

Agee, Philip
~~U.S. Agent~~ Against
Communist Aggression
(original Agee)

ENOUGH OF THIS NONSENSE!

Ex-CIA Agent Philip Agee has been afraid to return to the United States. He feared arrest and prosecution because since he flip-flopped and became a Marxist-Leninist he has been spilling U.S. secrets and fingering CIA agents. He has said he wants to destroy the CIA. The CIA has had to spend millions to transfer and protect agents Agee fingered, but they could not protect them all.

Recently Agee was ordered out of Britain. The British charge that he maintained contacts with foreign intelligence agents and had been involved in activities "that could be harmful to the security of the United Kingdom." Agee has said that he thinks this is related to the arrest of a large number of Western intelligence agents in Poland. He says he is not to blame, but there is no denying that he has put many agents in jeopardy.

On March 21, Ben Civiletti, the new head of the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, was reported to have informed Philip Agee that he would not be prosecuted under the Espionage Act if he came home. Two months earlier, Civiletti's predecessor had informed Agee that he might be prosecuted.

So now Philip Agee, who has dishonored the oath he swore when he joined the CIA and has put many a CIA agent in jeopardy, is free to come home, become a TV personality, and clean up on the college lecture circuit. He can thank Ben Civiletti.

But don't think that Ben Civiletti is soft on crime. No sir!

He has, according to a Washington Post story on March 31, advised the Attorney-General that charges should be brought against FBI agents and officials who in the past did the kind of thing that made Peter Graves & Co. famous. Do you remember "Mission Impossible"? You can still

episodes where the heroes risked their lives to surreptitiously enter offices or homes to obtain information or carry out operations that higher authority had ordered in the national interest?

Did it occur to you that Peter Graves and his associates in these dramas were engaging in criminal acts for which they might be prosecuted and sent to jail by their own government that had ordered and financed their operations?

It seems utterly ridiculous. But not to Ben Civiletti of our Justice Department. He wants to prosecute the real "Mission Impossible" guys. He wants to send to jail the courageous FBI agents who risked their lives making surreptitious entries—just like Peter Graves & Co.—to get needed information to combat terrorists such as the notorious Weather Underground and subversive groups working to destroy the freedoms all of us enjoy.

Get the picture? Philip Agee, the man who has spilled his secrets to the world, including the communists, is told that he faces no charges and that he can safely return to the U.S. and carry out his nefarious activities. The loyal, dedicated FBI agents that were carrying out orders to get the goods on the likes of Agee are told that they had better prepare for a long legal battle, because Ben Civiletti wants to throw the book at them and put them in jail while Agee cleans up on the college lecture circuit.

You think it sounds crazy? *It is crazy!*

No wonder William Safire, the New York Times columnist, sent up a warning rocket when Ben Civiletti was appointed assistant attorney general. Safire warned that the appointment signalled the return of politics to the Justice Department.

You have a right to be revolted by this brand of politics in the Justice Department. We hope that the Attorney-General, Griffin Bell, will share your feelings. Speak up and protest the topsy-turvy "justice" being dispensed by Ben Civiletti.

A committee of correspondence founded 1951 to disseminate information in aid of World Freedom

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THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE PRAGUE CRISIS

By J. Josten, Editor
Free Central European Agency

(London/FCI) The eyes and ears of the world are focussed on Prague which has never seen so many foreign and diplomatic correspondents within its walls as now. Yet it seems that the foreign or external implications of policy changes by the new leadership may be almost as far-reaching as the domestic freedom gains of Czechoslovakia's population. From both changes, internal and external the whole world may profit. The impact may soon be felt in places like Saigon, Damascus, Cairo or Algiers as it is already felt in Washington, where a Czech, or better described as a "Warsaw Pact" General is giving away secrets which may overshadow gains the Soviets had from either Philby or Blake.

WEAPON DELIVERIES: When the Soviets sent Marshal Jakubovskij to Prague four weeks ago, it was to ascertain not only the strategic value of the Czechoslovak divisions, perhaps the best battle-ready and technically advanced in the satellite group, but especially the position of the Communist bloc's second largest armament industry without which Soviet support of local wars in Asia - above all in Vietnam -, the Middle East, and of guerrilla campaigns in South America and elsewhere, would fall short of the set targets...

Because of this one of Mr. Dubcek's more delicate and unheralded tasks will be, on the one hand, the recall of many of his military or "technical" missions from Africa, Asia and the Middle East - and, on the other, to send packing some of the many budding guerrilla warfare experts who are being trained all over Czechoslovakia. There are also some 2700 very exotic students at the "University of the 17th November" in Prague where future revolutionary leaders are taught Marxist-Leninism and the technique of the overthrow of existing regimes by a minority. For smaller powers like Czechoslovakia, it will become rather incompatible to continue exporting revolution and to ply for trade with, and loans from those whom the revolutionaries trained in Prague are intended to overthrow.

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The new leadership must be fully aware that at home the newly won freedoms would soon wear thin if they were unable to back them up with improved living standards and with guaranteed supplies of essential commodities, such as electric current for Prague colleges (the shortage of which sparked off last year's student riots); or foreign travel without people having to count on support from exiled relatives, or selling what they can smuggle out of the country. It is pathetic to see, for instance, sportsmen, their country's best ambassadors abroad, selling their prizes in order to buy the Western equipment they need. This will have to end and weapons, if they continue to be delivered on Soviet instructions, will have to be paid for in hard currencies or in gold. If North Vietnam cannot do so, the Soviet will have to dig into their pockets.

DIPLOMATS AND SPIES are certain to come soon under the new economic budgeteers scrutiny. In many countries small Czechoslovakia maintains embassies, trade, technical and other missions which are better staffed than the corresponding delegations of big powers. At the height of the Stalinist, that is Novotny's period, in London alone, there were no less than 27 intelligence agents on the embassy staff, all protected by diplomatic immunity. The role of this particular mission is emphasized by the new Embassy building under construction which, with its assembly hall for 800 people, is budgeted to cost about one and a half million pounds of sterling. It can now be revealed that a secret agent who some time ago quietly slipped into asylum in Britain started his mission with a down payment of £ 500 in his pocket, which has Prague black market value £-2,500. Throughout the world, especially in Asia, Africa and South America, there are hundreds of alleged diplomats and as many or more direct agents planted by a country which intends to seek a Western loan in order to prevent bankruptcy and the eruption of discontent on the home front. The solution will be to switch them on the Soviet payroll, as some of them no doubt will be.

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"TECHNICAL" AID: It was admitted in Prague that when the Soviet break with China came, Czechoslovakia wrote off something between 100 and 150 million pounds due for deliveries of capital and other goods to Mao's revolutionary empire. The country's losses in Indonesia were impressive as well. In Cuba, Czechoslovakia built a whole range of industries, from a pencil and kitchenware factory to a refrigerator assembly plant. Especially constructed sugar cane harvesters were supplied as well, and so many technicians that the Czechs wanted to buy VC 10 planes to maintain a regular direct passenger line. This deal fell through because of shortage of hard currency. Instead they continue to use less economic and technically inferior Soviet TU airliners which have to refuel in Canada.

This resulted in another undesired export: well over one hundred of these technicians as well as some "tourists" secured freedom in Canada and never finished the return journey. Many disclosed that what they saw in Cuba was the last straw, or rather, gave them strength to decide to become refugees. The Cuban investment adventure runs into several hundred million dollars.

At one student demonstration in Prague, shouts were heard: "Krmime Kubu, susime bubu", which means in free translation; "Cuban business empties stomachs". The cost of "trade relations" entered into on Soviet directives with countries like Egypt, Syria, the old Ghana, Algeria, Guinea (where at the airport one could find even Czech inscriptions and where the police organizer "on loan" was a Czech) and in a dozen other highly underdeveloped countries would be beyond the financial resources of quite a few Western Powers. So all this will have to be reconsidered before Wall Street or other gnomes tick off a loan to Mr. Dubcek to finance what is in fact a veritable counter revolution.

THE QUESTION TO ASK IS: "Where and when will the clean sweep start?" The most likely and most costly branch of the Communist superstructure to be affected are the Embassies. They are sheltering many of the proteges of the fallen President and Interior Minister Kudrna. The axe will fall as soon as Mr. Dubcek is able to cast at least one of his eyes on the foreign jungle of the crumbling empire he inherited. He is sure not to forget the swollen ranks of the foreign correspondents of the CTK News Agency or of Radio Prague. It was, for instance, the absconded agent with his special tasks in Britain, who in our FCI office took out of his pocket a copy of an evening paper, where a reference was made by their travelling cartoonist to some advice he received from a CTK chief in London, Antony Strouhal. The agent drily commented: "Whatever Strohal did in Fleet Street, in Prague he was my high-ranking boss."

As well as good nerves and iron will, Mr. Dubcek will need a very large broom to sweep clean the shambles to which his predecessor reduced his unfortunate Country.

How We Can Have Bigger and Better Riots

By Marx Lewis

Although some public officials and even several of the aspirants for the Presidency have talked in rather subdued tones about those who have incited, or participated, in the riots and have instead preferred to find extenuating circumstances, most of them have deplored the use of violence as a method of bringing about necessary reforms.

There is one conspicuous exception. He is Senator Robert Kennedy. He is quoted as having stated in a speech to Kansas State University students on March 18: "If our colleges do not breed men who riot, who rebel, who attack life with all the youthful vision and vigor, then there is something wrong with our colleges." That the rioters attack life with the vigor he called for may be judged by the number of people who have been killed in these riots.

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Kennedy, it will be noted, steered clear of endorsing riots per se. Politically, it was inexpedient to do so. It would, perhaps bring him the votes of the rioters. In a close election, such as the one he managed for his brother, the late President Kennedy, in 1960, they might be enough to swing the election in his favor. On the other hand, an outright endorsement of riots might lose him the votes of the victims of riots. On balance, he might lose as much as gain. Instead, he offered a philosophical justification for riots. Riots prove that we are a virile nation.

If the virility of a nation were to be measured by the number, the size and the damage of riots, the two most virile nations today would be Germany and Italy. Hitler and Mussolini obtained control of their respective countries after the riots they instigated. So did the Communists.

Communists place great stock in riots as a prelude to the seizure of power. It is part of their technique for weakening the fibre of a nation and readying it for the kill. "Insurrection," Trotsky once wrote to Lenin, "is an art. It is an engine. Technical experts are required. The other people are of no use except to be used."

Since it is an art, for which technical experts are needed, it would seem that Bobby Kennedy should have gone a step further and recommended that the colleges not only breed men who will riot, but also give them instruction on how the riots can be made bigger and better. The campaign for the nomination is young, and Kennedy may even get around to that. If, and when, he does, he will not have to start from scratch in working out a suitable curriculum. He can get some helpful information from Communist literature and courses of instruction.

Lenin, when he taught in a clandestine Communist school at Longjumeau, France, in 1911, boasted: "When we have companies of specially-trained worker revolutionaries who have passed through a long course of schooling, no police in the world will be able to cope with them." He was right. The problem was to train them specially, so that the violence can be manipulated properly and successfully. He solved that problem too. He founded the Lenin Institute in Moscow, where courses are given, some of them lasting four years. Since then, many similar schools have been established in Communist-controlled countries to train cadres, or, as the Communists call them "conflict managers", to create and manage the violence so as to lead to the overthrow of existing governments, and their replacement with police states. Many of present Communist rulers, including Ho Chi Minh, were trained in these schools.

If Kennedy wants to know what college courses are needed to train rioters he can refer to the testimony of Joseph Z. Kornfeder at a Senate hearing we had on our Freedom Academy Bill some years ago. Kornfeder graduated from the Lenin School, was returned to the United States to create conflict. Years later, he renounced Communism, and rendered distinguished service to the anti-Communist cause by revealing information which would have been hard to get from other sources. He was due to testify at a second hearing on the same bill before another Senate committee. He made a special trip from Detroit to Washington, paid for out of his own resources which were very meagre to testify. The night before he was to appear at the hearing, he was found dead in his room at the Y.M.C.A. in Washington. The doctor said he died from a heart attack. This was never double-checked.

In the testimony he gave at the earlier hearing, Kornfeder submitted the curriculum at the Lenin Institute. It enumerated the text-books that were used, mentioned the instructors, all of whom were Red Army Staff officers of the high command, and the subjects that were taught.

One of the subjects came under the heading "Political and Ideological Preparation for Armed Insurrection." The key theme here was (1) everyday politics have no sense unless it is consciously preparatory to armed struggle for power; or, (2) insurrection is a continuation of everyday politics by means of arms.

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Another heading dealt with "Precondition for Successful Armed Insurrection." These preconditions included: (1) economic collapse and chaos in a country; (2) demoralization and dissent among the governing circles; (3) defeat of a government in a foreign war or its inability to keep things moving as a result of exhaustion following the war; (4) ability of the party to take advantage of the situation.

In what the curriculum calls "The 'Peaceful' Phase of Preparation" a long list of steps preparatory to a seizure of power is mentioned. One of them calls for "Demonstrations disconcerting to the morale of the public, and continued crescendo of demoralization propaganda." It recommends that much of this be done through "front" organizations; even the average party member is not expected to know the pattern and intent of the top strategists. But, without questioning, party members are expected to participate actively in the demonstrations, and help guide them so that they will do a maximum amount of damage.

Communists are not rigid in applying the means by which mobs can be manipulated. Circumstances will alter cases. The pattern will depend on conditions as they arise. But, basically, the methods, and the purposes are the same. The police, for example, become a special target by being baited. Specially trained women scream hysterically, faint at policemen's feet, or claw at their faces. Other pawns are instructed to roll marbles under the hoofs of policemen's horses, attack them with razor blades on the end of poles, or jab them with pins, causing them to rear and charge through the crowd and thus provide photographers with "proof" of police brutality. These methods will, as has been indicated, vary. If, for example, the police are not mounted on horses, the officers are attacked in other ways. All is centrally planned and directed.

Making riots is, indeed, an art. It should not be left to amateurs. They involve risks.

If the first riots are unproductive, new ones will be instigated. They do not always bring communists to power. Sometimes the reaction that sets in, brings Fascists and military juntas to power. But the ultimate result is the same. Tyranny triumphs.

"Shame and Glory of the Intellectuals"

That was the title of a book written years ago by Peter Vierick. What he wrote then has particular relevance now. In the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, it is the intellectuals who sparked the present struggle to have their freedom restored. That is their glory. In the United States the intellectuals, aided by the clergy, furnished the leadership, even though not the numbers, to defend tyranny abroad and sow dissent in wartime at home. That is their shame.

To these intellectuals, patriotism has become a dirty word. That is, old-fashioned patriotism, the kind which preserved our nation and its freedom. They now applaud a new kind of "patriotism". When leftist students seized control of Columbia University, wrecked the University president's office, held University officials hostage, and barred the entry of faculty members and students to the University, a Professor James Marston Fitch, a Columbia professor of architecture, said that these events will some day come to be regarded as patriotic, as patriotic as the Boston Tea Party was in its day.

These intellectuals are, numerically, an insignificant minority. But they do great damage by creating the impression that they speak for the academic community. In effect, they are perpetrating a hoax. Not only do they not reflect the sentiment of the vast majority of academicians, but they are, the least qualified to discuss the issues on which they speak.

Dr. Roger Swearingen, editor of Communist Affairs, a Professor of International Relations and Director of the Research Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda at the University of Southern California, recently made a study and analysis of the signers of two "ads" which appeared in the New York Times,

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one on May 9, 1965, and the other on June 5, 1966. Both of them attacked U.S. policy in Vietnam. These academicians listed a series of steps our country should take towards ending the Vietnam war. They added up to an unconditional surrender to the Communists.

Dr. Swearingen, in his published results of his study, does not question the right of these academicians to express their opinions. On the contrary, he said that they have not only a right but a duty to do so. But they ought to do so as citizens, and not create the erroneous impression that because they are academicians, they are especially qualified to give advise on subjects they know no more about than the average layman.

The majority of the signers of these "ads" teach psychology, mathematics, physics, biology, theology, languages, astronomy, medicine, bacteriology, etc. Only 15 of the hundreds of signers of the first "ad" were listed in political science. Despite the existence of several major international relations research and programs in such universities as Harvard, MIT, Tufts and Yale, only two scholars out of 784 are so identified.

Columbia, for example, has at least 10 of its faculty, probably more, who are acknowledged and senior specialists in the political, military, and economic aspects of the inter-related problems of Communism. Not a single one of these specialists is among the signers listed under Columbia. The University of Southern California, which also has 10 senior specialists in this field is not even listed, though 7 other California universities and colleges are. Hardly any of the members of the faculties of these universities specializing in this field of foreign policy were signatories to these "ads".

Dr. Swearingen concludes from his study:

That the signers of the two "ads" constitute an extremely small percentage of the academic community and should not be regarded as a representative cross section; that the overwhelming majority of these critics are from fields or specialties, where no training, experience, knowledge or perspective on foreign policy, communism or Vietnam is either required or assumed - nor have a professional commitment to or, obviously, the time for serious studies of such matters; that the recognized U.S. scholars on foreign policy, the Soviet Union, Southeast Asia, Communism, and American security problems at the major U.S. centers are conspicuously absent from the roster of critics; that the assumptions on which the "ads" rest are dubious, if not false, and are apparently not held by the overwhelming majority of specialists on the subject in or out of government, and that, consequently, the policy proposed is neither realistic nor in the interest of the Vietnamese people or the United States.

These critics, he points out, are motivated, perhaps, by moral and humanitarian considerations, which are worthy of consideration, but these considerations "must not be allowed to be obscured by uninformed, confused, or misleading presentations which might imply, if inadvertently, that the academic community and the members of the professions of the U.S. do not support their government's policy."

Only the Name Has been Changed:

Slavery, which the Soviets introduced in Russia fifty years ago, first bore the name of "forced labor." It was practiced in what they called "forced labor camps." Critics of the regime who somehow avoided being sent before firing squads wound up in these camps. The fates would have been more merciful to them had they been executed. But the regime profited from their labor. The conditions which prevailed in these camps, described by eye witnesses, some of whom escaped, were so monstrous that they shocked the world. Only years later, when Hitler set up his concentration camps, was there anything resembling it.

In recent years, little has been said about these slave labor camps. It was assumed the Soviet Union has abolished them. That is untrue. They are now called "colonies" - "corrective labor colonies." But only the name has been changed. The treatment accorded the inmates remains shocking.

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Responding to an inquiry, our Council sent to the Institute for the Study of USSR, the Institute's Research Department has informed us that it estimates the number of present inmates at close to a half million.

That the number of such "camps" or "colonies" has been reduced over the years, is probably true. At the 20th Congress of the Russian Communist party, when Krushchev denounced Stalin's crimes, the Kremlin began to reduce the number of forced labor camps, largely because they were uneconomical and some of the inmates who were technically skilled were badly needed in speeding the development of Soviet economy, particularly in arms production.

It is known that the "colonies" are divided into four categories, based on the severity of punishment. One category is governed by "general" regulations, another by "stricter" regulations, a third by "severe" regulations, and a fourth by "special" regulations. In addition there are "corrective labor colonies" for minors. Here, child labor might be expected to prevail. There are official sets of regulations applicable to the different degrees of punishment, but copies of them are not available.

However, as in the past, reliable information can be obtained from unofficial sources, at least as to the number of such camps and as to the type of treatment accorded the inmates.

The April issue of the Free Trade Union News, of the AFL-CIO, reveals some interesting facts. It published a map showing the location of 56 of the better known forced labor camps, and the approximate number of their inmates. The map shows only a partial list. Their existence is a flagrant and callous violation of the UN Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights and the ILO Convention on forced labor.

One of these forced labor camps is the Dubravlag group of camps, in the Potma region. The inmates now there include Yuli Daniel and Gerald Brooke, the writers, 20 Ukrainian intellectuals who were given long sentences in 1961, a fairly large number of Ukrainian political prisoners and members of various nations of the Soviet Union - Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and Russians. Some of the camps also include members of various religious sects like the Baptists and Jehova's Witnesses.

A letter which has reached the West, and is published in the East West Digest, of London, tells how the inmates are treated. It was written by Vyacheslav Chornovil, a courageous Ukrainian intellectual, who was arrested on August 3, 1967, and sentenced on November 15, 1967, to three years detention in a labor camp.

As to Yuli Daniel, whose imprisonment has created considerable unrest in Russia, he writes that he is an unselfish and brave man, very much concerned with the suffering of his fellow prisoners and uncompromising in his attitude towards duplicity and the corrupt practices of the authorities.

This camp, Chornovil writes, consists of two zones, the main one holding 700 women convicted of ordinary crimes, and another which holds 276 male political prisoners. The majority of the male prisoners, 225 in number, are invalids. Yet its so-called hospital contains only 7 beds. The majority of them are seriously ill and quite old. There are no drugs and the prisoners are not allowed to receive any from their families, not even vitamins. Medical aid is virtually non-existent. There are some medical personnel among the prisoners, but only people who cooperate with the KGB and the operational department are selected. Others who are qualified to help sick people, are sent to work in the workshops. On several occasions, when the camp doctors sent prisoners to the central hospital with a diagnosis of cancer, the doctors, instead of releasing the prisoners on the basis of their illness (they have the full right to do this) sent them back to the camp with a diagnosis of acute gastritis. Prisoners are released only in cases where death is expected to come a few days after the release.

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"A policy of repression towards the prisoners is severely applied," Chornovil writes. "It is directed at undermining their health and suppressing the least display of rebellion or protest. Prisoners who work on building sites do not have the required warm clothing; in the shop the temperature is usually below the freezing point. Nevertheless, the prisoner is expected to fulfil a quota which would be impossible to fulfil even under normal circumstances.

"One hour is allowed for a so-called lunch break and rest period. But only is this not a rest, it is an additional punishment, because people are forced to spend an extra hour in the cold building. Lunch and supper are served in unsanitary conditions, in generally dirty premises without tables - so the prisoner has to eat at the machine. There is nowhere to wash one's hands because the tiny wash-basin cannot hold enough water and there are no towels.

"The administrator constantly threatens those who do not fulfil their quotas with reprisals....Because invalids of the second category do not have to work, there are not enough people to do the work; so the administration has announced that it will form a local medical commission to re-categorize the invalids and put them to work."

On January 7, 1967, the prisoner Mykhaylo Soroka, who has spent 31 years in Polish and Soviet prisons, fell seriously ill with myocardius. A medical assistant arrived four days later. On the seventh day after his attack, Soroko was taken to the medical station. Yuli Daniel complained about the shocking attitude towards Soroko's illness. The medical inspector stated that all these matters were irrelevant and tried to make Daniel acknowledge that everything was in order in the camp, something he needed before formally dismissing the matter. Daniel refused.

In mid-February 200 prisoners at the Potma camp were reported to have gone on a hunger strike in support of their demand that their special status as political prisoners be acknowledged. At this writing, nothing is known as to the outcome.

