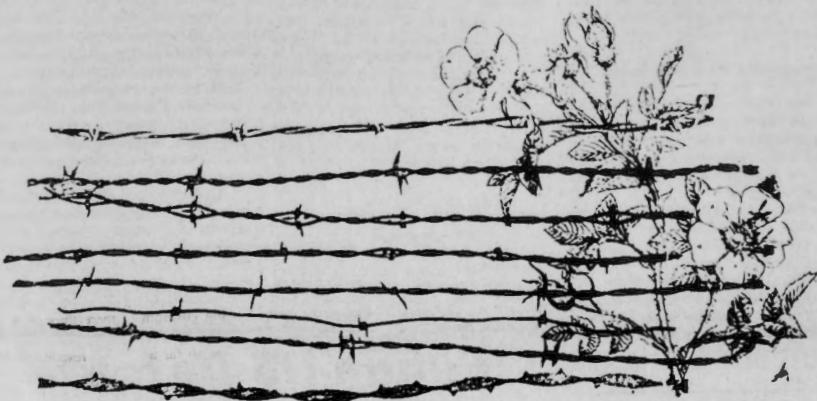
government prosecutors.

In a country where the difficulty of organized opposition is well known, in February, 1964, Russian Orthodoxy became the nucleus of a religious anti-government movement aimed at armed insurrection against the Soviet State. The All Russian Social Christian Union for the Liberation of the People fused religion and a quest for a new form of government with a revival of nationalism—a search for purely Russian cultural roots and traditions. The current popularity of Russian nationalism, Handler feels, was spearheaded by the continual prevalence of ethnic minority nationalism and, most recently, by the Jewish movement in Russia.

The Leningrad-based All Russian Social Christian Union founded by Ogurtsov, Sado and Vagin was structured in a system of troika cells to safeguard against informer penetration. Assuming that safety lies in small numbers, the movement was divided into units of three trusted members, only one of whom would have contact with the head of another cell. This system was described in practice by Fyodor Dostoyevsky in *The Devils*, a novel about the evils of revolution.

By February, 1967, the time of the

(Continued on page 7)



Soviet Writers Face Daily Repression, Harassment

by Victor Nekrasov

The Soviet writer Victor Nekrasov won the Stalin Prize for his novel *In the Trenches of Leningrad*. He fell into official disfavor when he demanded that the government fulfill its promise to build a monument at Baby Yar—site of a World War II massacre that included many Jews. He was dismissed from the Soviet Writers' Union and later imprisoned. He has been released. His account originally appeared in the April 17 issue of *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* in New York; it has been translated and distributed through the Samizdat Bulletin.

A few days ago I bid farewell to Vladimir Maximov, a good writer and a man who had not had an easy time of it, as he left for France. And before that I said goodbye to my great friend, the poet Korzhavin. And before that to Andrei Sinyavsky. Gone away, too, are the composer Andrei Volkonsky, the motion picture director Mikhail Kalik, the mathematician Alexander Yesenin-Volpin, and many others: writers, artists, poets, just friends. And Solzhenitsyn was shown the gate (vydvorets-Ed.)—and what a term they found for it! You won't find that expression in the dictionary. As if some lord and master had chased a worker off his domain.

They have left, they are leaving, they will continue to leave. You can't help stopping to think that over. Why? Why do they leave, all these intelligent, talented, serious people? For they are people to whom such a decision did not come easily; they are people who love their native land and who will grieve over it—oh how much! Why is this happening?

You think about it...and inevitably, totaling it all up, you start thinking about your own fate. And although it's your own fate and not somebody else's, still it's the fate of a person who was born in Russia, who has lived here all or practically all of his life, who has studied and worked in Russia and has fought for her—and not at the quietest sector of the front, either; and with three holes in the body made by German fragments and bullets. There are many people like this. Thousands, tens of thousands. And I'm one of them.

Then why, drawing up these totals in the sixty-third year of my life, do I experience an unceasing bitterness?

I'll try to be as brief as I can. It happened that at the age of 35, quite unexpectedly for myself and for others, I became a writer. And one who became im-

mediately well known. Perhaps it's immodest to say this about oneself, but that's the way it happened. My first book, *In the Trenches of Stalingrad*, which at first got some rough reviews among others, did finally win a prize and did go through edition after edition. Then other books of mine appeared. These also saw bad reviews and good ones, but they too went through many editions. And I began to imagine that I was doing something useful. In testimony whereof, here are my 120 editions in more than thirty languages.

So it went until March 8, 1963, when N. S. Khrushchev from his high tribunal, as our phrase goes, subjected my sketches entitled *On Both Sides of the Ocean* to the sternest possible criticism, and expressed his doubts as to the appropriateness of my remaining in the Party. With this as a starter, I was branded with shame from lower tribunals—at meetings, in the newspapers. They cranked up a personal case against me within the Party and voted a stern reprimand against me for having seen something in America besides skid rows and unemployed workers queued up for soup. It goes without saying that they stopped publishing my works.

The fall of Khrushchev changed my situation to some extent. It turned out that there were some things in America, after all, that one could praise, and my ill-fated sketches were published as a separate book. For a certain period, the gate to literature was opened to me again, and then in 1969 it was once more drawn shut: I had signed a collective letter in connection with the trial of the Ukrainian writer Chernomil, and had taken it upon myself to make a speech on the 25th anniversary of the massacre of Jews at Baby Yar.

At this point they expelled me from the Party. As the decision was worded: "for having permitted himself to have his own opinion which did not coincide with the Party line."

That is how I celebrated—almost to the day—the thirtieth anniversary of my membership in the Party, which I had entered at Stalingrad, at the Mamai Burial Mound, during the worst of the fighting.

Since that time I have ceased to exist as a writer—that is, as a man who not only writes but is published. The plates at *Novy Mir* were melted down; the two-volume collection of my works in the *Khudozhestvennaya Literatura* edition was prohibited; critical articles about my work were excluded from all anthologies; my

short stories were dropped from the jubilee editions about the Fatherland War; the movie film about Kiev, for which I had written the scenarios, was cancelled. In a word, were I not receiving 120 rubles as a pension, I would have to think of more than my creative life.

In ten years' time, three personal cases—which means three or four or even six months each time of conversations with Party investigators, of explanations to Party committees, of listening to all sorts of accusations, (these, in the third go-round, being simply libel and dirt)...Isn't that too much?

It turns out that it's not too much at all, but not enough.

On January 17, 1974, nine people, armed with an appropriate warrant with all necessary signatures, spent 42 hours (not including nights, it is true) in searching my apartment. One must give them their due—for times do change: they were polite, though insistent. They would say "excuse me," and dig through my personal correspondence. They would say "may I?" and take pictures down from the walls. Punching no one in the jaw and using no obscenities, they searched everyone who entered. And all women were politely invited into the bathroom where a specially summoned women employee of the KGB (such nicety, when they could well have done it themselves!) undressed them to the skin, and made them squat, and looked in their ears, and felt through their hair. And all this was done with due deliberation and seriousness, as though this were not the apartment of a writer but a spy's safehouse.

At the end of this 48-hour operation they put everything back in order, but carried off seven bagfuls of manuscripts, books, magazines, newspapers, letters, photographs, a typewriter, a tape-recorder and cassettes, two cameras, and even three knives (two hunting knives and mother's surgical scalpel).

It is true that two of the seven bags were filled with the magazines *Paris-Match*, *Life*, and *Observer*, and that some of the things have already been returned (including the knives, somebody having apparently come to the conclusion that I had no intention of stabbing anyone). But the main things, my first drafts, which had not even been typed as yet, are still being studied.

The warrant said that the search was

(Continued on page 7)



Underground Christian meeting

What Do You Think of the Tide?

We really want to know what you think! Please help us by mailing this survey.

- Are you a subscriber? _____
- How long have you been receiving the *Tide*? _____
Have you been receiving it regularly? _____
- How did you first become acquainted with the *Tide*?
A friend recommended it _____
Picked one up _____
Started to receive it in the mail _____
Bought from salesman _____
Other _____
- Which articles do you find most worthwhile? (Choose more than one if you wish)
Editorials _____
Ideological studies _____
Samizdat reprints _____
News from behind the Iron Curtain _____
News analyses _____
FLF Activities _____
Activities of similar organizations _____
Other _____
- The least?
Editorials _____
Ideological studies _____
Samizdat reprints _____
News from behind the Iron Curtain _____
News analyses _____
FLF Activities _____
Activities of similar organizations _____
Other _____
- What percentage of the *Tide* do you read?
Less than 20% _____
20 to 50% _____
50 to 75% _____
75 to 100% _____
- What are your areas of interest?
Southeast Asia _____
Domestic subversion _____
Dissident movement in the Soviet Union _____
Japan, China, and Korea _____
Captive European nations _____
Latin America _____
Political theory and ideology _____
Other _____
- In what way could the *Tide* be improved? _____

Additional comments: _____

Your occupation _____

Age _____

Educational Background _____

Name (optional) _____

Send to:

The Freedom Leadership Foundation
2025 Eye St., N.W., Suite 109
Washington, D.C. 20006



By Neil Albert Salonen

The Publisher's Column

Solving the Problem of Korean Residents in Japan

Kim Il Sung, however, is also waging his battle on other fronts. From Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam, Kim has learned that what cannot be won on the battlefield may be won through manipulating public opinion in the United States. Here in the United States agents and fellow travelers of the Kim regime conduct an ongoing propaganda war through front organizations such as the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center, which publishes the magazine *Korea Focus*.

Few Americans would take seriously such blatant propaganda as *Korea Focus*, which derives what little authority it has by quoting news manufactured in Moscow and Peking.

The purpose of Kim's campaign, however, is not only to influence non-Communist Americans, but to win Communists of other denominations into the camp of Kim Il-Sungism.

North Korea wages an even more intensive campaign among the over 600,000 Korean people living in Japan. These Koreans are important to Kim both as a weapon against the Republic of Korea and as a propaganda base from which to influence Japanese leftists. Kim Il Sung has worked to organize support for himself among these Koreans through a front known as the Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryun).

Through presentations glorifying North Korean life and the accomplishments of Kim's leadership, and through mass rallies and demonstrations in support of the North Korean regime, Chongryun recruits followers for Kim from among the Korean residents of Japan. These Koreans are then directed either into further work among the Koreans in Japan, cooperation with the Japanese Communist Party, or subversion of the Republic of Korea.

One example of Kim Il Sung's work among the Korean people in Japan was Mun Se Kwang, who lived all his life in Japan and couldn't even speak the Korean language. However, under the direction of the Association of Korean Residents in Japan, Mun was persuaded to attempt to assassinate President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea, a man whom Mun had never seen.

The Korean and Japanese affiliates of the Freedom Leadership Foundation have arranged exchange programs and seminars for Koreans living in Japan. In our experience one factor has been of primary importance to the Communist success: the Koreans in Japan are vulnerable to Communist propaganda because they have no other ideological framework in which to place isolated bits of information which they receive about Korea. Without such a perspective they are not able to distinguish between the truth and the Communist propaganda.

The agents of the Kim regime, because they do have a comprehensive ideology, have been able to win support for what is undoubtedly the most repressive society in the world. Unless we have a more powerful ideology of freedom, oppressive tyrannies like that in North Korea will continue to multiply.



Recent FLF-sponsored reception for young Korean residents of Japan who participated in a summer International Leadership Seminar was held at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C.

Finding a New Course for Free China

by Dan Graydon Fefferman

The question of relations with China, in what is no doubt history's most critical and complex period to date, raises difficult moral and political questions.

