

One Year Later...

by Neil Salonen, President
Freedom Leadership Foundation

Last year when the Indochina cease-fire agreements were finally signed we tried to be as hopeful as possible. Previously we warned of serious shortcomings, specifically:

- Failure to recognize the existence of more than 100,000 North Vietnamese troops in the South.
- Inadequate provisions for investigation of violations or for enforcement of the agreement's sanctions.
- Failure to stipulate that the "foreign troops" which must leave Laos and Cambodia include North Vietnamese not only U.S. and South Vietnamese soldiers.
- Inadequate participation of the South Vietnamese in the negotiations.

A Stiff Upper Lip

We tried to be hopeful. We pointed out that the agreements were a substantial improvement over the original October 21st draft. We praised Dr. Kissinger for his hard work in negotiating the agreement. We

cited the courage of the President for not giving in to Hanoi on several critical points.

But we also cautioned against fooling ourselves about the kind of peace we had achieved. We doubted whether "bringing the boys back home" would really allow us to solve pressing domestic problems more efficiently. In fact, we said, such a defacto retreat from our international responsibilities might drag us into a national depression resulting from the sense of guilt and purposelessness which comes when one abandons social commitments to pursue egoistic desires. A year later Indochina is still at war. Numerous emerging republics, especially in Asia, have been substantially de-democratized. And the U.S. is partially paralyzed by the Watergate and energy crises.

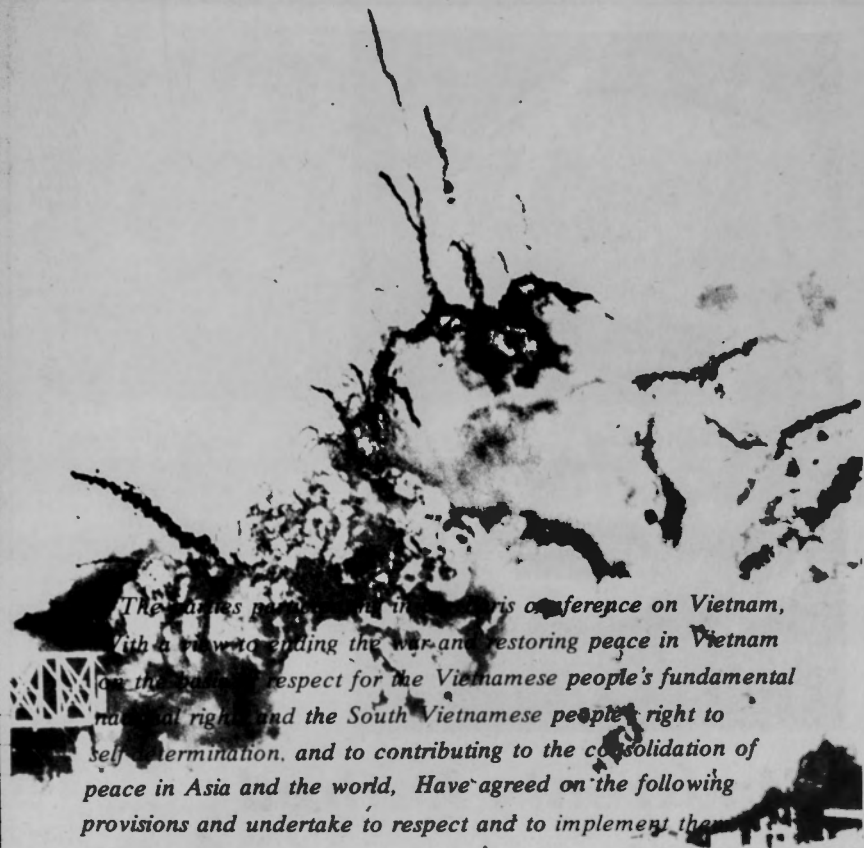
Didn't we tell you?

Sometimes a disease is best combatted by leaving work behind for awhile and recuperating. But at other times recovery requires a renewed commit-

ment and determination to continue until the job is done. The disease which plagues the United States requires the latter cure. Things won't get better if we think only of ourselves. Our own fate is inextricably tied to that of the entire world. "America first" is a slogan for people who have not read Jesus' words of losing your life in order to gain it. The times call for increased sacrifice, greater faith, and a solid resolve to continue all efforts until the ultimate victory, liberation, and peace are won.

Perhaps one positive result of the current situation in Southeast Asia is that the non-Communist nations are receiving slightly better treatment in the U.S. press than when the U.S. was still directly involved. But an increase in sympathy is not an adequate substitute for the material aid these countries still need in order to defend themselves against what even the most liberal newspapers now openly admit is outright aggression.

Sometimes it hurts to say "I told you so."



The parties to the Paris Peace Conference on Vietnam, with a view to ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and to contributing to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world, Have agreed on the following provisions and undertake to respect and to implement them:

Vietnam Peace Agreement January 1973

25¢



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

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Senator Buckley and Governor Reagan speaking to the 1974 Conservative Political Action Conference.

Charting A New Course

by Louise Berry

One of the largest gatherings of conservatives since the 1964 Goldwater campaign met at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington D.C. on January 24-26. Sponsored by the American Conservative Union and Young Americans for Freedom, the 1974 Conservative Political Action Conference brought together what has been called the who's who list of American conservatives.

Drawing cards to the weekend were Senator Buckley, Governor Reagan, Senator Curtis, William Rusher, Governor Meldrin Thompson of New Hampshire, and a host of Congressmen. The purpose of the conference was both remedial -- drawing together the pieces of the conservative movement left scattered since 1964 -- and preparatory for the 1974 Congressional elections.

Fulfilling these purposes were workshops dealing in conservative issues and political organization. The budget, ERA, energy, health care, detente, busing and taxes were discussed. Political organization involving finance, precinct organization, youth campaigns, etc. were taken up by panels.

Governor Reagan drew a large crowd to his smooth oratory about what's right in America. The following night Senator Buckley spoke more directly to the issues at

hand at the conference. In discussing his topic of the future of conservatism in the United States, he said, "Between Barry Goldwater's shot across the bow of American liberalism in 1960 and today, there has been nothing short of an intellectual and political counter-revolution in the United States. Conservative ideas have suddenly become accepted politically and intellectually in circles that only a few years ago would have chosen slow death rather than burn incense to the gods of the free market or admit that there are problems that cannot be solved by sprinkling federal billions on them."

These remarks reflected the general discussion at the conference. Scaling down was the theme -- less federal expenditure, less federal involvement, to be replaced by more private and local initiative. The doctrine of individualism had its heyday. Unfortunately, international affairs, the main concern of the *Tide*, was overshadowed. There was only a panel on detente and Red trade, with speeches by Congressmen Spence and Blackburn and Senate aid William Schneider explaining Soviet advantages gained through impending MFN legislation and our deficient defense stature.

Early in the conference an underlying reason for its existence -- disappointment with President

Nixon -- was brought in the open by National Review publisher William Rusher and Congressman William Ashbrook, who contended that conservative were not obliged to support Nixon because he had violated conservative principles in his policies and his administration.

This issue soon became the hottest conversational topic. Resignation was looked upon favorably. Many made no secret that they wanted Nixon out -- very soon. I suspect much of this to be a maneuver, and a legitimate one, of disassociation with an unpopular issue, calculated to remove the Nixon stigma from the 1974 elections. I respected the criticism of those like Ashbrook who had previously taken a stand apart from Nixon. But many present ran the risk of falling into the liberal camp of wanting Nixon out of office because they don't like him or his policies. And it was ironic that a conference striving to separate itself from Nixon would draw most of its press coverage from this context. Their criticism of Nixon was well-aided but their goals and programs scarcely mentioned. Fortunately ACU Chairman Stanton Evans and Conservative Party chairman Daniel Mahoney put Watergate in a broad perspective.

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National Prayer and Fast Activity At a Peak

As the plane from Los Angeles was circling the field for a landing at Dulles International Airport, the pilot announced to the passengers that if they looked out the windows they could see a crowd of 2,000 people gathered at one end of the airfield. The pilot announced that these were "followers of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon" who had gathered to welcome the Reverend, a passenger on the plane, upon his return from his highly successful 21-city "Day of Hope" speaking tour.

Rev. Moon was already well-known in Washington as a result of his talks there at the Lerner Auditorium in October. On Dec. 1, Rev. Moon proclaimed his famous "Watergate Declaration," urging the American people to unite in a spirit of forgiveness to overcome the crisis of Watergate, and proclaimed a 40-day period of national prayer and fasting. Since then the members of the "National Prayer and Fast for the Watergate Crisis" were active in Washington and constantly in the news. Youthful members of the NPFWC got 8 senators and more than 50 congressmen to sign the declaration, as well as thousands of citizens from all over the country who signed and sent in letters of support. At the end of the 40-day period, rallies were held in 50 states all across the nation, which received widespread local media coverage. A

rally of 2,000 of Rev. Moon's followers in Japan, and similar rallies in England, Germany, and Korea were reported over the wire services and appeared in newspapers, television and radio all across the nation.

When Congress reconvened on Jan. 14 almost 1,500 NPFWC members marched around the Capitol in a colorful parade in support of the Watergate Declaration (see *Tide*, Jan. 28). At the Jan. 31st welcoming rally at Dulles International Airport, a special VIP mobile lounge took Rev. Moon and his party to a platform which had been set up on an area apart from the main terminal. There the 2,000 young people greeted him with flowers, and banners and pennants saying "Welcome Home, Rev. Moon."

After a welcoming speech by Mr. Neil A. Salonen, president of the Unification Church, Miss Nguyen Thi Phuong-Dung, representing the Embassy of the Republic of Vietnam, gave a message of gratitude and welcome to Rev. Moon. She told the young people there that they were the "hope of your nation," and invited Rev. Moon to come to Vietnam soon "to bring us hope."

A telegram from James Shen, Ambassador of the Republic of China, read, in part, "Your work is greatly needed and we note with

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National Prayer and Fast members marching to the White House.

A Terrible Diagnosis

The Trial of Yuriy Shikhanovich

Yuriy Shikhanovich, respected Soviet mathematician, was recently incarcerated in a mental hospital. The Rising Tide has previously reported on this. Here we present a translation by George Edwards of a recent article about Shikhanovich appearing in Posev magazine. To our knowledge this is the first English translation of this document.

From: POSEV, January 1974 (Page 7)

We encountered an article about Yuriy Shikhanovich which was written for our journal by one of his friends in Moscow, "Awaiting an Unjust Trial" (See "POSEV" No. 2/1973). This unjust trial finally took place on November 26 in the Perov region of Moscow. The accused was not present when the court concluded the trial and gave the sentencing at 4:00 a.m. The result: Indefinite commitment (or so-called compulsory treatment) at a general psychiatric hospital.

The very talented mathematician and former lecturer at Moscow State University in mathematical logic, Yuriy Shikhanovich had been subjected, according to the ap expression in "Current Events," to extrajudicial prosecution for four and a half years (Current Events was an underground newspaper in the Soviet Union). He was arrested on September 28, 1972, and from that time was kept in pre-trial imprisonment at Lefortov, in complete isolation. After ten months of imprisonment he was given a psychiatric examination at the Serbsky psychiatric institute.

During these ten months he was not permitted one meeting with his wife, Aleutina Plyusnina, and his seventeen year-old daughter Kathy. The KGB did not even permit the lawyer Ye. Reznikova, who had travelled to Lefortov after having obtained a formal permission from a judge, to visit with the defendant. Before the beginning of the trial, the lawyer sought a postponement of the hearing of the case in order that she could consult with the client. The request was denied. Then Ye. Reznikova requested to have Shikhanovich himself stand trial, but this request was also denied. A.D. Sakharov reported by telephone to Western correspondents that the lawyer still had not been able to acquaint herself with the matter three days before the trial.

Only the wife of the defendant was allowed into the courtroom. Besides her there were seven or eight persons whom she did not know. Friends of Shikhanovich waited in the corridor, while foreign correspondents were allowed to freeze in the streets -- it was this circumstance which

caused Andrei Sakharov to comment that a cold war was being waged against them.

A man called Ryazhskiy was the judge and the prosecutor was a man called Yermakov. Charges were brought against Shikhanovich based on article 70 of the criminal code of the RSFSR: Shikhanovich was accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, for keeping and disseminating materials which discredit the Soviet State and social structure. They say that two witnesses were called. One of them, Yuriy Yukhnovets, apparently had been arrested in connection with the matter of the leaflets of the citizens committee and then was freed at the end of May, 1973. Also revealed to the court were written instructions of Pyotr Yakir and Irina Belogorodskaya in which it was said that Yuriy Shikhanovich participated in disseminating Current Events.