-----COLD WAR DIGEST-----

Communist Activities in the Caribbean:

Communist activity in February and March centered on the Caribbean.

Cuba: In Cuba, Fidel Castro admitted that grave economic difficulties continued even as he declared again Cuba would go her own way and find her own path to a purer Communism. While he promised to halt the national lottery and shut down all the bars - it seems, he said, that small businessmen are almost entirely counter-revolutionary - he also threatened to seize U.S. aircraft hi-jacked to Cuba.

Excuse for the threat was his claim that the U.S. has not returned the crop duster planes, one helicopter, rafts, fishing craft, small boats and other equipment used by Cubans fleeing the country.

Although our State Department hastily claimed everything has been returned to Castro, he was not expected to listen. Why should he? He needs the aircraft, with only a few of his own passenger craft still capable of taking to the air, and it seems likely he can count on unscheduled deliveries from time to time by hi-jackers.

Besides, such a threat helped take some of the pressures off the fact that the skipper of the Cuban ship "26 de Julio" machine-gunned and then ran down three Cubans seeking refuge on U.S. Coast Guard vessels. Murder on the high seas does not help the Cuban image.

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SANTO DOMINGO: In the Dominican Republic, Francisco Caamano Deno, who headed the "constitutionalist" forces that sought to overthrow the Government of the Dominican Republic and promoted U.S. intervention, became a heady topic of conversation. Why? Just because he was the little man who wasn't there. He dropped out of sight last October, just 15 days after the death of Ernesto "Che" Guevara in Bolivia. Caamano was in The Hague, visiting a friend, when he disappeared. His wife was quoted a few days later as being "slightly worried" because he had not shown up.

No one is really worried about Caamano's health. On the contrary, President Joaquin Balaguer thinks Caamano is in Cuba. "Logic dictates his presence in Cuba," Balaguer said.

Many Dominicans think Caamano has taken over "Che's" role as leader of the Communist-inspired guerrilla movements in Latin America. He would be a less-than-inspiring successor to "Che," if only because he has shown neither personal courage nor the coolness that were Guevara's trade-marks.

LATIN AMERICA - CHILE: In South America, Chile's decision to let five members of Guevara's Bolivian guerrilla force leave the country for Cuba, via Tahiti and Prague, brought alarmed concern from La Paz, Buenos Aires and other capitals.

Chile's neighbors do not relish the thought that the leftist Christian Democratic Government of President Eduardo Frei, already regarded with a considerable measure of suspicion, should demonstrate such concern for Communist guerrillas. Just to rub it in, Senator Salvador Allende, head of the anti-government Communist coalition, accompanied the five men to be sure they made it safely.

SOVIETS WOOING INDIA:

While conducting a massive propaganda designed to weaken and eventually add India to her empire, the Soviet Union is also doing what it can to woo India. It is a double play, the kind the Communists have developed into an art. Its immediate purpose is to secure the kind of supremacy in India which the Chinese Reds are seeking to achieve in Pakistan. Both countries are the victims of a Communist power play.

On a recent visit to India, Soviet Premier Kosygin ordered India's pro-Moscow Communist party to quit its labor agitation in the country's plants. This reflects a change in Soviet policy, or rather strategy. Why the turnabout? The Russians have already ordered 600,000 tons of steel and 10,000 railway cars from India's producers. This is only a starter. This is pump-priming. But it may not produce results soon enough for the thousands of young Indian college graduates, especially engineers, who cannot find jobs. Frustrated, they may tend to join rioters, and thus upset the applecart. So thousands of these engineers are to be trained in the Soviet Union. They will not only get jobs in the Soviet armaments' industries, but it is certain they will also get plenty of indoctrination. Soviet interests at the moment is to reduce, if not prevent, demoralization in India.

While Red China is supplying military hardware to Pakistan, the Soviet Union is bolstering India militarily with submarines and jet fighters. In the process, India will become more dependent on the Soviet Union. Eventually, the Soviet Union will cash in on it. It is a calculated investment.

RETURN TO "PROFIT" SYSTEM HELPS RUSSIA:

The Russian rulers say that 1967 was a good year for them. They cite progress in industry and new capacities put into operation in the Asia territories. They are not as enthusiastic about their agricultural situation, which has lagged behind, and shown a very uneven performance.

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They say that for the first time, 1967 profits exceeded expectations. At the end of the first nine months of last year, 5,500 industrial enterprises, accounting for one third of the country's industrial output, have been affected by the reforms which have been introduced, and which allow for a greater leeway for management and a more reasonable relationship between production and demand. By the end of the year, the number of reform-oriented enterprises had risen to 7,000, accounting for 40 per cent of the output, and employing one-third of the industrial manpower. This leaves more than 20,000 enterprises, employing two-thirds of all industrial workers, and accounting for about 60 percent of the output, operating under old conditions.

But those enterprises which have been brought under the reforms were, to begin with, the ones considered more efficient, and the most likely ones to meet and exceed targets and show profits. Even in these plants, the target has not always been met. Turbine production of turbines declined when it was supposed to increase; there has been a decline in oil-industry equipment, diesel locomotives, and in other industries. The iron and steel industry has failed to meet expectations.

Great pride is taken in the fact that the home-building plan has been exceeded. But this pride must be measured against the existing housing situation, which remains bad. Present building costs are not given, but what it took some years ago to build a house there is available.

A typical single-family Russian home, 1959 vintage, was put on display in a South Florida community alongside a counterpart American model home, 1968 vintage. The Russian house was chosen from a number of plans obtained from the Library of Congress. They originally were published in a Soviet magazine.

The Russian house, which was built with American materials and furnished with replicas of Russian furniture and appliances contained two rooms and a bathroom, and had 384 square feet of floor space. The exterior is unpainted because paint in Russia is an expensive item. The interior is whitewashed. This house is estimated by the Soviet Journal to cost 21,000 rubles or \$22,000 in American money. The best estimate of the cost to mass produce the same house in the U.S. is \$1,500. It is safe to assume there has been an improvement, and production costs lowered, but it is equally safe to assume that at best, this Russian house, which would be considered a slum dwelling here, is beyond the reach of even the best-paid Russian worker.

If a house is out of the question, apartments with anything approaching adequate space is equally hard to come by. Officially, every Russian citizen is supposed to have a least nine square meters (about a 10 by 10 foot space). That is hardly spacious. But in many places this bare minimum cannot be met. In Moscow, for instance, the average available living space in 1966 was 6.6 meters, (the equivalent of a 7 by 10 foot room) per person. Newlyweds must sometimes share a 2 room flat with their in-laws. Grandparents squeeze in with grandchildren.

By 1980, Deputy Chief of the Moscow Housing Authority Igor Pushkariov predicts, every Moscow family can be guaranteed a separate apartment and every person a private room. In the meantime, Moskovskayya Pravda, the party's Moscow organ, says, three-room apartments are too big for the average Moscow family, and are "costing the city too much. We are not rich enough to throw around extra living space."

The Soviets are, however, rich enough to build and maintain the largest armament industry in the world, which they can use to blackmail the West and subjugate free peoples. A fraction of the amount spent for armament might give the average Russian some decent living space long before 1980.

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THE COMING CRISIS IN FRANCE:

In an article on "The Atlantic Alliance, Yes or No", which appears in the April issue of Today in France, the publication of the Society for French-American Senator Henry M. Jackson, of Washington, discusses the position taken by President De Gaulle with respect to NATO: It is that "there is no longer a Soviet threat to the Atlantic Community", that the threat has disappeared, and that the danger of hegemony comes now not from behind the Elbe but from across the Atlantic." Senator Jackson rejects this view in toto. He cites as evidence what the Russian leaders are saying, and what they are doing to make the Soviet Union the strongest nation militarily. Senator Jackson establishes that Western Europe remains contrary to De Gaulle's wishful thinking, in grave danger.

Benjamin Protter, editor of Today in France, and a member of our National Committee, commenting on the Senator's views, points out that the day when France must face up to the truth is rapidly approaching. He writes, in the same issue:

"The North Atlantic Treaty was signed on April 4, 1949, for a fixed period of twenty years, with each country having the option after April 4, 1968 to withdraw on giving one year's notice. The approach of this date has given rise to much speculation in the French press what President De Gaulle will do on or after that date.

"Many of the articles are definitely in favor of France continuing in the Alliance. Many in or near the government or close to the French President have been ambiguous in their declarations. The idea of a referendum on whether France should or should not withdraw had previously been suggested, and now it has been brought forth once again by Louis Vallon in an editorial in the Leftwing Gaullist weekly, Notre Republique. The suggestion is evidently a trial balloon, but what gives it its significance is that Vallon is supposed to be a 'confidant' of General De Gaulle.

"It has been evident for quite some time that General De Gaulle has been preparing the people of France for a definitive break, under whatever pretext with the Alliance. All anti-American propaganda, all the moves against the United States, even the stiff attitude towards Great Britain, have been and are being made with that end in view. It is also evident that when France does take that fatal step, it will be followed sooner or later by a breakdown in the West European community relations with France.

"The crisis of the Atlantic Alliance when it comes, as well as that of the West European Community, will be the sole responsibility of one man and that man alone, President Charles De Gaulle. He has declared time and again that France's foreign relations are strictly his province and that of no one else, the French Constitution notwithstanding, and no member of the Pompidou Cabinet has dared raise his voice against that assumption."

BERLIN WORKERS RALLY IN VIETNAM:

While leftists and rightists march again, as they did in the day when Hitler instigated these marches, and then riots, to destroy the Weimar Republic and achieve power, the workers of Germany are demonstrating their support of the Government's sympathetic position towards our policy in Vietnam.

Some 150,000 people took part in a mass rally in West Berlin on February 21, 1968. It was organized by the democratic political parties, youth organizations and trade unions in West Berlin. Addressing the meeting, Walter Sickert, president of the Berlin district committee of the German trade union federation DGB, reminded his audience that many American pilots had risked their lives in the so-called Berlin airbridge to help the people of Berlin to break the Soviet blockade of the city in 1948-49.

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"We know what the guarantee of the occupation powers mean for this city," Sickert said. "That is why it should be the last place where one of the occupation powers should be slandered. "Those who paraded with photographs of communist leaders do not care about Vietnam but they want to put the axe to the roots of our state's democratic order. Trade unions are against all wars, including that of Vietnam, but it is not our business to march with those who wish for the victory of the Vietcong over the United States."

SOVIET MISSILES FOR THE ARABS:

For the first time, the Soviet Union has shipped to the United Arab Republic a short-range ground-to-ground missile, with a range of about 45 miles, which can be used in coastal defense against naval targets or as a tactical weapon against such ground targets as troop concentrations, fixed positions or convoys. About 20 of the new missiles have already reached President Nasser as he prepares for another round of war with Israel. Jet aircraft, tanks and other equipment, plus Russian military men to advise the Egyptians how to use them, are flowing into the Middle East in increasing amounts.

Israel does not intend, of course, to be caught napping. Like Egypt, it is acquiring efficiently guided missiles and supersonic bombers capable of delivering nuclear destruction. Diplomats in the Middle East, and elsewhere, watching these developments, fear the Mideast arms race may soon go nuclear. There are reports that Soviet deliveries to Egypt of missiles over 250-miles in range took place earlier this year. The Institute for Strategic studies estimated last year that Egypt also possesses about 150 domestically-built missiles. Some military and nuclear experts think Israel might be able to manufacture several low-power nuclear bombs by this year or may have already done so.

Over the years Israel has always contended that she needed additional military capacity. American diplomats admitted that the Arabs had quantitative military superiority, but they remained cool to Israel's pleas because they claimed, that Israel had qualitative superiority and therefore did not need additional weapons. After Israel's spectacular victory last June the United States greeted Israel's appeal for arms with "We told you so." But Israel wanted arms not to win wars but to prevent them. She needed strength to deter attack. She felt that Egypt would not have launched her campaign last year if there had been no illusions about Israel's military capacity.

Now, even more than a year ago, Israel feels she must be prepared, and if she is not, a nuclear war in the Middle East, may eventuate. Then the United States said Israel did not need arms because the United States was committed to oppose aggression in the Middle East. She knows better now. She knows she can rely on no one but herself.

If a new war, a nuclear-triggered war, comes to the Middle-East and some experts say it is not a question of if but of when - it may be well to recall who triggered it. Following the June war, President Johnson appealed to the Soviet Union to agree to a program which would prevent another arms race, which would be followed by another war. The Russians replied to this plan by shipping more arms to the Arabs. The race began. And war now looms again. That is how the Soviet Union implements her claim that she wants to reduce tensions.

SOVIETS INVADE OUR WATERS:

When the Soviet Union does not break treaties outright, she lends to the breaking point by engaging in practices which amount to a repudiation of them. When she announced not long ago that she developed an "Orbital Missile" which could deliver nuclear warheads" on the first or any other orbit around the earth" it was construed by many to be a violation of our Outer Space Treaty, but our officials took the position that it was only a "technical" violation of the treaty. To consider it otherwise might irritate the Russians, and that would be contrary to what "detente" calls for.

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A recently concluded agreement between the Soviet Union and the U.S. grants the Russians to fish off the Middle Atlantic coast of the U.S. In the past they were usually 60 to 70 miles out to sea. But now they are fishing right off our shores.

An illustration of how, when you give the Communists a finger, they insist on taking the whole hand, occurred recently off Cape May, N.J. A mammoth fleet of Russian trawlers invaded our shores. It consisted of 36 trawlers, a 500 foot mother factory ship and an oiler. The Russians were not content with just fishing, which is already playing havoc with the American fishing industry, but they proceeded to cut the main lines of the Sun Pal, one of our trawlers, doing considerable damage to it. After a 300-footer crossed the lines of our trawler it left, taking with them what little fish there was left.

As a result of this incident, our Coast Guard has dispatched a cutter to patrol the area, and announced that any Soviet vessels found within the nine-mile fishing limit "may be boarded and searched when there is reasonable cause to believe the vessel violated U.S. laws." But this could provoke an incident and under present policy that must be avoided at all costs. Only the Communists are free to cause incidents, including the seizure of our ships on the high seas. We could end up by apologizing to the Soviet Union.

Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, is conducting a vigorous campaign to protect the rights of our fisherman. He has described our agreement with the Soviet Union as a "sell-out of U.S. interests and a demonstration of the perils of bargaining from weakness." The pact, he added, "looks more like a surrender than a negotiated agreement. It should be repudiated by Congress."

"FULL" PAY IN THE SOVIET UNION:

The Soviet Union is not only doing a wonderful job in providing housing for its people, according to her rules, but, according to the same rulers, or their American agents, she excels in providing sickness benefits for her workers. We have discussed elsewhere her housing situation. Now let's look at her sickness benefits.

The Communist Worker, of April 28, the organ of the Soviets' fifth column in the United States, attempts a comparison between sick benefits in the Soviet Union and the United States. It cites an article which appeared in a recent issue of the AFL-CIO NEWS, which is based on a report of the U.S. Health, Education and Welfare Department. Our Government report states that of a total value of time lost by American workers through sickness, only 29 per cent replaced by sick leave, that only a few states have some form of compulsory sickness insurance, that in 1966 workers in private industry were off the job an average of 7 days because of illness, etc.

But not so, says the Worker in the Soviet Union, where "a comprehensive system of social insurance prevails", covering all who work, no matter the type of the job. Benefit payments there start from the first day of illness, and there is no limit to the length of this period. To top it off, says the Worker, full earnings are paid for time lost due to an industrial sickness.

Before American workers begin packing their belongings for a journey to the Soviet paradise, they might want to have some information which the Worker somehow manages to omit. For example, our workers might want to know what full earnings of Russian workers are.

Delegations which some trade unions, mainly German have sent to Russia on the invitation of the Soviets, have come away from the Soviet Union disappointed.

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The German Postal Workers Union, for example, sent such a delegation to the Soviet Union. The delegates were permitted to visit some of the Soviet institutions, but the moment they began asking concrete questions regarding the wages of Russian workers, they ran into difficulties. The reason the Russian "trade union" leaders consider this a touchy subject is revealed by two American labor men who visited Russia about a year ago. One was from the steelworkers, the other from the teamsters. They managed to get some information on their own.

The Soviet steelworker's average weekly wage - and it is a very long week - is \$41.00 or less than a dollar an hour. A highly skilled steel worker averages \$68.50 a week, less than \$1.50 an hour. A teamster is even worse off. A Soviet truck driver's average weekly wage under socialism - 50 years after the revolution - is \$38.50. For a 44-hour week that gives him an average hourly wage of about 85 cents. In the United States a teamster averages four times that amount or more. Our national legal minimum wage, for everyone, no matter how unskilled he may be, or how menial his work may be, is \$1.60 an hour.

But what is even more significant is what these wages will buy. Low wages, if accompanied, by a low cost of living, as happens in some countries, might be understandable, even tolerable. But in the socialist paradise extremely low wages are accompanied by extremely high living costs. For example, a suit of clothes in Russia costs a month's pay.

Full pay, therefore, is not as attractive as the Worker would have our workers believe. Full pay in Russia is 50 to 400 rubles a month, at an exchange rate of \$1.11 a ruble.

But if the German union's delegation failed to get the information they wanted as to wages, it did get and accept a taste of Communist propoganda. In a joint communique with their Soviet counterpart, the two demanded that the Vietnamese be granted "the right to solve by themselves their own problems." The communique did not contain a single word about the German's peoples' right to similar self-determination.

When the editor of the German union's publication was criticized for this omission from the communique he explained that the omission was necessary because the Russians would not accept that. So the Germans accepted what the Russians wanted. This is in the spirit of give and take - the Germans gave, and the Russians took.

DANGERS AND DELUSIONS OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY:

At the Budapest conference of Communist parties which ended March 5, 1968, two inter-related themes were presented. One called for concluding a nuclear non-proliferation agreement, which has since been presented to the UN General Assembly; the other was the statement that the NATO, SEATO and other multi-lateral and bi-lateral defensive arrangements which began in 1947 have now "entered the phase of open crisis or complete decay."

That could be true. If it does happen it will mark a complete victory for the Communists. Ever since NATO was established twenty years ago, the Communists have made all kinds of zig-zags in tactics and strategy but one aim remained constant: the destruction of NATO. Their one hope above all others now seems nearing realization. By contributing to that result, we are acting as an accessory to the mutilation of a defensive system which we once considered indispensable to the containment of Communist aggression, and to which we still profess by words, but not deeds, to adhere.

Dr. William R. Kintner, Deputy Director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania, and one of our country's best qualified authorities on foreign policy and military strategy, told the House Foreign Affairs Committee on February 7, 1968 of the dangers we face in promoting this treaty, and exposed the illusions on which it is based. Dr. James

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D. Atkinson, Professor of Government at Georgetown University, and a former member of the special subcommittee of the National Strategy Committee of the American Security Council, which prepared the landmark study for the House Armed Services Committee, The Changing Strategic Military Balance U.S.A. vs. U.S.S.R. does the same thing in the Security's Washington Report of April 1, 1968.

In his testimony before the House Committee, Dr. Kintner made these significant points: (1) the treaty may be legally meaningless; (2) it is unenforceable, unless U.S. is willing to use nuclear coercion against nations acquiring, as they now are, nuclear weapons; (3) it increases, rather than decreases, the world-wide security obligations of the U.S.; (4) it provides the Soviet Union with a tool capable of wrecking NATO, a tool which is already being used by her successfully; and (5) it opens the doors to nuclear power politics on a global scale.

The very process of negotiating the anti-proliferation treaty, Dr. Kintner pointed out, has aided the Soviet campaign to undermine the cohesion of NATO. "The U.S. Soviet agreement on the Draft Treaty was achieved at the expense of positions which the U.S. strongly held two years ago," he declared.

For one thing, it has increased the German sense of isolation at a critical period of the Federal Republic. The Federal Republic will be forced more than ever to rely upon either its own resources or upon other West European countries for the development of advanced European military capabilities, Dr. Kintner said. France, along with Britain, are these countries. In return for agreement to German participation, France could extract important concessions from the Federal Republic, including the revision of Germany's status in NATO. This is only one of several ways, which can "deepen the cleavage between the U.S. and Western Europe, without achieving the objective of U.S. policy, namely, to prevent this dissemination of nuclear weapons to powers which do not now possess them," Dr. Kintner declared.

U.S. negotiators tried to forestall this danger by urging a provision which would have kept open the option of creating a joint nuclear deterrent in which Germany would have a voice. They stated that the NATO countries would not permit the question of their collective nuclear defense arrangements to become the subject of negotiation with the Soviet Union. But somewhere along the line there was a slip-up. On April 27, 1966, the New York Times reported that the U.S. had asked Bonn to forego any sharing of nuclear arms. Our policy-makers hastened to deny the report. But it did not quiet the fears of the Federal Republic, which still feels that the U.S. now assigns a higher priority to the detente, than it does to the defense of Europe against Communist aggression.

If the agreement is ratified, it will mean, Dr. Kintner also stresses, that, "despite our oft-repeated assurances to the contrary, the Soviets will have been admitted to a voice on the organization of future NATO strategic policy, for they will be able to raise a treaty issue if the subject of nuclear-sharing ever comes up again in NATO.

Another thing to be remembered is that the Soviets have, as usual, raised their traditional objections to international control and inspection. And as usual, the U.S. made concessions. It had already adhered to a Test Ban Treaty and a Space Treaty without international inspection provisions. This time it tried to preserve some semblance of international inspection, but if it were to be really meaningful, the Soviets would not agree. A compromise was reached. It is that 180 days from the treaty's entrance into force negotiations on the subject should begin and the agreements which may then be reached should enter into force no later than 18 months after the start of negotiations.

"In effect," as Dr. Kintner states, "the signatories would be promising to reach agreements after signing the treaty that they could not reach before signing. But if no satisfactory agreement is finally reached, there is no rule of jurisprudence that can insure that the substance of such *ex post facto* agreements will conform to the expressed intention of the contracting parties.

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It deprives the document of any legal meaning.

Finally, the illusion that nuclear proliferation can be averted simply by a non-dissemination agreement among existing powers is over optimistic. China is not a party to it, and Japan is beginning to wonder whether it does not need a nuclear force to counter that danger. It is unlikely that a treaty which perpetuates the division of the world between the nuclear-armed and the nuclear-deprived, and which constitutes an obvious discrimination, can command the support or adherence of the non-nuclear powers. We have given up a substance for a shadow, a reality for a dream, multiplying and perpetuating our illusions.

STRENGTHENING OUR INTERNAL SECURITY STRUCTURE:

The Internal Security Sub-Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee has prepared a series of legislative recommendations designed to undo the damage which the State Department, by its ruling, and attitudes, and the United States Supreme Court, by its decisions, have done. To what extent the damage can be repaired, particularly where Supreme Court decisions are involved, is debatable. It may also be debatable how much new legislation will help when those charged with its enforcement are, as in the case of the State Department, unwilling to take the intent of Congress seriously.