We currently maintain diplomatic relations with Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China on Taiwan. At the same time, U.S. initiatives were a primary factor in the admission of Mao's "Peoples Republic" to the U.N. and to the simultaneous ousting of the representatives of Dr. Chiang. At that time, FLF demonstrated its moral outrage and concern by organizing a 3-day fast and prayer vigil across from the U.N. Plaza in New York, supported by such international figures as Mr. Osami Kuboki of Japan, His Eminence Paul Cardinal Yu-pin of Taipei and Father Raymond de laeagher of New York.

The Nixon Administration pledged, despite the new relationship, that it would "not abandon old friends." President Ford has promised the same. Yet, several high-level trips to Peking by President Nixon, by Henry Kissinger, and by then Minority Leader Ford, coupled with a very thinly disguised diplomatic cold shoulder for Taiwan, have signalled a certain ambiguity.

To make matters worse, President Nixon signed a joint communique with the Peoples Republic of China—and President Ford has pledged to uphold it—calling for increasingly close relations, and recognizing that both Chinese sides consider Taiwan to be an integral part of China.

This move, which was made completely above the heads of our formerly trusting ally Japan, led to Japan's establishment of full diplomatic relations with the Red Chinese, in accordance with Mao's long-standing principle that such relations necessarily be based on the recognition of Red China as the sole representative of the Chinese people.

For several months previous to the above events, we had been calling upon the Chiang government to declare independence from China. We believed that such a move would protect the viability of his regime as the only hope of freedom for the Chinese people, even though granting temporary de facto sovereignty over the China mainland to the Communists. If our advice had been followed, the sorry state of affairs now existing might have been avoided.

The current debate on the China question can be understood only in the context of the worldwide struggle against Communism, in which our primary adversary is the Soviet Union.

Nowadays, the voice of the people calling for a return to the morally "pure" position of supporting the Free Chinese unconditionally has become so faint as to be inaudible in the ethical wilderness of today's tumultuous world. The debate is no longer over whether or not to establish relations with the Communist Chinese—it is over what the character of those relations should be.

Practically all politically powerful advisory agencies and individuals are agreed that at the present time the U.S. interest lies in using our influence with Red China to widen the gap between them and the Soviet Union and to increase our own bargaining power with the Soviets. In fact, we have a moral duty to prevent a rapprochement between the Soviets and the Red Chinese, while at the same time keeping them from all out war with each other.

It is not so odd, therefore, that the person most strongly arguing for full diplomatic relations with the Communist Chinese is the very person leading the fight against unsafeguarded detente with the Soviet Union: Senator Henry Jackson. Jackson, of course, is also interested in building his image as the hardline-but-broad-visioned alternative to the mushy-thought-activist international policies of the Nixon years. One might also point to the influence upon Senator Jackson from the aircraft lobby, which has a definite economic interest in opening trade with the Communist Chinese.

Jackson seems to be arguing that we should grant full recognition to the PRC, that we should cut our diplomatic ties with Taiwan, but that we should keep our military and economic commitments to the Chiang government there through a diplomatic liaison.

In effect, the two positions don't seem to be so far apart. No responsible American leader, we hope, would be willing to allow a situation in which Taiwan would be overrun by the Communists. The key is to get the Red Chinese to agree to accepting Taiwan as a separate Chinese nation. Given the current international situation, it would strengthen the position of the United States and of the Free World greatly if Taiwan would now move to declare independence on its own, rather than being forced into it after the new Chinese-American relationship is finalized.



Mr. Fefferman addresses Labor Day Sino-American youth workshop in Pawling, New York.

In Brief...

New Trends Emerge In Park's Korea

A hopeful sign in East Asia is the recent lifting by South Korean President Park Chung Hee of two emergency decrees outlawing political expression of opposition to the South Korean government. Park had imposed the regulations in concern that political divisions in the country could be used by Communist forces to create confusion and justify an invasion in a repeat of North Korea's 1950 strategy which led to the tragic Korean war. He had come under increasing international criticism, however, for stifling the democratic process.

Park's decision to lift the decrees may ironically be linked in part to a revival of national anti-Communist spirit after the slaying of Park's wife, Young Soo, by a pro-Kim Il-sung Korean resident from Japan. Traditional Korean anti-Japanese sentiment, too, has been revived by the incident; and has been compounded by alleged lack of cooperation from Japanese police in prosecuting accomplices. Scores of thousands of Koreans have demonstrated almost daily, chanting anti-Communist and anti-Japanese slogans, far outnumbering the widely publicized anti-Park rallies several months ago by several groups of liberal Korean Christians.

Whether the new patriotic fervor in Korea can be channeled into stable democratic government remains to be seen. Opposition leaders have been quite vocal with the lifting of the presidential decrees, and they seem to have met with little governmental opposition. Popular support at present seems to rest solidly with the government.

For the time being, the primary question is regarding the future of South Korea's crucial relationship with Japan. A realization of the threatened break with Japan would be devastating. Hopefully, the situation will be eased by more energetic cooperation by Japanese authorities in prosecuting the assassin's accomplices.



North Korean dictator Kim Il-sung (left) and South Korean ruler Chung Hee Park.

Controversy Over Diego Garcia

As predicted (see Tide, April 9) the issue of the proposed U.S. base on Diego Garcia has quickly surfaced and is now an issue of international and intra-administration controversy. CIA Director William Colby's testimony on Russian influence in the Indian Ocean downplayed Soviet strength and in effect contradicted that of Admirals Zumwalt and Moorer, who had emphasized the need for a U. S. counterbalance to unchecked Soviet naval superiority in the area.

While not directly challenging the naval experts' testimony, Colby stated that the construction of a U.S. base on Diego Garcia, rather than balancing Soviet superiority, might actually

stimulate the Soviets to speed up construction of new facilities which are currently being built up relatively slowly. Critics of Colby's implication point to the lesson of history that strong U.S. responses to Soviet encroachment have practically always succeeded in checking Communist expansion, while weak responses have only encouraged further aggression.

President Gerald Ford went on record in support of construction of the base, and stuck to his guns when challenged by statements of the Soviet Union. The issue could be an important one to watch as a test of the bargaining endurance of the new American President.

are calling for multi-party and multi-racial government in the newly emerging nations. They realize that rule by arms alone can only harm the majority of the people.

On September 11, the House will be considering a bill to continue the sanctions against Rhodesian chrome. Supporters of the bill say sanctions should continue on moral grounds; critics say the alternative of buying chrome from the USSR is on even shakier moral grounds.

In this case, morality could best be served if our legislators could consider a course which can serve the best interests of all Africans, black and white, while defusing the growing polarization leading to war.

Correction

This photograph, appearing on page one of the August 26 *Rising Tide* is of Congressman O. C. Fisher of Texas, (left) addressing an International Cultural Foundation reception. He was incorrectly identified as Congressman Ruth. Our apologies to both congressmen.



Rhodesia, South Africa --Tensions Increase

With Portugal's granting of independence to its former colonies of Angola and Mozambique, Rhodesia faces a terrifying prospect. It has an indefensible long border with Mozambique, which may become dominated by Frelimo, the Mozambique guerrilla group which has been supporting guerrilla terrorists in Rhodesia itself.

Meanwhile, South Africa is gearing for war. With its powerful arms industry, South Africa can afford to feel secure for now; but, with enough Communist-supplied arms *a la* the Middle East, a determined African bloc can close the arms gap before long. Such an arms race would trigger a war as violent as any since World War Two.

Liberals can smugly say that the white-ruled regimes are only reaping what they've sown from

their white-supremacist policies. This may be partly true, but it forgets the fact that the main victims of guerrilla terror have been the black majority. This is especially true in Rhodesia, where the tactics of ZANU and ZAPU involve indiscriminate murder and mutilation of innocent people, most of whom have been black.

In general, whenever a terrorist minority takes power, the majority suffers most, not the old ruling minority, who can always afford to leave the country. The record of Marxist-Leninist revolution clearly shows that a Communist-dominated Africa will only result in the enslavement of blacks by other blacks.

Not only whites, but many Black leaders such as Joana Simeao, leader of GUMO, in Mozambique

The Rising Tide

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

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

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

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

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE

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

International Federation Converts Thousands to Fight for Victory Over Communism

The International Federation for Victory Over Communism (IFVC) is the largest organization of its kind. Since it began in South Korea in 1968, the IFVC has expanded to over 20 countries and boasts a membership of over 500,000.

As a measure of its effectiveness, North Korean propaganda has branded IFVC as "public enemy number three" after "U.S. Imperialism" and the "Pak Chung Hee Puppet Clique." In Japan, where IFVC is known as the largest single anti-Communist group, anti-IFVC attacks occur almost daily in the Communist journal *Red Flag* (Akhata).

In 1972, FLF became the American affiliate of the IFVC and its official representative in the United States.

A major influence in Korea

Activities of the founders of the IFVC began as early as 1966 in South Korea, but the organization was not officially established until January 13, 1968. At that time Mr. In Chul Kim, a long-time anti-Communist activist, former provincial police director and former director of the Korean Transportation Company, became chairman of the organization.

The founder of IFVC, the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, developed a scientific and religious concept of nature, mankind, and human history which is compiled in a book called *The Divine Principle* in English. This became the basis for IFVC's strategic "Ideology for Victory over Communism" through the efforts of IFVC Vice-Chairman

Dr. Sang Hun Lee, author of *Communism: a Critique and Counterproposal*.

IFVC is unique among other organizations because it is not merely anti-Communist but calls for ideological victory over Communism. It not only exposes the fallacies of Marxism-Leninism, but offers an alternative view of human nature, history, and a method through which a world of peace, freedom, and justice can be realized.

Activities

The basic activities of IFVC are:

- To conduct research in the further development of the theory of Victory over Communism;
- To give educational training to people willing to work for victory over Communism;
- To conduct a propaganda campaign via street-side activities, lecture meetings, rallies, etc.;
- To inform the public of the fallacy of Communist ideology through the publication of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, etc.;
- To organize an international unified front for victory over Communism by promoting friendship and cooperation with other organizations at home and abroad.

The IFVC in Korea has given lectures to nearly 11 million students, workers, professors, soldiers, and clergymen, usually at their place of work or schools. IFVC also conducts week-long training at its 400-capacity training center outside of Seoul. Over 53,000 have graduated from



IFVC members teach counterproposal to Communist ideology on streets of Tokyo.

the training center as of last year. Also at least seven groups of between 150-200 Japanese students have been trained at the center.

The government cooperates in inviting people from all over Korea to attend the lectures and training. The government had been conducting its own anti-Communist educational program, but IFVC's program, begun on private initiative, became so popular that the government was compelled to supplement its program with IFVC training.

IFVC growing in Japan

The 10,000-member Japanese IFVC has declared all-out "ideological war" against the spreading Communist threat in that country. Their weapons include daily street-speaking, selling newspapers and pamphlets, and giving sidewalk lectures on VOC theory. Nine FLF members participated in these street campaigns during a fact-finding tour in September, 1970.

IFVC volunteer workers have often been assaulted and face constant harassment from Japanese leftists, especially from the radical "Zengakuren" youth movement. At least 40 IFVC members have been hospitalized by beatings and stabbings adminis-

tered by Japanese radicals, although fortunately no deaths have been reported so far.

Leftists avoid ideological debate with IFVC street-side lecturers because they have found that they are always defeated in an ideological confrontation. Last year radicals began a campaign to infiltrate their members *en masse* into IFVC ranks. But after several leftists defected to the IFVC, the communist leaders had to set up an "iron curtain" between their members and IFVC. One youthful IFVC member said "You could always pick out the infiltrators—they always had a look of fear on their faces."

IFVC is known as the largest anti-Communist movement in Japan, which is heavily influenced by a leftist-dominated media. An anti-Communist politician, Mr. Kitaoka, told a group of FLF members that "IFVC is the only mass movement for victory over Communism in Japan."