Then the medical findings compiled at the Serbsky Institute and signed by three "doctors" was read at the trial. According to the words of Sakharov, these findings said that Shikhanovich "formally preserved" his intellectual abilities but, "evidently," suffers from schizophrasia, the slowly advancing

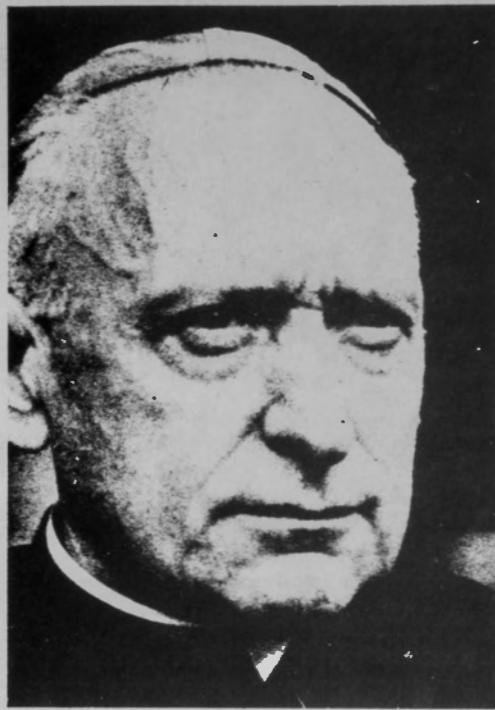
kind. It was reported that the lawyer Yelena Reznikova asked the court to explain whether the doctors who had signed the findings had seen her client. The judge declined to explain this matter, saying that it was irrelevant.

What a terrible indictment of the power of a morally corrupt but all-powerful dictatorship! What incredible hypocrisy to state that Yuriy Shikhanovich is guilty of anything, to say nothing of participation in distribution of literature critical of the government, when in democratic countries the critics of one's own system attack in harsher tones and more loudly than Shikhanovich has done. "However, for is indeed crazy!" Russia, a man who criticizes the earth paradise is indeed crazy!

These words from a leading article of the British Daily Telegraph more clearly than others express how the trial of Shikhanovich was received in the West. There were also formal protests in New York, by a number of famous American psychiatrists; in Amsterdam by a group of Dutch mathematicians. (Address of the wife of Yuriy Shikhanovich) Pryusnina Aleutina, Moscow A 83 Ul. Mishina 12, kv. 100 Tel. 2583036



Vladimir Bukovsky also a victim of psychiatric repression.



Mindszenty Retired

Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, a central figure in Hungary's resistance to Communism, was dismissed on Feb. 5 by Pope Paul VI as primate of Hungary and archbishop of Esztergom, the Cardinal's archdiocese in Hungary. Pope Paul declared the Cardinal's position vacant and named Bishop Laszlo Lekai as "apostolic administrator" to run it pending further action.

The decision to retire the 81-year old prelate underscored Vatican efforts to improve relations with Eastern Europe. The Cardinal had always insisted that he retain his position as the No. 1 Catholic prelate of Hungary to dramatize his role as a symbol of Hungarian resistance to Communist tyranny. The Cardinal had spent a total of 30 years in Nazi or Communist jails.

In 1948 Cardinal Mindszenty was arrested and tried in Budapest by Communist authorities on charges of subversion, spying and treason. The authorities sentenced him to death, but later commuted his sentence to life imprisonment. He was freed in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. When Russia crushed the revolt three days later, Cardinal Mindszenty took refuge in the US legation. He stayed there until 1971 in order to remain close to his people and dramatize Hungary's fight for freedom.

despite Vatican requests that he leave in order to improve Church-State relations in Hungary. He finally gave in to Vatican pressure and moved to exile in Rome in 1971. In 1972 he moved to Vienna to "live closer to his homeland."

Hungarian emigre sources in Washington reported that 2 weeks ago the Hungarian Office of Religious Affairs sent a letter to the Vatican demanding that, as preconditions for normalization of relations, the Vatican 1) force the Cardinal's retirement 2) intervene to "neutralize" the Cardinal's memoirs and 3) withdraw the Cardinal's Vatican passport. The sources said that soon after these demands were made a papal representative, Archbishop Luigi Poggi, went to Budapest. Then came the announcement of the Cardinal's retirement.

Mr. Istvan Gereben, co-President of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation, remarked that it wasn't so much the fact of Mindszenty's retirement that he considered bad (most Cardinals are retired after 80) but the timing and circumstances surrounding the Pope's decision. "We find it deplorable that the Vatican so obviously and flagrantly caved in to the Communist demands. The Communists are trying to curb Cardinal Mindszenty's personal freedom -- his

freedom of speech by suppressing his memoirs, and his freedom of movement by taking away his passport. I want to make him a prisoner in the Free World -- and now they have taken the first step." Gereben added that since the Vatican acceded to the first demand, it indicated that they might be "willing to fulfill all three."

"This is a bitter pill for the Cardinal who has suffered so much already for freedom. He deserves more from the Pope than he got today," Gereben said.

A statement later released by the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation said,

"The actions taken by Rome causes concern for the Federation. Concern not only for the Cardinal but concern for all of us. Seemingly the time has come when blackmail, disregard for basic human rights and the quality of life are rampant and unrestricted."

"The Communist world successfully extends its influence behind the Gulag Archipelago! Its attempt to censor, silence and paralyze Solzhenitsyn is being challenged by courageous men everywhere. Its attempt to censor, silence and paralyze Cardinal Mindszenty should be rejected by all principled men and women of the Free World."



PEACE? IN VIETNAM

by Louis Fournier

A couple of weeks ago an incident occurred about 175 miles off the coast of South Vietnam. In many ways it symbolized the almost incessant state of conflict that Vietnam has faced throughout its ancient history and is likely to continue to face for some time.

Chinese Attacks

In the past hundred years the government of Vietnam well established its sovereignty over the distant Paracel Islands, apparently resolving what had been centuries of dispute with China over who actually owned them. At one point there were a number of ships wrecked off the coast of the Paracels. The ships were insured by a British firm, which subsequently tried to hold China accountable for the merchandise aboard the ships. China vehemently denied all responsibility for the islands, leaving Vietnam to settle the matter. For all surface appearances, that fixed the final issue of ownership. At the San Francisco Conference in 1956 Vietnam clearly

announced its jurisdiction over the Paracels with no objections voiced from any of the 52 nations in attendance. For some years the Vietnamese army maintained a few platoons scattered across the small archipelago with no confrontations with foreign forces until recently.

Suddenly Chinese forces attacked the islands and engaged in a fierce naval battle that saw each side sustain losses. Finally the Chinese overran the Paracels, leaving a frustrated Vietnamese regime too weak to sustain a prolonged military confrontation with the Chinese. Vietnam issued a denunciation of the Chinese act and asked for world public opinion to do the same. Vietnam was once again squaring off against its long-time off-again-on-again enemy, the very benefactors of the North Vietnamese Communists against whom the South was already stretched too thin.

North Vietnamese Aggression

With American power in Vietnam gone, the Communist aim

of ultimate conquest of all Vietnam was immeasurably aided. It is greatly to the credit of the government of South Vietnam that it has maintained and in many ways strengthened its military position against the North. With the announcement a few weeks ago by President Thieu that for all practical purposes the Vietnam war had resumed, a formal acknowledgement was made of the complete desecration of the so-called Paris peace treaty. In a single year of "peace" more men died in Vietnam than the total combat losses of the Americans in more than ten years of involvement.

The new threat directly from the Chinese seemed to bring to a head, at least symbolically, the utter collapse of Free World action against communism. (In the face of outright and almost self-proclaimed Communist aggression in Vietnam and despite the North's supposed commitment to peace.) Despite the direct testimonials to unrelenting Communist deceit and subterfuge from the Canadian ICC delegation,

private observations and the Communists themselves; and despite flagrant Communist military violation of South Vietnam's national sovereignty in the South China Sea, the Free World seems nonchalant and irresolute in its response. And so the war rages on, apparently touching only native hearts. The Americans are concerned (rightfully so) about the fate of its POW's and MIA's, but their attention to Vietnam too frequently ends there.

The Gate of the Clouds

In Vietnamese mythology, which fuses in and out with real history, there are numerous legends of various gods waging great wars against each other, accounting for a wide range of natural phenomena. There is a story of the creation of the mountains of Central and Northern Vietnam caused by the land and sea gods having it out, with the land god finally defeating the god of the oceans, who was forced to yield up vast peaks from his watery depths.

The Vietnam sky carries incredibly beautiful cloud formations, great lofty things that billow majesty for hundreds of miles. They invoke awe and challenge the mind to realistically contemplate the vast depth of their loveliness. At sunset there are huge rolls, curls, valleys and summits that gather the dimming light into little pockets of pale blue and splash the color's variations across the horizon. An elderly Vietnamese woman watched this vision one night. She pointed to what seemed a passageway through the fortresses of clouds and called it the gate of the clouds. One could fly up there, she revealed, if one really tried -- at its other end lay a magnificent paradise to make the effort worthwhile. The pragmatic Westerner would insist, of course, that this was legend, a pleasant folk fantasy. But to her the story was real. The details of its feasibility escaped her, but that could not change its truthfulness.

The Vietnamese are deeply spiritual people, accustomed to

honest simplicity and a plain but full life. They are also a people used to battling for their politico-geographic and religious integrity. Throughout their history they have fought often and always preserved their ethnic homogeneity. They combated the Chinese many times, often when the odds against them were just as great as they are now, and have consistently frustrated every attempt at permanent domination by foreign powers. They are the land of the dragon by the sea.

The new lunar year ahead is the year of the tiger, symbolizing energy, fortitude and eventual triumph. From the deep inward imagery and faith that has sustained the Vietnamese character through long centuries will come the only true source of eventual victory: a steadfast sureness of and reliance upon spirit. All war sooner or later boils down to ideology. The Vietnamese heart is through the gate of the clouds, and the hearts of the world must come to join it there.



An Exploration of Guerrilla Activity

This is the first of several exploratory articles on Africa to be done by the FLF staff. Our study of Africa is just beginning; therefore the articles do not represent an official viewpoint, since we have not yet developed one.

by Hal McKenzie

Southern Africa is rapidly shaping up as another major flashpoint which could explode like Vietnam, into a center of continuing violence and big-power confrontation. The developing struggle pits the more militant of the newly independent African states, backed by China, the Soviet Union, and a considerable segment of Western public opinion against the "White Citadel" of the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portuguese-ruled Angola and Mozambique, where a white minority still rules over the black majority.

In 1963, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), claiming the membership of every independent African nation except Rhodesia and South Africa, was formed for the stated purpose of coordinating African cultural, political, scientific, and economic policies. The OAU

also set up a "Liberation Committee," responsible for controlling, financing and uniting the different "liberation" movements in Africa whose aim was to seize power and oust the white rules in southern Africa. However, due to bitter tribal and personal rivalries, the committee failed to create any semblance of a united front. Eventually the liberation movements became dominated either by the Soviets or the Red Chinese. Now the guerrillas are armed with Communist weapons, trained in different Communist countries and steeped in the revolutionary theories of Peking or Moscow.

Soviet Globalism and South Africa

Training grounds for the liberation movements are made available in Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire, Algeria, Cuba, Eastern Europe, Russia, China and North Korea. In Russia, African students receive advanced instruction in Moscow (the Political and Intelligence School), Simferopol (the Guerrilla Warfare Training School), and in the Crimea (the Sabotage and Demolition School). A report by the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies reports that the Soviet Union has been the main source of finance, weapons and training since the early 1960's. In addition to vast quantities of small arms, the Soviets have recently supplied 122-mm rocket launchers with

a range of more than seven miles and the one-man SA-7 ground-to-air missile.

Even more ominous, the Soviet Union is moving fast to become the dominant naval power in the Indian Ocean. The USSR maintains a sizable task force of naval vessels in the Indian Ocean and is reportedly building a new base on the island of Socotra at the Red Sea entrance of the Indian Ocean. Other reports indicate that the USSR may soon gain basing rights in the ports of the new country of Bangladesh. In days spent in ports on the Indian Ocean, the Soviets lead the U.S. in flag-showing at least four to one.

Soviet dominance in the Indian Ocean would give it the capability to harass shipments of oil and other supplies to Japan or to Europe. It would also improve its ability to dominate the independent states in the area such as Mauritius, Somalia, Tanzania, Zambia, and Malagasy by dominating access to the ports on the East Coast of Africa. Also the closing of the Suez Canal focused new attention on the route around the Cape of Good Hope and on the role of the Republic of South Africa in keeping that crucial sea lane open.

China and the Third World

While the USSR is pursuing a strategy of global dominance, the Red Chinese have been no less energetically pursuing their goal of leading the "third world" nations in

Africa. The Chinese began in October 1970 to build a 1,200 mile long railway from Dar es Salaam, the Tanzanian port on the Indian Ocean, to Dunduma on the Zambian border. This project, called the Tan-Zam railway, has so far utilized 13,000 "technicians" from the PRC. These are reportedly fully trained troops of the People's Liberation Army. Since then numerous shipments of military supplies have been coming from China, including tanks, field guns, trucks, and patrol boats. A base for fighter planes is under construction at Mikumi, not far from Dar es Salaam. When the Tan-Zam railway is completed in 1975 or earlier, it will be used to supply guerrilla bases in Tanzania as well as in Zambia.

Today China is strongest in three African countries — Zambia, Tanzania, and the People's Republic of Congo. China trains and equips the Congolese army as well as the Tanzanian army and air force. In Zambia, the Chinese have constructed three powerful radio transmitters used to propagandize and agitate for the "liberation movement" in the south and have built a 300-mile long military highway.

In the Sino-Soviet rivalry for influence among the African Liberation groups, China is gaining in many areas. The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), most powerful of the liberation groups and best-known in the West, formerly Russian-backed, is now dominated by the Chinese. A FRELIMO defector said in an interview, "Today the party is commanded by Communist China although the Soviet Union, not wishing to lose completely the control it formerly had, still continues to supply much war material."