The State Department's indifference to security arrangements is not new. Representative John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio, in a House speech some months ago, reviewed the Department's past reluctance to provide adequate security in the conduct of the Department's affairs. When Soviet influence in the State Department in 1937 became almost common knowledge the Department purged not those who were subversives but those who called attention to their presence in the Department.

We paid dearly for the Department's readiness to tolerate our enemies in its ranks and destroy our friends. Many thousands of our soldiers in Korea died because the Department refused to take necessary steps to prevent leaks in our intelligence. Plans relating to the strategy General MacArthur was to follow were known by the enemy commanders before they were known to General MacArthur. The commander of Chinese forces in Korea stated afterwards that he would not have made the attack on our troops and risked his men and military reputation on the venture if he had not previously received assurances that Washington would restrain General MacArthur from taking adequate retaliatory measures against the Chinese lines of supply and communications.

But we do know that the Communists have not relaxed their efforts to infiltrate Government agencies. They have made that one of their prime functions. Last November, in an article "Structure of Soviet Intelligence Unit" the N.Y. Times stated that "The Soviet Union's Security Committee, which is the nation's principal intelligence agency, employes 600,000 to 1,000,000 people inside and outside the Soviet Union, according to Western estimates." Some of them, it is safe to assume, have found their way into our Government departments. Yet the laxity of security enforcement in the State Department is frightening. The tendency is still to purge those who expose this laxity, and to harbor people whose loyalty may be questionable.

The case of Otto F. Otepka best illustrates the Department's eagerness to cover-up its laxity and to punish those who are critical of it. It is worth telling in some detail.

Otepka, Chief of the Division Evaluations, Department of State Office of Security, had consistently refused to OK the appointment of persons with questionable backgrounds. He followed strictly Executive Order 10450, which requires that whenever there is any reasonable doubt as to a Government employee's, or applicant's loyalty or suitability, that doubt is to be resolved in favor of national security. The directive had been issued by President Eisenhower.

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Because he followed the Order literally, he became a target for attacks by his superiors. In 1961 he was removed from his job of issuing clearances to incoming presidential appointees, and was put on the shelf. Now that he was out of the way, Secretary of State Rusk personally signed 152 security "waivers", which permitted new appointees to take over virtually all key policy positions in the Department, based only on National Agency checks and without prior investigation. During the eight years of the Eisenhower administration, only 8 such "waivers" were signed. Where "waivers" are signed, investigations are conducted after the appointments are made. It is generally known that it is one thing to keep a questionable character from getting an appointment, and quite another thing, and a much harder thing, to dislodge him after he is in.

In November, 1961, with the New Breed in full control of the Department, steps were taken which the Department thought would compel Otepka to quit in disgust. But he stayed on, and got back his former position, where he was able to discover, among other things, all kinds of malpractices. For example, he found that nearly a third of the security "waivers" signed by Secretary Rusk had been predated to make it appear that full investigations had been made prior to the appointments.

Otepka exposed these practices before a Senate subcommittee. This, in the eyes of the New Breed, was the very height of treason. The Department struck back. John Francis Reilly, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Security, even questioned Otepka's sanity. To prove that he was telling the truth, Otepka delivered certain technically classified, but actually innocuous, documents to the sub-committee.

The Department was furious. His telephone was tapped, his office safe cracked, the contents of his "burn bag" trash examined regularly, and otherwise spied upon. On June 27, 1963, he was summarily driven from his office by Reilly, who then proceeded to have the F.B.I. investigate Otepka for a possible violation of - of all things - the Espionage Act!

The evidence of the illegal acts perpetrated to "get" Otepka was unearthed by the subcommittee. It led to a running duel with what the subcommittee later referred to "the lying trio" - Reilly, his assistant, David I. Belisle, and Elmer Hill, who was in charge of the sensitive security unit in the Department. It was found that Hill had been an erstwhile admirer of Lenin. Reilly and Hill were permitted to resign; Belisle is still on the payroll. After the 1964 election, Reilly was rewarded: he was given a plush job in the Federal Communications Commission.

Otepka was to wait for four years to a departmental hearing. Of the 13 charges against him 10 were dropped the first day of the hearing. He was found guilty of three charges pertaining to violation of an order forbidding Government employees from divulging information from personnel security files. Last December Secretary Rusk upheld these charges, reprimanded him, and demoted him to a job outside of the security field. Otepka's appeal is now before the Civil Service Commission.

The Department's vendetta against Otepka was extended to include Department employees who testified in his behalf. They had told the truth, and for three years have been isolated and penalized by being denied work. Two or three other witnesses who lied to the committee about whether or not they wire-tapped Otepka's telephone, and when caught lying, they changed their testimony. They have been adequately taken care of by the Department.

The harsh treatment and extreme penalty to which Otepka has been exposed will remind others not to buck the Establishment. And there are few who will have the courage he has shown.

The Internal Security Sub-Committee's recommendations, yet to be reduced to legislation, may strengthen our security machinery, if the fate of this legislation, when enacted, can survive the Supreme Court's mutilation of such legislation.

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The Court has struck down, in one decision after another, a series of laws enacted to protect our country against Communist subversion and espionage. Among them were state laws requiring that teachers take loyalty oaths, a provision of the Subversive Control Act forbidding overseas travel by Communist party members, laws requiring the registration of Communist party members, and others too numerous to mention. One of the latest decisions invalidated a section of the Internal Security Act prohibiting members of Communist-action organizations from working in designated defense facilities. The Communists have, of course, hailed all of these decisions. They now enjoy greater freedom to destroy our institutions because of them.

TAIWAN FARMERS OUTPRODUCE AMERICAN COUNTERPARTS:

While the Soviet Union, after 50 years, has yet to find a way to make her agricultural system work, Taiwan has demonstrated what free enterprise can do to provide people with food they need. The U. S. Department of Agriculture reported recently that Taiwan's economy, industrial and agricultural, is booming. Taiwan farmers get six times as much from an acre as Americans. Taiwan's annual economic growth since 1952 has averaged 7.6 per cent. Per capita income has grown 4.2 per cent. And all of this occurred despite rapid rates of population growth, limited natural resources, and heavy defense expenditures.

U.S. aid has helped Taiwan achieve the gains she has made. It averaged about \$100 million, or \$1,500,000,000 in 15 years. It is a small fraction of the amount we spend to fight in Vietnam, but this, and more, could have been made available to North Vietnam for construction, instead of destruction. President Johnson has repeatedly urged the North Vietnamese to accept his offer of money for reconstruction. The Communists preferred to have us spend it on war.

WHY NATIONS SHOULD BE LEFT TO DIE:

During the March hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, when the famous confrontation between Secretary Rusk and the doves on the committee took place, Senator Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey, made the observation that no nation has a right to exist, except insofar as it could defend itself. It was the ultimate in isolationism. It shocked Secretary Rusk who said that if this be true it must lead inevitably to a world in which "Might makes Right."

If Senator Case's policy had been pursued in the past, or were adopted now, the world would return to the law of the jungle, in which each nation would fend for itself, and one nation after another would fall prey to the aggressors. Japan would have taken over first China, and then the rest of Asia, Hitler, who had quickly subdued France, would have taken over England, to whose aid we came, since neither France nor England has built up the mighty war machine Hitler created. South Vietnam, and then the countries in Southeast Asia, would now be in the hands of the Communists, since none of them could stand up against the Soviet Union, China and the Soviet satellites who have united to bring about the conquest of that area.

If Senator Case be right, then all we have attempted to do, first through the League of Nations, and now through the United Nations, has been wrong. Without collective security, which is still more of a dream than a reality, no nation can be expected to live except in fear, and in the end, under tyranny.

HISTORY TURNED UPSIDE DOWN:

If Senator Case's idea that a nation which cannot defend itself has no right to exist is shocking, a statement made by Senator John Sherman Cooper, of Kentucky, must be considered ludicrous. Senator Cooper has ventured a new interpretation of history.

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Soviet-American relations would have taken another and better course, the Senator said, if President Kennedy, when he assumed the Presidency, has followed his advice. Khrushchev had sent a glowing telegram of congratulations to Kennedy on his inauguration. Since Khrushchev had thus shown he was in a friendly mood the Senator told Kennedy that this was the psychological moment for the United States to push for better relations with the Soviet Union, especially in connection with Berlin. But, the Senator says, Kennedy failed to do so, and, the Senator implies, things have gone from bad to worse.

That the failure of the United States to take advantage of a friendly Soviet gesture, such as the telegram Khrushchev sent to Kennedy on his inauguration, changed the course of history can be believed by a United States Senator, and a former Ambassador, is a cause for some concern. The Communists, in their effort to subjugate the free world, have used friendly gestures as weapons, when threats and warnings of nuclear war failed to produce the desired results. The Communists are never more dangerous than when they smile and generate professions of friendship. These are weapons in their arsenal.

No wonder we have lost so much ground in the Cold War. Cooper was our Ambassador to India, which in all important foreign policies supports the Soviet Union. We wonder what Cooper did in India that helped make this possible.

JAPANESE COMMUNISTS INFILTRATE COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY:

Several weeks ago a Japanese high security official warned that the Japanese Communists have penetrated the communications industry and other key sectors of business and government. The official, Kyosuke Hirotsu, of Japan's Public Security Investigation Agency, said that the Communist party had launched a program that would create a big anti-American movement by 1970.

Hirotsu said the Communist agents have infiltrated, and made some progress in such areas as broadcasting, newspapers, the legal profession, and even the judiciary. More than half of the officers of the Broadcasting workers Union which covers both radio and television are members of the Communist party. They are operating in the unions, sectors of industry, and local government. They, and the leftist groups they control, have as their principal objective the abrogation of the mutual security pact between the U.S. and Japan.

"The executive committees of the unions are also controlled by the Communist party members," he said. "Thus, the situation seems to be a dangerous one.

"In regard to the Federation of Newspaper Workers Unions, one-third of the federation's Central Executive Committee are Communist party members of associates."

The Japanese Communist party claims a membership of about 270,000 in a country with 100 million people. The party newspaper, Akahata, has a circulation of 326,000 daily. Communist candidates received 1,656,477 votes in the election of January, 1967.

"I would say that if Japan's mass-communications media lean left under the strong influence of the Communist party, public opinion in this country will undergo a great change against the United States and the Liberal-Democratic party," Mr. Hirotsu asserted.

He added that the Communist party, through its expansion programs aimed at acquiring a membership of 600,000, with an additional 300,000 in the party youth group, called Minseido.

It would be interesting to know what we are doing to help counteract this infiltration and subversion. We hope it is more than is being done by us to counteract similar Communist attempts to subvert free governments. In Denmark, for example, the U.S. Information Service operates on an annual budget of \$128,000, half of the amount the Danish Government spends on promotion in the United States.

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SOVIETS INSIST ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS!

Life Magazine published, on February 2, a lengthy interview with Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin. It could have been a paid "ad" for the Soviet Union. But Life gave the Communist regime this "ad" free of charge. Subsequently our Embassy in Moscow advised the Soviet Foreign Office that President Johnson would like to have the same privilege of talking to the Soviet people. In the United States that is called "equal time." Our Embassy official was informed that President Johnson must apply directly to the individual Soviet newspapers, that the foreign ministry does not control the Soviet press!

This will come as a complete surprise to all who have read in recent months how writers who dared to doubt, sometimes only by implication, that the Communist system may have some weakness, paid for their heresy. Some of them are now serving prison terms in the Soviets' slave labor camps. That the Soviets have a free press, in which the editors, rather than the Government, can do as they please, may be believed by the editors of Life, who are free to print anything they want, if they feel it will promote circulation, and therefore, profits, regardless of what it does to confuse and mislead its readers. But the Soviet Union newspapers are different. They operate to serve the Government, not to make profits at the expense of the country's security. We wouldn't have it that way. But it does have its uses.

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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

The Vietnam Debate and the Law of Diminishing Understanding

Speech of
Hon. Thomas J. Dodd
of Connecticut
in the
Senate of the United States
Friday, December 8, 1967

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**The Vietnam Debate and the Law of
Diminishing Understanding**

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 8, 1967

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, for almost 4 years now, there has been taking place a national debate on Vietnam policy.

Probably never before in the history of our Nation has any issue of foreign policy been debated with so much vigor and with such vehemence and over so long a period of time at every level of society.

With each passing month the clamor of this debate seems to grow in intensity while tempers on both sides become more strained.

During my recent illness I found myself pondering over the bitter division that has grown up around the subject of Vietnam.

I reread many of the speeches that had been made and many of the articles that had been written.

And the more I read and the more I pondered, the more disturbed I became over the increasingly intemperate quality of the debate and over the acerbity of the division.

I asked myself why it was that there should be such sharp differences, on an issue of such fundamental concern, between people who are, in general, of equal intelligence and integrity and good will. And it is in an effort to answer this question in part, that I prepared the statement I now present to you.

In the course of the unprecedented national debate on Vietnam policy, the

charge has several times been made that the administration is seeking to stifle dissenting opinions on Vietnam.

I believe this charge is nothing short of ludicrous in the light of the continuing and sometimes vituperative dissent in Congress and in every other public sphere.

Among other things, dissenters have charged the President of the United States with lack of credibility, with deliberate deceit, with irresponsibility, with aggression, and even with genocide.

In the entire history of free nations, I am certain that there is no wartime precedent for the extravagant degree of freedom that the Johnson administration has accorded to dissenters and demonstrators.

In a sense, this freedom reflects the continuing growth of the democratic tradition, for no such unlimited and continuing tolerance was shown to dissenters during the War of Independence, or during the Civil War, or during World War I, or World War II.

During the Civil War, the Lincoln administration suppressed scores of newspapers, suspended habeas corpus, and imprisoned many thousands of dissenters and suspected dissenters without trial.

Lincoln made no apologies for these stringent measures. In reply to some people who had protested against the arrest of the Copperhead leader, Vallandigham, Lincoln said the following:

He who dissuades one man from volunteering or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle . . . Must I shoot a . . . soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father or brother, or friend, into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings, till he is persuaded to write to the soldier boy, that

he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator, and save the boy, is not only constitutional, but, withal, a great mercy.

I thank God that our own society is now so strong that we are not constrained to resort to the measures which characterized the Lincoln administration's handling of Civil War dissenters.

While there has been much talk about the stifling of criticism, I cannot recall a single instance where those who support our Vietnam policy have intervened to silence a critic of this policy or to prevent him from making his views heard.

On the other hand, Vietnam critics have intervened in the most shameful manner to prevent Secretary McNamara and Vice President HUMPHREY and Secretary of State Rusk from defending administration policy.

To the extent that totalitarian tactics have been used to stifle debate on Vietnam, they have been used exclusively by some of the more extreme opponents of our Vietnam policy.

The distinguished commentator, Eric Sevareid, himself a lifelong liberal, in a recent article in Look magazine, has this to say about the exaggerated actions and dual standards of some of the liberal critics of our Vietnam policy.

The notion has taken hold of many that the manner and content of their dissent are sacred, whereas it is only the right of dissent that is sacred. Reactions of many dissenters reveal a touch of paranoia. When strong exception is taken to what they say by the President or by a General Westmoreland, the dissenters cry out immediately that free speech is about to be suppressed, and a reign of enforced silence is beginning.

What is more disturbing is that a considerable number of liberal Left activists, including educated ones, are exhibiting exactly the spirit of the right-wing McCarthyites 15 years ago, which the liberal Left fought so passionately against in the name of our liberties.

Those who defend administration policies have been accused of stifling free speech when they say that the critics and demonstrators encourage the Vietcong to prolong the war, in the belief that they can win politically what they cannot win either on the battlefield or at the conference table.

However, the accuracy of this estimate can be supported to the hilt.

It is supported by the tremendous play which the Hanoi press and radio accord to every manifestation of opposition to the war. And it is supported, as well, by virtually every objective observer who has had contacts with North Vietnamese officials, or who has followed the North Vietnamese press and radio.

Addressing the North Vietnamese national assembly as early as April 1965, Premier Phan Van Dong, presented an optimistic estimate on the growth of antiwar sentiment in the United States. He said:

What causes us to be moved and enthusiastic is that in recent months, in the United States itself, a movement has been developing widely to oppose the U.S. imperialists who are stepping up the war of aggression in South Vietnam and increasing their acts of war against North Vietnam. This movement includes a great number of American people from all walks of life—workers, youth, women, students, intellectuals, religious people, Congressmen, and journalists. The struggle forms have gradually become stronger and more abundant.

Here, too, I call the attention of my colleagues to an article, by Stefan R. Rosenfeld, which appeared in the Washington Post on May 28, 1965.

Mr. Rosenfeld was reporting on a meeting which he and Mr. Chalmers Roberts and Mr. J. R. Williams of the Post had with the Vietcong representative in Moscow. This is what he said:

Flourishing a batch of American cartoons, signed advertisements, and speeches critical of American policy in Vietnam, the front's new representative in Moscow made clear his reliance on American public opinion rather

than on military victory or negotiations, to compel American withdrawal.

In recent weeks there has been the statement of North Vietnam Defense Minister Giap, in which he said that he considered the growing opposition to the war in the United States "a valuable mark of sympathy" for Hanoi. Backing up Giap, the official organ of the North Vietnamese Communist Party, Nahn Dan, wrote:

By coordinating actions on both fronts, in Vietnam and the United States, and stepping up the struggle against their common enemy, the Vietnamese and American peoples will unquestionably defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The campaign in the U.S. for an end to Johnson's aggressive war in Vietnam has entered a stage of active resistance.

And if anyone considers the several statements I have quoted to be unrepresentative of the North Vietnamese attitude, I could quote hundreds more from the North Vietnamese press and radio and from statements made by North Vietnamese leaders to demonstrate how much attention they pay to every voice of dissent for the purpose of reassuring themselves of ultimate victory; and how openly they gloat over this dissent as the guarantor of this ultimate victory.

It is the privilege of every American who opposes our involvement in Vietnam to speak out.

But it is also the privilege of those who disagree with them to point out that their opposition may be prolonging the war instead of shortening it, and to appeal to them, in the interest of an earlier peace, to reconsider the wisdom of public opposition.

There would be no point, of course, in appealing to the Communists and Maoists and Trotskyists and other extremists who organized and gave leadership to the recent Pentagon demonstration.

They are the sworn enemies of everything we stand for.

But we should not write off the hundreds of thousands of American citizens who have been misled or who oppose the war for reasons they consider valid.

One could have more respect for those who talk about the stifling of dissent if they faced up frankly to the fact that their unrestrained criticism of our Vietnam commitment, and of the conduct of the war, and of President Johnson personally, does serve to encourage Hanoi to continue the war, and that it gnaws at the hearts of the American servicemen who are fighting under such difficult conditions.

Conceivably, these critics consider the dangers of silence or reticence to outweigh the dangers of public dissent.

But if this is the case, then they ought to say so frankly, instead of pretending that there is no danger in unrestrained public dissent, and that it does not in any way encourage Hanoi to prolong the war, or that their criticism does not serve to demoralize our fighting men.

Let them not pretend to ignorance of the encouragement Hanoi derives from every act of dissent in this country, for this is a point on which it should be impossible for intelligent men to be honestly ignorant.

THE LAW OF DIMINISHING UNDERSTANDING

The divisions in domestic and world opinion over the question of Vietnam point to the conclusion that, in the field of foreign affairs, human understanding is governed only in part by the factors of personal integrity and intellectual acumen and good will, and that it is governed to a far larger degree by the factors of geographic and intellectual proximity.

Indeed, the Vietnam experience strongly suggests the existence of a "law of diminishing understanding," a law which preordains, in an almost inexorable manner, that, in matters of foreign policy, and especially in crisis situations, the degree of understanding varies in-

versely to a person's geographic or intellectual distance from the problem.

In short, the greater the distance, the less the understanding. Conversely, the less the distance, the more understanding one finds.

Thousands of American academicians have signed statements protesting our Vietnam policy.

The number in itself is admittedly impressive.

But when the lists of signers are broken down according to their fields of professional competence, it develops that the overwhelming majority of the critics are, by professional training and personal experience, remote from the issues involved in Vietnam.

Last year Dr. Roger Swearingen, professor of international relations and director of the Research Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda at the University of Southern California, made an analysis of the 6,000 academicians listed as opposing the Vietnam war in several newspaper advertisements.

He found that the great majority of the signers were doctors of medicine and dentists, psychologists and obstetricians, philosophers and mathematicians, bacteriologists, biochemists, astronomers, and so on.

The critics came, as Dr. Swearingen stated, "from fields or specialties where no training, experience, knowledge, or perspective on foreign policy, communism, or Vietnam is either required or assumed. Conversely, the recognized U.S. scholars on foreign policy, the Soviet Union, Communist China, Southeast Asia, communism, and American security problems at the major U.S. centers are conspicuously absent from the roster of the critics."

As a proof of this conclusion, Professor Swearingen pointed out that among the 6,000 academicians and professionals who gave their names to the anti-Vietnam statement published in the New York Times for June 5, 1966, there were

only four specialists in the field of international relations, nine economists, and 15 historians.

In Europe there is widespread opposition to our Vietnam policy among conservatives as well as liberals and socialists.

In the Far East, however, our commitment to the defense of South Vietnam has the strong support of the Governments of South Korea, Japan, Nationalist China, the Philippines, Thailand, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand; and there is good reason for believing that it has the tacit support as well of the Governments of Indonesia, India, and Burma.

In his speech of September 29, President Johnson called the roll of free Asian governments that support our effort in Vietnam.

Because those who understand the Vietnam struggle best are the peoples who live on its periphery, I want to call this roll again, quoting from some of the many other statements that have been made by the leaders of these countries.

And the statements I shall quote are representative of hundreds of other statements made by the leaders of free Asia.

MALAYSIA

Malaysia, which had its own experience with Communist insurgency at the close of World War II, has supported our Vietnam effort unequivocally. Its popular and highly respected Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, told me when I was in Malaysia, and has since said publicly, that if the United States fails to prevent a Communist takeover of Vietnam, "Malaysia is through and it will be the end of us all."

THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines, which also had to deal with a Communist-led insurgency in the postwar period, has contributed a contingent to Vietnam despite the limited size of its armed forces and despite re-

newed Communist guerrilla activity. Explaining his stand, President Ferdinand Marcos told the American columnist Carl T. Rowan in June of this year:

Without the American presence we'd all be in danger of wars of national liberation, if not outright attack. Most Asian leaders, privately or publicly, express the same belief.

KOREA

From the very beginning President Park, of Korea, and the other Korean political leaders have had the clearest understanding of the implications of the Vietnam war for their own security. This was the one thing that emerged above all other things in the course of the lengthy conversations I had with President Park and his lieutenants in early 1945. Since then Korea has further underscored its understanding and support by committing 45,000 combat troops, a larger commitment, in terms of its population, than the present American commitment in Vietnam.