As an indication of its strength, the Japanese IFVC held one of the biggest victory over Communism rallies in history, the Third World Anticommunist League (WACL) rally, held at Tokyo's Budokan Hall on September 20, 1970. Over 25,000 people, including 250 delegates from 53 countries attended the event.

aides during their visit to Japan and the Republic of China in order to assess the situation in China just prior to President Nixon's visit to China. IFVC hosted the aides during their stay in Tokyo, and IFVC members greeted them wherever they traveled in Japan. The dedication and zeal of the IFVC members left a deep impression on the aides.

Since June of last year, Japanese IFVC president Mr. Osami Kuboki has been holding mass meetings throughout the islands of Japan on the theme of "Prophecy for the Salvation of the Nation." Mr. Kuboki spoke at 102 occasions with a combined attendance of around 120,000 as of March this year.

Seminars

Additional IFVC activities have included an Asian Professor's Seminar in 1973 when professors from the Republic of China, Korea, and Japan were hosted for a one-week visit and seminar to discuss ways of uniting the three Asian countries in a common ideological front against Communism. An ongoing exchange of Korean, Free Chinese, and Japanese students also goes on between IFVC chapters in the three countries.

FLF has been teaching the VOC theory in the United States through its educational arm, the World Freedom Institute.

IFVC's greatest achievement has been its successful appeal to youth. The key to this success is in the fact that IFVC takes an ideological approach. The VOC theory teaches that Marxism's greatest error is its belief that the material world and material relationships alone determine human consciousness, religion, and culture. Herein lies the root of Communism's anti-human nature and the seed of its own ultimate destruction.



The Asian Students Anti-Communist Convention was first organized by IFVC in 1969.

FLF Founder Sun Myung Moon One Man's Struggle for Truth

Reverend Sun Myung Moon, founder of the Freedom Leadership Foundation, the International Federation for Victory over Communism, and several other international organizations, bases his fight against Communism upon religious conviction and personal experience.

The son of Christian converts in North Korea, Rev. Moon drew numbers of followers to his ideas of Christian unification. He was subsequently jailed and beaten by Communist North Koreans at Dae Dong Police Department at Pyongyang in 1946.

Shortly after his release he was re-arrested and sent to Hung-nam labor camp. Compelled to bag, weigh and transport lime at the rate of a one hundred pound bag per team per minute, the prisoners had a life expectancy of three months. Rev. Moon worked hard, earning himself a medal as a model prisoner. He survived for over two years through his adaptation to prison life. He trained himself to exist on even less than his scanty ration; he would use his drinking water to cleanse himself, thereby avoiding the infections suffered by most inmates through their bathing in polluted water.

Those years built in him a strong determination:

"When I was imprisoned in North Korea under the Communist regime," he said, "it was right in the prison cell that I became resolved to fight forever against evil. I was confident that I would win over it. I said to myself, 'However strong Kim Il-Sung's power may be, if I am well trained in prison and go through hardship here, I will be able to be victorious over anything.'"

"I was ready to eat any food they gave me—or even to starve. In North Korea the winter temperature is very cold. Even though I was wearing only thin clothes without any lining, I could bear the cold. The labor in prison started at 8:00 in the morning, but as early as 4:00 they would call us out in the open air and check to see if we had anything hidden inside our clothing. Out in the cold air, people would shiver—their trembling sounded almost like thunder. In that situation, I would always say to myself, 'Even if it gets colder, I will not surrender to it.' I did not feel cold at all. I trained myself by giving thicker, heavier clothing to other people, and clothing myself in thin clothes. I would look for heavier work, and say to

myself, 'I will succeed in doing this, or I will die.' With that seriousness, I fought my circumstances."

As he saw starving prisoners take rice out of the mouths of prisoners fallen dead in the mess halls, he deepened his determination to fight against this system which places no value on human life.

In the years following the Korean War, Reverend Moon devoted himself to building up the ecumenical Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity—itsself a powerful force against Communism through its emphasis upon man's spiritual development.

In 1968, Rev. Moon founded the International Federation for Victory Over Communism and in 1969 the Freedom Leadership Foundation, (see accompanying article.)



In the education work of the organizations, Rev. Moon stresses that a constructive ideology is necessary to fight Communism. He characterizes the difference between the Communist and the ideal systems:

"Good and evil are fundamentally different. Evil asks everything, everyone for itself. It asks everyone to be and exist for himself. But good lives for others. The way to destruction is to conquer others; the way to prosperity is to serve others. We have to understand that this is the dividing point. When we follow the formula of good, we become the greatest people. But if we go the other way, we become dictators. The saints are those who sacrificed themselves for the sake of mankind and God."

"The Communists are entirely opposed to this view. According to Communist ideology, 'Mine is mine, and yours is mine' [all things belong to the state]. For that reason, we can predict that Communism will not last long. To achieve their goal, the Communists never choose the least or the smallest but the greatest and largest for themselves. On our parts, we must think, 'Mine is yours, and yours is mine,' and the nation's is the world's, and the world's is God's—and God's is mine.' If we become people like that, then God will want to give His heart to us."

Reverend Moon's IFVC training is well received in Korea and gaining prominence there. But Rev. Moon sees that America has a key role in the preservation of world freedom. For this reason he is embarking on his eight-city tour, third in three years. Last year he challenged Americans:

"We need a spiritual revolution in America. A revolution of heart must come to America. Individualism must be tied into God-centered ideology. Who is going to do this? Who is going to kindle the hearts of American youth? Will the President do this? Will wealthy American business do this? Will American churches do this?"

America, he says, must become fully conscious of its international sacrificial role. This, he says, is essential for the destruction of Communism and the creation of world peace:

"God's purpose is the salvation of the world and all mankind. Today in America therefore, you must not think that you have such wealth because you yourselves are great. We must humbly realize that the blessing of God came to America with the purpose of making it possible for God to use this nation as His instrument in saving the world."

"If America betrays God, where can God go? If America rejects God, where can God go to fulfill His aim? Do you want to let Him try to go to the Communist world? To underdeveloped countries? God wants to have America as His base. America as His champion. And America was begun in the sacrificial spirit pursuing God's purpose. America must consummate her history in the same sacrificial spirit for God's purpose. Then America will endure forever!"

Congressional Aide Tour

In January 1972 FLF arranged a meeting between IFVC and eight congressional



Federation members face violent attack from Marxist extremists in preparation for 1970 World Anti-Communist League Conference.

A MASTERPIECE OF POLITICAL THEORY

In one book you can learn what Communist theory is, what's wrong with it, and a unique counterproposal. Dr. Sang Hun Lee's years of study of Marxism-Leninism, plus deep thought about an alternative, has produced a momentous work containing all you need to know about the basics of Communist theory.

READ AND LEARN

* Economics as an extension of values

* What Marx valued and how it showed up in his economics

* How modern industry has disproved Marx's economic theories

* The law of Diminishing Returns - Do they really diminish?

* The fallacy of matter-created spirit

* The dialectic - is conflict an integral part of our world? The means to an end or the end itself? Is it a valid way to bring harmony?

* How Marx misperceived class conflict.

* What forces mold history?

* What causes progress?



Please send me

Communism: A Critique and Counterproposal

Name

Address

Send to: Freedom Leadership Foundation
2025 Eye Street, N.W. 109
Washington, D.C. 20006

Based on the thought of Sun Myung Moon

Published by the Freedom Leadership Foundation \$5.00

Former V C Challenges U.S. Visitors:

*'Do you want all those lives
and all that money to go down
the drain?'*

by Louise Berry

There were several incidents during the recent youth delegation tour to Vietnam that reminded me how far I was from white middle-class America. One was the reply of a Con Son prisoner when I asked him why he had been imprisoned. "Murder," he said, as he stood only two feet away from me. And "murder" said the next, and the next.

That night we met seven North Vietnamese and Vietcong defectors (See *Rising Tide*, July 1.) As the ex-political commissar, the ex-major, the ex-special forces officer, the ex-doctor, and the others explained their discovery of Communist hypocrisy, I noticed that one of the defectors stared at us intently with a look of mixed curiosity and shock.

The group had hardly explained the minimum about themselves before one asked: "Now may we ask you a few questions?" They were as anxious to find out about us as we about them. The young man staring at us, an ex-Communist for only a few days, was perhaps incredulous to find himself liking the U.S. Imperialists he had been taught so recently to hate.

One of the boldest ones initiated. "Please explain all of the anti-war demonstrations. Were those people propagandized by the Communists?... How come you are so far away from the Communists and yet still so influenced by them?"

"In America, when you use the term 'Communists,' it becomes a very difficult question," answered FLP Secretary General Dan Fefferman. "We have many different kinds of Communists. And different people have different definitions of what a Communist is. So some people might think that our friend who is a socialist is actually a Communist (referring to delegation member George Curtin). But I don't. In the United States today we have a Communist party, which is associated with the Soviet Union. And different people have different ideas about exactly how strong the Communist party is. We also have many other kinds of Communists, like Trotskyists, and Maoists, and independent kinds of Communists."

"You make it sound like everybody and his brother is a Communist," said George Curtin.

"All of these together make up a very small percentage of the American people," continued Dan.

"Most of the large demonstrations and most of the people that were opposed to the war in the United States were not for the Viet Cong," said George. "Nor were they for the Communists. To be sure, there were some. And many of those in the anti-war movement were manipulated and used by those who were for the Viet Cong. In other words, they were not for the Viet Cong but were opposed to American intervention. They were used by people who were for the Viet Cong. The majority of Americans demonstrating against the war were not for the Viet Cong but were opposed to American troops and American intervention in the war."

"I want to clarify a misunderstanding that you might hold," said the political commissar. "The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese units are one. So if you are pro-Viet Cong, you are pro-Communist. This is not just for the conflict in Vietnam."

George answered: "But some people in the United States do make the distinction, saying that there is a difference, that South Vietnamese Communists are different from North Vietnamese Communists, that they had different goals and a different government, and that they would not be part of the North Vietnamese Communists."

"A lot of it was motivated by the young people's dislike of the current system," said Dan, "as they lack a real understanding of the issues involved. I don't think that most young people really understand the nature of Communism; they only wanted to rebel against authority."

"Do you recall the incident of a young man burning himself in front of the Pentagon?" asked the political commissar.

"Do you know how the Communists exploited that event? One high-ranking government official composed a poem, in which he considered the burning a kind of sacrifice, a 'sacred torch lighting with the hearts of American people.' They composed other kinds of mottoes, songs, etc. to propagandize the lower ranking people... 'A sacred torch!'"

"In the United States we have a different philosophy from Asian people... The American people's attitude toward suicide



Rising Tide editor-in-chief Dan Fefferman greets former Vietcong political commissar, now loyal to the Thieu government in South Vietnam.

is very different. It is simply unacceptable to Americans to consider suicide even as a protest. So Americans didn't pay much attention to that incident. There are other forms of propaganda that are used within the United States," replied Dan.

"I think that we can say that self-immolation is not considered any kind of sacrifice but rather the act of someone who is not sane," added Young Republican Victor Roberts.

"On the other hand I imagine that there were things that happened in South Vietnam that did not seem very important in South Vietnam but that became very important in the States," Dan continued.

College student and Young Americans for Freedom member John Buckley: "Those of us in the United States who were for South Vietnam knew that the demonstrations were being used by the Communists as propaganda over here. But a lot of people criticized the demonstrations, saying that whether or not they were intended to help the Communists, they were being used to help the Communists."

"When the American troops were in Vietnam, the American press was there, too," said George Curtin. "The war in Vietnam was on American television. There was such broad coverage in the media. Every day you could pick up the newspaper and read about the war in Vietnam. Every incident, every abuse that occurred in South Vietnam would be reported in the United States, while about North Vietnam there's very little information available. People would see the worst of South Vietnam and

not understand North Vietnam at all." "A lot of students joined the protests without thinking it out for themselves," said YAFer Ron Robinson.