In Rhodesia, the main groups are "Zimbabwe African People's Union" (ZAPU), (Zimbabwe is the name the liberation groups give to Rhodesia) and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). ZAPU is Soviet oriented and operates mainly in the Western area of Rhodesia, while ZANU is Chinese-oriented and operates mainly from the Northeastern areas in cooperation with FRELIMO. Despite the Sino-Soviet split, the USSR and China have cooperated in training and supporting the terrorists, indicating some positive agreement may have been reached between Peking and Moscow in the conduct of the "liberation struggle" in southern Africa.

Western Churches Support "Liberation"

In addition to support from the Communists and the OAU, an important source of support and revenue for the guerrillas is the West. Scandinavian countries, particularly Sweden, have been generously sympathetic to the guerrillas. Most of the Swedish newspapers and the government-run television network devote much time and space to the activities of the guerrillas, rarely checking or balancing their claims. As a result a large section of public opinion is in favor of the African revolution; substantial grants have been donated to the guerrillas from the Swedish government (which sent 500,000 kroner in 1971) and private sources in Sweden and Norway.

The World Council of Churches regularly provides funds for the liberation movements and aid is reported to come from time to time from the Ford Foundation, the American Committee on Africa, the British Labour Party, and some other sources. Most of the major and some not-so-major liberation groups have offices and do fund raising in the West.

Movement Lacks Popular Sympathy

Despite this global moral and material support, the liberation movements have been for the most part successfully contained by the White African governments with practically no outside support. Part of the reason for this lack of success on the part of the guerrillas is the intense rivalry between the various groups, also corruption and maladministration of funds is reported to be widespread. Expensive cars, white mistresses and other unrevolutionary practices are known to exist among some of the leaders and roving ambassadors of the African revolutions.

But the key to the guerrillas' lack of success is that they are not getting the support of the African masses. In Portuguese-ruled Angola, for example, reporters found that the population was inclined to flee to the protection of the Portuguese, who are militarily stronger, than risk their lot with the guerrillas. The Portuguese in Angola and to some extent in Mozambique have trained "home guard" units of tribesmen; and anti-guerrilla propaganda is re-

ported to be relatively successful. As a result the guerrillas in Angola still have to operate from over the borders.

The guerrillas have frequently committed atrocities against the black citizenry involving kidnapping, torture, rape, massacres, and murder of local leaders. As a result most tribesmen have turned to the government side for security and often report any strange movement of armed men to the authorities.

Complicating the problem for the guerrillas is the fact that most southern Africans benefit from and depend upon the economic growth and stability of the white regimes and are therefore inclined to take a cooperative rather than hostile attitude towards them. Development projects such as the Kunene River dam project in northern Southwest Africa and the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique, involving great expenditures of capital from the white regimes, promise to provide much greater economic opportunities for the poverty-stricken populace.

Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi of Leboa, one of the homelands in the Republic of South Africa, said in a talk in the U.S., "Economically we are so intertwined that we cannot disentangle ourselves. We must find a positive form that reflects the economic realities." In Rhodesia, the constant economic growth that that country has enjoyed, despite economic sanctions against it, has given rise to a large black middle class which is not inclined to welcome the destruction of their new-found prosperity through guerrilla war.

The white regimes have achieved a high degree of cooperation between themselves in countering the guerrillas. South Africans help Rhodesians patrol and defend their borders with Zambia and Botswana and provide helicopters to patrol the northeast war zone. Portuguese troops synchronize their efforts with Rhodesian forces along their common border. Rhodesian commandos constantly cross the border and penetrate deep into Mozambique on search and destroy missions. In general, the security forces of the white regimes have proven effective in containing the insurgents.

However, the tempo of Communist arms deliveries has increased and the guerrillas are becoming more sophisticated in their weapons and tactics. This has meant a substantial increase in terrorist attacks in re-

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Detente — From Moscow to Havana

by Lorenzo Gastanaga

Recently we have heard reports of the Castro government wishing to warm up a friendship with the U.S.

Hearing a statement of the Cuban ambassador to Mexico, we learn that the Castro government is willing to renew diplomatic relations and trade with the "Yankee Imperialist Aggressors." In the mild toned statement this epithet is not used. But to us faithful Cuba watchers any reference to U.S. by Castro's regime is unusual without this.

What could be the reasons for Cuban "detente" with the U.S. at this time? Are Castro and company acting in Chou and Brezhnev fashion? Is the \$1.5 million a day supply from the U.S.S.R. not enough? Have they repented at long last and, as in the spirit of the Cuban communique, do they not hold enmity towards the U.S.? Is it one way of getting much needed supplies e.g. machinery, food, medicine, clothing, and transport? If this were so, Castro would have a cool million to funnel into Latin American subversion — and with Uncle Sam's friendly support.

Facts on Cuba are a little harder to obtain these days because of a general lack of information due to suppression and propaganda both pro and con. Nevertheless, we can recall some facts. Anyone who lived in Cuba during the early and mid-sixties remembers that Castro referred to the late President Kennedy as "that Jack-ass," even going so far as to portray him in that fashion on placards at government-orchestrated marches. If anyone happened to be in Havana on January 3, 1961 watching C.M.O. TV Channel 6, he remembers the televised movie being interrupted by the glorious announcement that Cuba had broken relations with "Imperialist Yankees." The attitude has remained the same for 13 years. In every rally Castro and company harangued the "Yanquis" and accused them for every malady from the common cold to a crop-destroying hurricane. The name of our current President is spelled with a swastika rather than with an X.

Tete-a-Tete

It would be shortsighted to analyze Cuba's move as an isolated

one. After all, the Big Ones in the Communist camp are actively seeking for the best Western deals through "detente" operations. I do not think it is coincidental that Chou, Leonid and now Fidel want to be "friends" with the "Great American People."

I would like to present a scenario of what might be happening:

In every rally Castro and his company harangued the Yanquis and accused them for every malady from the common cold to a crop-destroying hurricane.

Leonid: Hello, may I speak with the Chairman, please?

Secretary: I am sorry, but he is busy training for the trans-Pacific swim to celebrate his 80th birthday.

Leonid: Isn't there someone in charge to whom I can speak?

Secretary: There is Comrade Chou. He has just returned from "charming smile" session and seems in the "right" mood.

Leonid: Very well, put me with him.

Chou: Hello, Leonid. How are you?

Leonid: Terrible. I just don't know what to do with that bearded Cuban. All he has got to show is half a million exiles in Yanquiland and a sagging economy. All for \$1.5 million of our rubles a day. So far 3 billion solid.

Chou: Calm down, Leo. I wish I could help you but you must understand. All those Soviet troops on our borders!

Leonid: Come on Chou. You know those Siberians. They still remember the Tartar invasions. We've got to make them feel secure.

Chou: Leonid, I'll let you in on something.

Leonid: What? Quickly. Chou: Smile, be graceful, drink with your vodka glass, don't smash it. Listen, results speak

louder than words. Remember when Henry Kissinger used to come and visit? Well, I wined him and dined him and smiled a lot at him. So now we sit with you at the Security Council and who's ever heard of Taiwan?

Leonid: Well, what are you getting at?

Chou: Smile at the Americans. To them it's not what you do, it's what you say.

...A few months later — after the wheat deal, soft talks, numerous European talks, and two brand new Cadillacs...

Leonid: Hello, is Fidel there?

Secretary: Sorry, he's having dinner.

Leonid: Dinner? I've called 10 times and that's the only answer I get.

Secretary: I'll have him call you right away.

Fidel: Hello, Comrade Leonidas Comanero.

Leonid: Oh, stop it! Is that all you do with the rubles I send you? Eat?

Fidel: The other 2/3 are well spent on machine guns and airplanes.

Leonid: Listen, Fidel, I know how you feel about those Yankees. But somehow we have to get their support for a good cause.

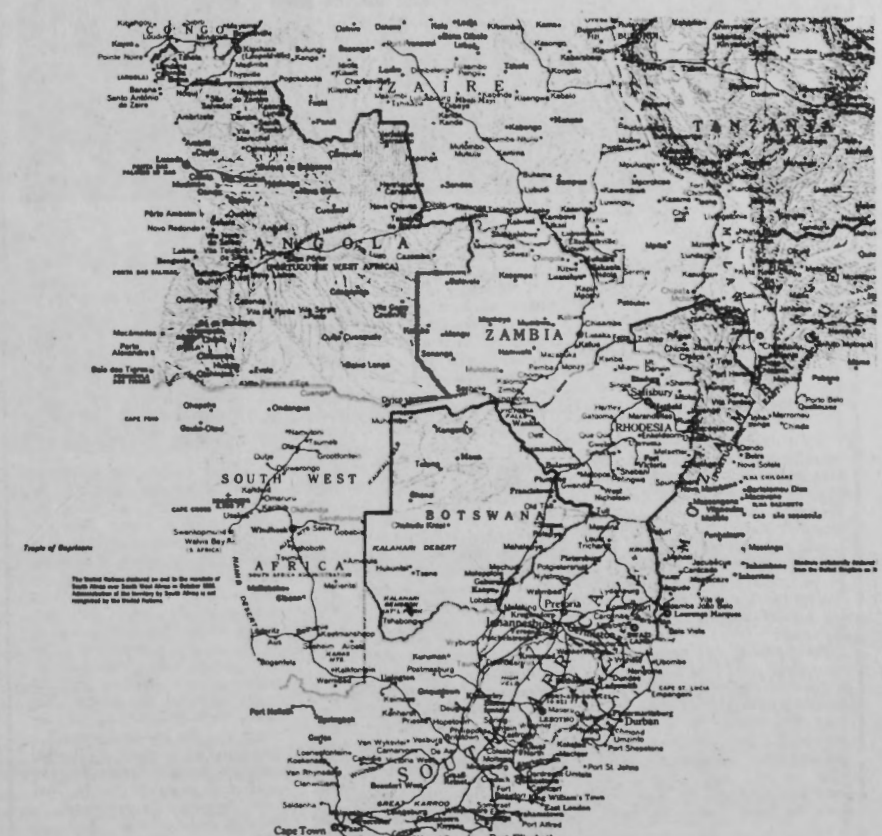
Fidel: That could be compromising with the Imperialist.

Leonid: Enough of the Old Type Mao talk. I have a tip from Chou to you.

Fidel: Yeah? What is it?

Leonid: Fidelito, How would you like an Eldorado with all parts and service?

Fidel: Hmmm! not bad....



A New Opportunity for Peace In the Middle East

by G.F. Willis

Although many serious issues still divide Israel from most Middle East Arab nations, the recent agreement between Israel and Egypt to separate their forces along the Suez Canal is a concrete and substantial step towards peace. The disengagement accords, reached under the aegis of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, represent the first significant accommodation between Israel and Egypt after more than twenty-five years of bloody antagonism. The heads of Israel and Egypt have called the pull-back agreement the first step toward peace and the model for an overall Arab-Israeli settlement. Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban called the agreement an "exemplary exercise in international conciliation." And Egypt's President Anwar Sadat said, "Let us hope that the road we have paved is for a lasting peace in the Middle East."

No one is saying, of course, that all or even most of the more serious issues are resolved. Years of conflict and bitterness cannot be hoped away. And although Egypt and Israel have agreed to remove the knives from each others' throats, they are unsheathed and poised, nonetheless. When and under what conditions the separation of com-

batants along the Syrian front will be realized is still being contested. And the main questions of Israeli occupation of Arab lands in the Sinai, Golan, and on the West Bank, the future of the Palestinians, and the status of Old Jerusalem are as yet unresolved.

cing war. All indications point to the conclusion, however, unless the Arabs regain their lost territory peacefully they will undoubtedly go to war again soon. Israel is not unconcerned about the possibility of another war. In the recent war Israel lost 2,500 men, an equivalent of 1 million in relationship to the U.S. population. Aside from the loss of life are the disturbing questions raised by the Arab performance in the October war: Is Israel really invincible? Can the occupied territory protect Israel forever? What will allies do under the pressure of Arab oil cut-offs? But however desperate their position becomes, the Israelis will never give up the occupied territory without a guarantee or evidence from the Arabs that their national sovereignty and independence is secure.

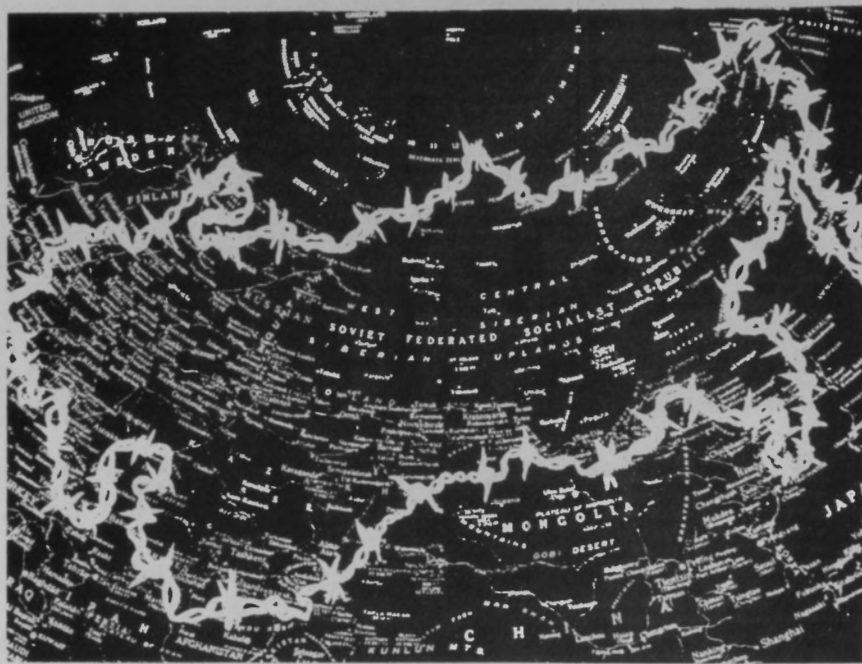
U.S. Role

Thus the one nation best positioned to bring about a negotiated settlement in the Middle East is the United States. Both sides have shown their readiness to trust the United States. Can the United States use this trust to keep the wheels turning toward peace? In the past our country has missed opportunities to bring about a negotiated settlement of the Mid-

and economic assistance from the U.S. also. For the Palestinian refugees it means a chance for a better, more peaceful life without fear or exploitation. For the United States it means hopefully an end to the Arab oil embargo and better relations with our Western allies. For Israel, of course, it means national security and the preservation of the Jewish national homeland of religious and historical significance for the Jews and for all of mankind.