AUSTRALIA

Australia's Foreign Minister, Paul Hasluck, at the SEATO Conference in Bangkok in April 1967, had words of warm praise for the U.S. effort in Vietnam, and he criticized Western European nations for their general indifference to Asian security.

Prime Minister Holt, of Australia, on October 17, made an exceptionally eloquent statement to the Australian House of Representatives on the increase of Australian forces in Vietnam. Let me quote a few sentences that will convey the gist of the Australian Prime Minister's argument:

It is in Vietnam that aggressive communist pressure—the greatest political danger in Asia today—is most severe and direct, and it is in this area that we must, for the time being, concentrate much of our defense effort and resources. . . .

Let me repeat, in simple terms, why we are in Vietnam:

We are there because we believe in the right of people to be free.

We are there because we responded to an appeal for aid against aggression.

We are there because security and stability in South East Asia are vital to our own security and stability.

We are there because we want peace, not war, and independence, not serfdom, to be the lot of the peoples of Asia.

We are there because we do not believe that our great Pacific partner, the United States, should stand alone for freedom.

We will continue to be there while the aggression persists because, as a free and independent nation, we cannot honourably do otherwise.

NEW ZEALAND

The New Zealand Foreign Minister, Keith Holyoke, said that—

Nothing is more essential to the maintenance of peace than a recognition that so-called wars of national "liberation" must be successfully challenged. . . . Vietnam is a small nation, New Zealand is much smaller. And we have a particular interest to protect the right of all nations, however small, to work out their future free from the threat of aggression and conquest.

SINGAPORE

Lee Kuan Yew, the Socialist Prime Minister of Singapore, was at first cautious in his public statements, although I found him firmly committed to the support of our Vietnam policy during the course of an evening's discussion in Singapore in early 1965. Since that time, Prime Minister Lee has become more outspoken. For example, at a seminar in Tokyo in late March of this year, Lee said:

The stakes in Vietnam are very large. What is happening in Vietnam cannot be repeated. We cannot allow the same forces that have emasculated South Vietnam to emasculate the whole region.

He went on to say that, rather than having to contend with the continuing Communist threat to their national integrity, the former colonial countries of Southeast Asia "may very well prefer a permanent American military presence."

THAILAND

Thailand has been as solid and united in its support of the Vietnam war as any nation could possibly be. Their Foreign Minister, Thanat Khoman, who is generally recognized as one of the great statesmen of Asia, ardently defended our Vietnam policy in a speech before the U.N. General Assembly in early October. I want to quote several paragraphs from this altogether extraordinary speech:

Let us smaller and weaker nations candidly face the facts and realize that the imminent dangers which may descend upon our nations are less likely to come from nuclear deployment—although that can never be ruled out—than from combinations of military and political ventures which their proponents euphemistically call "wars of national liberation," and which, for all intents and purposes, are hardly different from the one which Adolf Hitler launched against the Sudetenland nearly thirty years ago. Such undertakings nowadays may be more insidious but no less lethal to our free and healthy existence. . . .

North Vietnam and its supporters in the communist world, as well as its Vietcong agents in South Vietnam, wanted the outside world to believe that the war of conquest they have been waging for many years against the small and independent country of South Vietnam is a genuine national uprising or, to use their current terminology, a "war of national liberation."

This travesty of the truth has convinced neither the South Vietnamese people nor those who live near the scene of the crime and who are directly or otherwise suffering from its nefarious consequences. Only those who are farther away whose minds are less perceptive of the existing realities, and those who are always liberal with other people's freedom or are prompted by less than altruistic reasons, allow themselves to fall victims of this crude propaganda.

But if questions as to what they think of the conflict in Vietnam are directed to those Asians who have their feet firmly on the ground and whose vision has not been clouded by the outlandish ideology of the frustrated author of "Das Kapital," they would reply in unison that it is in effect

an old-styled colonial conquest with only a few renovated outward trimmings

LAOS

The small independent kingdom of Laos is headed by a Prime Minister, Souvanna Phouma, who not so many years ago was completely committed to collaboration with the Communists. Now, with more than half of his country overrun by the Communist Pathet Lao, strongly supported by North Vietnamese forces, Souvanna Phouma knows that there can be no collaboration with the Communists.

Souvanna Phouma is another Asian leader who used to avoid public statements of support for our Vietnam commitment, while in private conversations with visitors he made it clear that his support was unequivocal and total. This was still his posture when I met him in Laos in 1965. But now Souvanna Phouma, too, has become outspoken. During his recent visit to Washington he expressed his basic position in these terms, in response to President Johnson's toast:

We have common interests. We are grateful that you have come, as you came to France in 1917-18, as you came to Europe in 1941.

We are grateful that you came to Indo-China to help us survive. If it were not for your presence, Laos, indeed all of Southeast Asia, would fall under Communist influence. . . .

If tomorrow South Vietnam became Communist, all that would be left for us to do would be simply for us to pack up and go.

JAPAN

As for Japan, Prime Minister Sato during his recent visit made it clear that his government supports our policy in Vietnam, and he also made it clear that he considered it unreasonable to call for a cessation of American bombing without some reciprocal action by Hanoi.

INDONESIA

Indonesia was once considered the most anti-American country in the Far East, after Red China.

But having saved themselves by a hair's breadth from an attempted Communist takeover, the Indonesian Government and the Indonesian people today display an increasing understanding of the stand we have taken in Vietnam and of its importance to their own security.

The influential Armed Forces Daily on October 24, for example, carried an editorial which called for a reevaluation of Indonesian policy toward Vietnam.

It said that the war was part of a global struggle against the international Communist movement, which was being met by the resistance of the Vietnamese patriots, struggling to defend their newly won independence against Communist domination.

And it concluded that Indonesia's national interest obliged it to keep the Communist danger as far as possible from its shores.

Commenting on Walter Lippmann's proposals that U.S. forces be withdrawn to Australia, the organ of the Djakarta area military command on November 1 said editorially:

Regardless of one's views on the war, it is evident that U.S. forces in Vietnam are both a deterrent to communist attack and a shield against communist expansion in Southeast Asia. If U.S. forces are withdrawn to Australia, it would be very easy for the Chinese communists to continue their aggression and expansion to the south.

BURMA

Burma, too, after a period of courting Red China and excluding Western influence, has now turned militantly against Red China because of its continuing intervention in her domestic affairs. In the process, Burma has, not very surprisingly, reopened its lines of communication with the West.

The Burmese Prime Minister, General Ne Win, is another one of those former Asian neutralists who, while they have not publicly endorsed American policy in Vietnam, have abandoned their opposition to it and have given discrete indica-

tions that they now understand and approve.

There is every reason why Ne Win should understand. His government has for years now been striving to control a guerrilla-type Communist insurgency. That this insurgency is not of the home-grown variety was recently driven home by a public message from Peiping to the Burmese Communist leader, Thakin Than Tun. Let me quote this message, because it has a vital bearing on the situation in Vietnam and all Southeast Asia:

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people firmly support the people's revolutionary armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Burma. We regard such support as our proletarian internationalist duty.

INDIA

Even in India, where opposition to the Vietnam war was once very strong, there are increasing evidences of understanding.

Our common friend, former Senator Paul Douglas, in commenting on one of my statements on Vietnam, told the story of a conversation with an anti-American Indian nationalist.

He asked his anti-American friend how long India could maintain its freedom if the United States pulled out of Vietnam. And his friend replied, as though he had pondered the matter and had the answer ready made: "6 months."

More recently, one of India's most respected political scholars, Mr. K. K. Sinha, director of Calcutta's Political and Social Studies Institute, wrote an article captioned "Vietnam Is My Name." Addressing himself to the critics of the war and to those who take no stand, Mr. Sinha said:

You cannot help being involved; you are involved, whether you like it or not. Your present indifference is a factor favoring one side in the battle. So don't imagine that by your silence you can escape.

I have gone through much of the literature on Vietnam and more is coming out. One thing I am already convinced of and that is

that this struggle is local as well as universal. Its final result will be crucial both for that small country—flapping like a small side-pocket for coins in the jacket of a continent—as well as for the continent and the world. Vietnam is a world issue indeed.

CAMBODIA

In Cambodia, too, despite its anti-American posture, there is strong reason for believing that Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who serves as Chief of State, is not really unhappy about the American presence in Southeast Asia. Having tried for a long time to appease the Chinese Communists, Sihanouk recently turned against them because of their underground activities in his country, and closed down Communist newspapers and arrested known Communist militants.

In his strangely twisted manner, Prince Sihanouk has stated the matter this way:

The fact is that as long as the Americans are there, China cannot yet swallow Cambodia. And what prevents the Americans from swallowing Cambodia is precisely the fact that China is there.

In order to remain unswallowed, in short, Cambodia requires an American presence in Southeast Asia to offset the inescapable Red Chinese geographic presence.

THE CONFUSION IN THE WEST

The roll of Far Eastern nations which approve of our commitment to the freedom of South Vietnam, explicitly or implicitly, is therefore complete, with the solitary and ambivalent exception of Cambodia.

What all this adds up to is that isolationism, whether of the American or the European variety, is a disease bred by distance.

There are few isolationists on the front lines.

I believe that if, by some miracle, the British people could be transplanted to Australia and the Australian people take their place in Britain, and if the French with the people of New Zealand, the

chances are that the Britishers and the Frenchmen in their new geographic environment would understand and support American policy in Vietnam in precisely the same manner that Australians and New Zealanders are supporting it today.

Conversely, it is probable that the Australians and the New Zealanders, once they were a third of a world removed from Southeast Asia, would in their turn be infected by the virus of isolationism and would display less sympathy than they do today for our Vietnam policy.

And if the Socialist Foreign Minister of Sweden, Torsten Nilsson, who has castigated our Vietnam policy in language so crude and abusive that it would do credit to Radio Peking, could change positions with the Socialist Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, the chances are that the Swedish Foreign Minister would begin to talk like Lee Kuan Yew, while Lee Kuan Yew, in his new Nordic environment, might begin to talk like the Swedish Foreign Minister.

But, perhaps this statement is unjust to Lee Kuan Yew. From what I know of the man, I am disposed to believe that he is one of those rare individuals whose intelligence and understanding of world affairs would enable him to rise above the disadvantage of distance, so that even if he were Swedish Foreign Minister, he would still support our Vietnam policy.

The moral of all this is that the next time Mr. Torsten Nilsson goes into an anti-American temper tantrum, we should avoid being annoyed and simply put it down to the "law of diminishing understanding."

And if the British students who recently besieged Prime Minister Wilson could change places with the students of Indonesia, they would probably be demonstrating, as the Indonesian students are doing today, for more militant action against Red Chinese expansionism.

Similarly, I believe that if the thousands of dentists and doctors and anthropologists and astronomers and baby doctors and assorted academicians who have been signing protest statements against our Vietnam policy, could be exposed to 10 years of training in political science, with a specialized course on Southeast Asia thrown in, there would be far fewer academic participants in the anti-Vietnam agitation than there are today.

And there would be fewer protest demonstrations if the many decent young people who have been caught up in the anti-Vietnam agitation for misguided idealistic reasons, could be transported to Vietnam en masse and involved in the rural development program there.

Not only would the experience provide a constructive outlet for their pent-up idealism, but the firsthand contact with the Vietnamese people would teach them something about the enemy we are fighting and would inspire in them, or at least in the great majority of them, the same affection and understanding and dedication that it has in the many Americans who have had the advantage of such experience.

All of these proposals are admittedly outside the realm of possibility.

But I believe it is not asking too much to suggest that those in this country and in Europe who oppose our commitment in Vietnam should take time off from their arguing and demonstrating to ponder the implications of what I have called "the law of diminishing understanding."

They might ask themselves why it is that their attitude is not shared by any of the political leaders of the free nations of the western Pacific.

And they might ponder the significance, too, of the fact that their position is not accepted by the great majority of those scholars who, by training and experience, qualify as experts on Asia, or on

Communism, or on political affairs in general.

Once we accept the existence of the "law of diminishing understanding," it becomes easier to make allowance for the many sincere critics of our Vietnam policy, both in this country and abroad.

And there are other reasons why those of us who support our Vietnam commitment should make allowances for the critics rather than abusing them.

On top of the law of diminishing understanding, which would be operative in any case, public opinion in the free world has been further confused as a result of the efforts of the mightiest, the most diversified, and the most subtle propaganda apparatus the world has ever known.

How much this apparatus is spending on its anti-Vietnam agitation, no one can say for sure. From what is known about the size and cost of this apparatus, and from the fact that Vietnam is its main theme, an estimate of \$500 million per year, worldwide, would probably not be excessive. It stands to reason that such an effort is bound to produce considerable public confusion in the free world.

Public understanding of our Vietnam position has been further discouraged by our own official failure to clearly designate the enemy as communism, and by the tendency that has been the intellectual vogue for some years now to soft-pedal criticism of Communist tyranny out of a mistaken deference to a mythical detente with the Soviet Union.

I shall have more to say on this latter point in my next statement.

But, all things considered, I find it nothing short of remarkable that there is not more confusion and that so many people do understand the nature and justice of our Vietnam commitment.

THE COST OF A VIETNAM DEFEAT

The critics of our Vietnam policy have made a major point of the cost of the Vietnam war.

No sensitive person could fail to lament the tragic cost in human life and the waste of resources which could, in a peaceful world, be put to much better use.

But there has been precious little thought, unfortunately, about the cost of defeat.

Let there be no mistake on this point: if we are defeated in Vietnam, or if we withdraw from Vietnam, or if the administration, under pressure from the opposition, were to negotiate a settlement that paved the way for an early Communist takeover, then it will mark the total eclipse of America as a great nation and the beginning of the end for the entire free world.

If it were not for the reality of American power, Soviet and Chinese communism would long ago have overrun all of Europe and Asia and Africa.

For our power has, in fact, served to guarantee the freedom of the neutralist nations as well as of those nations allied with us.

But freedom could not long survive if the free nations, and the Communist nations, should ever conclude that American power is meaningless because American commitments are meaningless.

And what other conclusion could the free nations draw if, despite our repeated commitments to the freedom and security of South Vietnam, we should now abandon South Vietnam to a Communist takeover?

If we withdraw from Vietnam, I cannot conceive of a single Asian or European or any other country again accepting an assurance of protection from the United States or entering into an alliance with it.

Nor could they be blamed for this.

What I have said above is not idle speculation.

More than one distinguished Asian has warned us of precisely such consequences if we fail in Vietnam.

The one-time neutralist leader in Laos, Gen. Kong Le, who broke with the Communists when he discovered, as so many people did before him, that it was impossible to work with them, issued this warning not too long ago:

Should you Americans find yourselves tired of the shooting, then I say don't just pull out of Laos as you did two years ago, or out of South Vietnam, as some of you want to do. Better that you pull out of the whole area at once—out of Thailand, out of Taiwan, and, with your British friends, out of Malaysia. Order the Seventh Fleet out of the South China Sea. If you are going to quit us, then the sooner the better. It will shorten our agony.

Earlier this year, Premier Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore warned us that the "credit worthiness" of the United States will be judged by Southeast Asians from now on "in the proximity of promise and performance," in other words, on whether we can make good on our commitment in Vietnam.

The well-known Filipino political commentator, Vincente Villamin, an elder statesman of the press who came to see me in Manila, wrote that the abandonment of Vietnam "would be an indelible blemish on America's honor. It would reduce America in the estimation of mankind to a dismal third-rate power, despite her wealth, her culture, and her nuclear arsenal. It would make every American ashamed of his Government and would make every individual American distrusted everywhere on earth."

Even Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman of Thailand, than whom we have had no stauncher friend in the Far East, has recently given expression to a gnawing fear that the United States may be too divided and too lacking in staying power to see the Vietnam war through to an honorable conclusion.

If we were now to abandon Vietnam, the ensuing eclipse of American prestige, and the resulting decay of our alliances and the impossibility of constructing new

ones, would, in turn, encourage Peiping and Moscow to further step up the tempo of subversion and aggression throughout the world.

It would encourage the Communists to launch more "wars of national liberation" because of our manifest inability to cope with this kind of aggression.

It might very well confront us with the problem of a "hemispheric Vietnam," about which the Communist theoreticians in Havana and Peiping and Moscow have long been talking.

We might then be compelled to fight under far more disadvantageous circumstances and at much greater cost. Indeed, we would have to fight with our backs to the wall.

Instead of reducing our problems and saving the lives of American soldiers, the abandonment of Vietnam would increase our problems, would increase the possibility of local involvements in many parts of the world, and would increase the danger of all-out war.

THE MORALITY OF OUR VIETNAM COMMITMENT

I have couched my argument in terms of our national security because this is what concerns most of our citizens, and because, whether we like it or not, great nations generally act only when they feel their own national interest to be involved.

As history demonstrates only too eloquently, the interests of great nations have not always coincided with the rules of morality or with the interests of other nations.

It marks a significant advance in the development of our moral attitudes that we are prepared to face up to this fact frankly and that we are no longer bound by the absolutism of "my country, right or wrong."

Today, all right-thinking people want the assurance that their Government is not only acting in the national self-interest, but that it is acting morally as well.

I believe that we may all derive satisfaction from the fact that we now have reached a point in history where our national self-interest happens to coincide with moral law and with the interest of mankind at large.

Western imperialism is now dead.

But its place has been taken by a new, far more inhuman, far more ruthless form of imperialism: Communist imperialism.

And if it is in our national interest to help every nation, large or small, to preserve its independence and to defend itself against this new imperialism, this is an objective which manifestly coincides with right moral principles and with the interests of free nations throughout the world.

For those who like to found their opinions, as I do, on moral law rather than national self-interest, I say that, entirely apart from the fact that our own security is involved in Vietnam, there is a moral imperative which should compel men of good will to support our policy rather than oppose it.

If morality has to do with anything, it has to do with the defense of human life and human rights and the dignity of the individual.

And there is no regime in human history which has been more destructive of human rights and the dignity of the individual or more destructive of human life, than the Communist regimes in every country where communism has come to power.

Indeed, the Communist regimes in the Soviet Union and Red China have exacted a heavier toll in human life and human dignity than all of the wars of this century combined.

It has been calculated that the cost of communism in human life exceeds 80 million.

The cost in human suffering defies calculation.

To those who believe with Jefferson that it should be our duty to resist every form of tyranny over the mind of man, I say that it should be as much our duty to resist the expansion of the evil and murderous tyranny of communism as it was to resist the expansion of nazism.

What puzzles me is that so many people who understood the importance of opposing the expansion of nazism are completely blind to the parallel evils of communism. If the Nazis were stage managing a war of national liberation in South Vietnam these critics would be shouting for all-out war to stop them. But since it is only the Communists and not the Nazis, these critics take the stand that it is none of our business.

WHERE SHALL WE DRAW THE LINE?

I come back to a point that I made in my first statement on Vietnam in February of 1965.

I take it for granted that no one in this Chamber and no loyal American takes the position that we should stand by passively while communism takes over the rest of the world.

I take it for granted that every intelligent person realizes that America could not long survive as a free nation in a world that was nearly or completely Communist.

I take it for granted that whatever position we have spoken for in the Vietnam debate, we are all agreed on the essential point that somewhere, somehow, we must draw the line against further Communist expansion.

The question that separates us, therefore, is not whether such a line should be drawn, but where such a line should be drawn.

I believe we have been right in drawing the line in Vietnam because, if this line falls, let us have no illusions about the difficulty of drawing a realistic line of defense anywhere in the Western Pacific.

And to those who say that we were wrong in drawing the line in Vietnam, I

say that they have the moral obligation to tell the American people precisely where they propose to draw the line, to tell them precisely what countries they propose to abandon and what countries they propose to defend.

And they also have the obligation to explain to the American people why any nation should in the future accept our assurance of support if we now follow their advice and abandon the people in South Vietnam to communism.

They have an obligation, also, to explain why they believe that acceptance of defeat in Vietnam would make world peace more secure, rather than encouraging the Communists to embark on more wars of national liberation on the Vietnam model.

In short, we have heard their position in part.

I now propose that they present their position in full so that we can know precisely where they stand.

The war in Vietnam has turned out to be more difficult, more protracted, more costly than most of us had imagined it would be.

I believe that there are certain things that we can do to hasten the conclusion of the battle, and I intend to address myself to this subject in a subsequent statement.

But however great the difficulties and whatever the costs, we cannot permit ourselves to falter, we cannot permit ourselves to abandon the struggle to which we are now committed.

To those who say that we cannot match the staying power of the Communists, I say that this is the worst kind of defeatism, and that if free men are not more than a match for Communists, then we might as well throw in the sponge now.

And to those pessimists who say that we cannot win the Vietnam war, I say that we can win the war and must win the war, and that our Armed Forces have the power and the ability and the courage to do so—if only we on the home

front give them the support to which they are entitled.

And to those who deplore the futility of the Vietnam war, or speak about the condition of "stalemate," I say that they are looking at the Vietnam war too narrowly; and that, if they view it in its broader geographic and political context, if they view it as the "Southeast Asia war" rather than as the Vietnam war, they will see that truly remarkable progress has been achieved over the past several years.

Our resistance in Vietnam has frustrated the Communists and given heart to the anti-Communists in every Asian country.

Indonesia was saved from a Communist takeover by a hair's breadth. If the Communists had been able to win the support of another handful of senior officers, Indonesia would today be theirs. I do not think it is too much to claim that our resistance in Vietnam played a role in encouraging at least some of the loyalist officers to stand up against the Communist threat. And, in this sense, it probably made the marginal difference necessary to wrest victory from what briefly appeared to be total defeat.

Frustrated and deprived of the easy victories it had hoped for in Vietnam and Indonesia, the Maoist regime in Red China has been turned back upon itself, so that for some 2 years now it has been weakened and rent by internal conflict. This, too, is all to the good from the standpoint of the free world.

Perhaps most important, our firm stand in Vietnam, as Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore has pointed out, has given all the nations of the area the priceless gift of more time; more time in which to strengthen their economic and social and political structures and more time in which to build a strong and many-sided alliance of free nations.

In Vietnam itself, the progress may be slow and sometimes difficult to measure. But on the periphery of Vietnam, within

the broader context of Southeast Asia, the successes already achieved by our policy have been nothing short of spectacular.

Let us not abandon this progress by giving in to frustration and impatience.

Let us not succumb to the intrinsically racist proposal that we abandon the Oriental peoples of Southeast Asia to the tender mercies of communism, and withdraw our forces to white Australia.

Let us not abandon a right moral cause simply because the cost of defending it runs high.

Let us face up to the hard, brutal fact that we are locked in worldwide conflict with forces that seek our total destruction as a nation and the destruction of everything we stand for.

Let us not beguile ourselves by regarding the war in Vietnam as a purely local conflict, but let us rather accord it its true stature and importance as a major battle, in a worldwide war, between the forces of freedom and the forces of slavery.

Let us be diligent in the quest for peace, but in this quest let us never lose sight of the guidelines of freedom and justice.

Let us not seek any easy way out, because there is no easy way out.