"Because of peer pressure. All their friends were joining it," added John Buckley.

"I want to ask you the dimension of the problems of widows and families of the Americans killed in the Vietnam war," asked the doctor.

George: "I don't think you can generalize about it."

"The war was unpopular in the States. Because there was a lot of anti-war pressure, the widows and families are not taken care of as well as those of the Korean War or World War II," said Robert Heckman. "In addition, veterans who are returning are not getting the benefits of those of Korea or World War II."

Then the major, one of the most articulate, asked a question that was bothering most of them: "The Communists are used to hardships and getting along with very, very little. But since I got admitted back to our ranks, everywhere I go, people are complaining about the decline in American aid. The Vietnamese government is now in a very difficult situation in fighting the Communist side. However, on the other side, the Soviet Union and China keep on giving weapons and aid of all kinds to the Communists. Obviously, it is going to be a very unequal fight. How do you expect us to do very well with all these Congressional cuts and things like that?"

"Most of us oppose the cuts. That's why we're here."

Buckley: "A lot of Americans are very tired of the war, thinking that it will go away if they just turn their backs on it."

"Pretty soon there will be the extreme case of South Vietnam becoming Communist—will it or will it not have any influence on the United States? On the Communist side they don't have many things. They don't have a national assembly, they don't have a national bank, they don't pay their troops, they don't do anything. That's why they have very little financial burden. Whatever financial needs they have they force from their people. Now on this side we have all these things. We want to deal with our people. We pay our soldiers minimum salaries on which to survive. We keep up a lot of institutions to make us worthy of our name. Therefore we have to spend a lot of money for these things. If the aid is cut, then obviously, we will have only one avenue left. We do just like the Communists, forcing the people to do this and that for us. That would be a very dangerous situation. What effect will that have on American policy, which for the last several decades spent money and American lives, etc? Are the Americans ready to flush all that down the drain?"

"I don't think most of them are. I think that it's just a few Congressmen and Senators who want to make political waves by continuing to put down South Vietnam."

(Continued on page 8)



American youth leaders meet with recent Vietcong defectors.

ITINERARY

Rev. Sun Myung Moon's
Day of Hope Tour '74

"The New Future of Christianity"

NEW YORK

September 18 - Madison Square Garden

PHILADELPHIA

September 27 - Academy of Music

WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 16 - DAR Constitution Hall

ATLANTA

October 30 - Atlanta Civic Center Auditorium

CHICAGO

November 12 - Arie Crown Theater at McCormick Place

SEATTLE

November 28 - Opera House - Seattle Center

SAN FRANCISCO

December 9 - San Francisco Opera House

LOS ANGELES

December 23 - Shubert Theater - Century City



Soviet Navy 3 to 1 Over US

by Lorenzo Gaztanaga

Last week this column carried the comments of strategic expert General Thomas Lane. If anyone may doubt the wise words of General Lane, a few figures from *Jane's Fighting Ships* may jolt him into reality. The 1974-1975 issue of *Jane's* points out the general superiority of the Soviet navy over our own. The publication qualifies the U.S.S.R. as "a very powerful fighting force," one which "leads the world in seaborne missile armaments, both strategic and tactical, both ship and submarine launched."

Of the U.S. position *Jane's* has this to say: "Of those countries to whom a navy is today essential, the U.S. is one of the foremost, and the U.S. Navy is probably also (at the head) of navies subjected to misinformed, illogical and irrational attacks by some of those who depend upon it most."

Jane's has some rather startling figures to support the above statements. The number of U.S. Navy ships has declined

from 1,000 in 1968 to 514 today. In comparison the Soviets number currently about 1,062 vessels.

The Soviet Union outstrips the U.S. by 251 submarines. The Soviets have 131 nuclear submarines, 266 "conventionally" powered craft, and one or two 8,000 ton "Delta" class ballistic missile nuclear subs, each capable of carrying 16 missiles with a range of 4,200 nautical miles each. This latter type gives the U.S.S.R. the capability of covering the whole of North America and the NATO countries from a sub based somewhere in the Norwegian Sea.

The American submarine strength levels at 102 nuclear submarines—28 in the process of being built—and only 15 conventionally powered submarines, with three conventionals in reserve. This gives an advantage of 3 to 1 to the Soviet Union in modern submarine warfare.

There are more than 5 times as many cruisers in the U.S.S.R. than in the U.S.—34 to 6. We have a slight advantage in the total of frigates, destroyers, and es-

corts totalling 196 as compared to the Soviets' 102.

According to *Jane's*, the strongest remaining point of the American Navy is aircraft carriers. There are 14 carriers on duty, 5 in reserve, and 3 in construction. But through the SALT I agreement, the Soviets are free to challenge and surpass the U.S. Presently the 40,000 ton carrier "Kiev" is under construction in the Black Sea, and a sister ship is being built in Minsk.

Jane's offers some figures and comments on the Red Chinese navy, although it is not yet directly involved in the arms race. Peking now has 7 more submarines than a year ago, totalling at 51. Of these, at least one is nuclear powered. It has the largest fleet of light forces, used frequently in the harassment of South Korean and South Vietnamese fishermen.

Jane's comments on the Chinese navy: "The present Chinese fleet may well be the forerunner of one of the world's greatest navies, of the near future."

Soviet Union, watch out!

Dorothy Coffman



Dorothy Coffman, who died on Friday, August 24, was one of the most dedicated servants to the cause of freedom that we of the Freedom Leadership Foundation have ever known.

After serving in World War II as a nurse and rearing three sons who would in turn take commissions in the Air Force and Marines, she took the steps that were to determine her lifetime dedication. After attending a Christian Anti-Communist Crusade seminar directed by Dr. Fred Schwarz, she volunteered to help Herb Philbrick, hero of "I Led Three Lives," in his creation of the U.S. Anti-Communist Congress.

Dorothy was a key figure in the Campus Counter-Attack project of the Congress; she became particularly proficient in exposing radical fallacies in letters to the editors of campus newspapers. With her student son she helped bring a critical audience to one of Tom Hayden's campus appearances.

Gradually Dorothy became involved in a multitude of projects. She assisted Ed Hunter, expert on brain-washing and editor of *Tactics* magazine. She became secretary of the McDowell Luncheon Group, a Washington, D.C. affiliate of the Council Against Communist Aggression. She worked for Accuracy in Media since its birth five years ago, first as a volunteer and later as a staff member. "She pitched into all kinds of anti-Communist activities," remembers AIM Chairman Reed Irvine.

Always cheerful, Dorothy took on the kinds of work benefitting many organizations and individuals. She educated herself well in public affairs and the media, daily poring over the *Congressional Record*, the *Washington Post*, and the *New York Times*. As a result, she became an excellent researcher and writer, with her letters to the editor often appearing in print. She was also the backbone of meetings—making calls, taking care of the many details.

If we needed information about a subject, Dorothy could tell us what was being said about it in the papers and in Congress. If we wanted people to come to an event, Dorothy would bring many. If we needed encouragement, Dorothy would give it. We will miss her very much.



'A House Divided Cannot Stand'

By Marx Lewis

from *Council Against Communist Aggression Bulletin*.

As the slavery issue in the United States was coming to a head more than a century ago, Abraham Lincoln stated that a house divided against itself cannot stand. He also expressed his belief that this government could not endure permanently half slave and half free. The same questions may be asked today.

The world today is not, at the moment, half slave and half free. But it is one-third slave and two-thirds free. As the Communists seek to expand their slave world and as the free nations back away from meeting a moral issue, as our forebearers backed away for a half century from facing up to the same moral issue, those figures can change. But whether that happens or not, the issue is not one of numbers.

As to whether a house divided against itself can stand, the resemblance between the situation which faced Lincoln and the one we face today is even stronger. It is true that Lincoln was speaking of a division within our nation, while present day divisions affect many other nations. Nations once united have been divided into two parts. It is true of Korea, of Vietnam, of Germany. Artificial boundaries ignoring national and racial lines and creating festering sores, have been created. They led to war.

Not only have nations been divided but, in the case of Germany, even families were divided. Thousands died as they tried to climb over the Wall of Shame to become reunited. One of the gravest indictments against chattel slavery was that black families were separated as the slaveowners made their purchase of human beings. Something resembling it has happened to German families.

If it be argued that the divisions Lincoln referred to affected just one nation while those which the Communists have created affect a variety of nations other than our own, it should be pointed out that the world today is more closely knit together, more interdependent, and more deeply affected by what happens in any part of it than was the case with the United States a century ago.

In fact, the differences within our

own country prior to the Civil War were as profound as those now existing between the nations of the world. The sectional differences within the United States prior to the Civil War were numerous, and they related not only to the question of slavery. These sections, not only suspicious of each other, were in direct conflict. They fought constantly to maintain a balance of power in the Federal Government. Some states even raised tariff barriers to prevent

The world today... is one-third slave and two thirds free. As the Communists seek to expand their slave world and as the free nations back away from meeting a moral issue... those figures change.

the importation of products from other states.

More significant than even these similarities between the conditions of 100 years ago and those we face today are the ways statesmen seek to resolve present-day issues, which are essentially of the same kind.

For example, the defenders of slavery argued that for the Federal Government to try to abolish slavery in their territory would be an interference in their internal affairs. This has a familiar ring. The Soviets now claim that any Western attempt to introduce freedom in the communist camp would be such an interference in their internal affairs.

Doctrines of Containment New and Old

Another example is that many who opposed slavery in the United States thought they could somehow avoid a solution by accommodating themselves to it, they proposed that it continue but that its spread be contained. It is this same doctrine of containment which our policy makers hoped they could use successfully to avoid facing up to the issue of world slavery.

This doctrine of containment was promulgated in 1947 by George F. Kennan, our one-time Ambassador, after the Soviets had acquired by force and deception the countries of Eastern Europe and were threatening the rest of Europe. The Communist world would be permitted to exist in

the territories they rule, but its spread by Soviet expansive tendencies would be prevented by a "long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment," Ambassador Kennan maintained.

This policy would work, he said, because the Soviets' concept of a basic antagonism between the capitalist and socialist worlds was not founded on reality. It may create some difficulty in dealing with them, he admitted, but their concept does not mean that they have a do-or-die program to over-

throw our society by a given date. They are in no hurry he said, and he considered that fortunate.

He did propose some things we might do in the meantime. One of them was "to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world."

Its effect, he thought, would be that over a period of ten to fifteen years the United States "will have it within its power... to force upon the Kremlin a far greater degree of moderation and circumspection... and in this way promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the break-up or the gradually mellowing of Soviet power." Such a policy, which he said was wise and adroit, could serve to convince the masters of the Kremlin that "their grand design is a futile and unachievable one, persistence in which promises no solution of their own predicaments and dilemmas."

Ambassador Kennan was confident his policy would work because the fates have decreed that dictatorship "must" evaporate because it is evil and antihuman and because there can be no genuine stability in any system which is based on the evil and weakness in man's nature. He was equally convinced that Soviet power bears within it the seeds of decay. He looked to the changes which would have to occur in Russia when the question of power would have to be

transferred. However, there have been transfers of power, but no basic policy changes.

The Fruits of Containment

More than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the Ambassador proposed and our Government adopted his policy. We entered two wars, one in Korea and another in Vietnam, to confront with counterforce the Russians where they showed "signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world." We lost more than 100,000 dead in those two wars. In neither case did it work; in both countries the probabilities are that in the end the Communists will achieve their objectives.

We have not forced upon the Kremlin, as the Ambassador predicted, "a far greater degree of moderation" unless their slogan of "peaceful co-existence," which it has used intermittently ever since the Communists first seized power, can be construed as moderation. They do not believe, as Kennan once hoped would be the case, that their design is a futile and unbelievable one. On the contrary, they are more convinced than ever and with good reason - that the future is theirs.