Soviet Threat

With all of this to be gained, it would indeed be tragic if we allowed our commitment to "detente" with the Soviet Union keep us from acting in the interest of peace and justice. Ironically enough, those who argue for "detente" also warn that a U.S. guarantee of Israel's security would increase the danger of a big power nuclear confrontation in the Middle East. This contradiction is even more reason that the U.S. wake up to the true intentions of Soviet Communism in the Middle East and elsewhere. The Soviet Union is the greatest obstacle to detente between Israel and the Arabs and among freedom-loving people everywhere. It would be to the advantage of world peace to leave the mirage of Soviet detente behind on the barren Sinai hat-



One Man's Testimony

Last week *The Rising Tide* presented excerpts from Avraham Shifrin's testimony to a Senate Committee about conditions in Soviet prison camps. This issue we present details of Shifrin's personal story.

When he was conscripted in 1941, Shifrin was sent immediately to a penal battalion because his father was an "enemy of the people." There were 500 men in Shifrin's battalion. Penal battalions were used in front line positions—with machine guns behind them. For the 500 men, they had 100 old rifles. Their officers told them, "Your weapons are in the hands of the Nazis. Go get them." Shifrin was wounded twice before demobilization.

Arrest

The year 1953 was the peak year of anti-Jewish terror (Doctor's Plot). There were slogans on the fences: "Kill the Jews." On June 6 Shifrin was arrested in the street (Stalin had died in March 1953—but the anti-Jewish terror continued, by inertia, for some time after his death.)

He was first sent to Lubyanka, the central Moscow prison for political prisoners, on Dzerzhinsky Place. It is a 6 or 8 story building with a large underground adjunct under Dzerzhinsky Place, with hundreds of meters of cells and corridors.

In Lubyanka, Shifrin was put in a cell for half a day with scenario writer Maklyarsky, who specialized in scripts glorifying the KGB and had won the Stalin prize three times. Maklyarsky was a personal friend of

entertainment. The projections stopped.

In October the KGB put him in Butyrki Prison in the special political section, in isolation. In early December 1953 he was brought before the Moscow Military District Court Martial.

The Court Martial read the sentence to him, which said: "Sentenced to be shot—as the highest measure of protection of our society." Shifrin was put in a cell for people sentenced to death in Butyrka prison. There were 20 cells, 2 people in each cell.

The guard came at 11 p.m. to fetch those to be shot—there was one almost every night. Prisoners who were led to execution had a large pear-shaped rubber object stuffed in their mouths. Sometimes the prisoners heard the last cry from fellow-prisoners before their mouths were stuffed; sometimes they heard only a choking sound. The prisoners would get hysterical and pound the doors and call the guards vile names. The guards would sometimes respond by hosing them down with fire hose through apertures used for passing food into the cells.

After about ten days in this cell, Shifrin was approached by a prison officer who told him that his sentence had been commuted to 25 years in strict labor camps—plus 5 years of exile, plus 5 years deprivation of rights.

After being sentenced, Shifrin was transferred to another special section in Butyrki Prison, for people about to be departed. Cell No. 58—one of ten identical cells in the corridor—was meant to accommodate 25 prisoners, and had twenty-five steel bunks that

to spying after being repeatedly beaten. When he signed the paper that was put in front of him, the KGB asked him to name the country for which he had been spying. He said, "Put down any country you want to—it's O.K. with me." They insisted that he name the country. Afraid of damaging his own position if he named a big Western country, he said that he had spied for Guatemala. He was, accordingly, sentenced to 25 years as a spy for Guatemala!

There was a Ukrainian boy of 20-21, Pyotr Pavluk, sentenced to 25 years as a guerrilla. He told Shifrin he had not been a guerrilla—but his family had given a guerrilla shelter without knowing his identity. When they were arrested and confronted with captured guerrillas, they admitted that they had given overnight shelter to one of them as an act of hospitality to a traveler. The young man and his mother and sister had all been arrested and sentenced to 25 years as "guerrillas."

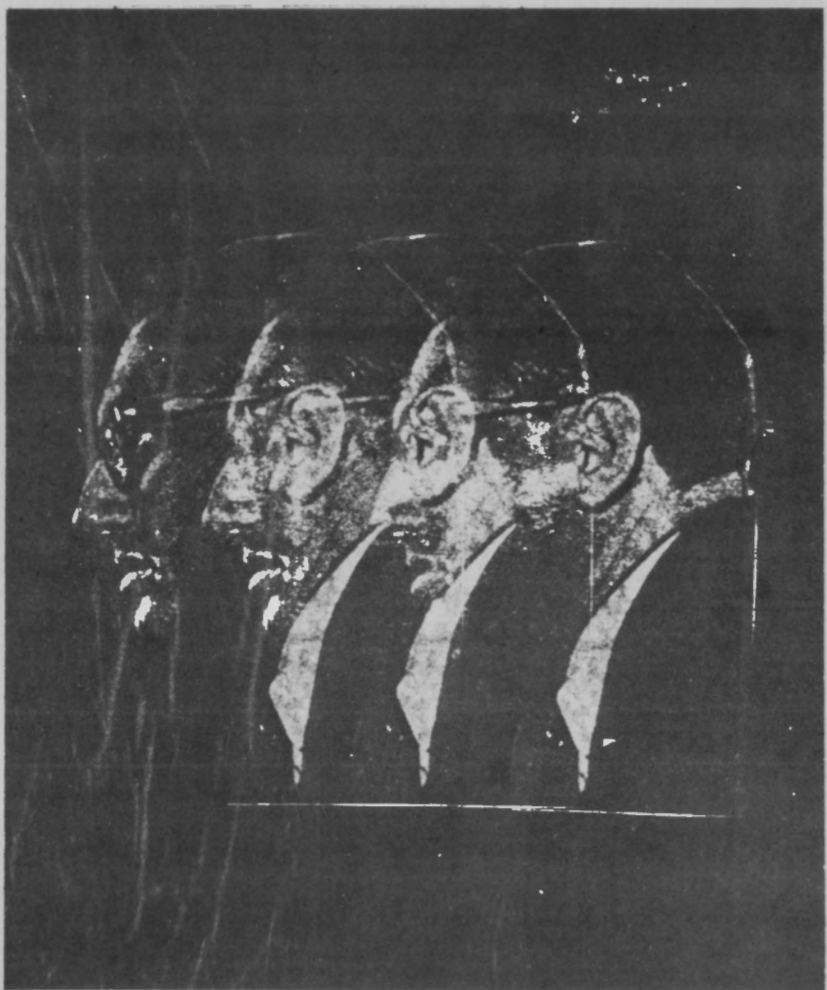
There were three Chukchi hunters (the Chukchis are a tribe related to the Eskimos) from the horn at the North of the Bering Strait. The hunters had attacked a Russian submarine with harpoons, thinking it was a whale as they told the other prisoners "the 'whale' had surfaced and swallowed them." They were sentenced to 25 years hard labor as "diversionists."

General Mikhail Gurevich, of the Soviet Air Force, a "hero of the Soviet Union," was also serving 25 years. Before World War II, he had served as a Soviet air specialist in Spain. After World War II, he was in charge of all arms development programs for the Air Force. At the end of the War, Gurevich went to Bulganin and urged an all-out effort to produce a supersonic plane, because of Western efforts in this field. Bulganin said, "no," because Soviet scientists had told him it was impossible to fly at supersonic speed. Then Gurevich went to Stalin and got approval for several hundred millions in foreign currency in order to establish and equip a supersonic development and research institute.

In 1949, in reply to Stalin's question, "What about our supersonic aircraft program?" Bulganin replied that Gurevich had been wasting money and had not achieved any results with his work. Stalin asked, "And he's still in charge of Air Force arms program?" The conversation immediately changed—but Gurevich was arrested a few hours later. He was charged with economic subversion and with having squandered funds on the instruction of American intelligence.

Gurevich accompanied Shifrin to Tayshet camp and was with him there until he died in 1956. Gurevich had three heart attacks. After his last attack, he was paralyzed. There was no doctor in the camp. He lay in his barrack bunk, without care, urinating and defecating in bed. The prisoners demanded that he be removed from the cell because the odor was unbearable. He was moved to the morgue (autopsy room) and laid on straw on the floor. He lay there for seven or eight days and then died. Shifrin and other prisoners brought him food in the evening and tried to look after him. When he died, his body was stripped, as was customary, a small wooden tag was attached to his ankle, and he was brought to the gate—where the guard pierced his body with a hot iron (a ritual to make certain that the dead were really dead), and then they pulled his body into the forest and left it in the snow, for the animals to eat.

Thus died a "hero of the Soviet Union."



On the move between Arabs and Israelis.

batants along the Syrian front will be realized is still being contested. And the main questions of Israeli occupation of Arab lands in the Sinai, Golan, and on the West Bank, the future of the Palestinians, and the status of Old Jerusalem are as yet unresolved.

Prospects for Peace

In my opinion, the chances for a negotiated settlement seem better than ever before. The Egyptians and Israelis have agreed to disengage and they meet again in Geneva shortly to take up the larger issues of the war. For the first time the Israelis have agreed to surrender occupied territory. And for the first time the Egyptians are talking directly with Israeli diplomats.

The Arabs realize by now that many years will pass before they acquire the power to defeat Israel completely, if they ever do. But since they have "proven their manhood" and restored their national honor, many Arab leaders want to take up the task of domestic development and lay down the heavy burden of finan-

die East dispute. This time we must not pass up the opportunity.

If the above assessment is even closely accurate, a successful settlement depends upon two essentials: first, the United States must openly guarantee Israel's existence; second, the United States must persuade Israel to negotiate with the Arabs about what portion of the occupied territory to return. With these two points established, a guarantee of Israel's security and a pledge from the Israelis to return some territory, specific questions about boundaries, refugee settlement, port and canal access, etc. can be negotiated even if they take several years to conclude. Without these two primary points established from the very start, the only result can be deadlock, stalemate, and in the very near future, war.

Then what effect will a U.S. guarantee of Israel's sovereignty and independence—have on the world? I believe that peace will finally come to the Middle East. And a peaceful Middle East is a gain for the whole world. For the Arabs, peace means prestige and dignity and perhaps more technical

fields where it has already been proven substanceless.

Fear that a U.S. guarantee of Israel will lead to a Soviet "guarantee" of the Arabs is groundless. Based upon long experience and fierce Islamic insight, the Arabs understand that the Soviets are at least as great a threat to their integrity in the long run as the Americans and Jews. Sadat is not at all convinced that Brezhnev's designs are limited to gaining a passage to India via Suez. The Arabs are using the Soviet Union to regain their lost territory. Beyond that they may have no use for them. It is in the interest of Arab nationalism as well as U.S. foreign policy to neutralize the Soviet influence before irreparable harm is done. If we do not act in accordance with our ideals and principles to guarantee the freedom and integrity of Israel and secure a just peace in the Middle East, then instead of a safe and happy Israel, a great and noble Arab civilization and an America respected and welcomed everywhere, we may look forward to continued instability and violence.

The hunters attacked a Russian submarine with harpoons, thinking it was a whale.... They were sentenced to 25 years hard labor as "diversionists."

Stalin. He was in prison because he had written a pro-Zionist poem for a little paper in Odessa in 1921 or '22.

Shifrin was interrogated for 23-25 days nonstop. Some six interrogators participated in this relay. They threw water on him when he collapsed. He was kept standing for the first several days. After this he was permitted to sit. KGB interrogators said they knew he was a spy, and asked for a complete statement. Shifrin replied over and over again that he had nothing to tell them.

Lefortov Prison

The KGB took him to Lefortov prison and put him in a basement cell approximately 4-5 feet square. Cells all had about five inches of mud and water on the floor, and there was no bunk or chair. Shifrin was held there for 28 days. He kept his back to the door so as to face away from the spy hole in the door through which a guard's eye constantly peered. In this position he faced a blank wall covered with green mold. He kept record of the days by making vertical lines in the mold when they brought him his daily bread ration. After a number of days he began to see patterns in the mold. Then he imagined he saw entire scenes, with bloody bodies, etc. He thought he was going mad. Then he began to suspect that the scenes were being projected from a small aperture in the vicinity of the light bulb. He threw his shirt up in the air in front of the bulb—and the scenes were interrupted. At this point he told the guard to tell his idiot commander that he didn't need television for

folded against the wall in the daytime, but the cells contained 60 to 65 prisoners (the number varied from one day to another). All the prisoners in these cells had been sentenced to 25 years hard labor—which was the maximum under law. Prisoners told Shifrin that almost everyone was getting 25 year sentences.