However great the difficulties, however long we may have to persist, let us never accept the humiliation of defeat and dishonor.

Let us rather bear ourselves like free men should bear themselves. Let us seek to emulate, at least in small degree, the courage and perseverance that our forebears displayed at Valley Forge, and which they have displayed at so many other critical periods in our history.

Let us never give in.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I want to take a moment to commend the distinguished Senator from Connecticut on his very careful, reasoned, and logical speech. The statement the Senator is making reflects a great

deal of thought. I feel that the Senator is rendering a valuable service to his country in taking the floor at this time to address the Senate on such an important subject.

I join him in cherishing and supporting the right of people to dissent. It is a constitutional right, one that should be taken for granted from the beginning, and one which should need no restatement. I do not think anyone questions the right to dissent, if that dissent is expressed in a reasonable and constructive fashion, and does not obstruct the functions of Government, or render damage to the Republic.

I think that the Senator is correct when he states that the manner and the form of the dissent which has recently appeared in some areas of the country has damaged the efforts of our President and our country to bring about a peaceful solution to the confrontation in South Vietnam.

I join with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd] in expressing the belief that some of the demonstrations that

have been conducted have given succor and comfort to the Communists and have encouraged them to prolong the war and thus lengthen the list of casualties of American boys.

I express appreciation again for the time the Senator has taken to present this very fine speech for the attention of his colleagues and the country. Several years ago, I served on the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives with the distinguished senior Senator from Connecticut. I believe that he has ample background and knowledge of the subject and that he has given very serious and prolonged study to this matter. Therefore, I consider that the judgment reflected in his speech, as to the effect of destructive dissent, is very sound.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I am extremely grateful to the distinguished Senator from West Virginia for his words. I wish I deserved them, but I have done my best. He is, of course, an outstanding Member of this body, and having his approval means a great deal to me. I am deeply grateful to him.



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Chairman
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ITEM NO.121

MARCH-APRIL, 1968

*Org 1 Council
Against Communist
Aggression*

DESERTERS, POLITICAL AND OTHERWISE

By MARX LEWIS

A SOLDIER WHO, WHILE UNDER FIRE, PANICS, AND DESERTS, MAY FACE A FIRING SQUAD. A POLITICIAN WHO HELPED SEND THAT SOLDIER INTO BATTLE, AND WHO, WHEN THE GOING GETS ROUGH, ALSO DESERTS THE CAUSE, CAN BECOME A UNITED STATES SENATOR, AND EVEN ASPIRE TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES. THAT IS THE CASE OF SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY.

AS A MEMBER OF THE CABINET OF HIS BROTHER, THE LATE PRESIDENT KENNEDY, BOBBY KENNEDY ADMITTEDLY INFLUENCED HIS BROTHER'S FOREIGN POLICY. THAT POLICY, AS IT APPLIED TO SOUTHEAST ASIA, WAS CONSISTENT AND UNEQUIVOCAL. IT WAS THAT THE "CAMPAIGN OF FORCE AND TERROR" WAGED AGAINST SOUTH VIETNAM AND ITS PEOPLE WAS "SUPPORTED AND DIRECTED FROM THE OUTSIDE BY THE AUTHORITIES AT HANOI" AND THAT THEY THUS VIOLATED THE PROVISIONS OF THE GENEVA ACCORDS DESIGNED TO ENSURE PEACE IN VIETNAM, TO WHICH PROVISIONS THEY BOUND THEMSELVES IN 1954." PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S POSITION WAS THAT "WE ARE PREPARED TO HELP THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM TO PROTECT ITS PEOPLE AND PRESERVE ITS INDEPENDENCE."

BOBBY KENNEDY WAS EQUALLY, IF NOT MORE, EMPHATIC. ON FEBRUARY 19, 1962, BOBBY, THEN THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, SAID: "WE ARE GOING TO WIN IN VIETNAM", AND "WE WILL REMAIN UNTIL WE DO." "I THINK," HE ADDED, "THE UNITED STATES WILL DO WHAT IS NECESSARY TO HELP A COUNTRY THAT IS TRYING TO REPEL AGGRESSION WITH ITS OWN BLOOD, TEARS AND SWEAT.....THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL SEE VIETNAM THROUGH THESE TIMES OF TROUBLE TO A PERIOD WHEN THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL FIND A LONG-SOUGHT OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP THEIR COUNTRY IN PEACE, DIGNITY AND FREEDOM." AS A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, HE ENDORSED THE FIRST MAJOR MILITARY COMMITMENT, AND THE FIRST ESCALATION IN VIETNAM, AN INCREASE FROM 773 TO 16,500 MEN. HE DIDN'T CONSIDER IT IMMORAL THEN TO ESCALATE THE WAR. IT BECAME IMMORAL WHEN HE SCOUTED AROUND FOR AN ISSUE WHICH HE THOUGHT WOULD GRATIFY HIS ALL-CONSUMING AMBITION TO BECOME PRESIDENT.

WHEN, RECENTLY, BOBBY WAS CONFRONTED WITH THIS 1962 STATEMENT AT A MEETING ON THE CAMPUS OF VANDERBILT COLLEGE HE BECAME LIVID WITH RAGE. HE IS NOT ACCUSTOMED TO BEING CROSSED OR QUESTIONED. "I MADE A MISTAKE," HE SHOUTED AT THE HECKLER. "SO DID PRESIDENT JOHNSON." ONE OF THE MANY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MISTAKES THE TWO MADE IS THAT BOBBY WANTS TO BE REWARDED WITH THE PRESIDENCY FOR HIS MISTAKES, WHILE HE SEEKS TO PUNISH THE PRESIDENT FOR THE MISTAKES THAT THE LATTER HAS UNDOUBTEDLY MADE.

AND IT MIGHT BE WELL TO RECALL THAT IF THE PRESIDENT MADE MISTAKES THERE IS AT LEAST ONE MISTAKE WHICH THE KENNEDIES MADE WHICH PRESIDENT JOHNSON, THEN VICE PRESIDENT, DIDN'T MAKE, AND WHICH HE, AT THE TIME, WARNED THEM AGAINST. MAKING THAT MISTAKE CHANGED THE COURSE OF THE WAR TO OUR DISADVANTAGE.

IN 1963, SOME OF THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISERS DECIDED THAT PRESIDENT NGO DINH DIEM MUST GO. THEY BELIEVED THAT DIEM HAD CREATED A RELIGIOUS CRISIS BY PERSECUTING THE BUDDHISTS, WHOSE SELF-IMMOLATIONS SHOCKED THE WORLD. THEY ALSO BELIEVED THAT THE BUDDHISTS WERE IN THE MAJORITY IN SOUTH VIETNAM, AND COULD, THEREFORE, HINDER THE SUCCESSFUL PROSECUTION OF THE WAR.

THESE DUMP-DIEM ADVOCATES WERE WRONG ON ALL COUNTS. IT WAS NOT A RELIGIOUS CRISIS, BUT A POLITICAL CRISIS, ENGINEERED BY A FEW BUDDHIST LEADERS, ONE OF WHOM, THICH TRI QUANK, WAS KNOWN TO HAVE CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS. IF THE BUDDHISTS WERE

PERSECUTED IT WAS FOR THEIR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, NOT THEIR RELIGION. AND THE BUDDHISTS WERE NOT IN A MAJORITY IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THE PRESS, INCLUDING THE NEW YORK TIMES, MIREPRESENTED THE FACTS AND DISTORTED THE PICTURE. IT WAS THE STATE DEPARTMENT WHICH FELL FOR THESE REPORTS, HOOK, LINE AND SINKER, ALTHOUGH RELIABLE REPORTERS ON THE SCENE COULD HAVE READILY PROVIDED IT WITH THE TRUE FACTS.

VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON DID NOT SHARE THIS VIEW OF DIEM. DIEM HAD MADE SOME MISTAKES. HE HAD TAKEN OVER A COUNTRY WHICH THE FRENCH COLONIALISTS HAD LEFT IN SHAMBLES. THERE WERE GROUPS WHICH, HELPED BY THE FRENCH, WERE TRYING TO TEAR THE COUNTRY ASUNDER. FEW LEADERS FACED A MORE FORMIDABLE TASK THAN THE ONE HE FACED. HE GAVE A GOOD ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF, HIS MISTAKES NOT WITHSTANDING.

AFTER DIEM'S FIRST TWO YEARS IN OFFICE PRESIDENT KENNEDY PRAISED DIEM AND HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS. HE HAD REHABILITATED THREE-QUARTERS OF A MILLION REFUGEES FROM THE NORTH, BUILT 45,000 HOUSES, DUG 2,500 WELLS, ADDED 100 SCHOOLS, ESTABLISHED DOZENS OF MEDICAL CENTERS AND MATERNITY HOMES, INTRODUCED MANY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS, CULTIVATED THE WASTE-LANDS, ENCOURAGED A WIDER OWNERSHIP OF THE LAND, PROVIDED FARMER COOPERATIVES AND FARM LOANS TO MODERNIZE AN OUTMODDED AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY, AND ENACTED LEGISLATION FOR BETTER LABOR RELATIONS, IMPROVED HEALTH PROTECTION AND BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS AND WAGES. ALL THIS, AND MORE, WAS DONE IN THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF DIEM'S REGIME, AND UNDER OBSTACLES WHICH FEW LEADERS EVER FACED. HE WAS BUILDING A NEW NATION ON FOUNDATIONS AS DEMOCRATIC AS THEY COULD BE IN A LAND SUBJECTED TO WAR.

PERSONALLY, DIEM WAS INCORRUPTIBLE. HE INSPIRED CONFIDENCE. ASSOCIATE SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, WHOSE CREDENTIALS AS A LIBERAL HAVE BEEN DULY AUTHENTICATED, REPORTED IN 1953, AFTER A TOUR OF VIETNAM: "NGO DINH DIEM IS A HERO IN CENTRAL AND NORTH VIETNAM WITH A CONSIDERABLE FOLLOWING IN THE SOUTH TOO.... NGO DINH DIEM IS REVERED BY THE VIETNAMESE BECAUSE HE IS HONEST AND INDEPENDENT AND STOOD FIRM AGAINST THE FRENCH INFLUENCE. THERE ARE FEW OFFICIALS IN THE VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT WHO HAVE THAT REPUTATION." YET THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND OUR PRESS PICTURED HIM AS A MONSTER. WITH OUR HELP, HE WAS DRIVEN OUT OF OFFICE, AND IT MAY BE THAT WHEN THE FULL STORY IS KNOWN IT WILL BE FOUND THAT WITH OUR HELP HE WAS ASSASSINATED.

VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S WARNING HAD BEEN IGNORED. FOR A LONG TIME AFTERWARDS CHAOS PREVAILED IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THE ONE MAN WHO HAD SHOWN GREAT QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP AND WHO INSPIRED CONFIDENCE WAS GONE. THE WHOLE STORY OF THE VIETNAM WAR MIGHT HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT IF JOHNSON'S POSITION HAD PREVAILED.

AS PRESIDENT, JOHNSON IS MAKING HIS OWN MISTAKES. HIS BIGGEST MISTAKE IS TRYING TO APPEASE THE GUERRILLA FIGHTER AT HOME, THE FULBRIGHTS, THE KENNEDY'S, AND THE MCCARTHY'S. THEY WON'T LET HIM MAKE WAR IN THE WAY THAT WARS MUST BE FOUGHT IF THEY ARE TO BE WON, AND THE COMMUNISTS WON'T LET HIM MAKE PEACE.

JOHNSON RECOGNIZES THAT THE WAR IS NOT BEING WAGED WITH THE EFFECTIVENESS OF WHICH WE ARE CAPABLE. IN A RECENT SPEECH IN MINNEAPOLIS, THE PRESIDENT SAID "WE ARE NOT DOING ENOUGH TO WIN THE WAR." THAT IS TRUE. THERE IS NO REASON WHY SAIGON SHOULD BE VIRTUALLY DESTROYED AND HANOI SHOULD BE OFF-LIMITS. THOSE OF HIS CRITICS WHO DO NOT WANT TO "CUT AND RUN", AS KENNEDY WOULD DO, HAVE LONG INSISTED THAT WE CANNOT FIGHT THIS WAR SUCCESSFULLY WITH ONE HAND TIED BEHIND OUR BACKS.

BY WAY OF JUSTIFICATION FOR NOT GOING ALL-OUT TO WIN THE WAR THE PRESIDENT SAID HE WAS BEING "PRUDENT." THE IMPLICATION WAS THAT WE WERE DOING NOTHING TO RISK RED CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION ENTERING THE WAR.

BUT RED CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE IN THE WAR. BOTH ARE SUPPLYING THOUSANDS OF ADVISERS TO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND ABOUT 80 PER CENT OF THE WAR SUPPLIES. ALL OF THE COMMUNIST-BLOC COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE ARE COOPERATING, WITH CHINA, IN FURNISHING THOSE SUPPLIES. THEY HAVE NOT AS YET SENT "VOLUNTEERS" TO ENGAGE IN COMBAT, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE RELIABLE REPORTS THAT THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS HAVE ORGANIZED A 50,000 - MAN "ANTI-U.S. AND SUPPORT-

VIETNAM VOLUNTEER CORPS" IN KWANGSI PROVINCE.

WHETHER EITHER RED CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION, OR BOTH, WILL ENTER THE WAR WITH TROOPS IS ANYONE'S GUESS. NEITHER SEEM EAGER TO DO MORE THAN THEY ARE ALREADY DOING. BUT IF AND WHEN THEY DECIDE TO DO SO THEY WILL ENTER IN THEIR OWN TIME AND IN THEIR OWN WAY. IF THE COMMUNISTS CANNOT BE APPEASED, ANY MORE THAN CAN THE GUERRILLA FIGHTERS AT HOME, NEITHER CAN THEY BE PROVOKED. THEY WILL MAKE THEIR DECISIONS AS AND WHEN IT SERVES THEIR PURPOSES - NO SOONER AND NO LATER.

THERE ARE, OF COURSE, RISKS. BUT WE CANNOT UNDERTAKE COMMITMENTS AROUND THE WORLD, WHICH MAY HAVE TO BE KEPT BY MILITARY FORCE, WITHOUT INCURRING RISKS. IF WE ARE TO BE INHIBITED BY OUR FEARS, AND INTIMIDATED BY COMMUNIST THREATS AND NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL, IT MIGHT BE BETTER NOT TO UNDERTAKE THESE COMMITMENTS IN THE FIRST PLACE, OR TRY TO HONOR THEM IN THE SECOND PLACE. IF PRUDENCE REQUIRES THAT WE SHOULD FIGHT A LIMITED WAR WHILE THE COMMUNISTS FIGHT AN UN-LIMITED WAR, THEN WE ARE SENDING TENS OF THOUSANDS OF OUR BEST MEN TO THEIR DOOM FOR NOTHING.

BUT IF THE PRESIDENT HAS FAILED TO DO WHAT MANY OF OUR BEST MILITARY MINDS HAVE SUGGESTED TO BRING THE WAR TO AN EARLY CONCLUSION, HE HAS ALSO STOOD FOUR-SQUARE AGAINST THOSE WHO, LIKE BOBBY KENNEDY, HAVE URGED THE ACCEPTANCE OF COMMUNIST TERMS WHICH AMOUNT TO AN UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER TO THE COMMUNISTS. HE HAS SEEN THE REAL ISSUES IN THIS STRUGGLE AND HAS SOUGHT TO CREATE AN IMAGE OF AN AMERICA WHICH HONORS ITS COMMITMENTS, EVEN AT GREAT SACRIFICE, AND WHICH REFUSES TO DESERT A NATION FIGHTING FOR ITS RIGHT TO LIVE FREE. AND FOR TAKING THIS POSITION PRESIDENT JOHNSON WILL DESERVE THE ACCLAIM OF FUTURE GENERATIONS.

BOBBY KENNEDY SAYS THAT HE WANTS A CHANCE TO REMAKE AMERICA. IF IT IS REMADE IN HIS IMAGE IT WILL NOT BE AN AMERICA WHICH HAS BEEN FAITHFUL TO ITS TRADITIONS, BUT AN AMERICA WHICH WILL HAVE FORFEITED ITS CLAIM TO BE THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD. THE IMAGE WILL BE THE PRODUCT OF A COLD, RUTHLESS OPPORTUNIST WHOSE WEALTH IS SUFFICIENT TO WIN FOR HIM THE PRIZE HE SEEKS ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE.

INDIA'S STAND ON VIETNAM X-RAYED

By K. P. GAUR

NEW DELHI — INDIA'S STAND ON THE PROBLEM OF VIETNAM IS MOST WIDELY MISUNDERSTOOD ABROAD BECAUSE OF THE PRO-SOVIET VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE TREMENDOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THEIR NUMEROUS FRONT ORGANIZATION IN IMPORTANT CITIES OF INDIA WHICH MANIFESTS ITSELF IN VARIOUS FORMS — RESOLUTIONS, PUBLIC MEETINGS, PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS, PUBLIC RALLIES, ETC. THESE ARE SO LOUD AND NUMEROUS THAT THE FEELINGS AND VIEW POINTS OF OTHERS WHICH APPROVE AMERICA'S FIGHT IN SOUTH VIETNAM FOR THE DEFENCE OF FREE WORLD AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION GET DROWNED OUT. USUAL COMMUNIST METHODS ARE USED TO SUPPRESS THE VIEWS OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE IN ORDER TO IMPRESS THE PUBLIC IN INDIA AND OUTSIDE THAT THE INDIAN PEOPLE, AS A WHOLE, SUPPORT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THEIR NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

BUT THOSE WHO CARE TO PROBE DEEPER ARE SURE TO FIND A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT PICTURE. TO ILLUSTRATE THIS POINT CONVINCINGLY THREE OUTSTANDING EVENTS OF THE LAST SEVEN WEEKS MAY BE CITED: THREE ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN DELHI REFUSED TO PUBLISH A PAID FOUR-SENTENCE ADVERTISEMENT WHICH 306 TEACHERS OF DELHI UNIVERSITY WANTED TO INSERT CALLING UPON THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, AS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION, TO TAKE STEPS TOWARDS

THE IMMEDIATE LIQUIDATION OF AMERICAN AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM AND DEMANDING IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL CESSATION OF BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM AND TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM. (PATRIOT JANUARY 10, 1968);

AT THE DECEMBER SESSION OF BHARTIYA JANSANGH, AT CALICUT, IN THE STATE OF KERALA, THE STRONGHOLD OF LEFT COMMUNIST PARTY, AN INDEPENDENT RESOLUTION WAS DISCUSSED SUPPORTING AMERICA'S FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

IN THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT ON FEBRUARY LA N. G. RANGA, PRESIDENT OF SWATANTRA PARTY, WHILE SPEAKING IN THE LOWER HOUSE (LOK SABHA) ON THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH DISCUSSION SAID, "THE PRIME MINISTER WAS ALIGNED COMPLETELY WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON THE VIETNAM ISSUE; SHE IS A PRIME MINISTER IN NAME ONLY. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA WAS REALLY BEING SHAPED BY THE LEFT COMMUNISTS." FURTHER, HE SAID, IF IT WAS RIGHT FOR MR. NEHRU TO ASK FOR FOREIGN HELP WHEN CHINA ATTACKED INDIA, "IT IS ALSO RIGHT FOR SOUTH VIETNAM TO ASK AMERICA TO SAVE IT FROM COMMUNIST AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH."

BOTH THESE PARTIES HAVE THEIR PARTY MEN AS MINISTERS IN SOME OF THE STATES OF INDIA WHICH HAVE NON-CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS. ALMOST IN ALL OTHER STATE LEGISLATURES THEY HAVE THEIR MEMBERS. IN THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT TOO THEY HAVE FAIRLY BIG GROUPS IN THE OPPOSITION. IN FACT THE SWATANTRA PARTY GROUP IS THE LARGEST PARTY AMONG VARIOUS OPPOSITION PARTIES IN THE LOWER HOUSE. THOUGH BOTH OF THEM ARE YOUNG THEY HAVE MADE REMARKABLE PROGRESS IN ENLISTING THE SUPPORT OF THE MASSES FROM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. THEY ARE THE PARTIES WHICH ARE LIKELY TO PROVIDE ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENT TO THE CONGRESS PARTY AFTER THE NEXT ELECTIONS. FOREIGN OBSERVERS OF THE INDIAN SCENE USUALLY FORM THEIR OPINION ABOUT THE RESPONSE AND ATTITUDES OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE BY READING ENGLISH PAPERS, MOSTLY OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE, WHICH ARE VERY MUCH SOPHISTICATED. ENGLISH PAPERS PUBLISHED IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY WILL GIVE THEM A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT VIEW.

BUT IF THEY READ THE LANGUAGE PAPERS FROM DIFFERENT CORNERS IN INDIA, THEY WILL BE COMPLETELY SURPRISED AT THE COMPLETELY DIFFERENT APPROACH TO THE SAME NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. FOR GAUGING CORRECTLY THE PULSE OF THE PEOPLE ON A PARTICULAR SUBJECT IN ANY PART OF THE COUNTRY THE RIGHT THING TO DO IS TO READ THE LANGUAGE PAPERS OF THAT AREA. IN FACT, THEY REFLECT FAIRLY CORRECTLY THE FEELINGS AND VIEWS OF THE PEOPLE. A PERUSUAL OF THESE PAPERS WILL REMOVE A GOOD DEAL OF MISUNDERSTANDING THAT EXISTS IN THE MIND OF THE FOREIGN OBSERVERS ON THE PROBLEM OF VIETNAM AND OTHER SUCH ALLIED QUESTIONS.

IN THE CONGRESS PARTY ITSELF ALL PEOPLE DO NOT AGREE WITH THE STAND GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HAS TAKEN ON THIS ISSUE AND ON MANY OCCASSIONS SUCH DIFFERENCES HAVE COME TO LIGHT.

IN VIEW OF THIS ANALYSIS IT IS WRONG TO THINK THAT ALL INDIANS FAVOR THE GOVERNMENT'S STAND ON VIETNAM. AFTER CHINESE AGGRESSION OF INDIA, MORE AND MORE PEOPLE CONSIDER IT NECESSARY TO CHECK CHINESE COMMUNISTS IN VIETNAM, AND TO GIVE THEIR SUPPORT TO AMERICA IN ELIMINATING COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

----- CACA ACTIVITIES -----

CHAIRMAN LEWIS VISITS NORTHEAST CHAPTERS:

A TWO WEEKS' TOUR MADE BY CHAIRMAN LEWIS LATE FEBRUARY AND EARLY MARCH ENABLED HIM TO REVIEW THE ACTIVITIES OF OUR CHAPTERS IN THE NORTHEAST. HE CAME BACK GRATIFIED BY WHAT HE SAW AND HEARD AS TO THE PROGRESS WHICH THE COUNCIL IS MAKING IN THE PLACES WHICH HE VISITED.