Ambassador Kennan once said that the expansion of Kremlin power was due "one part to Soviet resourcefulness, two parts to the disunity, complacency and amateurishness of the West." In this respect he was closer to the mark than he was when he hoped this policy of containment would work.

How We Contribute to the Erosion of Our Values

The Communists faithfully follow the line laid down by Lenin that they must be "ready to employ trickery, deceit, law breaking, withholding and concealing the truth." They also adopt Lenin's position that there are Communist ethics and morality which are in conflict with the ethics and morality of the bourgeoisie, which, Lenin said, is derived from God's commandments.

But the same Communists insist that the bourgeoisie remain faithful to



Marx Lewis

their capitalist morality, which includes a literal adherence to treaties, conventions, and understandings the bourgeoisie enter into with them. They, the Communists, are under no such restraints in ethics and morality.

The extent to which we contribute to our destruction by clinging to certain values while the Communists are free to use theirs is discussed by Maj. Gen. Thomas A. Lane, USA (Ret) in an editorial in a recent issue of *Strategic Review*. It deals with the treatment of prisoners of war. While we observe the principles of international law which mitigate at least some of the horrors of war, such as the humane treatment of prisoners, we refuse to compel the Communists to observe the same principles. General Lane writes:

"The trend of international law in recent centuries has been to moderate the ferocity of conflict by outlawing killing and destruction which do not determine the decision. Thus if both sides spare prisoners instead of killing them, the scale of slaughter is reduced while the balance of military strength is not significantly affected."

Yet, he points out, the Communists reject these measures of moderation in war. In Korea and Vietnam, our men captured by the enemy were brutally treated. Marxism-Leninism regards restraint as bourgeois sentimentality. It practices total war, brutally slaying noncombatants to spread terror and to strike fear into the hearts of the target population.

"Does the West now accept the Bolshevik reversion to barbaric warfare for Bolsheviki?" he asks. "Does it propose two standards one for the West and one for the Communist world?"

The West, he continues, seems to believe that the conventions of war have moral attributes which compel our adherence, regardless of consequences. That, he states, is an erroneous view. The conventions of war are only for those civilized countries which subscribe to them.

"This reversion of a major power to the barbaric use of terror," he writes, "has evoked only silence and acceptance in the West. Marxist-Leninist terror has drawn hardly more than a passing note in the Western press, even less concern from the chancelleries of civilized countries. The failure of the West to require Communist regimes to adhere to the basic requirements of a civilized order as a prerequisite to their acceptance in the society of free nations constitutes a serious and perhaps fatal surrender of the values of our civilization."

Communist Deeds Match Their Words

There is a Spanish proverb which says that "it's a long step from saying to doing." That is not true of the Communists. They are, in fact, doing what they are saying. Even a cursory look at what is happening around the world proves that they are doing what they are saying they intend to do. Except in one case, where the U.S. stood up to them, at least temporarily, the West is on the defensive and in virtual retreat.

The exception was the Middle East, where, in the midst of the detente, the Soviets threatened to intervene militarily until President Nixon ordered a world-wide alert. Since, as Communist leader Erlebach has made clear, the Communist hope to obtain "power without armed struggle," the Soviets backed down.

Their retreat was only tactical. They prevented Syria from observing the ceasefire which Brezhnev and Secretary Kissinger worked out in Moscow until Syria received a chunk of territory. The ceasefire did not stop

(Continued on page 8)

Roots of the Ideological Struggle

Part III

Counterproposal to the Labor Theory of Value

If Marx's theory that labor quantity is the essence of value is wrong, then what is the real essence of a commodity's value? Consider the relation between commodities and daily necessities.

It is true that for items to be commodities they must be bought and sold, but even before this exchange they are daily necessities. Since man needs certain things for life, he has always sought the basic necessities such as food and clothing. His method of obtaining them has developed through the ages.

In the age of the so-called "gathering economy" natural objects such as fruit, roots and tree bark were found in the fields and mountain areas. Later man developed fishing and hunting to fulfill his needs. In the pastoral and farming age, necessities were obtained through raising stock and through agriculture.

With the production of daily necessities, the monetary system developed; daily necessities then came to be regarded as commodities. They must have been necessities before any exchange of commodities commenced. Now, as in the past, buying and selling are only the method of procuring the basic necessities and fulfilling desires.

So we find that an article is a commodity because it is a necessity of life. Any thing which is not fulfilling the desire of man can never become a commodity. Man's needs, however, are endless. He constantly seeks to improve his living conditions and as culture progresses, this need becomes more complicated and intricate.

Efficacy, Profitability and Use Value

A commodity is purchased because of the usefulness that the customer finds in the article. This quality is called "efficacy" in relation to the customer, and it is the quality that consumers relate to. Exchange, however, is made by both consumers and producers; accordingly a commodity should have qualities that are needed by both the consumers and producers.

The quality that producers relate to is "profitability." They produce the articles because of their desire to make a profit. Thus anything can only be a commodity when it has the two-fold nature of efficacy and profitability.

These two qualities are the result of the relationship between a commodity and man. In addition, however, there must be some objective quality within the commodity. Without such an objective quality, the commodity could produce neither efficacy nor profitability. This objective quality is the use-value or utility of the article. Utility is objective and unrelated to the subjective point of view of producers or consumers. Efficacy is variable according to different people, time, and circumstance. Utility on the other hand is constant, a product of the structure and function of the article. This use-value is the only value inherent in a commodity.

Marx's error was in theorizing a two-fold nature to commodity value. He recognized use-value, but regarded labor quantity as the essence of price formation.



This alleged relationship between labor quantity and exchange value has been the cause of theoretical errors and contradictions in the socialist economy.

The Stagnancy of Marxist Economy

The problems in economic practice which have resulted from the theoretical error of equating labor quantity with exchange value can be clearly seen in the Soviet Union, which has never overcome the problems of underproduction, low-quality goods and accumulation of stock.

Unlike the capitalist system, the Soviet economy has been operated according to Marx's labor theory of value. Therefore, more emphasis is placed on labor

quantity than on use-value. The efficacy of the commodity has been almost disregarded; because the production of profit is believed to be the cause of contradiction in capitalist society, it has been completely eliminated from the socialist economy.

What has been the result of these policies? The National Planning Committee decided on the utility and labor quantity for each commodity, and sent directives to the factories. The manager of a factory was only required to follow directions. The workers had only to work definite lengths of time and were expected to have produced commodities with the use value and labor quantity decreed by the Planning Committee.

In reality, the process of production produced fewer commodities than expected, and those that were produced were below standard quality. Confronted with this problem, Stalin forced excessive work under the guise of "production contests" such as the *Stakanov* or *Tishayuk* movements. Nevertheless, even mercilessly driving the workers, the Soviet Union did not achieve the expected results.

Those goods that were produced were of such low quality that the people of the Soviet Union declined to purchase them. Since the price of the commodities is not allowed to fluctuate in response to demand, this led to massive accumulation of stock. Reliable estimates place the amount of accumulated stock in the Soviet Union in 1964 at 30 billion rubles.

The accumulation of stock is obviously a result of the Marxist economy's failure to take into account the desire of the consumer for efficacy. This desire is satisfied by the use value of the commodity. If the use value of a commodity is insufficient the consumer will refuse it, regardless of the labor quantity.

The inadequate production is the result of the elimination of profitability. There is no incentive for the workers or managers to improve production methods. Neither have they any interest in improving product quality. Workers are paid for the number of hours of their labor, regardless of whether it is useful or not. The cybernetic link between production and consumption has been broken.

To produce better-selling goods, the quality must be improved to meet the desire and tastes of the consumers. Instead of the officials in the central units, the entrepreneurs in the smallest units have to take on the responsibility of technical development, stimulated by the profit motive.

The exploitation of workers in capitalist society is not caused by profit itself, but by the unjust distribution of profit. Rightly perceived, profit is a reward for creativity. As the desire for profit comes from basic human desire, the morale of workers and entrepreneurs cannot be raised unless that desire is satisfied.

In addition to these problems, the belief that labor is the only source of value has caused the economic planners of the various Marxist economies to undervalue technical innovation, which has been the major producer of wealth in the capitalist economy. This will be discussed in the critique of the Theory of Surplus Value.

Thus, Marx's Labor Theory of Value, regarding labor quantity, rather than utility of commodities, as the essence of value, has brought confusion to the practical economic situation in Communist countries.

The Formation of Price

What then is the essence of exchange value? It is the use value. In buying and selling, a comparison must be made. Usefulness is the objective quality which gives efficacy to consumers and profitability to producers. The realistic effect of usefulness is felt as satisfaction in both consumer and producer and, as such, can be compared.

When the monetary expression of the satisfaction of producer and consumer is equal, exchange is possible, but if there is a difference in the monetary expression of satisfaction, exchange cannot occur. In this way the effect of usefulness can be quantitatively compared.

As satisfaction is a mental feeling, everyone knows whether he is satisfied or not and by how much. Accordingly he can express satisfaction in money. When the satisfaction of both the consumer and producer, represented in money, are equal, the amount is the exchange value of the commodity.

With the production cost at a minimum, the producer feels more satisfaction when he gets a higher price for his product. The consumer, on the other hand, sets a maximum that he wants to pay and his satisfaction is greater if the price is lower. If there is no agreement between them on a common monetary expression of satisfaction, exchange cannot take place; if they find a common expression of satisfaction then exchange takes place at that price.

In everyday exchange, the producer

(Continued on page 8)

Marxist Dogma Hinders Chinese Progress

by Lord Lindsay

from a speech given to the Chinese Students' Association at Catholic University, Washington, D.C. on August 3, 1974

What follows is not a description of conditions in the People's Republic of China but an attempt to give some explanation of what has been happening under Communist rule. The Communists are quite right when they say that effective action is only possible on the basis of correct theory. If one wants to make a proper judgment about any society one needs to understand it and not merely to describe it.

In any society one can find some ways it functions because of and other ways it functions in spite of. This applies to the United States just as much as to China. A generalization that can explain a great many of the conflicting reports about the People's Republic is this: The Chinese Communists have done a good job wherever their Marxist-Leninist doctrine was irrelevant. So far as I know there is nothing in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin or Mao about how to stabilize the currency, how to improve the transportation system, how to extend electricity supply, how to extend irrigation and flood control, how to organize relief for areas hit by flood or drought, how to organize a public health service, or how to make atomic weapons.

In handling this kind of problem the Communists have used common sense, have been willing to follow the advice of technical experts and have provided drive and organizing ability, usually with very good results. Where they have acted in terms of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist doctrine their performance has usually been poor, because they have acted in terms of an analysis that was largely incorrect.

Non Sequiturs

Many Western scholars go badly wrong in their analysis of the People's Republic because they refuse to admit that action based on incorrect analysis can produce results quite different from intentions. They produce elaborate and implausible explanations trying to show that everything which happened in China must have happened because the Chinese Communist leaders intended it.

An even more serious confusion is the assumption that everything in the People's Republic must be necessarily related. Many visitors have disliked some of the things they observed but have excused them as necessary conditions for the things they admired. This is really not a reasonable position.

Suppose that a firm of architects and contractors claims to have exceptionally good techniques for renovating houses. One could agree that a house which they have renovated shows great improvements compared to its dilapidated condition before they started work. But one could still argue that some of their techniques seem to have involved large and unnecessary expense and that the house has some ugly or inconvenient features which do not seem to be necessary for the improvements. One might also be able to point out that these ugly or inconvenient features had been specially excluded in their original specifications on the basis of which they had been given the contract. Such criticisms could be valid even if rival firms had been less successful in their renovations.