One day a new prisoner came to the cell and fainted after being pushed inside. When he came to, the prisoners asked him why he had fainted. He said he had just been sentenced to 15 years hard labor—and what a bleak outlook! The other prisoners laughed uproariously—because to them it was funny that a man who had been sentenced to only 15 years should lament his fate!

Some of the People in Butyrki

Shifrin met some highly interesting prisoners in Butyrki, and he heard about some other interesting cases from fellow prisoners.

Prince Konojo. Shifrin couldn't converse with him. Other prisoners told him that Konojo was a member of Hirohito's family and had been a General in the Japanese Kwantung army.

There was a simple man who had shared a large cooperative apartment dwelling with several other families. Once he had a dream and he related to his friends in the morning that he had dreamed Stalin had been assassinated. He was sentenced to 25 years as a "potential terrorist."

There was an engineer from Moscow named Krasnikov who had been sentenced as a spy from Guatemala. He had agreed to confess

June 7, 1776, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Resolved:

"We mutually pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor..."

How the Founding Fathers Kept that Pledge

by Joy Schmidt
Way of the World

That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

Acting on instructions from his provincial government Richard Henry Lee of Virginia introduced the above resolution to the first Continental Congress. The debate that ensued led to a vote on July 2 for independence from Great Britain and the signing of the Declaration of Independence two days later, an immortal event in the history of the emerging United States of America.

Feverish excitement and bitter controversy marked the intervening days between June 7 and July 2. About one third of the colonists had serious doubts or bitterly opposed this act of rebellion. Others thought it was premature. Only a unanimous vote would carry enough weight to convince Great Britain, the divided colonists, and even some of the members of Congress themselves, that the colonies could carry out this function.

The fate of a nation lay in the hands of 56 men, young and old, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, patriots and loyalists, chosen by the 13 colonies to represent them. Each colony had only one vote, determined by the majority within its delegation.

Yet these were not dispassionate voters. Not only the life of the future nation lay in their vote, but their own lives, their families, their property, and even their reputation. Many of them staked a large personal fortune on the cause of independence. Several died an untimely death. Many lived on to serve their country with distinction, and others died in obscurity marked only by their signatures on the fateful document.

Historians have pondered the reasons behind the devotion of these men to the cause of Independence. Was it for personal profit? Many modern historians consider the chief cause behind the Revolution to have been a class conflict, rebellion by the proletariat against British imperialism. However, the men who signed were often quite wealthy and fully aware of the consequences of their act. Clearly, ideology and not economics impelled their vote and signature. They were often mercilessly hunted by British and Tories who discovered the names on the Declaration.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton (Maryland) was reputedly the wealthiest man in the colonies. He came to be known as the leading patriot of his colony in an ony-

mous series of letters opposing the royal governor's decision to pay the salaries of Anglican clergymen in his colony. Carroll, scion of an aristocratic Irish Catholic family, devoted his efforts thereafter to the patriot cause.

Of Carroll, John Adams wrote "In the cause of American Liberty his Fortitude and Perseverance have been so conspicuous that he is said to be marked out for peculiar vengeance by the Friends of the Administration, but he continues to hazard his all, his immense fortune, the largest in America, and his life."

Carroll is merely an outstanding example of the dedication of many of the signers of the Declaration.

Northernmost New Hampshire's three delegates were all members of the judiciary. William Whipple, a successful merchant seaman and brigadier general led outstanding military units in the war. Josiah Bartlett, who cast the first vote for the

Declaration, was dismissed as Justice of the Peace and deprived of his military pension for his work in the patriot cause, losing even his house to British incendiaries. Dr. Mathew Thornton, arriving three months after the signing, added his name to the document.

Massachusetts delegation was filled with distinguished men. John Hancock, whose initial signature was intended to be large enough for John Bull to read at a distance, contributed about \$100,000 to the prosecution of the war and lost most of his considerable fortune in the cause. John Adams lived on in the annals of American history serving with distinction as American representative in Paris, ambassador to England, Vice President under Washington, and finally President.

His brother, Samuel Adams, a rabble rousing professional patriot, made the public business his main concern from his early forties, and

never became wealthy. He is credited with the instigation of the Boston Tea Party and was a major mover to assemble the first Continental Congress. When Congress met in York, Pennsylvania, he regularly attended worship services in German, when no others were available, even though he did not speak the language. With no cause left to uphold, he passed out of public eye after the war. Robert Treat Paine, an honest, forthright man of law and order, became Washington's chief procurer of cannon and gunpowder. Originally desiring reconciliation, he was by July a resolute supporter of Independence. Controversial Ellbridge Gerry, escaped capture by the British by fleeing in his night-shirt. Later Vice President, he was charged with self-interest and changeable views.

Little Rhode Island sent two very resolute delegates. Stephen Hopkins, a self-educated man, first chancellor

of Rhode Island College, and later governor, was afflicted with palsy. When he signed, he is reported to have said, "My hand trembles, but my heart does not." He thoroughly believed in liberty, though he recognized its inevitable costliness. William Ellery, out-spoken patriot, lost his large fortune to the patriot cause and his estate to the British.

Cherishing their liberal state charter, Connecticut's delegates also firmly supported independence. Self-educated men, Roger Sherman and Samuel Huntington, both started life as apprentices. Sherman, a strict Puritan, was a shrewd and able man. Huntington was described as "sensible, candid and worthy man, and wholly free from state prejudice." A man of notable simplicity and economy, he inspired confidence in people. William Williams gave up theology to open up merchant houses, which he used in order to support the patriot cause.

Of ardent temper and vigorous pen, he gave generously of his health. General Oliver Wolcott, too ill at the time to vote for independence, compensated by melting down a statue of George III to make bullets for the army.

A sharp division of opinions raged in New York, to the extent that their delegates abstained from voting for independence for lack of instructions. Francis Lewis' home was burned and plundered, and his wife imprisoned under great brutality, from which she never recovered. William Floyd, who organized resistance movements in Long Island, lost his home and farm goods to the British. His family escaped to Connecticut, where they were exiled for seven years. Philip Livingston, though a strong opponent of British policy, leaned to the conservative side. He lost his business interests, mansion and country estate to the British, but sold some remaining property to raise money for the nation. Lewis Morris stood against his loyalist neighbors in Westchester to condemn British policies, and lost his manor, timber and livestock.

New Jersey delegate John Hart at age 65 had to flee foraging British soldiers searching for his head, living outdoors. When he could finally return home, broken by ill health and anxiety, his wife had died and his 13 children scattered in every direction. His property laid waste, he died before Independence was won. Abraham Clark's two sons, officers in the patriot army, were captured and confined on a British prison ship where 11,000 American prisoners perished. But the patriot father rejected an enemy offer to free his sons if he would renounce the cause. With only a smattering of education, he was known as a champion of popular rights and the "poor man's counselor." Judge Richard Stockton was dragged out of bed at night, brutally beaten and thrown into prison. A shocked Congress intervened in his behalf, but an invalid when released, he returned home to find his possessions destroyed. He and his family lived on charity the rest of their life. Devoted to the interests of his country, he was a noted champion of law and order. John Witherspoon, famous Scottish preacher, came to America to serve as president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), and became a great American, politically, academically, and ecclesiastically. In discussing whether the colonies were ripe for separation, he said, "In my judgment, sir, we are not only ripe, but rotting for the want of it." Versatile lawyer Francis Hopkinson designed the new American flag, and satirized the British by his popular music compositions. His home was ransacked by the British.

(continued on page 8)



Signing the Declaration of Independence

Reaching for the Ideal - American Utopian Experiments

by Hal McKenzie and Joy Schmidt

John Humphry Noyes' *History of American Socialisms* which is reviewed below, although it was written in 1870, is valuable today because it presents some alternative concepts of socialism, which can be used in developing a counterproposal to Marxism-Leninism. Especially, it shows the value of religious idealism in forming a truly harmonious social order as opposed to the purely materialistic basis today exemplified by Communist systems.

Many Americans, upon hearing the words socialism or Communism, immediately think of Marxism-Leninism and its offshoots. None of the existing "Communist" states have realized Communism as Marx envisioned it: a final stage of society in which the state has withered away and economic goods are distributed equitably. These states remain in the so-called "socialist" stage, the state owning and controlling the means of production-by force-with unequal distribution.

But dreams of an ideal society strike a responsive chord in the hearts of many people and have exerted much influence in American history. For centuries men have longed for a truly equitable society, and men of religion, especially Christians, have tried to implement this ideal. The early Christians held all things in common, with members selling what they had and distributing goods equally (acts 2:44, 45). In time, disputes arose over the distribution of goods, and after the church emerged from persecution, its idealism was smothered by material wealth and worldly influence. Yet, in times of religious fervor, the early ideal has been rekindled.

The modern "revisionist" interpretation of American history based on economic determinism has largely ignored the great fervor

of revivalism and socialism that occurred in the first half of the 19th century. A book by an observer of this fervor recently came to our attention. *A History of American Socialisms* written in 1870 by John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the Oneida Community.

Noyes concentrates on the growth of Owenism and Fourierism in America. The former was non-anti-religious, the latter often embraced religious principles. Despite this difference the main idea of both was "the enlargement of home - the extension of family union beyond the little man-and-wife circle to large corporations". This idea captured the attention of the American populace through lecture tours and the press. Owenism, reaching its peak in 1826, was earlier and less widely known than Fourierism, which reached a climax in 1843 and died in 1846.

Like socialism, revivalism had its two great leaders and two epochs of enthusiasm. Nettleton and Finney made revivalism a distinctively American phenomenon, and from 1831 to 1834 the Kingdom of Heaven and the millennium seemed as imminent as the socialist revolution did later on in 1843. Noyes wrote "These movements--Revivalism and Socialism--manifestly belong together in the scheme of Providence, as they do in the history of this nation. They are to each other as inner to outer--as soul to body--as life to its surroundings. The Revivalists had for their great idea the regeneration of the soul. The great idea of the Socialists was the regeneration of society, which is the soul's environment. These ideas belong together, and are the complements of each other. Neither can be successfully embodied by men whose minds are not wide enough to accept them both."

Noyes, observing the early 19th century from his vantage point in 1870, saw that both movements failed to truly regenerate man



Members of Oneida community.

due to their failure to unite. The revivalists failed for want of regeneration of society, and the socialists failed for want of regeneration of heart. He suggests that the revivalists needed to convert their churches into unitary families, living in one home, where daily meetings and continuous give and take would be possible. On the other hand, the socialists found that without religious faith individuals were far too selfish to live successfully in a close organization.

Robert Owen came to America from England in 1824 to begin a wave of excitement somewhat like a religious revival or political campaign. This movement seems to have culminated in 1826 and

spawned some 11 communities. Fourierism was introduced to America in 1842 by Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley, with a much more universal and enthusiastic response inspiring at least 34 associations.

The duration of these communities averaged several months to two years. Most of them ended heavily in debt. The average number of members was estimated at 100-200 and average acreage at 1,000.

Owen was a Scottish businessman who achieved success and great wealth through the principle of common ownership of his finances by the workers. Owen was given the opportunity to actualize his ideas in America by a highly suc-

cessful religious society called the Rappites, who built a town for 1,000 people in Indiana called Harmony. In 1825 dissatisfied with the location and neighbors, they moved to Pennsylvania and sold the town to Owen, who at that time was writing and evangelizing in England for settlers in a great new experiment in America. Owen called the 30,000-acre settlement New Harmony. Within six weeks, 800 enthusiastic, and perhaps opportunistic, people flocked to New Harmony. Seven different constitutions were drawn up marred by numerous disagreements and jealousies. Organizations varied from near-anarchy, while Owen was on a trip to Europe, to a dictatorship of three men. Owen believed that the evils of society could be cured by education, so for a while he devoted three evenings a week to lectures to build up the general knowledge of the residents. On July 4, 1926, Owen delivered his celebrated "Declaration of Mental Independence," of which the following is representative: "I now declare to you and to the world that Man, up to this hour, has been in all parts of the earth a slave to a Trinity of the most monstrous evils that could be combined to inflict mental and physical evil upon his whole race. I refer to Private or Individual Property, Absurd and Irrational systems of Religion, Marriage founded on Individual Property, combined with some of these Irrational systems of Religion."

However, as time went by the theory of communal property did not work out in practice. Owen, himself, owned the 30,000 acres of New Harmony and splinter communities set up their own organization and businesses on parts of the tract. By 1827 the association was disbanded. Owen later became a Spiritualist and recognized that "good spiritual conditions were the most important of all in the future development of

mankind." As he looked back over his life, he could trace the direction of God.

Fourier

Social Destiny of Man published in 1840 by Albert Brisbane, introduced Fourierism to America. Dr. Channing and the Transcendentalists later took up the cause, and a daily column purchased in the *New York Tribune* gave Brisbane a nation-wide pulpit for the propagation of his ideas. In this column he propounded the glories of "Attractive Industry," "Compound Economies," "Democracy of Association," "Equilibrium of the Passions," etc. With great art and zeal he reported on socialistic meetings, Fourier festivals, and speeches by socialists.