TWO MEETINGS TOOK PLACE IN NEW YORK, ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26, AT THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL PRESS CLUB. ONE OF THEM WAS A MEETING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES WHERE A NUMBER OF ROUTINE MATTERS AFFECTING THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION WERE CONSIDERED. IT WAS FOLLOWED BY A MEETING OF OUR NEW YORK CHAPTER, WHICH IS HEADED BY COL. JAMES W. GERARD, WHO ARRANGED THE MEETING WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF BENJAMIN PROTTER, EDITOR OF TODAY IN FRANCE. COLONEL GERARD PRESIDED.

THE AUDIENCE INCLUDED A NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE MASS-MEDIA FIELD WHO HAVE BEEN CARRYING ON OUR FIGHT IN THOSE MEDIA. LEWIS DISCUSSED MAINLY THE VARIOUS ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THE COUNCIL IS ENGAGED, AND WHAT IS BEING DONE TO EXPAND THEM. FOLLOWING HIS TALK MANY OF THOSE PRESENT PARTICIPATED IN A DISCUSSION OF WHAT MIGHT BE DONE BY THE COUNCIL, AND OTHER SIMILARLY-MINDED ORGANIZATIONS WITH WHICH IT IS COOPERATING MIGHT DO, TO CONTRACT DEFEATIST AND APPEASEMENT ACTIVITIES IN THE MASS MEDIA.

PHILADELPHIA LUNCHEON-MEETING: ON THE FOLLOWING DAY, LEWIS ATTENDED A LUNCHEON MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA WHICH WAS ARRANGED ON SHORT NOTICE BY ROBERT HECKERT, A MEMBER OF OUR NATIONAL COMMITTEE. THE ATTENDANCE WAS NOT LARGE, DUE TO SHORT NOTICE, BUT HECKERT ARRANGED TO HAVE LEWIS INTERVIEWED BY A REPORTER OF THE EVENING BULLETIN, ONE OF THE NATION'S MAJOR DAILIES, WITH A CIRCULATION OF 750,000. THE INTERVIEW APPEARED THE FOLLOWING DAY. IT RAN ALMOST A COLUMN. AS IN NEW YORK, LEWIS REVIEWED THE COUNCIL'S WORK DURING THE PAST YEAR, AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.

WASHINGTON CHAPTER MARKS COUNCIL'S 17TH ANNIVERSARY:

ON MARCH 2, OUR ARTHUR G. McDOWELL CHAPTER, OF WASHINGTON, D. C. CLIMAXED A LONG SERIES OF WINTER ACTIVITIES WITH A DINNER-MEETING HELD AT THE AMERICAN LEGION HALL, IN ARLINGTON, VA., TO MARK THE 17TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF OUR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION. CLOSE TO 200 PEOPLE CAME FROM WASHINGTON AND ITS SUBURBS IN VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND TO TAKE PART IN THE FESTIVITIES. THEY INCLUDED JOURNALISTS, CLERGYMEN, AND PERSONS OCCUPYING IMPORTANT POSITIONS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. AMONG THOSE PRESENT WAS ARTHUR McDOWELL'S WIDOW, JANET, AND HIS BROTHER, CHARLES.

THE ATTENDANCE WAS THE LARGEST SINCE THE COUNCIL FIRST BEGAN TO HOLD ITS ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS IN WASHINGTON. A CREW USED THE TELEPHONE EXTENSIVELY TO INVITE GUESTS. HEADING THE ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE WAS REED J. IRVINE, WHO SPEARHEADS THE CHAPTER'S ACTIVITIES. THE COMMITTEE CONSISTED OF, AMONG OTHERS, GEORGE HOLCOMB, BERNIE YOH AND EDWARD W. SLOAN.

CHAIRMAN LEWIS ACTED AS TOASTMASTER. THE GUEST SPEAKERS WERE HERBERT PHILBRICK, AUTHOR OF "I LED 3 LIVES", WHO WAS INTRODUCED BY DAVID MARTIN, OF THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY COMMITTEE, AND JIM LUCAS, NOTED JOURNALIST, WHO WAS INTRODUCED BY IRVINE. LUCAS RECENTLY RETURNED FROM VIETNAM. HE GAVE A VIVID, AND ENCOURAGING ACCOUNT OF THE STRUGGLE OUR TROOPS ARE WAGING THERE, AND EXPOSED AS MISLEADING MANY OF THE ACCOUNTS WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN THE PRESS CONCERNING THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

DURING THE EVENING A SERIES OF AWARDS WERE BESTOWED ON THOSE WHO DURING 1967 MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION, AND ONE AWARD, A "NULL" AWARD A SILVER TROPY, TO THE ONE MAN IN THE UNITED STATES WHO DID MORE THAN ANY OTHER, IN 1967, TO WEAKEN OUR RESOLUTION AND DIVIDE OUR COUNTRY.

THE AWARDS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE SERVICE TO OUR CAUSE WENT TO SAL B. HOFFMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UPHOLSTERERS INTERNATIONAL UNION; THOMAS W. GLEASON, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION; COL. JAMES W. GERARD, HEAD OF OUR NEW YORK ORGANIZATION; WILSON C. LUCUM, PRESIDENT OF THE U. S. ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS; ZUEBLEN RATHBONE, AND JOHN B. HIGHTOWER, JR. IRVINE, IN INTRODUCING LUCAS, PRESENTED HIM WITH AN AWARD FOR MERITORIOUS PERFORMANCE AS A JOURNALIST WHO HAS HELPED EXPOSE THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY.

THE "NULL" AWARD, CONFERRED JOINTLY BY OUR COUNCIL AND FREEDOM COUNCIL, A KINDRED ORGANIZATION, WENT TO SENATOR J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. THE PRESENTATION SPEECH WAS MADE BY F. ROGER DOWNEY, CHAIRMAN OF THE FREEDOM COUNCIL. IT IS MADE ANNUALLY, DOWNEY DECLARED, TO THE MAN WHO IN THE PRECEDING YEAR, WHATEVER HIS MOTIVATIONS, HAS RENDERED MOST CONSPICUOUS SERVICE TO THE ENEMIES OF FREEDOM.

ON MONDAY, MARCH 11, THE CHAPTER HELD ITS MONTHLY LUNCHEON-MEETING WITH SHIRLEY SCHEIBLA, CORRESPONDENT FOR BARRON'S, AND AUTHOR OF A BRAND NEW BOOK, "POVERTY IS WHERE THE MONEY IS." SHE SPOKE ON THE RIOT COMMISSION REPORT.

AMONG THE MANY ACTIVITIES ON WHICH THE CHAPTER HAS ENGAGED IS A "LETTERS-TO-THE-EDITOR CAMPAIGN", IN WHICH OUR MEMBERS AND FRIENDS HAVE REPLIED TO PRO-COMMUNIST ARTICLES AND CALLED ATTENTION TO THE MISREPRESENTATIONS IN WHICH SOME WRITERS HAVE ENGAGED TO DISCOURAGE EFFORTS TO OPPOSE COMMUNIST AGGRESSION. SAMPLES OF SOME RECENT LETTERS ARE REPRODUCED ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE.

VICE CHAIRMAN BREWER DIRECTS LOS ANGELES ACTIVITIES:

BEGINNING WITH A SERIES OF EVENTS DESIGNED TO COUNTERACT COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN CONNECTION WITH THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHIEVIK REVOLUTION, OUR LOS ANGELES CHAPTER, WHICH IS HEADED BY VICE CHAIRMAN ROY BREWER, AND INCLUDES PROMINENT PEOPLE IN THE MOVIE AND OTHER MASS-MEDIA FIELDS, HAS EXPANDED ITS ACTIVITIES IN A NUMBER OF FIELDS.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY AFFAIR WAS HELD AT THE PALLADIUM, WITH 1,500 PEOPLE PRESENT, AND WITH EUGENE LYONS, AUTHOR OF THE RECENTLY-PUBLISHED "WORKERS PARADISE LOST", AS THE GUEST SPEAKER. HE WAS INTRODUCED BY WILLIAM BUCKLEY, EDITOR OF THE "NATIONAL REVIEW." OTHER DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS INCLUDED MAYOR SAM YORTY, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS GROUPS, A SPOKESMAN FOR THE YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM, AND DON NEWCOMB, THE RETIRED PITCHER FOR THE DODGERS. THERE WAS A TELEPHONIC READING OF A SPEECH BY GOVERNOR REAGAN. THE AUDIENCE INCLUDED MANY PROMINENT PEOPLE, CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS, CARDINAL MCINTYRE SENT AN OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE. ALTHOUGH PRESS COVERAGE WAS MEAGER, THE AFFAIR PROVED TO BE ONE OF THE HIGHLIGHTS IN OUR ORGANIZATION'S NATIONAL EFFORT TO COUNTER THE COMMUNIST CELEBRATION.

MONTHLY MEETINGS ARE BEING HELD WITH WELL-KNOWN AUTHORITIES ON COMMUNISM. RECENTLY, PROFESSOR WILLIAM THOMPSON, HEAD OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT AT PIERCE COLLEGE, AND A LEADER IN THE FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM ON THE COLLEGE CAMPUS, WAS THE GUEST SPEAKER. ON MARCH 28, GERALDINE PITCH, A MEMBER OF OUR NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AN AUTHORITY ON CHINA, WHERE SHE LIVED FOR MANY YEARS, AND AUTHOR OF A NUMBER OF BOOKS ON HOW THE REDS TOOK OVER CHINA, SPOKE ON "THE FAR EAST IS NOT SO FAR."

ORGANIZATIONS BEING ENLISTED TO BRING FREEDOM ACADEMY BILL TO A VOTE:

IN ADDITION TO MEETING WITH AND ADDRESSING OUR VARIOUS CHAPTERS, CHAIRMAN LEWIS DEVOTED A GOOD DEAL OF HIS TIME TO ENLISTING SUPPORT FOR OUR FREEDOM ACADEMY BILL, WHICH IS NOW ON THE HOUSE CALENDAR, HAVING BEEN REPORTED FAVORABLY BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE. IT CAN BE BROUGHT TO A VOTE, IN WHICH CASE IT IS BELIEVED IT WILL BE PASSED, IF THE RULES COMMITTEE WILL GRANT A RULE ENABLING A HOUSE VOTE.

LEWIS MET BOTH IN WASHINGTON AND IN NEW YORK WITH THE CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, WHICH SUPPORTS THE BILL, TO URGE THEM TO HAVE THEIR POSTS IN THE DISTRICTS REPRESENTED BY MEMBERS OF THE RULES COMMITTEE APPEAL TO THEIR CONGRESSMEN ON THE COMMITTEE TO GRANT A RULE. SUCH A RULE, LEWIS POINTED OUT TO THEM, DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE RULES COMMITTEE MEMBERS NECESSARILY ENDORSE THE BILL - THAT A HOUSE COMMITTEE HAS ALREADY DONE -- BUT THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO HAVE THE HOUSE VOTE ON IT. HE WAS ASSURED THE LEGION WILL GO TO WORK ON THE BILL. HE HAS ALSO APPEALED TO THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS TO TAKE SIMILAR ACTION.

THE COUNCIL HAS ALSO REQUESTED ITS COMMITTEES ON CORRESPONDENCE, AND INDIVIDUAL COUNCIL MEMBERS, TO CONTACT RULES COMMITTEE MEMBERS. COPIES OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE'S REPORT, IN WHICH THE BILL'S PURPOSES AND PROVISIONS ARE DISCUSSED AT LENGTH AND IN DETAIL, HAVE BEEN

SENT TO 500 STRATEGICALLY PLACED MEMBERS. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT IN WRITING EITHER TO MEMBERS OF THE RULES COMMITTEE, WHO ARE TO BE ASKED FOR THE RULE, OR TO OTHER MEMBERS WHO ARE TO BE ASKED TO URGE THE RULES COMMITTEE MEMBERS TO ACT, THAT EMPHASIS BE MADE OF THE POINT THAT ALL THAT IS BEING SOUGHT IS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE HOUSE TO VOTE ON THE BILL. PERSONS RECEIVING REPLIES TO ANY OF THEIR COMMUNICATIONS ARE ASKED TO SEND COPIES OF IT TO THE CHAIRMAN.

COUNCIL URGES PRESIDENT TO STRENGTHEN OUR MILITARY POSITION:

ON FEBRUARY 12, IN THE WAKE OF THE COMMUNISTS' TET OFFENSIVE, CHAIRMAN LEWIS SENT THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON URGING THAT HE INTENSIFY OUR MILITARY EFFORT TO WIN THE WAR IN VIETNAM. THE TEXT OF THE TELEGRAM FOLLOWS:

"ON BEHALF OF OUR ORGANIZATION, COMPOSED OF LIBERAL, LABOR AND CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS DRAWN FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE, RESPECTFULLY APPEALS TO YOU TO INTENSIFY OUR WAR EFFORT IN VIETNAM AND TO SEND ADDITIONAL TROOPS THERE IF NECESSARY TO INSURE THE DEFEAT OF THE COMMUNISTS. FAILURE TO BRING THE COMMUNISTS TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE UNDER CONDITIONS WHICH WILL ESTABLISH BEYOND DOUBT THAT AGGRESSION CANNOT SUCCEED WILL HAVE THE MOST CATASTROPHIC CONSEQUENCES NOT ONLY FOR VIETNAM WHICH IS NOW THE FOCAL POINT IN THE STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE THE RIGHT OF SMALL NATIONS TO CHOOSE THEIR FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND THEIR OWN SOCIAL SYSTEM BUT FOR ALL THE FREE WORLD. OUR INABILITY TO HONOR OUR COMMITMENTS AND TO DEFEND SUCCESSFULLY THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NATIONS LYING IN THE PATH OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION WILL MARK THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF AMERICA'S INFLUENCE FOR GOOD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, AND THE MEN WHO HAVE DIED THERE ALREADY AND THE THOUSANDS WHO MAY YET DIE WILL HAVE PERISHED IN VAIN. WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO PREVENT THIS CATASTROPHE."

ON MARCH 13, HE ADDRESSED LETTERS TO THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY RUSK AND SECRETARY CLIFFORD RENEWING THE PLEA FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION TO INSURE VICTORY IN VIETNAM AND A PEACE THAT WILL HELP END THE THREAT OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD. IN ADDITION TO URGING A STRONGER EFFORT ON THE MILITARY FRONT, HE POINTS OUT THAT WE HAVE NEGLECTED TO GIVE ADEQUATE WEIGHT TO THE ROLE THAT PROPAGANDA IS PLAYING IN DECIDING THE FUTURE OF VIETNAM.

"WE HAVE BEEN PERPLEXED AT THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE PENTAGON TO REACT POSITIVELY TO THE PROPAGANDA ASSAULTS WHICH HAVE SO CONFUSED AND BEWILDERED PEOPLE HERE ON THE HOME FRONT." HE WROTE TO SECRETARY CLIFFORD. "THERE IS LITTLE REASON TO BE SURPRISED AT THE SUCCESS OF THE ENEMY PROPAGANDISTS HAVE HAD, FOR THEY HAVE HAD THE FIELD ALL TO THEMSELVES. MOREOVER, SAD TO RELATE, THEY HAVE HAD THE EAGER COOPERATION, WITTING AND UNWITTING, OF MANY OF OUR OWN COUNTRYMEN, INCLUDING MANY IN OUR COMMUNICATION MEDIA." HE ASKED THAT FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO THE FREEDOM ACADEMY BILL TO TRAIN PEOPLE IN THE ART OF POLITICAL WARFARE, AN ART WHICH THE COMMUNISTS HAVE DEVELOPED TO A HIGH DEGREE.

IT IS HOPED THAT MANY OF OUR FRIENDS WILL SEND SIMILAR LETTERS TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY MAKERS, AND PERHAPS USE THESE LETTERS AS A BASIS FOR LETTERS TO THE EDITORS OF THE LOCAL PAPERS. THE COUNCIL WILL BE GLAD TO SUPPLY COPIES OF THEM ON REQUEST. EVEN IF THESE LETTERS ARE NOT PRINTED THE EFFORT IS NOT WASTED -- THEY OFTEN HELP PERSUADE EDITORS TO PUBLISH SIMILAR LETTERS BY OTHERS.

DETENTE: THE ENEMY OF FREEDOM?

D. G. STEWART-SMITH, OUR BRITISH CORRESPONDENT, AND EDITOR OF EAST WEST DIGEST, IN AN EDITORIAL IN THE FEBRUARY ISSUE OF THAT PUBLICATION, DISCUSSES THE POSSIBILITY OF A DETENTE WITH THE COMMUNIST BLOC AND WHAT THE OBJECTIVES OF SUCH DETENTE MUST BE IF IT IS NOT TO SERVE THE COMMUNIST WORLD IN ITS ATTEMPT TO BURY THE FREE WORLD. HE EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR A DETENTE PROVIDED IT IS REGARDED ONLY AS A MEANS TO AN END AND NOT AN END IN ITSELF. A TEMPORARY DETENTE, HE WRITES, COULD BE USED TO ENSURE A GREATER COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO BLOCS WITH THE ULTIMATE AIM OF CHANGING THE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

THE DANGER, HE POINTS OUT, IS THAT A DETENTE WILL BE SEEN AS AN END IN ITSELF. IT WOULD EVOLVE THROUGH A RAPPROCHEMENT OR THE BEGINNING OF HARMONIOUS RELATIONS INTO ACTUAL FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION, POSSIBLY AGAINST A CHINESE "YELLOW PERIL" TYPE OF THREAT IN ASIA. THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE THAT OUR OWN FOREIGN-POLICY MAKERS ARE FALLING FOR THAT LINE. D. G. STEWART-SMITH MENTIONS FIVE DANGERS WE FACE IF SUCH AN UNCONTROLLED OR MISUNDERSTOOD POLICY, PROCEEDING FROM A POSITION OF WEAKNESS, IS ADOPTED, OR CONTINUED.

"FIRSTLY," HE WRITES, "A GENUINE AND LASTING DETENTE PRESUPPOSES A WILL TO REACH A RELAXATION OF TENSION EQUALLY BY BOTH PARTIES COMBINED WITH A MUTUAL PREPAREDNESS NOT TO INTERFERE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE WHOLE 50 YEAR RECORD OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM'S IMPERIALIST EXPANSION MAKES US BELIEVE THAT WE CANNOT RELY ON THIS HAPPENING AS A MATTER OF INEVITABILITY IN THE FUTURE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE ESCALATION OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM INTO SURROUNDING COUNTRIES MIGHT LEAD TO A HEIGHTENING OF TENSION IN EUROPE AS THE SOVIET UNION IS COMPELLED TO PROVE (HOWEVER RELUCTANTLY) ITS TRUE REVOLUTIONARY ENTHUSIASM ON THE WORLD COMMUNIST STAGE IN THE FACE OF CHINA'S CHARGES OF BETRAYAL. FURTHERMORE UNFORESEEN PRESSURES MAY ARISE FROM NEW MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS, SUCH AS THE SOVIET NAVAL INFLUENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN OR THE ACQUISITION OF ADVANCED NUCLEAR WEAPONS INCLUDING NEW ABM AND ORBITAL BOMB SYSTEMS."

SECONDLY, STEWART-SMITH SUGGESTS, THAT A POLICY OF DETENTE COULD APPEAR TO IMPLY THAT THE WEST APPROVES OF THE MAINTENANCE OF THE POLITICAL STATUS QUO IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE, INCLUDING THE PERMANENT DIVISION OF GERMANY. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD LIKE THAT IMPLICATION, BUT IT IS NOT ONLY OPPOSED TO THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE BUT ALSO, BY ITS DISREGARD OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION, COULD PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF EXTREME NATIONALISM.

HE PROCEEDS TO ENUMERATE THE OTHER THREE DANGERS: "THIRDLY, A POLICY OF DETENTE COULD APPEAR TO IMPLY THAT THE WEST CONNIVES AT THE DEPRIVATION OF HUMAN FREEDOM AND WESTERN VALUES (THE RULE OF LAW, CIVIL LIBERTIES AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT) BY ALL THE PEOPLES LIVING UNDER COMMUNIST REGIMES. THIS WILL HAVE A CATASTROPHIC EFFECT ON THE MORALE OF THE CAPTIVE PEOPLES WHO, FEELING BETRAYED BY THE WEST, WILL BE COMPELLED AGAINST THEIR BETTER JUDGMENT AND REAL WISHES TO COME TO TERMS WITH THEIR UNELECTED AND TYRANNICAL LEADERS FOR REASONS OF SHEER SURVIVAL. THE RESULTING CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST GRIP WILL NOT RESULT IN AN EFFECTIVE "LIBERALISATION" IN THE LONG RUN AND, THEREFORE, SUCH A POLICY WILL OPERATE AGAINST WESTERN INTERESTS.

"FURTHERMORE," HE ADDS, "THIS YEAR INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION WILL BE CONCERNED WITH MARKING THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATION'S UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. FOR THIS REASON IT IS NO TIME FOR THE WEST TO ADOPT A POLICY WHICH COULD POSSIBLY BE CONSTRUED AS A DELIBERATE BETRAYAL OF THE INHERENT DIGNITY OF MAN AND OF HIS INALIENABLE RIGHTS AS LISTED IN THE DECLARATION'S 30 ARTICLES. HOWEVER MUCH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS MAY HONOUR THE DECLARATION MORE IN THE BREACH THAN IN THE OBSERVANCE, THIS IS NO REASON FOR THE WESTERN POWERS TO DO LIKEWISE. IF THE WEST APPEARS TO HAVE NO COMMITMENT TO ITS STATED IDEALS, WHY SHOULD THOSE WHO SEEK TO ATTAIN THEM IN THE COMMUNIST BLOC RISK LIFE AND LIMB KNOWING THAT THEY CAN EXPECT NO HELP FROM THE NATO POWERS IN THE EVENT OF A CRISIS?"

"FOURTHLY, A POLICY OF DETENTE COULD APPEAR TO OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT THERE IS OPPOSITION TO THE UNELECTED COMMUNIST REGIMES IN THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. THE WHOLE HISTORY OF HUMAN EMANCIPATION SHOWS THAT MAN'S ASPIRATIONS TO LIBERTY AND THE ABSENCE OF ARBITRARY RULE ARE SELF-GENERATING, WHETHER ENCOURAGED OR IGNORED BY EXTERNAL FORCES. THE WEST KNOWS FULL WELL THAT THERE HAVE BEEN FOR FIVE DECADES AND ARE TODAY INCREASING MANIFESTATIONS OF DISAFFECTION INSIDE THE BLOC. WHAT IS MORE, THESE OCCASIONALLY EXPLODE SPONTANEOUSLY DURING PERIODS OF CRISIS INTO ARMED REVOLUTION, AS FOR EXAMPLE IN EAST GERMANY IN 1953, IN HUNGARY IN 1956 AND IN TIBET IN 1959. THE DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS SPECIFICALLY SAYS 'IT IS ESSENTIAL, IF MAN IS NOT TO BE COMPELLED TO HAVE RECOURSE, AS A LAST RESORT, TO REBELLION AGAINST TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION, THAT HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD BE PROTECTED BY THE RULE OF LAW.' IT IS OUR CONTENTION THAT HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE COMMUNIST BLOC ARE MANIFESTLY NOT PROTECTED BY THE RULE OF LAW, AND THAT THE PEOPLES OF THOSE NATIONS HAVE AN ABSOLUTELY JUSTIFIABLE CASE IN RESORTING TO ARMS IF THEY FEEL IT WILL ACHIEVE LIBERTY. THIS COMPLICATING FACTOR MUST BE TAKEN IN CONSIDERATION BY THOSE WHO PROPOUND DETENTE AT ANY PRICE.