The Chinese Communists claim to have exceptionally good techniques for renovating human societies. It is understandable that they themselves should claim that everything they have done in China was necessary, but why should non-Communist observers accept this claim? Why do so many Western intellectuals refuse to judge the renovation of a society by the standards they would naturally apply to the renovation of a house? The answer may be that they are as doctrinaire in their own way as the Chinese Communists, but doctrinaire



through an unconscious commitment to positivism instead of a conscious commitment to Marxism-Leninism. They seem to feel that the kind of analysis given here is intellectually disreputable and that reason can only be used to support judgments based on emotion.

I can also illustrate my thesis about the influence of Marxist-Leninist doctrine from an earlier period. The Chinese Communists were outstandingly successful during the Yenan period. They started in 1937 ruling a population of about one million and with an army slightly over 30,000. By 1945 they were ruling a population of about one hundred million and had an army of over 900,000. This was a period in which the influence of Marxist-Leninist doctrine was at a minimum.

In the declaration of 22nd September 1937, which led to the united front with the Kuomintang, the Communists renounced their specifically Communist policies and accepted Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles as what China needed. Their land policy was based on a law that the National Government had announced in July 1930 but only enforced effectively after it had retired to Taiwan. This policy was extremely successful both in winning peasant support and in raising production. Family farms were retained. Landlords were not expropriated but the limitation of rent and the working of the tax system put them under financial pressure to sell their land to their tenants and put their capital into local industry or trade.

Failure of the Doctrine

Because the Chinese Communist policies of this period were obviously reasonable, the Communists got genuine co-operation from intelligent and competent non-Communists, especially in the front line bases. These people were able to criticize Party directives when they needed modification to produce their intended results; this willingness to criticize spread to some members of the Communist Party. There was also a strong process of natural selection against doctrinaire Communists in the front line areas. It was only possible to resist the far superior fire power of the Japanese through the active support of the people. A doctrinaire official or officer, who believed that he knew what the peasants wanted better than they knew themselves because he understood Marxism-Leninism, was not

likely to get such support.

While working for two and a half years in Shansi-Ch'ahar-Hopei my wife and I were very much impressed by the efficiency of the organization under Communist leadership and by the strong support it had won from the local population. I was also impressed by the non-doctrinaire attitude of the Chinese Communists compared to Communists whom I had known in England. When I argued that some parts of Marxism had proved to be clearly wrong, people might not agree with me but they would argue the question in a reasonable way. English Communists would usually lose their tempers.

Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia, the area round Yenan, was always presented as a model area directly under the central Communist leadership. Material conditions were much better than in Shansi-Ch'ahar-Hopei because the area had suffered no war damage.

(Continued from page 2)

Soviet dismemberment of the organization and the arrest of its participants, the movement had 29 members and 30 candidates for admission. The Christian Union had bases in Leningrad, Omsk and Novosibirsk. "I was not a member of the movement, though I knew Sado before his arrest. We exchanged books," Handler relates. It was only after his own arrest that he was to find out more about the Christian Union from his cell mate, Vagin, one of the founding fathers of the movement.

Returning to the nineteenth century philosophies of Soloviev, Khomiakov and Berdyaev, the Christian Union, also called "the Berdyaev Circle," claimed a complete break with all existing forms of Communism. Bolshevism was seen as a tragic stage in the national development of Russia. It was termed an anti-humanitarian and anti-rationalist phenomenon opposing the moral principle of history. A return to a Christian moral ethic was crucial to the adherents of the Berdyaev Circle. The fall of Bolshevism was seen as inevitable. The fight against Communism was the highest form of human activity.

The underlying assumption of the movement was Berdyaev's concept of the individuality of nations—the idea that each nation has its own individual path to follow in the course of its historical development. Russia would have to develop her own sys-

tem except the bombing of the old city of Yenan while a series of Japanese "mopping up" campaigns did very serious damage in Shansi-Ch'ahar-Hopei.

However, Yenan was more doctrinaire and the organization was much less efficient. This was not just my impression. Other people coming from the front line bases would complain in private conversations about the completely unnecessary bureaucracy and red tape they encountered at Yenan. The obvious reason was that Yenan was more purely Communist. Party discipline prevented people from criticizing anything that seemed to have the authority of the Party behind it so mistakes were not corrected even though the Party leaders were willing to correct them once they had discovered them. There was some recognition of this inefficiency but the standard excuse for it was that Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia was a backward area. This excuse would be used by people who had come from Peking or Shanghai. I used to say to them, "You talk as if inefficiency was a kind of disease which anyone coming to Yenan was bound to catch."

Even though the "work style" of Yenan was inferior to that of the front line bases, it was still very different from that of the Chinese Communist Party after it had come to power. A series of official statements denounced one-party dictatorship and the means which the National Government used to maintain its power such as control by mutual responsibility (the Pao-chia system) and asked for civil liberties and free expression of opinions. The leaders would say that, because they were obviously successful and won popular support.

A Real Option

Unless one believes in historical determinism it is reasonable to judge that the Communist leaders at this period had a real option of choice between two different roads. They could continue their highly successful non-doctrinaire policies, which were really incompatible with strict Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and gradually modify their doctrine to fit their experience; or they could cling to the strict system of their doctrine and renounce their policies as tactical expedients. Many people at Yenan could quite easily be classified as reasonable or doctrinaire so there was a real division of attitudes within the Party and the choice of roads could have gone either way. Even in 1949, though the doctrinaire attitude had become far stronger, one still met some Party members who were clearly reasona-

ble.

It would take far too long to discuss the historical determinist position which claims that the actual development of the Chinese Communist line was inevitable. It may be worth mentioning an analogy used by Nehru. Historical necessity corresponds to the hand one is dealt in a game of bridge and free will remains in the way one plays it. The success or failure of a contract at bridge often depends on the play in the first few rounds and here too the analogy holds. Decisions once taken often have consequences which reduce the range of choice open in later decisions until some drastic change in circumstances produces the equivalent of a new deal.

What actually happened in 1946 was that the Chinese Communists turned for support to the Soviet Union and became far more doctrinaire. Their land policy swung back to that of the Chinese Soviet Republic (before the Long March), which was based on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine that there must be class war in the countryside. By 1948 even Chinese Communist publications admitted that the new policies had alienated a considerable proportion of the "middle peasants." In the 1950's, the determination to follow the Soviet model led to pushing through collectivization which, all over the world, has proved to be an inefficient system. Agricultural production has increased but only at about the same rate as the increase in population.

In so far as no one now starves in China the credit should be given to an efficient rationing and distribution system rather than to a highly productive agriculture. If the land policies of the Yenan period had continued, it is fairly certain that the Chinese people could have had more to eat and at least as much progress in industry. In fact, it seems that the Chinese Communists now wish to forget the success of their former policies. The material in the historical museum at Yenan in 1973 suggested that serious land reform had only started after 1945.

By 1949 the Chinese Communists were firmly committed to two positions which they could not have defended in reasoned discussion against informed criticism—the doctrinaire agrarian policy and the uncritically pro-Soviet line. To maintain their positions, the Communists had to suppress any free discussion and criticism. By suppressing criticism they reduced their ability to find out about mistakes. The *Jen Min Jih Pao* often carried reports of cases in which the Party claimed the credit for correcting some defect, such

as an abuse of power by local cadres, but even from these reports it was often clear that the defect had existed for a long time before it was discovered because those who suffered had not dared to criticize. There is quite a lot of evidence that the period of free criticism in 1957 was a traumatic experience for many Communists because they simply had not realized how much hatred they had aroused even among those who they believed to be their loyal supporters, such as students from peasant or worker families.

Actually Idealism

This raises an issue that may seem rather remote and abstruse but which is vital for an understanding of the Chinese Communists, namely the conflict between materialism and idealism in philosophy. While the Chinese Communist leaders would not agree with what is said about them here, they would almost certainly agree that the issue has great practical importance. My contention is that, while the Chinese Communists still call themselves materialists, they have, in fact, become rather extreme idealists.

Lenin defined materialism as a belief in "a world existing and developing independently of the mind." This meaning of materialism is both common sense and a necessary assumption for a rational view of the world. If one makes this assumption one has to recognize that one's knowledge of the real world can never be final and certain. All that one gets from scientific study is what is reasonable to believe on the evidence now available. New evidence may force one to revise or modify one's beliefs. It also follows that discussion will often not produce unanimous agreement because the available evidence is often compatible with several different views. It can only narrow the range of disagreement by eliminating views that are clearly not reasonable.

If one looks at more recent Chinese Communist statements about Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung one nearly always finds an explicit or implicit claim that these theories give final and certain truth. They may need to be expanded in detail but any suggestion that they may need serious and basic modification is the heresy of revisionism. This clearly implies that the highest standard of truth is a set of ideas which originated in the minds of Marx, Lenin and Mao; that any evidence from the world outside the mind which seems to conflict with these ideas must, somehow, be an illusion. This is not materialism but idealism.

Soviet Christian Underground Thrives

(Continued from page 2)

tems and institutions of government that follow inherent native traditions and culture. Western models are irrelevant for Russia. The Berdyaev Circle, with its ideological emphasis on Orthodox and Russian nationality, is the Neo-Slavophile branch of the dissident movement in the USSR.

The Christian Union created a model for a future Orthodox Republic based on Christianization of all social, political and cultural institutions. The clergy would participate in legislation to guarantee its morality. The economic structure of the visionary Christian state would be anti-capitalist but would allow for free enterprise and private ownership of property. Collective farms would be encouraged on a voluntary basis.

Self education and growth were the prime functions of the Christian Union for its three-year duration. Each troika cell collected the complete works of Berdyaev for careful study. The role of each admitted member was to enlist another trusted individual. After a twenty year period, when the organization would be substantially powerful, armed insurrection was planned against the Soviet government. Arms and equipment for the revolt would come from stolen Soviet army merchandise and from Western imports sold on the Black Market.

Yuri Handler feels that though ten years ago the ideas of the Berdyaev Circle

appeared eccentric in the Soviet Union, they are readily accepted today.

The Christian Union was infiltrated by the KGB in 1966. Petrov, the police informant, supplied information that led to the initial arrest of two new organization members. Zubov and Konstantinov had received organization literature, compromising evidence for trial purposes, and boarded a tram. The frame up was prepared. They were approached by what appeared to be a group of "hooligans." They were immediately arrested for "hooliganism." Zubov confessed to organization connections after three days of interrogation. Twenty-one members were to stand trial.

Ogurtsov, the mentor of the Berdyaev Circle, received a twenty-year sentence with five years in exile. He has already spent seven years in Vladimir prison where, under harsh treatment, he became an invalid. He was sent to camp. His proselytizing influence led to his incarceration in an insane asylum. "They are slowly trying to kill him," Yuri Handler stresses. "He was an ascetic. He never smoked or drank. He prepared himself for sacrifice for Russia from early youth." Ogurtsov is a specialist in Oriental Studies.

Sado, also an Orientalist, received a sixteen-year sentence for conspiracy. Vagin

received eight years. The remaining members were tried for anti-Soviet Propaganda and Agitation. They have all been released. Platonov, the last to be freed, emerged this February after a seven-year camp sentence. Many former members of the Berdyaev Circle continue their activity by publishing an illegal journal *Verkh* named after the historic Russian term for a democratic town meeting.

"Monarchism is becoming increasingly popular in the Soviet Union today," Handler points out. After his arrest, Vagin became a constitutional monarchist. Yuri Handler claims that "Monarchy is more appealing for the soul," stressing the aesthetic beauty and moral authority of a Czar. "Russians need an ideal to look up to."

Though Yuri Handler seeks to see a change in the Soviet system, he warns of an inherent danger. "The desire for change is so strong in the Soviet Union. There is so much hatred among the Russians that they might massacre each other if a radical change in government should happen."