His descriptions of Fourierism were very appealing. If 400 people would each invest \$1,000, a total capital of \$400,000 could be used to purchase land and build accommodations for the phalanx (as the Fourierite Associations were called). An annual interest of eight percent would yield \$80. Brisbane figured that a person could live on this \$80 per year in such an association. And a person who invested \$1,000 need not move in immediately, but could collect interest until they decided to move in.

A considerable number of associations sprung up in the Northeast and Midwest, and several newspapers and magazines continued to spread the socialist gospel. Writers for the socialist cause include such honored names as James Russell Lowell, Henry James, and Horace Greeley, with Charles A. Dana, John S. Dwight, and George Ripley the most prolific. Proponents of Fourier's socialism stressed their basis in religious principles.

Brook Farm

Probably the most noted center of Fourierism was Brook Farm. Brook Farm was established in 1840 at the initiative of Dr. Chan-

(continued on page 7)



Ideology

Productive Forces and Production Relations - Fundamentals of Marxism

by Sang Hun Lee

With this series, *The Rising Tide* is proud to present to the American public one of the most profound and insightful commentaries on Communist ideology ever offered. Dr. Lee, a respected figure in the International Federation for Victory over Communism in his native Korea, in this book articulates the argument against Communist materialism with an eloquence and depth of logic that clearly relate the overwhelming intellectual ineptitude of Marxism. He explains how and why Communism spread as it did despite its fallacies and, most importantly, offers a powerfully constructive counter-proposal to Communism as a social system. *The Tide* this year continues its serial presentation of excerpts from this important work as a crucial educational tool in achieving the ideological conquest of Communism.

The most basic activity of man's social life is his maintenance of life. Without this, no other activity is possible for man. Man's activity to maintain life is an indispensable condition for his existence. The most important part of that activity is the consumption of material. Without consuming basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter, man can't maintain his existence. Engels said that before man can study politics, art, and religion, he must eat, drink, live and be clothed. It is said that in this simple fact Engels discovered the key to the law of social progress.

Before materials can be consumed or utilized, they must be acquired. The necessities of life do not come automatically. Then how are they obtained? They are obtained through production and exchange. Man collectively produces the necessities of life and obtains them through the exchange of products. Therefore, production and exchange are the foundation of all social systems. In any society in history the manner of production and exchange of products determines the distribution of products and the social class structure (Engels: *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*).

The Mode of Production and Production Relations

The method of producing the necessities of life is called the manner of production. Therefore, a certain mode of production is the foundation of every society. This mode of production ultimately determines the social activities and character of the institution of the society. Production activity is always a social rather than an individual activity because man can't individually produce all he needs to live. Through social labor all members of society produce the necessities of life for the whole society, and each individual maintains his life through mutual exchange.

Since production and exchange are social activities, men have relationships with each other centering on them, and on the means of production. These relationships are called production relations.

However, the mode of production is the result of the production relations and productive forces combined. The productive forces refer to the experience, skilled labor, power, tools, machines and buildings which man needs for productive activity. They develop over a period of time.

Ownership

Production relations are dependent on ownership relations. Unless the ownership relations of the means of production and products is legally established, production can't be carried out. Accordingly, exchange is impossible. Therefore, in

order for the production relations to be established, the means of production and products must be the property of either some individual or some group.

Production Forces and Productive Relations

Productive forces develop constantly, and the production relations change along with them, corresponding to their progress. If the tools and skills of production develop, the production relations are affected. Marx said:

Various social relationships are closely related to the productive forces. By acquiring new productive forces, man changes the mode of production - the method of obtaining the necessities of life - they change all social relationships (Marx: *Poverty of Philosophy*.)

For instance, when the productive forces were still at the stage of home crafts and farm labor, the mode of production was agriculture and the production relation was the feudal society (the human relationship of landlord and serf). After production power had developed and reached the mechanized stage of great industry, the mode of production became commercial industry (the process of obtaining necessities through commodity production and exchange in the market) and the production relation was the capitalist society (the human relationship of capitalists and laborers). Thus, as the productive forces progressed, the production relations also progressed. Stalin said, "According to the state of the productive forces the state of the production relations is determined" (*Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism*).

Development Of The Productive Forces And The Production Relations and Man's Will

The dialectic asserts that the progress of the production relations occurs independent of man's will or conscious plan (just as the phenomenon of natural law develops apart from man's will). Stalin said, "The formation of new productive forces and the corresponding production relations is not the result of man's premeditated, conscious activity, but occurs independently of man's will, as a natural development" (*Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism*). For instance, when the manufacturing industry began, the entrepreneur did not start with a plan of developing new productive forces. While he carried on his business for profit - increasing the number of wage laborers little by little - before he was aware of it the productive forces had developed and the production relation of capitalism had been established. The man who started the business could not have foreseen this result. The progress of the productive forces and the production relations came about apart from his will as a natural development. However, this kind of spontaneous development will end with the emergence of the socialist revolution. From that point on the productive forces and production relations will progress by man's conscious will and plan.

Communism, A Critique and Counterproposal may be obtained at the Rising Tide Bookstore in the FLF main offices building. Order your copy by mailing a check or money order for \$3.50 (five dollars and fifty cents; price includes postage), payable to:

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No Simple Cure for a Complex Malady

by Reed Irvine

There is an old saying, "Once burned, twice shy." There is no doubt that the Russians, the Cubans and the Chinese would not be deceived a second time by Communist claims that they were champions of freedom. But obviously the Communists themselves see no obstacle to working the same "con" game any number of times as long as they keep changing the location. It is very difficult to get one to learn from another's experience. George Bernard Shaw once said, "The one thing we learn from experience is that we don't learn from experience."

If we want to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past, we have to study those mistakes and then pass the knowledge on to those who can profit from it. This is tedious and involves a great deal of repetition of what seems to be obvious. But there is much truth in Andre Gide's remark, "Everything has been said already, but since no one listens it must be said again."

And so it must be said again and again that the Communists do not go before the poor and downtrodden of the earth to preach that Communism with its accompanying suppression of all human freedom can solve all their problems. They do not use the promise of a better life for all through the nationalization of industry and commerce and the regimentation of the tillers of the soil on collective farms.

Those who keep repeating that economic hardship and poverty breed revolution and who see in every disturbance that occurs in any part of the world some basic economic cause, help perpetuate the deep misunderstanding that exists about the Communist strategy and tactics. For example, the *New York Times* on October 12, 1967, commented editorially on the death of Che Guevara in Bolivia in this way:

"Che Guevara's death... does not mark the end of revolutionary danger in Latin America. Wherever there is injustice and widespread discontent there is always the possibility—even the probability—that zealots like Ernest Che Guevara will arise from the people to incite change by violent means, and will find a response among those whom hardship and neglect have driven to desperation."

The Times editorial writer who penned those words seemed oblivious to the fact that Guevara had tried and failed to spark a revolution among Bolivian Indians, who certainly were very impoverished. The writer neglected to mention that Guevara was captured and killed because he was a stranger among those people and did not even speak their language. Far from "arising from the people" he tried to impose himself upon them. And we may be perfectly certain that he did not tell them that it was his intention to take their land and freedom away from them and make them all serfs of the state.

It is highly significant that in both China and Cuba the Communists seized power by posing as champions of freedom and democracy. This gives the lie to the frequently heard contention that the people of the less-developed countries care nothing about freedom. It explodes the claim that Communism has a strong appeal in these countries chiefly because it holds out the promise of a revolutionary economic change that will bring a rapid improvement in the material well-

come the threat of hunger. And yet India today is suffering from food shortages and threat of famine which overshadow what small gains have been made in raising the living standards of the masses through investments in infrastructure and industry. The Communists have actively exploited the situation by stirring up food riots.

It would be wrong to suggest that no progress in ameliorating social conditions has been made and that none is possible. There are many less-developed countries that are making economic and social strides and in some of these cases our financial and technical assistance has played a valuable role. Such progress is desirable for its own sake. If it also helps to undercut the Communist agitational effort and contribute to political stability, that is an extra dividend for our side.

Their weapon is any grievance that they can exploit. It may be a racial or a language issue. It may be the oppressiveness of taxation or governmental regulations. It may be the exploitation of animosity toward the outsider, especially the foreign businessman or investor. It may be the charge that Americans are discourteous to women and do not pay for their pedicab rides—one of the lines used by the Viet Cong in trying to win support among the village of South Vietnam.

How to Defeat the Communists

We must understand Communist tactics if we are to plan an effective defense. There are four main courses open to us.

Those who keep repeating that economic hardship and poverty breed revolution and who see in every disturbance some basic economic cause help perpetuate the deep misunderstanding about Communist strategy.

1. Deprive the Communists of any basis for criticism of the existing economic and social structure by correcting all flaws and injustices. This might include efforts to reduce or eliminate poverty, illiteracy, racial discrimination, bad sanitation and threats to health, official corruption, bureaucratic officiousness and red tape, etc.
2. Introduce measures to circumscribe, if not prohibit, all propaganda and agitational activity by Communists and their sympathizers.
3. Counter-attack by exposing the deceptions used by the Communists to win support and the oppressive, unpopular policies that they impose once they have succeeded in winning power.
4. Strengthen the sentiments of patriotism and loyalty, respect for tradition and legitimacy in government, and attachment to accepted religious and spiritual values.

Some Disappointing Results of Foreign Aid

For many years, our policy has been to rely heavily upon policies designed to alleviate want and stimulate economic growth, with the idea that the best way to fight the Communists was to deny them any "agitational toehold." We have gone so far as to use foreign aid as a lever to get governments to carry out social reforms thought to be necessary to eliminate grievances that might be exploited by the Communists.

Experience has taught us that it is by no means easy to create economic and social conditions in the less developed countries that would eliminate all grievances or sense of injustice.

For example, the U.S. and other countries have given and loaned India billions of dollars to finance economic development and over-

come the threat of hunger. And yet India today is suffering from food shortages and threat of famine which overshadow what small gains have been made in raising the living standards of the masses through investments in infrastructure and industry. The Communists have actively exploited the situation by stirring up food riots.

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All Grievances Cannot be Eliminated

It is vitally important that we not delude ourselves into thinking that the stimulation of economic and social progress, whether by U.S. aid or other means, is enough to frustrate Communist efforts to cause trouble in the less-developed countries. There are many possible sources of grievance, some genuine

and some not, which we are largely powerless to do anything about.

For example, corruption in government has been one of the most effective charges used by the Communists to discredit regimes they wanted to topple. Graft has been almost a way of life in many parts of the world for centuries, and these charges are frequently valid. This is something that we have not been able to eliminate completely even in our own country, and neither have the Russians, even though they have gone to the barbaric extreme of executing people convicted of economic crimes.

We must face the fact that it is not within our power to impose absolute honesty on the world and thus insure that there will never be any graft or corruption which might serve as a target for the Communists to attack.

Another stick which the Communists and their intellectual allies dearly love to beat us with is the alleged evil of foreign investment. This is a particularly useful weapon for them. They can use it to play on nationalistic sentiments, xenophobia and the local businessman's dislike of outside competition. They can confuse the issue with impressive statistics that only an expert can properly interpret, and they have the advantage that the general public is far from expert in these complicated economic matters.

Theoretically, we might try to undercut this propaganda by withdrawing all foreign investment from the less-developed countries and halting all new capital outflows to them. However, we know that this would be disastrous for the less-developed countries themselves. We believe that foreign investment is mutually beneficial, and we have tried to encourage the flow of capital to the poor countries of the world for their own

good. We should continue to do so, even though we can trust the communists to use this against us at every opportunity.

Even our foreign aid is twisted by Communist propaganda and used to try to arouse hatred of the United States and governments friendly to us. Ex-President Nkrumah of Ghana published a book in 1965 denouncing bilateral foreign aid as a "means of exploitation" and multilateral aid through such organizations as I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D. as "another neocolonialist trap." He identified the U.S. as the foremost neo-colonialist power.

Economic growth, healthy though it may be, does not solve all economic problems. It may frequently even create new ones. These problems may be used as grist for the communist agitational mills.

For example, some countries adopt policies to stimulate growth that result in serious imbalances which later have to be corrected. The correction frequently involves such measures as raising taxes, curtailing expenditures, reducing credit availability, increasing charges for public services, etc. Such measures are always potentially unpopular, and agitators are frequently successful in mounting demonstrations against them. When we know that these measures are necessary for the sake of the longer term health and stability of the economy, we cannot very well recommend against adopting them. Indeed, our policy has been to support the I.M.F. in urging stabilization programs upon countries that obviously need them. In the past this has been used by our critics on the left to stir up antagonism against us, against the I.M.F. and against governments that have followed the advice of the I.M.F. We can expect that this pattern will continue in the future. But we cannot avoid it without abandoning our principles.

Land reform is another area in which there is a wide gulf between what a sensible economist might recommend and what a Communist agitator might demand. There are some situations in which a redistribution of land might improve, or at least not greatly damage, agricultural productivity. There are others in which the results would clearly be disastrous. We could not, in good conscience, support programs that would lower productivity and hence worsen the living standards of the people. The Communists, however, would not hesitate to agitate for such a program if they thought that doing so would enhance their ability to cause trouble. Here again, one could not expect the U.S. to give bad economic advice merely to avoid irresponsible criticism from the Communists.