"FIFTHLY, A POLICY OF DETENTE COULD ALMOST INEVITABLY APPEAR TO WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION AS SETTING THE SEAL OF APPROVAL ON COMMUNISM. FOR IT MIGHT WELL SUGGEST THAT THOSE REGIMES ARE NO LONGER OUR ENEMIES OR AGGRESSIVE BUT HAVE INDEED BECOME 'DEMOCRATISED', 'RESPECTERS OF THE RULE OF LAW', 'RESPONSIBLE' AND EVEN TRUSTED MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. THEY COULD GIVE THE COMMUNISTS UNDESERVED RESPECTABILITY AND THEREBY INCREASE THEIR POWER TO INFLUENCE EVENTS IN THEIR FAVOUR THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IT WOULD PROBABLY LEAD TO AN UNDERMINING OF THE WILL TO RESIST INFILTRATION, PARTICULARLY IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA AND ALSO TO A SERIOUS LACK OF RESOLVE IN DEFENDING VITAL WESTERN INTERESTS (BRITISH DEFENCE CUTS)."

HE CONCLUDES: "IN VIEW OF THESE DANGERS FOR A POLICY OF UNCONTROLLED DETENTE, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE WEST MUST REMAIN VIGILANT IN DEFENDING ITSELF FROM BOTH A GLOBAL MILITARY AND NON-MILITARY ATTACK; THAT WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION MUST BE KEPT FULLY INFORMED ABOUT THE NEED FOR THESE MEASURES; THAT THE WEST MUST NOT PUT ALL ITS EGGS IN ONE BASKET WHICH ACCEPTS THE MAINTENANCE OF THE STATUS QUO AND, FINALLY, THAT ALTERNATIVE AND ANTICIPATORY POLICIES MUST BE FORMULATED NOW — BASED ON THE PREMISES THAT NOTHING IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN GOES ACCORDING TO ANY PLAN OR FORECAST."

RHETORIC AS PRACTICED IN THE U. N.

ON MARCH 6, AMBASSADOR ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG ROSE AT A MEETING OF THE U. N. 'S COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO PROTEST AGAINST THE SUPPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH IN THE SOVIET UNION THROUGH THE IMPRISONMENT OF DISSIDENTING WRITERS. PLATON D. MOROZOV, THE CHIEF SOVIET DELEGATE, IN AN IMPASSIONED REPLY, SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS NOT ACCOUNTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES FOR ACTIONS IT WAS ENTITLED TO CARRY OUT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ITS CONSTITUTION AND OTHER "NORMS", AND THAT GOLDBERG'S SPEECH REPRESENTED A "GROSS INTERVENTION" IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER STATE.

GOLDBERG DID NOT REPLY. SEVERAL DAYS LATER A MOTION BY A COMMUNIST DELEGATE TO THE COMMISSION TO EXPUNGE GOLDBERG'S SPEECH FROM THE RECORD WAS APPROVED BY A VOTE OF 10 TO 8. MOROZOV'S SPEECH REMAINED IN THE RECORD. IT NEVER OCCURRED TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO MOVE THAT HIS SPEECH BE DELETED, OR PERHAPS IT WAS FELT THAT THE MOTION WOULD BE DEFEATED.

WHETHER GOLDBERG'S SPEECH, OR MOROZOV'S SPEECH, STAYED IN THE RECORD, OR WENT OUT, IS OF MINOR IMPORTANCE, EXCEPT AS IT AMOUNTED TO A FALSIFICATION OF THE RECORD, WHICH IS NOT SERIOUS EITHER. GOLDBERG'S SPEECH WAS MILD AND APOLOGETIC. IT WAS NOT, HE SAID INTENDED "TO MAKE COLD WAR PROPAGANDA." HE ONLY MENTIONED THESE TRANSGRESSIONS BY THE SOVIET UNION BECAUSE, HE SAID, HE FELT AN OBLIGATION TO THE COMMISSION TO DO SO.

IT WASN'T THAT GOLDBERG COULDN'T DO BETTER. BUT NOW HE WAS FOLLOWING A POLICY WHICH PRESIDENT JOHNSON STATES IS TO AVOID "THE ACTS AND RHETORIC OF THE COLD WAR." OTHERWISE, IT MIGHT DELAY OUR POLICY OF "BUILDING BRIDGES TO THE EAST." BUT THE COMMUNISTS ARE NOT

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INHIBITED, EITHER AS TO ACTS OR RHETORIC, IN CONDUCTING COLD WARS, OR HOT.

ORDINARILY, RHETORIC IS NOT OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE IN DETERMINING THE OUTCOME OF WORLD ISSUES. BUT WE ARE ENGAGED IN MONUMENTAL STRUGGLE FOR THE MINDS AND HEARTS OF MEN ALL OVER THE WORLD. IN THAT STRUGGLE WORDS ARE WEAPONS. IT IS AN IMPORTANT, IF NOT A DECISIVE, BATTLE-FRONT. THE COMMUNISTS RECOGNIZE IT AND USE PROPAGANDA EFFECTIVELY. WE PROFESS TO RECOGNIZE IT IN THEORY, BUT OUR EFFORTS ALONG THESE LINES ARE FEEBLE AND INEFFECTIVE.

THE U. N. IS, IF ANYTHING, AN IMPORTANT FORUM FOR THE CONDUCT OF THAT PROPAGANDA. THE COMMUNISTS KNOW THAT, AND MAKE EVIL USE OF IT. SINCE WE PAY MOST OF THE COSTS OF MAINTAINING THE U. N. WE OUGHT TO MAKE BETTER USE OF IT. WE SHOULD AT LEAST GET OUR MONEY'S WORTH. WE DON'T.

ONE OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG MIGHT HAVE RAISED, IF HE WERE NOT AFRAID OF IRRITATING THE COMMUNIST DELEGATES, IS WHY THE SOVIET UNION AND HER SATELLITES ARE IN THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT ALL. THERE ARE 30 ARTICLES IN THE U. N. 'S UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THEY ARE ALL PREDICATED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THERE IS AN INHERENT DIGNITY OF MAN WHICH GOVERNMENTS WHICH SUBSCRIBE TO THE DECLARATION MUST RESPECT. YET NOWHERE IS THE DIGNITY OF MAN HELD IN SUCH UTTER CONTEMPT AS IN THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED COUNTRIES, OR MORE FLAGRANTLY AND BRUTALLY VIOLATED. THE REPRESSION OF WRITERS, AND THEIR IMPRISONMENT, NOT ONLY IN THE SOVIET UNION, BUT IN ALL COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, COULD HAVE BEEN CITED AS ONE OF MANY COMMUNIST VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. BUT THAT WASN'T DONE IN THE U. N. — IT MIGHT IRRITATE THE COMMUNISTS.

THERE WERE TWO OTHER QUESTIONS THAT GOLDBERG MIGHT HAVE DISCUSSED IN A REPLY TO MOROZOV'S STATEMENTS. ONE OF THEM WAS THE COMMUNIST'S STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION MAY NOT BE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES FOR SOVIET ACTIONS IN RUSSIA. SHE MAY NOT BE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES BUT SHE IS ACCOUNTABLE TO THE U. N. WHOSE DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS SHE SIGNED, PRETENDS TO SUPPORT, AND FOR A VIOLATION OF WHICH SHE CONSISTENTLY WANTS OTHER NATIONS CONDEMNED.

BUT THE FULL MEASURE OF THE GALL OF THE SOVIET UNION WAS REVEALED WHEN MOROZOV STATED THAT GOLDBERG'S SPEECH REPRESENTED A "GROSS INTERVENTION" IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER STATE. IT WAS NOT ONLY COMMUNIST GALL THAT WAS REVEALED, BUT ALSO CONTEMPT FOR THE INTELLIGENCE OF OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE U. N. AND THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

EVER SINCE THE SEIZURE OF POWER IN RUSSIA, THE SOVIET UNION HAS INTERVENED IN THE AFFAIRS OF EVERY NATION. IT HAS CAPTURED OTHER NATIONS BY SUCH INTERVENTION, MILITARY AND OTHERWISE, AND IS ENGAGED ALL OVER THE WORLD IN TRYING TO CAPTURE NATIONS STILL FREE. WHAT BETTER EXAMPLE COULD BE CITED THAN HUNGARY. OR THE SOVIET'S INTERVENTION IN OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES PRESENTLY TRYING TO BREAK LOOSE FROM SOVIET AND COMMUNIST DOMINATION?

AS A FORMER UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WHO RENDERED SOME SPLENDIDLY-FORMULATED DECISIONS, GOLDBERG COULD HAVE HAD A FIELD DAY REPLYING TO MOROZOV'S STATEMENTS. IT WOULDN'T CHANGE THE COURSE OF THE COLD WAR, BUT IT WOULD HAVE TAKEN THE PROPAGANDA BALL AWAY FROM THE COMMUNISTS, AND, PERHAPS, MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE CAPTIVE NATIONS, TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY COULD BE REACHED, WOULD HAVE KNOWN THAT THEIR PLIGHT HAS NOT BEEN FORGOTTEN, FROM WHICH FACT THEY COULD TAKE HOPE AND HEART. AND NOW, WHEN MANY OF THEM ARE RISKING LIFE AND LIMB TO REGAIN THEIR FREEDOMS, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN THE IDEAL TIME TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT FOR THE WORLD TO READ. THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE, BUILT AND MAINTAINED BY FORCE, IS IN DISARRAY, THE YEARNING FOR FREEDOM WHICH CAN NEVER BE COMPLETELY EXTINGUISHED, IS REFLECTED IN CHANGES IN DEMANDS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE IS VULNERABLE, MORE SO NOW THAN EVER. THIS WAS THE TIME TO HIT HARD. IT WAS THE MOMENT FOR TRUTH. AGAIN, IT WAS PASSED BY.

----- IN THE WORLD OF LABOR -----

WHAT COMMUNISM OFFERS THE WORKERS:

RECENTLY, ALEXANDER SHELEPIN, PRESIDENT OF THE ALL-UNION CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, THE SO-CALLED TRADE MOVEMENT OF RUSSIA, ADDRESSED THE FOURTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION. BESIDES BEING PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN "TRADE UNIONS" SHELEPIN IS ALSO A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, THE COMMUNIST TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL. HE DEFINED THE OBJECTIVES AND FUNCTIONS OF TRADE UNIONS IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

WHAT HE SAID TAKES ON ADDED SIGNIFICANCE WHEN IT IS RECALLED THAT PRIOR TO HIS ELEVATION AS HEAD OF THE RUSSIAN "TRADE UNIONS" SHELEPIN HEADED THE SOVIET UNION'S COMMITTEE FOR STATE SECURITY (KGB), RUSSIA'S SECRET POLITICAL POLICE, THE SUCCESSOR OF CHEKA, GPU, AND NKVD, THE MOST DREADED AND BRUTAL INSTRUMENTS OF TERRORISM, TORTURE AND TYRANNY IN RUSSIA.

THE BASIC PURPOSE OF TRADE UNIONS IN COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED COUNTRIES, SHELEPIN DECLARED, WAS THE FURTHERING OF PRODUCTION. HE CALLED IT "SOCIALIST EMULATION." THAT IS THE COMMUNIST TERM FOR COMPETITION AT WORK, IN WHICH WHOLE FACTORIES, WORK SHOPS, AND EVEN INDIVIDUAL WORKERS ARE PITTED AGAINST EACH OTHER TO FILL AND OVERFULFILL PRODUCTION TARGETS. IN OUR COUNTRY IT IS CALLED THE SPEED-UP SYSTEM.

IN EAST GERMANY A MORE APPROPRIATE TERM IS USED TO DESCRIBE THIS SPEED-UP SYSTEM. AT A SERIES OF REGIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCES HELD IN SEVEN EAST GERMAN CITIES ON MARCH 17 THE MAIN SUBJECT DISCUSSED WAS HOW THE WORKERS COULD BEST MARK THE OCCASION OF THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE SO-CALLED GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC. IT WAS DECIDED TO LAUNCH A SPECIAL CAMPAIGN OF "COMPETITION AT WORK," IN WHICH WORKERS WILL TRY TO OUTDO EACH OTHER IN MEETING PRODUCTION DEMANDS.

THAT SYSTEM HAS BEEN FOUGHT BY FREE TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS WHEREVER EMPLOYERS HAVE RESORTED TO IT, BECAUSE IT DESTROYS THE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH OF THE WORKERS. IT MAKES OF THEM NERVOUS WRECKS. THE SOVIET UNION USUALLY BOASTS ABOUT THE SANATORIUMS AND HEALTH INSTITUTIONS THEY HAVE CREATED AND WHICH ARE USED NOT ONLY TO REHABILITATE THE WORKERS SUFFERING FROM THE EFFECTS OF A SPEED-UP SYSTEM, BUT ALSO AS SHOW PLACES FOR VISITING DELEGATIONS, ALTHOUGH IN MOST INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES THE HEALTH INSTITUTIONS ARE SUPERIOR.

BUT WHAT IS EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT IS THE METHOD BY WHICH THE COMMUNISTS INTEND TO MAKE THEIR SPEED-UP SYSTEM WORK. SHELEPIN STATED THAT IT REQUIRES "DISCIPLINE" TO MAKE IT WORK. VARIOUS PENALTIES ARE IMPOSED FOR THOSE WHO CANNOT FILL OR OVERFULFILL PRODUCTION SCHEDULES. HE COMPLAINED THAT SOME "TRADE UNION" ORGANIZATIONS HAVE LAX IN ENFORCING THAT DISCIPLINE. APPARENTLY, SOME WORKERS CANNOT BE DRIVEN THAT HARD, IN SPITE OF THE PENALTIES IMPOSED, SO THEY MUST BE MADE TO TOE THE MARK. WHO COULD DO THAT JOB BETTER THAN THE FORMER HEAD OF THE RUSSIAN SECRET POLITICAL POLICE? THE PRESIDUM, WHICH NAMED HIM HEAD OF THE "TRADE UNION" MOVEMENT, FELT THAT HE WAS EMINENTLY QUALIFIED FOR THE JOB, BY HIS EXPERIENCE AS HEAD OF THE KGB.

WHAT SHELEPIN PROPOSES TO DO IS TO MAKE SOME FEATURES OF THE FORCED LABOR CAMPS WHICH HAVE SHOCKED THE WORLD IN THE PAST, AND WHICH STILL EXIST IN RUSSIA, AND OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, NATION-WIDE. THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE AS A WHOLE MAY NO LONGER EXPERIENCE THE HORRORS OF THE FORCED LABOR CAMPS -- HORRORS WHICH RIVALLED THOSE OF HITLER'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS -- BUT THEY WILL BE SUBJECTED TO AT LEAST SOME OF ITS TRAGIC EFFECTS.

HUNGARIAN WORKERS' CONDITIONS WORSEN:

ON JANUARY 1, HUNGARY'S NEW LABOR CODE WENT INTO EFFECT. WILLIAM SOLYOM-KEKETE, WHO AS AN ATTORNEY IN HIS NATIVE HUNGARY SPECIALIZED IN LABOR LAW, HAS ANALYZED THAT CODE IN THE MARCH ISSUE OF EAST EUROPE. HE FINDS THAT INSTEAD OF LESSENING THE BURDENS OF THE WORKERS, AS NEW CODES WHICH SUPERSEDE OLD ONES IN THE WEST DO, HUNGARY'S NEW CODE INCLUDES NEW HARDSHIPS FOR THE WORKERS, AND EVEN DEPRIVES THEM OF SOME OF THE GUARANTEES THEY HAD IN THE STALINIST ERA. HE CITES SEVERAL EXAMPLES.

THE NEW CODE EMPOWERS ENTERPRISE MANAGERS TO FIRE "SURPLUS" LABOR. FREE TRADE UNIONS HAVE CONTRACTUAL PROVISIONS WHICH REGULATE FIRING PRACTICES AND PROVIDE FOR MEASURES THAT WOULD REDUCE THE HARDSHIPS OF DISMISSALS. SOMETIMES THE WORK IS DIVIDED UNDER A SHARE-WORK

ARRANGEMENT. SOME UNIONS HAVE REDUCED THE WORK-WEEK IN THEIR INDUSTRIES. WE CALL IT "JOB SECURITY." HUNGARY'S [1951] LABOR CODE DID PROVIDE FOR A CERTAIN TYPE OF SECURITY. IN FACT, SOLYOM-KEKETE POINTS OUT, THE WORKERS WERE SO SECURE IN THEIR JOBS THAT THEY COULDN'T QUIT, EVEN IF THEY WANTED TO. BUT THE OLD CODE DID PROVIDE THAT ENTERPRISES COULD NOT FIRE EMPLOYEES WITHOUT CAUSE, AND PRESCRIBED THE TERMS UNDER WHICH TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT WAS PERMISSIBLE. THESE REGULATIONS WERE NOT ALWAYS OBSERVED IN PRACTICE, BUT SOME MEASURE OF JOB SECURITY EXISTED. IF THE WORKER DID NOT CAUSE TROUBLE (BY CRITICIZING MANAGEMENT, OR SOLDIERING) AND PERFORMED HIS DUTIES MORE OR LESS ADEQUATELY, HIS JOB WAS RELATIVELY SECURE. "THE NEW CODE," SOLYOM-KEKETE WRITES, "ABOLISHES ALL RESTRICTIONS ON THE TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT."

IN THE WEST, MANAGERS MAY ALSO DISMISS WORKERS, BUT THIS IS SUBJECT TO TRADE UNION CONTRACTS. BUT EVEN WHERE THE RIGHT TO DISMISS IS NOT RESTRICTED BY CONTRACT, THERE ARE CERTAIN ADVANTAGES WORKERS IN THE WEST STILL ENJOY. IF A WESTERN WORKER LOSES HIS JOB FOR ANY REASON HE IS FREE TO SEEK EMPLOYMENT ELSEWHERE OR START HIS OWN BUSINESS. IN HUNGARY, THERE IS BUT ONE EMPLOYER, THE STATE, AND A WORKER FIRED BY ONE GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISE USUALLY DOES NOT FIND HIMSELF WELCOME IN ANOTHER.

FURTHERMORE, THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THE FREEDOM TO FIRE WORKERS NOW BEING GIVEN TO ENTERPRISE MANAGERS WILL CONSTITUTE A MEANS OF PUTTING POLITICAL PRESSURE ON THE WORKERS. FOR INSTANCE, THE PARTY SECRETARY OF THE GANZ ELECTRICAL WORKS WARNED MANAGERS THAT IN "SELECTING CADRES, ACTING ON PROMOTIONS AND DISMISSALS, AND IN PREPARING PERFORMANCE RATING (THEY) MUST ASK FOR THE OPINION OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION AND THE TRADE UNION; AND THAT THESE OPINIONS MUST ALSO BE HEEDED." THE TRADE UNION AND THE PARTY ARE ONE AND THE SAME.

FRINGE BENEFITS HAVE ALSO BEEN DRASTICALLY CURTAILED UNDER THE NEW CODE. UNDER THE OLD CODE SUCH BENEFITS WERE OBLIGATORY. THE NEW CODE REMOVES THAT PROTECTION. THERE IS A PROVISION IN THE NEW CODE THAT THE ENTERPRISE MAY CONTRIBUTE TO THE WORKERS' LIVING STANDARDS, BUT THERE IS NO OBLIGATION TO DO SO. A CERTAIN PART OF THE PROFITS OF AN ENTERPRISE MAY BE SET ASIDE FOR DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE WORKERS ACCORDING TO A PROFIT-SHARING PLAN, BUT THE FINANCING OF FRINGE BENEFITS MAY COME ONLY FROM THIS PART OF THE PROFITS. CONSEQUENTLY, EITHER THE PROFIT SHARE WILL BE LOWERED, OR THE WORKERS WILL HAVE TO MAKE A HIGHER CONTRIBUTION - CORRESPONDING TO THE ACTUAL COST - FOR SERVICES THEY HAVE UNTIL NOW ENJOYED AT LOW COST. AND WHAT ABOUT THE MANY INDUSTRIES WHICH DO NOT SHOW A PROFIT? THE NEW CODE DOES NOT ANSWER THAT QUESTION, BUT SOLYOM-KEKETE SAYS THE ANSWER IS OBVIOUS: FRINGE BENEFITS WILL SIMPLY BE CURTAILED.

HE MENTIONS OTHER DEPRIVATIONS THE WORKERS WILL SUFFER UNDER THE NEW CODE, INCLUDING THE METHODS BY WHICH WAGES WILL NOW BE FIXED. THE CODE SPEAKS GENERALLY OF UNION RIGHTS, BUT IT'S HARD TO FIND THEM IN THE CODE.

HE CONCLUDES: "THESE UNIONS REMAIN AS THEY WERE, ARMS OF THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP; THEY REPRESENT MANAGEMENT, NOT LABOR. THE HEAD OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS, THE HIGHEST UNION ORGAN, IS SANDER GASPAR, WHO IS ALSO A POLITBURO MEMBER. SIMILARLY, FOUR OUT OF THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL'S SECRETARIAT, AND ONE OF THE THREE VICE PRESIDENTS ARE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE UNIONS CHIEF PURPOSE IS TO SERVE THE PARTY AND NOT THE MEMBERSHIP IT PRESUMABLY PROTECTS...."

EAST GERMAN WORKERS LOSE RIGHT TO STRIKE - EVEN IN CONSTITUTION:

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE, THE ULTIMATE MEANS BY WHICH WORKERS CAN IMPROVE THEIR ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, WHEN ALL OTHER METHODS FAIL, IS ONE OF THE WORKERS MOST PRECIOUS RIGHTS. IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES THIS RIGHT WAS SOMETIMES MENTIONED IN CONSTITUTIONS, ALTHOUGH INVARIABLY DENIED IN PRACTICE. IN EAST GERMANY, THE SO CALLED GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE CONSTITUTION DID CONTAIN AN ARTICLE WHICH, THEORETICALLY AT LEAST, PERMITTED STRIKES, ALTHOUGH THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IN THE PART OF GERMANY HAS BEEN NON-EXISTENT BOTH DURING THE NAZI REGIME AND THE SOVIET OCCUPATION BY THE PRESENT PANKOW REGIME.