Diverse political opinions are expressed by the broad dissident movement in the Soviet Union. The Christian Union is a particularly interesting phenomenon as it testifies to the survival, vitality and intensity of the Orthodox religions in the USSR despite an all-out government effort to annihilate the Christian faith.

Detente With Cuba Serves Soviets

(Continued from page 1)

The same editorial also points out that relations may improve the situation of the Cubans who have suffered from the American embargo through hunger and other hardships. Editorials and articles along the same vein have appeared in such prominent publications as *Time* and the *Washington Post*. Yet not one of these has shown evidence that the people in Cuba would agree with a new detente policy.

It is well known that Cuban exile groups have protested the imminent shift in policy: columnist Jack Anderson says that radical exile groups have even threatened a wave of sabotage—Irish fashion—in the U.S. (see Jack Anderson, *Washington Post*, September 1.)

Tales from Escapees

Obtaining information from inside Cuba, particularly from the people themselves, is a nearly impossible task. Fortunately, during the summer about 40 Cuban refugees have been arriving in Florida waters in makeshift rafts and boats—the most popular model being four used truck inner tubes.

These men, mostly from the working class, average 27 years of age; therefore, they have grown up under Castroism. Arriving in the U.S. over a period of two months, these men break the long hiatus in this type of escape existing since October of 1973.

The details of their escape follow a pattern: frustration with Cuba's situation, looking for a suitable place to sail, finding the craft in which to escape, and risking capture during their journey.

Army Resistance

Interviews with two of the first groups to arrive this summer revealed widespread discontent. Especially the armed forces are hotbeds of anti-Castroism. In the prisons men like Commander Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo and Captain Hubert Matos command the respect not only of their fellow prisoners but of elements within the armed forces. The working class is suffering almost as much as the farm laborers.

According to Sergio Hernandez Plaza, a recent escapee, life in Cuba is a martyrdom made unbearable due to constant repression. His life became particularly difficult when an agent of the Defense Committee requested Plaza's garage as a Defense Committee post. Plaza refused.

According to the escapees, the Castro government is running its own black market by selling goods at lower, reasonable prices through rationing books on certain dates. The same goods are also sold at the same government store for three or four times the regular price at other times.

The situation revealed by Cubans from Cuba today—before detente—parallels that of citizens in the Soviet Union and Red China, countries in which "detente" is a fact.

Soviet Writer Describes Repression

(Continued from page 2)

being conducted because I was a material witness in Case #62. What that case is I still do not know. Who is being accused under this title is also a mystery. But five of my friends underwent searches on the same days, and three were subjected to interrogation. One of these friends, a Communist writer, had had a personal case opened against him in the Party. All of them were questioned particularly about me. As for me, after the search I was summoned six days running to the KGB for interrogation by an investigator of particularly important matters.

As that same warrant had said, "literature of an anti-Soviet and libelous content has been discovered." On this basis I had taken from me not only my manuscripts but also books by Zaitsev, Shmelev, Tsvetayeva, and Berdyaev; a copy of *One Day In The Life Of Ivan Denisovich* in the Italian (!) translation (whereas they didn't take the one in Russian); a one-volume copy of Pushkin in Hebrew (later returned); *The Life of Saint Seraphim Sarovskiy* (also returned); *The Animal Farm* by Orwell (not returned); German and Ukrainian newspapers of the period of the Battle of Stalingrad; as also the copies of *Paris-Match* already mentioned. Most of these latter were returned, but not all. In particular, the October, 1964 issue, devoted to Khrushchev, were apparently adjudged as damaging.

Who can give an exact definition of the term "anti-Soviet"?

In their time such writers as Bable, Zoschenko, Akhmatova, Bulgakov, Mandelstam, Bunin, were all considered anti-Soviet. Now they are all being published and republished, even though they are not going overboard in numbers of copies per edition.

Well, and what about V.M. Molotov,

who is still alive and well, and his speech, let us say, at the session of the Supreme Soviet in October, 1939? Was it pro- or anti-Soviet? Let us recall that in that speech, reinterpreting the concept of aggression, he said that one must not fight against Hitlerism, since to make war against an idea (Hitlerism being an idea) is an absurdity and a crime. If, for example, they had found a newspaper with this speech in it in my apartment, would they have confiscated it or not?

And Beria's speeches? It was recommended to owners of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia that they cut out the page with his biography and with his enormous portrait, and that they insert in its stead a new page about the Bering Sea.

And the millions who perished under Stalin—were their deaths the result of Soviet or anti-Soviet actions?

Who will reply to this?

And so, finding it difficult to give the term "anti-Soviet" an exact meaning, I understand that a fascist newspaper is a fascist newspaper, but that a writer's files are nevertheless a writer's files. They exist for his work. It is a collection of things that interest him. I feel I can say without fear of error that such writers as Maxim Gorky, Alexei Tolstoy, or Alexander Fadeyev, have far outdone me in the quantity of so-called "libelous" work they produced. I shall also make no error in saying that many currently functioning writers are in possession of just as much if not more of the same kind of material as I had. Yet they are being subjected neither to searches nor to interrogations.

A search represents the highest degree of mistrust on the part of a government toward one of its citizens. An interrogation (all outward politeness notwithstanding) is an offensive and insulting method for dig-

ging out of you why and for what purpose you are in possession of this book or that, this letter or that.

In many government bureaus—and how many of these I've been in, both high and not-so-high, both all-powerful and less so—I have been told, sometimes sternly, sometimes with a smile, that it is high time to tell the people on what side of the barricades I stand. What to say? They even prompted me, some directly, some more subtly, that there are such things as newspapers, and that some people (and what sort of people!) write letters to the editors. . . . And what about you?

And here I can only express my astonishment. Can it be that anyone could seriously think that a decent person could permit himself to become involved in this shameful torrent of abuse that has poured over two of the most worthy men of our country—Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn?

Can it be that the right to work and to be published is purchased at this price? "And you, respected Comrade," they would say to me at all the bureaus, with or without a smile, "must write and write. The readers cannot wait to read you. Everything is in your hands. . . ."

I can reply to this directly and without hypocrisy: no, better let the reader do without my books. He'll understand why they aren't to be found. The reader is waiting, indeed. But he is awaiting neither lampoons nor libel, but the truth. I shall never demean my readers by writing lies. My readers know that I have sometimes written better, sometimes worse, but, in Tvardovsky's words, "I've told some whoopers for fun, but I've never lied in order to lie."

But this gives rise to another question, and a much more complicated one. A writer may not be published, but he cannot stop

writing, he cannot be silent. Writing is his duty. But how can he perform this duty, when at any moment a team of police people with a warrant can come in, seize the freshly written pages from under your pen, and carry them away?

And so I have come to the end of my somber thoughts and stock-taking. And meanwhile my friends are leaving. And I don't try to talk them out of it, although I know that each of them has his own reason (or are these reasons all the same?) for having made such a difficult and perhaps tragic decision. I don't talk them out of it, although each departing friend is a bit of my heart torn away—and not only of my heart but of Russia's heart. I don't talk them out of it. I merely wipe away a tear. And I ponder the matter. I ponder it very hard. . . .

Who needs this? Does our country? The government? The people? Are we not tossing people away too liberally—people of whom we should be proud? Cultures other than ours have received the painter Chagall, the composer Stravinsky, the airplane designer Sikorsky, the writer Nabokov. Who will remain? The investigators of the KGB will not write books for us, nor paint pictures, nor compose symphonies.

And about barricades. . . I have never fought on any barricades, but I have sat in very shallow, unfinished trenches. And I've sat in them a rather long time. I have fought for my country, for its people, for a boy I didn't know named Vitya. I hoped that Vitya would become a musician, a poet, or just a man. But I did not fight in order to have this boy, now grown, come to me with a warrant, to have him dig through my files and search all visitors and teach me his own brand of patriotism.

Book Review

Two Views of Stalin

By Harrison E. Salisbury
from *Problems of Communism*, May-June, 1974

Adam B. Ulam: *Stalin. The Man and His Era*. New York, The Viking Press, 1973.
Robert C. Tucker: *Stalin As Revolutionary, 1879-1929*. New York, W.W. Norton Co., 1973.

Ulam's Stalin is dead — dead these more than 20 years. Tucker's Stalin is alive, in full bloom. The year is 1929. He has captured the party. Trotsky has been driven out. Collectivization and crash industrialization are the order of the day.

Ulam has done Stalin in a single large volume. Tucker projects three. Ulam's study is traditional, Tucker's experimental. Each, however, is responding to a felt need — the need for a new study of Stalin to replace, broaden, and deepen Deutscher's classic portrait; to give us the full man, not the political caricature of Trotsky's Stalin; to begin to come to grips with the epic question of the 20th century: What was Stalin's role in Russia, and how has it affected our world?

To compare Ulam and Tucker is not necessarily a productive undertaking. It is too much like comparing apples and oranges. Each is good, wholesome, and nutritive in its own way. Ulam already boasts a National Book Committee award; Tucker will surely pick up medals on the way. These two important works do not compete for our attention; they supplement each other. One gets from them a fuller picture than we have yet been able to read.

The biographies draw upon rich legacies. One is the mere legacy of time. Two decades have gone by since Stalin, incredibly as it seemed to many Russians, irrefutably proved his personal mortality by dying, according to the official protocol, at 9:50 p.m., March 5, 1953. The passage of 20 years has granted the scholar a depth of perspective which enables him more accurately to set Stalin within the framework of his own times. We are now distant enough from the turgid events of the 1930's, for example, and from the melodramatic period of World War II and the controversial postwar period, to perceive Stalin and his role with greater clarity.

A second and more important legacy is the insight afforded by the magnificent materials which have become available, beginning with Nikita S. Khrushchev's famous "secret speech" of February 24-25, 1956. Actually, a trickle of new facts on Stalin and his epoch had already begun before then, but this has been largely overlooked in the



freshets touched off by Khrushchev's dramatic revelations.

The joy of the Tucker work is his masterly grasp of newly-available materials. These by no means merely pertain to the later events of Stalin's career. Much useful detail on his early life, even his boyhood, is contained in the reminiscences of his daughter, Svetlana, as well as in a wide variety of Georgian sources which have been exhaustively examined by Professor Tucker. New light has also been shed on Stalin's activities after his emergence on the Russian political stage by the publication of additional memoir material (both within the Soviet Union and abroad) and of much more detailed records of party congresses, meetings and protocols than were available during Stalin's life.

It is now possible, as it never was before, to trace with considerable sureness the evolution, for example, of Stalin's relationship with Lenin and the frequent occasions on which Stalin assumed positions contradictory to those of Lenin. Not all of this material, in the opinion of this reviewer, is utilized by Professor Tucker as well as it might have been, mainly because of a conceptual framework which makes heavy use of Freudian theory — particularly in its interpretation by Karen Horney and Erik Erikson — as a tool for exploring Stalin's motivations and psyche. Professor Tucker perceives Lenin as Stalin's hero image, and possibly for that reason he does not place as great an emphasis upon the contrast and conflict between the two men as Ulam does.

But, of course, much more archival material is really needed in order to understand fully the com-

plex interrelationships between the two men. It is clear that at many critical junctures Stalin and Lenin were, at least temporarily, on different sides — for example, in the initial period of *Pravda's* founding and again in the days after Stalin returned to Petrograd in March 1917 (also in regard to *Pravda's* position); at various points during Lenin's complex maneuvers in the summer and autumn of 1917; and, of course, repeatedly in the last months of Lenin's declining political activity. But it is by no means certain to what extent these were normal conflicts between two radically different political temperaments, and to what extent they reflected fundamental deviations — and even, in the last months, conscious plotting by Stalin to shunt Lenin aside and begin concentrating power in his own hands.