If the Communists don't have enough domestic issues to fuel their agitation, they can always stir up people over evils that they allege exist elsewhere in the world. We saw how effectively they used the charge of American aggression in Vietnam to stir up trouble in the most unlikely places, including our own country. They made similar use of our intervention in the Dominican Republic. Before that it was Cuba and the Congo. Unless the free countries of the world are willing to abandon all resistance to Communist aggression, communists everywhere will continue to have similar cases to fire the emotions of their pamphleteers and soap-box orators.

Book Review

The Shifting Power Balance

by Allan C. Brownfeld

ARMS AND STRATEGY: The World Power Structure Today. By Laurence Martin David McKay. 320 Pages. \$15.95.

By Allan C. Brownfeld

There are many who believe that the United States is the most powerful country in the world and can defend itself against any potential enemy. Similarly, there are many who think that the SALT agreements and the spirit of "detente" represent a truly hopeful trend in international relationships. All of us hope that they are right. Many, however, fear that they are wrong.

One who is... skeptical of current trends in American policy and in the Soviet Union's increasing ascendancy in the balance of world power relationships is Laurence Martin, professor of War Studies at King's College, London, and a researcher at Johns Hopkins University. In his just-published volume, "Arms and Strategy: The World Power Structure Today," he details the reasons for his concern.

Concerning the SALT agreements, Prof. Martin points out that, "The agreements on offensive weapons concede the Soviet Union a numerical superiority in both ICBMs and SLBMs. The number of SLBMs is explicitly set forth in a protocol as a maximum of 710 for the U.S., on 44 submarines, and 950 for the Soviet Union on 62 submarines. The number of ICBMs is merely agreed to by the stock on July 1, 1972, but, in a unilateral declaration of its understanding, the U.S. has held this to mean 1,054 for itself and 1,618 for the Soviet Union. By an agreement not to increase the number of 'heavy' missiles, the Soviet Union has restricted its arsenal. Bombers are excluded from the agreement, as are all tactical and intermediate range weapons. No restrictions are

placed on technological development of such devices as MIRVs."

What this means, Prof. Martin notes, is "that the Soviet Union, having negotiated a ceiling on boosters affording them a perhaps fourfold advantage in payload or 'throw weight' are now free to exploit this with new warhead technology, while the U.S. is prevented from competing in numbers of missiles. Moreover, the Russians could, if they wished, turn to bombers."

Superiority Overwhelming

In Western Europe, the Soviet superiority is overwhelming. Dr. Martin points out that, "the overall picture is of superiority for the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union... At present strengths, on the day when mobilization began, NATO would have eight armored and 16 infantry divisions, as compared to 28 armored and 37 infantry Warsaw Pact divisions. Nineteen of the armored and 22 of the infantry divisions would be Russian... To NATO's 6,000 main battle tanks, the Pact can muster 16,000, of which 10,000 are Russian. In tactical aircraft, NATO has rather less than 2,000 to the Pact's 3,900."

Pressure to Reduce Forces

Not only is NATO's position bad, but it is becoming worse at a rapid pace. Dr. Martin writes that, "Two factors suggest that the present balance will change and quite probably to NATO's disadvantage. One is the pressure within the members of NATO to reduce military demands on money and manpower. The other is the call to negotiate agreed reductions with the Warsaw Pact as part of the policy of 'detente'... The pressure to reduce forces in general is rendered most serious by American desires to withdraw part of their

expeditionary force."

During the 1960s the most important goal of Soviet policy in Europe has been the erosion of the American military presence and the undermining of NATO. With American and European assistance, the policy seems to be working. Dr. Martin notes that, "The chosen vehicle was a proposal for a European Security Conference... Starting from a position of weakness, NATO has little to hope for from MBFR in military terms unless the Soviet Union is unexpectedly generous."

Lower levels of armament do not insure peace, for war is caused not by arms but by political ambitions of the nations which possess them.

Guerrilla Warfare

Another subject which is covered in some detail in this volume is that of guerrilla warfare. The author points out that the guerrilla activities the world has witnessed in Northern Ireland, on the part of the Palestinian terrorist organizations, in South America and elsewhere, is the fruition of a determined Communist policy to foster this type of activity.

He writes of "the creation, in the works of Mao, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap and others, of a highly articulated theory of guerrilla and revolutionary warfare" and points out that, "A noticeable characteristic of recent guerrilla movements has been their close inter-connection with the workings of the international system. One reason for this is that... the great powers most intent on revising the international balance of power in their favor, China and the Soviet Union, are also the custodians of a universalist revolutionary ideology. They both also have experiences of successful guerrilla operations in the making or consolidation of their own revolutions."

While some in the West tend to ignore the Communist role in stimulating guerrilla and terrorist activities, Dr. Martin reminds them that, "An emphasis on the political contest of guerrilla warfare accords fully with Marxist-Leninist theory. Marx and Engels approved of guerrilla warfare..."

The fact is, however, that guerrilla efforts have been unsuccessful in more instances than they have succeeded in destroying the myth of guerrilla infallibility, the author states that, "the spate of guerrilla victories during the period of decolonization and the prolonged American agony in Vietnam have created a widespread impression that guerrilla action is usually successful and resistance is more or less hopeless... But in Kenya, Peru, Venezuela, Bolivia and Malaya there have been important failures. Other defeats for guerrillas could be cited, as in the Philippines, Guatemala and Greece."

All things considered, the author can by no means be categorized as an optimist with regard to Western prospects in the world power balance.

Prof. Martin is afraid that Western leaders have come to believe in the good intentions of the Communists without any tangible evidence of those intentions. At the same time, the Soviet Union is moving far ahead of the U.S. in military strength and American and other Western spokesmen seem unconcerned.

If Prof. Martin is correct — and there is every reason to believe that he is — we are in what will soon become a perilous situation. Americans expect to have more than Russian goodwill to depend upon for their defense. The figures show that they may be in for a dramatic surprise.

Allan C. Brownfeld is a columnist for the Phoenix Gazette.

Utopian Experiments

(continued from page 5)

ning Ralph Waldo Emerson, a somewhat sceptical observer, noted that residents and visitors to the farm were remarkable for their character, intellect, and accomplishments.

A modest quarterly called the *Dial* was succeeded by the *Harbinger*, *Present*, and the *Phalanx* upon the conversion of Brook Farm to Fourierism in 1844. In December 1843 and January 1844 a convention in Boston advanced the ideas of Fourier in the United States, at which time Brook Farm began its career as the chief proponent of Fourierism, coupled with Christian principles. They proclaimed their motto: "Unity of man with man in true society, Unity of man with God in true religion, and Unity of man with nature in creative art and industry."

Brook Farm, the most prestigious, although not the longest-lived phalanx, soon became more successful at promoting Swedenborgianism than Fourierism. Emanuel Swedenborg, an 18th century Swedish scientist, devoted many years of his life to an exploration of the spiritual world. In 1847 the Swedenborgian medium Andrew Jackson Davis appeared and was warmly received at Brook Farm and publicized in the *Harbinger*. Swedenborgianism was transformed into "Modern Spiritualism" when Davis became a spiritual teacher in his own right.

Noyes offered his comments on Swedenborgianism and socialism: "His vast imaginations and magnificent promises chimed in exactly with the spirit of the accompanying Socialisms. Fourierism was too bald a materialism to suit the higher classes of its disciples, without a religion corresponding. Swedenborgianism was a godsend to the enthusiasts of Brook Farm; and they made it the complement of Fourierism."

The last community discussed is the Oneida Community, founded by John Humphrey Noyes himself, in 1847, following the collapse of the Brook Farm experiment. Noyes considered his community a success in points where others were failures, and judged the other communities by his standards.

Noyes was a spiritualist and a perfectionist (a theological view that the perfection of man's character is the highest goal and that freedom from sin is attainable on earth); he believed that the

second coming took place in A.D. 70; the Kingdom of heaven was established on earth (for those who believe it); and a second resurrection and final judgement at the end of the "times of the Gentiles."

His social theory of communism was extended to include abolition of marriage of individual men and women. He quoted Jesus' command to "love one another" to mean love everybody, and in his community at Oneida he initiated a kind of regulated promiscuity, which divided the amative and propagative function. The Shakers achieved a stable and long-lived community by requiring celibacy, but Noyes felt this was contrary to God's will and allowed regulated promiscuity. The Oneida Community achieved financial stability through manufacture rather than by agriculture, and Noyes criticized other communities for relying on large tracts of land for cultivation. Noyes believed his was the only native American religious community, and the only one that successfully combined both revivalism and socialism.

In his final review, Noyes cited seven communities that in 1870 were still in existence and financially wealthy or at least well off. These included Shakers (18 large societies, 95 years old), Rappites (65 years old), Zoar Community (53 years old), Snowberger Community (49 years old), Ebenezer Community (23 years old), Janson Community (23 years old), and the Oneida Community (21 years old). All these were religious communities Noyes concluded:

"It seems then to be a fair induction from the facts before us that religion does in some way modify human depravity so as to make continuous Association possible, and insure to it great material success. Or it certainly improves in some way the conditions of human nature in socialistic experiments."

Noyes expressed his hope that communities could be formed around local churches. This would have the advantages of a common previous religion, previous acquaintance, and a previous rudimentary structure, "all of these," Noyes added, "assisting in the tremendous transition from the old world of selfishness to the new world of common interest." He felt that any church capable of a genuine revival could evolve into this type of socialism, and he felt that the church was the only struc-

ture capable of effecting this transformation.

Although Noyes' experiment proved successful for a generation, it reached its pinnacle in 1870. Soon thereafter, dissension and the decreasing emphasis on religion resulted in the abdication of Noyes and the eventual abandonment of the system of complex marriage and communism.

While Noyes demonstrated that a community needs a religious basis in order to succeed, that alone seems insufficient. The atheistic social theory of Karl Marx, a contemporary of Fourier and Noyes, proved more successful in capturing man's imagination, and now has taken over one third of the earth's population.

Perhaps this is because Marxism addressed itself to more "concrete" realities; especially the deplorable conditions of injustice brought on by the industrial revolution. Marx did not offer escape into a community set up outside of the real world, but urged the people to rise up and transform the world, assuring them that the forces of history were behind them, leading irrevocably to the "worker's paradise."

However, Marxism also failed, as its ever-spreading violence, terror, and human depravity have so eloquently shown. Its external "success" has only multiplied the harmful effects of its internal failure. Marxism foundered on the same rock as the other non-religious communities — it did not solve the problem of human depravity. In fact, the present communist regimes tend to uplift the most depraved individuals while ruthlessly eradicating people of conscience, sensitivity, and compassion.

The only way to overcome human depravity, as Noyes realized, was through the healing and reviving power of God's love, as expressed through religion. However, this love should not stop at the community, but be directed toward the nation and the world. Once an individual has been transformed by the love of God, he can devote himself to others in community—but that community must devote itself to the transformation of society, and that society to the transformation of the world.

Africa

(continued from page 3)

cent months, especially in Rhodesia.

At the present time Mozambique, home of FRELIMO, is in the front line of the action and the target of the major terrorist activity. If it falls to the guerrillas, it may unlock the rest of South Africa to penetration by the terrorists because of its long border with Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, and the strategic location of the port of Beira. Portuguese intelligence reported a sizable buildup of guerrillas within 150 miles of Beira. An estimated 10,000 FRELIMO guerrillas operate relatively freely in some outlying areas, tying down 60,000 Portuguese troops.

U.S. Position

This growing guerrilla activity in Southern Africa and the Soviet push for dominance in the Indian Ocean present a very serious problem for the United States. However, American ability to do anything about the situation is seriously impaired by the policy of diplomatic isolation widely employed against South Africa and Rhodesia, a policy in which America has shared.

Simply stated, U.S. policy toward Rhodesia has taken the form of official U.S. disapproval of the Ian Smith government which declared its independence from Britain in 1965 because it declined to accept Britain's requirement of movement toward black majority rule as a precondition to independence. The U.S. voted with Great Britain and other U.N. security Council members to impose economic sanctions against Rhodesia and severed diplomatic ties with that country by closing the U.S. consulate in Salisbury.

Chrome and Controversy

But in 1971, at the insistence of Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. of Virginia, the economic sanctions were partially lifted when Congress voted to permit the importation of Rhodesian chrome ore — a commodity classed as strategic by the U.S. but prohibited by the sanctions. This move resulted from the argument that the USSR had become the supplier of some 60 percent of U.S. chrome imports at prices approximately twice those previously paid for Rhodesian ore. Also, it is frequently pointed out by advocates of a relaxation of U.S.-Rhodesian policy that many African nations, by turning toward one-party or military-dominated governments,

have created conditions of economic and political instability more offensive to U.S. principles and dangerous to the peace and security of Africa than Rhodesia's action in declaring independence under continuing white control.

In its relations with South Africa U.S. unwillingness, for political reasons, to cooperate with the South African government severely hampers U.S. naval deployment in the Indian Ocean. The U.S. is unwilling to use the ports of Simonstown and Durban, but the U.S. would be hard pressed to maintain enough ships to effectively counter the Soviet naval presence without the use of these ports. Also, the U.S. and South African navy no longer conduct joint naval exercises, resulting in a gradual atrophy of the capability of the two navies to act together in an emergency.

The key stumbling block in relations between America and the white African regimes is South Africa's policy of Apartheid and Rhodesia's unwillingness to quickly grant majority rule to the Africans. These policies, of course, are contrary to America's democratic principles of human equality and dignity.

America's Double Standard

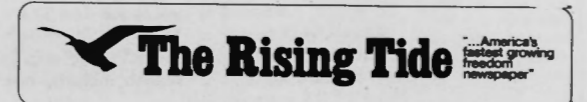
However, America seems to be following a "double standard." America seeks detente with Russia and Red China, who practice op-

pression on a gigantic scale and have policies repugnant to America's stated values and goals. Yet we follow a policy of economic sanction and isolation against Rhodesia and South Africa. America can and should make a stand for racial equality and justice. But it is morally untenable to follow a policy of isolation of the white regimes if such a policy allows the growth of a tyranny (the Soviet Union) which is even more repugnant.

In any case, the policy of isolation and economic sanction has failed to move the white regimes and has even strengthened their resolve and united them in their isolation. If the United States seeks to liberalize the policies of the white African regimes, it must follow a detente policy similar to the one it follows towards Russia and China; that is, pushing for a liberalization and expansion of human rights within the regimes in return for increased economic and technological exchange.

Finally, for humanitarian reasons, the United States, as a peace loving nation, is morally obligated to do all it can to prevent any trend toward "one, two, many Vietnams" — what the revolutionary Che Guevara called for. If America does not take strong initiatives to defuse the growing conflict in the area, another region of the world may be engulfed in violence.

Next — The Problem of Apartheid



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Increased economic independence leads to feelings of isolation from the U.S.

Atlantic Unity - As Europeans See It

by Larry Specht

Representatives from member organizations of the United States Youth Council have just returned from a European seminar. Following is a report on one of the major themes of the conference.

Our discussions in Europe inevitably centered around one topic -- the current relations within the Atlantic Community. There was general agreement that the alliance is weakening. The reasons, degree and implications of this split were a constant subject of debate.

One explanation of deteriorating U.S.-European relations was frequently given -- many of the European speakers claimed a great deal of anxiety about U.S. intentions toward Europe, fearing that America is forgetting European interests in its rush to negotiate with China and Russia. Henry Kissinger's seeming lack of consultation with European leaders during the most recent Middle East crisis was seen as an example of this trend. Although there appeared to be hurt feelings and many complaints about what the Europeans felt to be Mr. Kissinger's lack of delicacy, no one demonstrated that European in-

terests have been jeopardized by bilateral talks between the U.S. and Russia. Several members of the American delegation suggested that this lack of consultation may be necessitated by the difficulty Europeans have in reaching common agreements on substantive matters.

Michael Stewart (former British Secretary of State under Harold Wilson and recently Labor M.P.) suggested another reason for the need for U.S. troops when these troops are necessary for the progress of unity.

A cautious view of European unity was presented by Sir Frank Roberts, President of the British Atlantic Committee. It was his opinion that a totally unified Europe would not achieve great power status -- European security would still lie with a strong Atlantic Alliance. He also warned the delegation, as Americans, not to become impatient with the rate of European unification. European countries have been sovereign for many hundreds of years he said, and unity is a relatively new idea.

Young European Social Democrats held the most consistently op-

timistic views on the future of European unity. Coupled with these views is a general feeling of hostility towards the United States. Otto Kauer, a young Austrian Social Democrat, spoke to the American delegation in Brussels and presented some of his views on the U.S., Europe and Russia. At one point, he stated that he was as upset by American tanks in West Germany as he was by Soviet tanks in Hungary. Several members of the delegation pointed out that American and Russian tanks are in Europe for different reasons.

The delegation's visit to Berlin brought discussions of European security down from the theoretical level. Our tour guide, an attractive young woman, was asked if she could come to West Berlin that evening. She replied that she was not allowed to visit West Berlin until she was sixty years old.

The final two days of the study tour were spent in Paris. A meeting with M. Bergeron of the French free trade union movement and Irving Brown, AFL-CIO International Representative, was of particular interest. They provided a comprehensive description of the rather bewildering French political

situation, with particular reference to France's participation in the Atlantic Alliance. M. Bergeron explained that opposition to greater French participation in NATO comes from Gaullist and Communist parties. The Gaullists feel that France can play an important and independent role in world affairs seeing a return to the days when France was a world power, independent of the U.S. and the rest of Europe. We were told that Communist opposition to NATO is in line with Russian policy on the issue.

I have attempted to give a brief presentation of my impressions of the study program. Our delegation was a diverse group which entered into this program with a wide variety of assumptions on the role of the U.S. in the Atlantic Community. The strengths and weaknesses of the community cannot solely be quantified. The USYC delegation visited Western Europe at a time when the political groups, intellectuals, youth and so forth are re-evaluating European roles in the community. While the diverse USYC delegation made no resolutions regarding what the U.S. policy toward the Atlantic partnership should be, it was acknowledged that we must remain seriously involved in the community.

Founding Fathers

(continued from page 5)

Although Pennsylvania had the longest list of signers, five were delegates elected in late July to replace opponents of Independence. The most eminent and versatile signer, Benjamin Franklin remarked, "We must all hang together, or most assuredly we shall all hang separately." Robert Morris, a very wealthy Philadelphia merchant, raised the money to finance the early Revolutionary effort. He used his personal credit to obtain funds and lost about 150 ships during the war. However, he was charged by his critics for furthering his personal interests and for being a dictator of national finances. He originally voted against Independence because he felt the country was not prepared for war, but later signed the Declaration. James Wilson and John Morton with Franklin had been the only delegates to vote for Independence. Wilson, an immigrant from Scotland, was a powerful logician and impressive speaker. The first to declare that Parliament had no authority to rule over the colonies, he became extremely conservative as time went by and was later ruined by excessive ambition. Morton, later State Supreme Court judge, suffered the wrath of friends when he joined the patriot cause. His death seven months after signing was believed to have been hastened by his social ostracism.

New Pennsylvania delegate George Clymer fulfilled his "dearest wish" when he signed the Declaration. His home looted by the British, he spent 20 years in almost

unbroken public service. Dr. Benjamin Rush, most famous American physician of his time, was a noted patriot political writer. James Smith lost his fortune while absent on patriotic duties. A self-educated lawyer, he led the struggle of the western counties against the eastern George Ross, a lawyer turned patriot in 1775, became a state judge and presided over the controversial Olmstead case involving states rights issue. George Taylor began life in America as a bond servant and eventually married the widow of a prosperous iron manufacturer. Consistently opposing British imperialism, he lost his personal wealth because of absence on patriotic duties.

The first state to ratify the Constitution, Delaware was separating from Pennsylvania as well as from the Crown. Thomas McKean, a man of action, was an outstanding lawyer and champion of colonial rights. Three times governor of Pennsylvania, he was accused of nepotism. Caesar Rodney rode through a storm from Dover to Philadelphia in order to arrive in time to throw Delaware's vote in favor of Independence. Rodney, who suffered terribly from a cancerous growth on his face, refused to leave his work for the cause to go to Europe for treatment. George Read first opposed the Declaration but later signed.

The Maryland delegation all felt a special risk in signing, because the British patrolled their long coastline. Nevertheless, all were notably devoted to Independence. In ad-

dition to Charles Carroll the delegation included Thomas Stone, a man of good sense and hard work. A firm defender of colonial rights, he was more moderate than the other Marylanders. Samuel Chase and William Paca, during a long association in politics, fought oppression wherever they found it, and contributed to the general welfare. They were known for their escapades against the colonial governor. Paca was an able, public-spirited man who commanded respect throughout his career. A man of intellectual prowess, Chase was nevertheless noted for partisanship on the judiciary.

The Virginia delegation was homogeneous: all were planters, men of substance, in the prime of life, and patriots. Some lost heavily in their fortunes. Thomas Nelson, Jr., member of one of the richest families in Virginia, was a prominent merchant and planter. He expressed his patriotism on the floor of the Virginia Council in 1775:

I am a merchant of Yorktown, but I am a Virginian first. Let my trade perish. I call God to witness that if any British troops are landed in the County of York, of which I am lieutenant, I will wait for no orders, but will summon the militia and drive the invaders to the sea.

Rousing cheers filled the hall. At the end of the siege of Yorktown, the British took over Governor Nelson's fine house. The governor himself fired the cannons on his home to

drive away the British. During the war, Governor Nelson had raised a necessary \$2 million for the patriot cause by putting up his property as collateral. His government never reimbursed him, and he lost everything. With health and fortune ruined, he moved his family of 18 to a modest place. Carter Braxton, a reluctant delegate sent to vote against independence, lost his ships in the war. His debtors unable to repay him, he spent the rest of his life in dire financial straits. Thomas Jefferson pledged himself when he took public office never to misuse his trust to promote his personal fortune. His 40 years of service to his country often deprived him of time and energy for his own business. Although he acquired a considerable estate by marriage, he spent the last years of his life staving off bankruptcy. Richard Henry Lee, eloquent spokesman for the Virginia delegation, was one of the most aggressive Virginia patriots, although sometimes regarded as a self-seeker. His brother Francis Lightfoot Lee, was less colorful but quite as ardent a patriot. George Wythe, a scholar and man of public affairs, was the first American law professor, at the College of William and Mary. Modest, simple, and gentle, according to his colleagues, he held that the only link between England and America was their common allegiance to the King. Benjamin Harrison presided over debates on the Declaration. Robust champion of colonial rights, he said he would have gone on foot to Philadelphia if necessary—striking zeal in a society

where nobody ever walked.

North Carolina delegate Joseph Hewes procured ships for the patriot cause. A prosperous merchant, he died during his term in Congress, presumably of overwork. The other two delegates, John Penn and William Hooper, were lawyers, the latter driven from his home by the British.

Four young plantation aristocrats represented South Carolina. Thomas Lynch, Jr., became ill during military service. His condition became so alarming while in Congress that his only hope lay in going to a better climate. He and his young wife sailed for southern France, but their ship was lost at sea. Thus death claimed the first signer. Edward Rutledge, Arthur Middleton, and Thomas Heyward, Jr. served in the state militia. After returning from Congress, they were captured during the siege of Charleston and kept in prison for ten months. The estates of the first two were devastated.

Georgia was torn between strong loyalist sentiments and strong patriots. Her three delegates to Congress all favored Independence. Lyman Hall, Button Gwinnett, and George Walton. Colonel Walton was badly wounded and taken prisoner when the British captured Savannah.

Dr. Hall's home was destroyed, and Gwinnett was fatally wounded in a duel with a political opponent.

The 56 signers were mostly young, vigorous and hardy. Only seven were over 60, 18 were in their thirties, and three in their twenties. The 56 signers fathered 325 children. Carter Braxton of Virginia leading the rest with 18 children. More than half worshipped at Episcopalian churches; Charles Carroll was the only Roman Catholic. Ten were preacher's sons.

The last survivors, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Charles Carroll were invited to the 50th anniversary celebration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, in Washington, D.C. in 1826. Jefferson and Adams, estranged because of opposing political views, had in their later years become reconciled through Dr. Rush of Pennsylvania, and exchanged cordial correspondence on philosophical topics. Adams was too feeble to attend the celebration and Jefferson was on his deathbed. The nation was shocked and grieved when they both died hours apart, on that very day. Charles Carroll lived another six years, long enough at age 91 to spade the first earth in 1828 for the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, which would unite East and West.

Prayer

(continued from page 1)

deep appreciation the great success at your day of home speaking tour."

Cong. Hammerschmidt of Arkansas said in his message, "May God's guidance in Holy Spirit be with you in your national effort in seeking unification of our citizenry toward a common goal."

That evening, the 2,000 young people marched around the capital to pray for the nation during the State of the Union address. About 70 anti-Nixon demonstrators also showed up, but were completely swamped by the NPFWC's.

As Rev. Moon was attending the annual National Prayer Breakfast given by the President the next morning, the youths gathered in Lafayette Park across from the White House in a joyous demonstration of prayer and music. A band, American historical costumes, lots of flags and banners, and dancing and singing characterized the lively demonstration. Tricia and Richard Cox, the President's daughter and son-in-law, came out later to greet the demonstrators. That evening over nationwide television, members of the National Prayer and Fast Committee were seen singing their songs of unity as the cameras focused on the famous couple and newsmen asked their views about Watergate.

The next morning, about 11:00, Rev. Moon had a private meeting of about 20 minutes with President Nixon. Rev. Moon told the President that America is God's hope for establishing His ideal on earth, after

he prayed with the president. He urged the President to stand strong and keep up his spirit in the face of the pressures for his resignation.

After the meeting with the President, Rev. Moon took a plane to Europe, and from there to Japan and Korea. He is scheduled to return to the U.S. on Feb. 12 to launch a 34-city tour entitled "The New Future of Christianity."

Course

(continued from page 1)

The event was highly valued by many participants, who said that it provided them with a good basis for grass-roots political work. The opportunity for give-and-take between different parts of the conservative movement was, I'm sure, well-used. And the conference was very well organized.

I would have appreciated several sessions giving a more integrated view of the conservative approach. I left with questions like: How is increased government expense for defense justified along with a decrease of federal influence and money in all other fields? How can private initiative take up where federal efforts have failed in solving the real problems of our society? How do conservatives relate their ideas to those of the rest of society? And, most importantly, how does the doctrine of individualism work to solve our societal problems of poverty, crime, drug addiction, and breakdown of the family?



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