We now have a much richer collection of Lenin's notes. But we have not yet had access to any considerable collection of Stalin material — for example, the text, if indeed there was one, of his apology to Krupskaya (or to Lenin) for his rudeness toward Krupskaya (Lenin's wife) in the winter of 1922-23. There are even substantial lacunae (blanks) concerning the very ordinary years of Stalin's life — e.g., his last years in exile in the Turukhansk territory in 1913-17, when he was apparently on the very worst of terms with all of his fellow exiles.

On that most controversial question relating to Stalin's early revolutionary days in Georgia — did he become, at least for a time, an agent of the Czar's Okhrana? — the verdict of both Ulam and Tucker is that classic of the law of the Scots: "Case Not Proven." But neither is prepared to exclude the possibility entirely. After all, too many young revolutionaries (and some of their older comrades) did become double agents. There are puzzling elements in the facts of Stalin's life at that time: curious periods of apparent indolence, the ease of his escapes from Siberia, etc. But while much suspect evidence has turned up, positive evidence to link him to the Czarist police has not yet appeared. There is, of course, the long persisting suspicion in Soviet party circles (a suspicion even reflected in Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago*) that Stalin did have some deep stain on his party escutcheon and that this, psychologically at least, was a factor in his paranoia.

Tucker is intensely interested in the accuracy of Lenin's legacy and of Lenin's conclusion that Stalin's fatal defect lay in his personality —

the "decisive trifle." Ulam, too, sees Stalin's personality as the decisive element in shaping the dictator's methods of rule, but he arrives at his conclusions by the conventional methodology of history rather than by Tucker's "psychohistory."

Thus, Tucker finds that Stalin "could not help striving to demonstrate that the birthday tributes were no more than his due, that the idealized version of himself symbolized to his own mind by the name 'Stalin' was the truth. He was driven to consummate the Lenin succession." Tucker concludes:

"In the terror of the thirties, untold thousands of loyal party members and other Soviet citizens would have to be condemned as covert enemies of the people so that Djughshvili could prove to himself and Russia that he was really Stalin."

Ulam puts it somewhat differently: "Stalin — a restless, rebellious man — sensed (the) universal religious existentialist craving in human nature because he felt it so acutely himself. And that is why he was able to build a system of terror and a structure of personal power unprecedented in modern history. The terror was necessary, not only to keep men obedient, but even more to make them believe."

Both men can be right. Or neither. The fact remains that, whatever the reason, Stalin perfected the most ruthless and terroristic dictatorship of modern times. The legacy haunts the world, as well as the rule of his successors in the Soviet Union. And regardless of the impact which Solzhenitsyn hopes *The Gulag Archipelago* will make on the still strong, still terror-oriented Soviet regime, only an optimist could forecast any early clearing from Russian skies of the smog and debris of the Stalinist heritage.

Professors Ulam and Tucker have contributed importantly and perceptively to our knowledge and understanding of Stalin the man and of the era which goes into history bearing his name. Yet, it would be an uncautious critic, indeed, who would suggest that either Ulam's already dead Stalin or Tucker's still-living dictator has the stature to win that rare term "definitive" in the classification of political biography. The definitive work, if there is ever to be one, probably still lies some distance in the future, when the passage of even more years will have given historians greater perspective and just as importantly, when more archives will have become available for inspection.

Labor Value Theory Criticized

(Continued from page 6)

first represents his measure in money. This is easier for him to do because he has the production cost as a guide. The consumer then decides upon his satisfaction quantity using the producer's evaluation as a guide. Although the market price is determined, if a commodity is bought and sold it means that both the producer and consumer find satisfaction at that level.

The market price may be influenced by supply, demand, monopolies, controls, the currency situation, or other factors; nevertheless, whenever there is exchange, the exchange price represents the common satisfaction of both the producer and the consumer.

This principle holds true in capitalist, socialist and Communist systems. For example, in the Soviet Union the producer is the government and the profit accrues to the Communist Party. Therefore in buying and selling, the satisfaction of the producer is determined by the Communist Party. The consumers, however, only buy commodities when they are satisfied with the commodities, unless the commodities are forcibly sold.

Thus, the exchange value or price is quantitatively related to the satisfaction that a commodity's use value provides to the producers and to the consumer and has nothing to do with labor.

Divided World Can't Survive

(Continued from page 6)

the firing. The Soviets are now supplying the Egyptians, who managed to extricate its army under the terms of the ceasefire, with aims to renew the war. Israel is likewise preparing for what it is sure is to be another round of fighting. The next time around the Israelis may have to fight not only against Russian weapons but against the U.S. weapons which the U.S. promised the Egyptians in order to buy them off.

Frank Johnson, Foreign Affairs editor of the *Washington Report* of the American Security Council, writes that Soviet influence in the Middle East has diminished only temporarily, and is more apparent than real. The Arab rulers are now counting on the support of the U.S., he writes, to give them what they really want, which is the dismemberment of Israel. "If the

U.S. does not fulfill the Arab hopes," he states, "the backlash of resentment and sense of betrayal will cause the pendulum to swing again." He adds:

"With the Suez Canal soon to be reopened and their navy about to be free to flood into the Persian Gulf area, the Soviets can well afford to bide their time. They fully support the Arab demands but have no influence in Tel Aviv. The Arabs, having made their point by resort to war and employment of the oil boycott, now expect the U.S. to deliver on Israel because we have the leverage. If we do, they are prepared to offer us their friendship and co-operation. If we fail them, the war option remains open, and the Soviets, who have every reason to think we will fail, will still be waiting in the wings to supply the material support."

Violence in Africa Feared

(Continued from page 1)

ly, and more unsophisticated. Its concept of an economy is of the kindergarten variety."

Black groups oppose Frelimo

Doubts are also being raised among the black Mozambicans about Frelimo's ability to govern, and whether it really represents Mozambique's 8 million blacks. On August 24, representatives of 5 black political movements announced in Beira that they had merged into the Mozambique National Coalition Party to oppose Frelimo. The Coalition Party is headed by the Rev. Uria Simango, a former vice president of Frelimo. He said the new party would demand a referendum to settle the future of the Portuguese territory.

The most prominent of the groups joining the Coalition is the Group for the Union of Mozambique (Gumo), headed by a widely popular woman and mother, Dr. Joan Simeao. With a white and an Indian as co-leaders, Gumo has a wide following among blacks and among white and Indians, who are attracted to Gumo's platform of detente with Frelimo, independence, and peaceful co-existence under a multi-racial government. A few days after the launching of Gumo, 10,000 people turned out to hear Dr. Simeao speak at a football stadium in Xipamanine.

A so-far unmeasured force is the work-

ers, especially dock workers in Beira and Lourenço Marques. Increased labor unrest has shown that trade unionism is imminent and that a worker's party could emerge as a major force.

Despite this multiplicity of Black political movements Frelimo claims to be the only legitimate representative of the people of Mozambique, having asked Portugal to hand control over to it. Since most of Frelimo's membership comes from the northern Maconda tribe, this is not likely to sit well with Mozambique's other tribal groups, especially the Maconda's southern neighbors, the Macuas, of which Dr. Simeao is a member.

Frelimo, heavily influenced by Maoist thought with its dictum that "power grows out of the barrel of a gun," might try to enforce its will upon the black majority. If so, a bloody civil war will be the result.

Frelimo has been known to use terror tactics against the black population. In 1973, 258 black villagers were reported killed by Frelimo, many of the bodies being mutilated as a warning to others. Since 1964, Frelimo has killed 947, wounded 2,179 and forcibly abducted 8,268 persons, all black Mozambicans.

It is for this reason that many white Mozambicans are arming themselves, or leaving the country in fear of widespread violence and terror as Frelimo tries to consolidate its control.

US, Chinese Youth Hold Workshop

(Continued from page 1)

relations with the mainland may not be as likely as many people suspect.

Monday's first panel featured Georgetown professor Paul Holman and FLF Secretary General Dan Fefferman, speaking on "The American Scene: In Defense of Human Freedom." Dr. Holman spoke on general political and ideological trends in America.

Prof. Holman noted a decline in the importance of values such as human freedom in the policies of recent U.S. administrations. He mentioned that national self-interest appears predominant and noted that a decline in traditional religious values had left a moral vacuum which was currently being filled by Marxist ideologies. "Politics," he said "is becoming a new religion in America today."

Fefferman in his speech outlined some of the more positive U.S. forces opting for a strong stand in U.S. foreign policy. He called for unity of liberal and conservative

elements on the issues of human rights, national defense and opposition to Communism.

Following this, a resolution was passed in a plenary session to establish a working committee of ten members to establish guidelines for an ongoing organization and activities.

The weekend was capped off with a rally by the lake at Pawling's Holiday Hills YMCA conference center. Chinese and Americans came by bus for the event from New York. Featured speakers were Dr. Huan Lee, Director of the China Youth Corps, and FLF President Neil A. Salonen.

Mr. Salonen cited three necessary components for ideological victory: "morality, reality, organization, and hope."

Dr. Lee encouraged the young people to continue their efforts to build a united front effort of Americans and Chinese with the ultimate goal of victory over Communism.

Defectors Warn Americans

(Continued from page 5)

Most of them are glad that we pulled the troops out but I still think that most people in the United States want to help South Vietnam."

"Historically the average reaction after a war in the United States has been a decrease of foreign involvement—after World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and now apparently after the Vietnam war. I think that you have to look at the long-range history rather than the period right after the wars.

"In terms of direction and in terms of moral leadership, people are really searching for answers as to what we're supposed to do with the great power that the United States has," said Dan. "I think that we've made a mistake already in terms of how much aid we're willing to give to South Vietnam, and also in terms of our whole policy vis-a-vis Communism, and the world at large. If we don't change our direction, this state is going to change and come back on us very quickly. That's why my colleagues and I will do everything we can to explain to the American people everything

that you've said to us."

George: "Part of the reason for it is that American involvement in Vietnam originally began with aid and led ultimately to the introduction of troops. Americans are opposed to sending troops back to Vietnam. These Congressmen are saying that if we give aid to South Vietnam, it may lead to a reintroduction of troops. America has a tradition of aiding countries. There are those who are concerned that South Vietnam remain free not only from Communism but also in terms of her own democracy and own political expression."

The major forcefully concluded: "I believe to be mistaken the idea that some Americans have that they are doing favors to the South Vietnamese by giving aid, therefore they are totally free to cut off the aid anytime or to reduce or increase it as they see fit. I think freedom is one that needs many nations, and that the Vietnamese in fact are to be fighting together on the same front as the Americans. Therefore they are entitled to aid. I wish to share that idea with your people."

"So do we."

The Rising Tide

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

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

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

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

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

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

"... The sands of nine years were fast running out in the courtroom at Foley Square. Nine years of conspiracy, uncertainty. fear. Nine years in the shadows where glances must be furtive, where I looked in for the face of a friend I could talk to. Days of deception and a guile, plotting every move, guarding my words gestures, even my thoughts. Blind calls from telephone booths; the drop of a coin; a code number; hushed instructions hurriedly given. Sleepless nights and secret meetings on darkened street corners, where automobiles drove up, swallowed, me, and whirled away. Nine years with my face smothered in a mask that could never be taken off; no face of my own to look a man in the eye and say, 'I am Herbert Philbrick'"

NOW, FOR \$11.95, YOU CAN RECEIVE THIS VALUABLE TESTIMONY AND A YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE *RISING TIDE*. CHECK THE APPROPRIATE BOX IN THE SUBSCRIPTION BLANK AND SEND IN YOUR CHECK FOR \$11.95 TO THE FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION WITH YOUR BLANK.

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

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

Zip _____

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

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

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

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

☐ Please send me I LED THREE LIVES.

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