THE DRAFT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF EAST GERMANY PRESENTED ON JANUARY 31, 1968, LEAVES OUT BASIC RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO STRIKE. THESE BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS WHICH NOW FALL BY THE WAYSIDE, ALTHOUGH THEY EXISTED IN THEORY ONLY, INCLUDE PROVISIONS AGAINST CENSORSHIP, THE RIGHT OF YOUNG PEOPLE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN PROFESSION, AND THE POSSIBILITY TO EMIGRATE.

THE TRADE UNION NEWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS WRITES: "THUS EVEN THE ILLUSIONS OF DEMOCRATIC RULE HAVE NOW BEEN REMOVED FROM THE WORDING OF THE CONSTITUTION. THE SPIRIT OF THOSE WHO CONSTRUCTED THE ILL-FAMED BERLIN WALL IN AUGUST, 1961, AND WHO CAUSED THE BLOODY REPRESSION OF THE WORKERS' STRIKES AND UPRISING IN JUNE, 1953, IS EVIDENT IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION, IN ALL ITS NAKEDNESS. NO ONE, ON READING IT, WILL BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THE CONTENTION THAT THE STATE-RUN TRADE UNION CENTER, THE FDGB, IS 'INDEPENDENT'. AS BEFORE, IT REMAINS A TOOL IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY FOR THE POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE WORKERS AND TO ENFORCE LABOR DISCIPLINE."

----- COLD WAR DIGEST -----

RUSSIA'S PROBLEMS IN LATIN AMERICA:

ONE OF THE THINGS THAT SEEMS TO CONFUSE ENTIRELY TOO MANY PEOPLE, INCLUDING THOSE WHO SHOULD KNOW BETTER, IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FIDEL CASTRO'S CUBA AND RUSSIA.

THERE IS A SORT OF FOUR-WAY SPLIT IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD, WITH MOSCOW HEADING ONE FACTION, PEKING A SECOND, EASTERN EUROPE A THIRD, AND CASTRO A LONELY FOURTH. THE ARGUMENT IS NOT ABOUT WHETHER THE COMMUNISTS PLAN TO CUT THE FREE WORLD'S THROAT. IT IS ABOUT HOW THE THROAT SHOULD BE CUT AND WHO SHOULD WIELD THE KNIFE.

CASTRO, ALTHOUGH CLOSER IN IDEOLOGY TO PEKING THAN ANY OTHER COMMUNIST FACTION, IS STILL VERY MUCH A MAVERICK. HE HAS DEMONSTRATED AND CONTINUES TO DEMONSTRATE IDEOLOGICAL INDEPENDENCE, AND HAS SO FAR BEEN PREPARED TO PAY THE PENALTY. WITH RUSSIA CUTTING CUBA'S OIL SUPPLIES, A COUNTRY WITHOUT LARGE OIL DEPOSITS, NO COAL OR HYDROELECTRIC POWER TO SPEAK OF, AND NO OTHER ENERGY SOURCE, CASTRO HAS CHOSEN THIS TIME TO MOUNT A SHOW TRIAL DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE CASTRO'S ABSOLUTE CONTROL WHILE TAKING A VICIOUS SWIPE AT HIS RUSSIAN BENEFACTOR.

THE RUSSIANS ARE STUCK WITH CASTRO, WHETHER THEY LIKE IT OR NOT. FIDEL DOES NOT CONSIDER HIMSELF STUCK WITH ANYBODY.

FORMER ARGENTINE PRESIDENT ARTURO FRONDISI PUT THE MATTER PLAINLY IN ROME RECENTLY. RUSSIA IS NOT PUSHING CASTRO'S GUERRILLA WARFARE SCHEME IN LATIN AMERICA BECAUSE, IF SUCCESSFUL, THE RESULT WOULD PROBABLY BE TO LEAVE OTHER NATIONS AS ECONOMICALLY DEPENDENT ON RUSSIA AS IS CUBA.

IF THE LOCAL COMMUNIST PARTIES ACQUIRE CONTROL WITHOUT THE OPEN CLASH OF ARMS, THEY ARE NOT SO LIKELY TO RUIN THE ECONOMY SO QUICKLY. THE JUVENILE IDEAS OF FIDEL CASTRO AND CHEDDI JAGAN CARRY A BUILT-IN PENALTY: DESTROYING THE EXISTING ECONOMY BEFORE BUILDING ANYTHING TO REPLACE IT MEANS SOMEONE HAS TO PICK UP THE PIECES.

"COMMUNISTS IN MOST LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS ARE NOT SO ANXIOUS TO ACHIEVE POWER THRU REVOLUTION," FRONDISI SAID. "THEY WANT OBTAIN THEIR GOALS THROUGH OTHER MEANS." THE POINT TO REMEMBER IS THAT THEY DO WANT TO OBTAIN THE SAME GOALS, AND THEY MAY WELL BE MORE SUCCESSFUL THAN CASTRO HAS SHOWN HIMSELF OUTSIDE CUBA SO FAR.

GUATEMALA EXTREMISTS ENDANGER THE COUNTRY'S DEMOCRACY:

A REAL BATTLE IS BEING FOUGHT IN GUATEMALA CITY, AND ITS OUTCOME IS LIKELY TO DETERMINE THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THE DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED ADMINISTRATION OF JULIO CESAR MONTENEGRO. AGAIN A FORMER PRESIDENT HAS PUT THE MATTER CLEARLY: MIGUEL YDIGORAS FUENTES SAID A FEW DAYS AGO THAT THE WAVE OF TERRORISM, BEING WAGED MOSTLY IN THE STREETS OF GUATEMALA CITY, HAS PUT THE COUNTRY "IN AN EXTREMELY DANGEROUS POSITION AND CAN DEVELOP INTO A SITUATION REPUDIATED BY ALL DEMOCRATS."

CALLING TERRORISM EQUALLY CONTRARY TO THE NATION'S INTERESTS, WHETHER IT CAME FROM THE EXTREME RIGHT OR THE EXTREME LEFT, YDIGORAS WARNED A MILITARY TAKEOVER BECOMES INCREASINGLY LIKELY AS THE TERRORISM CONTINUES.

IT WILL BE IRONIC INDEED IF RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS PROVIDE THE EXTRA MUSCLE THE COMMUNISTS NEED TO BRING RENEWED CHAOS TO GUATEMALA. ANOTHER MILITARY GOVERNMENT IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO GIVE THE COMMUNISTS THE EXTRA STRENGTH THEY NEED TO TAKE CONTROL AT A LATER DATE.

SYMPTOMATIC OF THE DEEP DIVISIONS IN THE COUNTRY IS THE RECENT DEFECTION OF THREE CATHOLIC MARYKNOLL MISSIONARIES, WHO, INSTEAD OF CONVERTING THE GUATEMALANS TO CHRISTIANITY, WERE THEMSELVES CONVERTED BY THE COMMUNISTS TO THAT CAUSE. THEIR HEADQUARTERS IN OSSINING, NEW YORK, SAID THAT SO FAR AS IT KNOWS, THE THREE ARE ON THE MEXICO-GUATEMALA BORDER, PRESUMABLY WORKING WITH GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA "DISCOVERS" THE CULPRIT:

WHEN, FOLLOWING THE REVOLT OF THE WRITERS AT THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN WRITERS' CONGRESS LAST JUNE, A "MANIFESTO" CALLING ON THE INTELLECTUALS OF THE WEST TO HELP THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN WRITERS AND ARTISTS WIN THEIR BATTLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR PEOPLE FOUND ITS WAY INTO THE SUNDAY TIMES OF LONDON, THE STALINIST RULERS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AFTER DECLARING THE "MANIFESTO" TO BE A FORGERY FABRICATED ABROAD, CONCENTRATED THEIR ATTENTION ON FINDING THE AUTHORS AND SPONSORS OF THE DOCUMENT.

THE IDEA THAT PUNISHING AN AUTHOR WOULD DISPOSE OF THE PROBLEMS WITH WHICH HE DEALT IS IN ACCORD WITH COMMUNIST TRADITION. IT IS LIKE BLAMING THE PATIENT'S FEVER ON THE THERMOMETER AND NOT ON THE INFECTION. THE FEVER WHICH HAS RESULTED IN THE RECENT POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA REFUSED TO DISAPPEAR, EVEN THOUGH THE ALLEGED AUTHOR, IVAN PFAFF, WAS FOUND AND IMPRISONED. WHILE IN PRISON THE SECRET POLICE OBTAINED HIS "CONFESSION" - HE, AND HE ALONE, WAS RESPONSIBLE, HE "CONFESSED", FOR THE DOCUMENT, WHICH IS KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN SIGNED BY 183 WRITERS, 69 ARTISTS, 21 FILM PERSONALITIES, 56 SCIENTISTS, 89 ACTORS, AND 39 TELEVISION ARTISTS. THE "MANIFESTO" ONLY REFLECTED THE WIDESPREAD DISGUST WITH THE STALINIST REGIME. ITS LEADERS, WHO FAILED TO PERCEIVE THAT, AND WHO THOUGHT THAT BY ARRESTING AND PERSECUTING THOSE WHO GAVE EXPRESSION TO THE DISCONTENT, THEY WOULD SOLVE THE NATION'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS, ARE EITHER OUT OF POWER, OR ON THE WAY OUT.

THE TROUBLE HAD BEEN BREWING FOR A LONG TIME. THE INTELLECTUALS WERE THE FIRST TO SOUND THE ALARM. IT SOON SPREAD TO OTHER GROUPS, WHO TOOK HEART FROM THE PROTEST WHICH CAME FROM THE INTELLECTUALS. THE PRESSURE MOUNTED AS THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY, ONCE THE MOST ADVANCED AND PROSPEROUS IN EUROPE, WAS SLIPPING FROM BAD TO WORSE. THE BATTLE BETWEEN COMMUNIST PROGRESSIVES, WHO SAW THAT A MEASURE OF FREE ENTERPRISE WOULD CURE THE NATION'S ECONOMIC ILLS, AND THE CONSERVATIVES, WHO WERE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE ON THE ROAD WHICH WAS LEADING THE COUNTRY FURTHER ALONG TOWARD RUINATION, HAD BEEN GOING ON FOR SEVERAL YEARS, BEHIND CLOSED DOORS, OF COURSE. IT REACHED NEW HEIGHTS LAST NOVEMBER, WHEN NOVOTNY, THE STALINIST PUPPET, SIGNED AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH REQUIRED CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO STEP UP HER EXPORTS TO THE SOVIET UNION, AND WHICH WOULD BE A FURTHER DRAIN ON HER ECONOMY, LEAVING VERY LITTLE FOR PROFITABLE TRADE WITH THE WEST.

DRAINING THE ECONOMIES OF HER SATELLITES FOR HER OWN BENEFIT HAS BEEN STANDARD SOVIET PROCEDURE. RUMANIA ALSO HAD COMPLAINED ABOUT IT. BETWEEN 1955 AND LAST YEAR, THE SOVIET SHARE OF RUMANIA'S TRADE DROPPED FROM 54 P/C TO 34 P/C, WHILE RUMANIA'S TRADE WITH THE WEST HAD INCREASED FROM 18 P/C TO 40 P/C OVER THE SAME SPAN. THE SOVIET UNION, LIKE COMMUNISTS ELSEWHERE, HAVE ALWAYS CHARGED THAT CAPITALISTIC COUNTRIES HOLDING COLONIES, USE THESE COLONIES FOR THEIR OWN ENRICHMENT. THE SOVIET UNION, THE LARGEST, AND NOW, VIRTUALLY THE ONLY, COLONIAL EMPIRE IN EXISTANCE, HAS BEEN BLEEDING HER SATELLITES MUCH TO THE SAME EXTENT. THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT FORMER CAPITALISTIC COLONIES, SO-CALLED, ARE NOW, IN THE MAIN, INDEPENDENT AND FREE. WHILE THE SATELLITES ARE STILL PAYING TRIBUTE TO HER CAPTORS.

THE DISCONTENT IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS NOT DUE EXCLUSIVELY TO THE WAY THE SOVIET UNION EXPLOITS HER. ALSO, IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THE CZECHOSLOVAKS WERE AT ODDS WITH THEIR RULERS. THE PEOPLE DID NOT FEEL THEY COULD, OR SHOULD, DEPRIVE THEMSELVES OF THINGS TO SUPPORT INDEFINITELY, "WARS OF LIBERATION" IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD. NOR DID THE PEOPLE FAVOR THE GOVERNMENT POLICY OF SUPPORTING THE ARABS AGAINST ISRAEL, WHILE NOVOTNY INSISTED ON FOLLOWING THE KREMLIN LINE.

BUT, IF THERE IS SOME REASON TO HOPE THAT THE POLITICAL CHANGES WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA WILL MARK THE NEW ERA IN THAT COUNTRY'S LIFE, AND EVENTUALLY LINE HER UP ON THE SIDE OF FREEDOM, THERE IS ALSO SOME REASON TO FEAR THAT THESE CHANGES WILL FALL FAR SHORT OF THE GOAL THE PROGRESSIVES SEEK. THERE HAVE BEEN EVIDENCE OF HOPEFUL CHANGES IN THE PAST, BUT IN THE END THE COMMUNIST DIE-HARDS EMERGED ON TOP. IN RUMANIA, FOR EXAMPLE, WHERE THE CHANGES APPEAR TO BE MORE FAR-REACHING, IT IS FOUND THAT WHILE THERE HAS BEEN SOME DE-CENTRALIZATION ECONOMICALLY, POLITICAL POWER HAS BEEN FURTHER CONCENTRATED WITHIN THE HANDS OF THE PARTY. THE MORE THINGS CHANGE, THE MORE THEY REMAIN THE SAME.

THE CZECHOSLOVAKS, AS WELL AS THE RUMANIANS, MUST CONTINUE TO WALK A TIGHT ROPE, PROMISING THEIR PEOPLE REFORMS WHICH GO BEYOND ANYTHING THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO ALLOW. EVERY STATEMENT BY ADVOCATES OF REFORM MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A PLEDGE THAT TIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE UNBREAKABLE. CZECHOSLOVAK CHANGES ARE NOTED VERY MEAGERLY IN THE SOVIET PRESS, AND WHEN EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES OF THE NEW LEADERS ARE USED THEY RELATE ONLY TO THE PLEDGES OF THAT RETREAT FROM COMMUNISM IS CONTEMPLATED. THE MINDS OF THE REFORMERS ARE HAUNTED BY WHAT HAPPENED TO HUNGARY. THEY DON'T WANT TO SUFFER THE SAME FATE. THERE ARE REPORTS, AS YET UNVERIFIED, THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE MASSED 50,000 TROOPS CLOSE TO THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN BORDER. THIS MAY SERVE TO REMIND THE CZECHOSLOVAKS THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL CRUSH THEIR REVOLT, AS SHE CRUSHED THE HUNGARIAN REVOLT.

NOR DOES IT MEAN THAT EVEN IF DOMESTIC ECONOMIC REFORMS IN THE SATELLITE COUNTRIES REMAIN, THERE WILL BE A CORRESPONDING CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL POLICIES.

YUGOSLAVIA IS A CASE IN POINT. SHE BROKE AWAY FROM THE SOVIET UNION SO FAR AS ACTING INDEPENDANTLY IN DOMESTIC MATTER IS CONCERNED, BUT SHE FOLLOWS FAITHFULLY THE SOVIET UNION'S LINE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. THE FREE WORLD MUST CONTINUE TO DEPEND ON ITS OWN STRENGTH TO RESIST AGRSSION RATHER THAN ON A BREAK-UP OF THE COMMUNIST MONOLITHIC STRUCTURE AND ITS APPARATUS.

The Subject: The Reds

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Reds Worse Than Military Juntas

Nathaniel Weyer, in his letter calling attention to the fact that the takeover by the military junta in Greece may have prevented a Communist takeover, is of interest not only because of Greece, but also because of other countries which would have gone Communist if military juntas had not taken over first.

The Reds, where they do not take over power, create the reason and the conditions for the success of military juntas, or dictatorships of a color other than their own. When the

Communists begin fomenting "wars of national liberation" in preparation for a "dictatorship of the proletariat," they provoke a reaction on the part of those who feel that if there is to be a dictatorship they would rather be the dictators themselves.

The history of the last 50 years, since the Communists seized power in Russia, is replete with evidence that where they do not seize power themselves they create the conditions propitious for the victory of military juntas. Mussolini came to power

when Communists began seizing factories and provoking the riots and disorder which they feel is a prerequisite for their own seizure of power. It also happened in Germany, where the Communists and Nazis worked in harmony to discredit the democratic republic. The Communists have also shown that when it furthers the national interest of Russia, they will work with the juntas they help bring to power.

What is particularly disconcerting to those of us who abhor dictatorships, whether they be of the right or left, is that the mass-media show a greater tolerance for Communist dictatorships and so little tolerance for those who seize power to prevent Communist takeovers.

There is always a clamor among liberals that we should refuse to give aid and recognition to the military juntas who have restricted democratic rights, on which the Communists always insist where they are not in power, but deny their own peoples, and that we should be tolerant of the Communist regimes which do much more than just suppress democratic rights. They won't have us recognize the military junta in Greece, but they insist that we recognize Communist China, and, also, that we "build bridges to the East" so that we can enable Communist countries, which are pledged to our destruction, to extricate themselves from their economic difficulties.

We must deplore any violation of democratic rights, whoever the perpetrators are, but in several respects at least military juntas are less objectionable than the Communist tyrants. For one thing, the mass executions which follow a Communist takeover are absent when the juntas take over. Following Castro's takeover in Cuba, thousands of people who failed to support him were for weeks thereafter executed before firing squads. The same procedure was followed in other countries seized by the Communists. It did not happen in Greece, and there are no reports to that effect. The Greek government freed Andreas Papandreu; in a Communist country he would have faced a firing squad.

In another respect, the juntas are less objectionable, much as we regret their restriction of democratic rights. They do not, unlike the Communists, threaten their neighbors and the other peoples of the world. Batista was dictator, but he did not train guerrillas and send arms to overthrow other regimes, as Castro is doing, and other Communist countries are doing. Failure to note this distinction distorts the picture and in the end serves Communist purposes.

MARK LEWIS
Hollywood

The Evening Star

With Sunday Morning Edition

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Letters to the Editor

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U.S.-U.S.S.R. Euphoria

SIR: The Star's Moscow correspondent, Edmund Stevens, presents a curious view of the role of the Soviet Union in the Israeli-Arab war last June. He indicates that the Soviets showed great restraint and as a result the Glassboro conference was held. Largely because of Glassboro, he says, "the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have so far managed to avoid another direct confrontation in Vietnam despite continued escalation on both sides."

Mr. Stevens must think readers of The Star have both short memories and no clipping files. William F. Frye wrote in The Star on May 25, 1957, when the Mideast crisis was approaching the boiling point:

"U. S. delegate Arthur J. Goldberg offered to join with Russia, Britain and France in a four-power effort to restore and maintain peace in the Near East but Russia showed no sign of interest in the proposal. . . . The Soviet Union, on the contrary, emphasized its solidarity with Nasser. . . . The Kremlin seemed eager to exploit an opportunity to inflame the Arab world against the West."

On the same day, the London Express reported that Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko told the British that the Soviets would not use their influence to prevent war in the Middle East "because of the Vietnam war." The Express said: "All the indications point to Moscow's determination to exploit the current crisis to the hilt, using it for a further Soviet entrenchment in the Middle East and as a means of diplomatic pressure on American Vietnam policy."

On June 17, Israel's Foreign Minister pointed out that Moscow bore much of the responsibility for the Israeli-Arab war and "now was working against any tendency toward peace in the Arab capitals." The New York Times pointed out on June 15 that Soviet shipments of arms to the U.A.R. and Syria to replace the huge supplies of Soviet arms lost in the fighting got under way almost as soon as the fighting stopped. It was recently estimated that the rearming of the U.A.R. was 80 percent completed. These arms included the missiles used to sink the Israeli destroyer, an incident which now concerns the world with the possibility of another war in the Middle East.

Mr. Stevens' claims can best be described by those words Richard Wilson wrote in The Star on August 25th: "All this is part of a political mythology that does not have much substance in view of the Soviet Union's continued overt actions to extend the Communist revolution in varying forms to the Far East, the Middle East, and Latin America. This is what Johnson, or any President, has to look at with wariness."

It may be comforting to some to recall that the United States received aid and comfort from Catherine the Great, as Mr. Stevens does, but the rulers of the Kremlin have the bad habit of coming up with a nasty surprise such as the Cuban missile crisis, the Middle East war, and Vietnam with such regularity that it is hard to agree with Mr. Stevens that they really want to be our bosom friends.

Reed J. Irvina.

VIETNAM

In his article "Without 'Advice and Consent'" (NL, August 28), Reinhold Niebuhr repeats, by implication at least, what has repeatedly been asserted by the intellectuals who oppose our involvement in Vietnam, that we are fighting there to contain Communism. Any resemblance between this statement and the truth is purely coincidental.

President Johnson has repeatedly stated that our objective is to stop aggression. He has made it equally clear that if, after the war, a free and fair election is held in South Vietnam and the Communists win that election—something which has never happened anywhere—the people could have a Communist regime. Does that support the claim that we are fighting to contain Communism?

Failure to stop aggression in the past led us into World War II. Had we stopped the Japanese when they invaded Manchuria, Mussolini when he invaded Ethiopia, and Hitler when he was picking off his neighbors one by one, we might have avoided that war. It was to avoid a similar catastrophe, World War III, that the United Nations was created, so that aggression might meet collective resistance.

When the UN demonstrated its incapacity to act effectively regional alliances were created. These alliances were directed not against Communism as such but against aggression.

The Communists, in pursuit of their objective of world conquest, are the only remaining aggressors. Obnoxious as their philosophy is, disastrous as their economic system is to the peoples they have subjugated, if they let other peoples alone and not try to bring them into their colonial empire by force, our country would not undertake to contain them, but they have chosen, instead, to take over the rest of the world by force. That is what we are fighting in Vietnam, not Communism.

The fact of the matter is that we have done more to help Communism than contain it. Yugoslavia, a Communist country, has received billions of dollars worth of aid from us, even though in its foreign policy it is allied with the international Communist conspiracy. On numerous occasions we have helped the Communists extricate themselves from the economic difficulties into which they have plunged other countries. It has seemed to many of us that this is a mistaken policy, but, mistaken or not, it certainly does not add up to any attempt to contain Communism.

Dr. Niebuhr and his associates, in urging that we pull out of Vietnam, are the direct descendants of a former generation of isolationists. In the '30s there were the America Firsters, who were willing to let Hitler continue his aggressions. Now there are the Ghetto Firsters, demanding that we abandon South Vietnam to its fate and pour the money it costs to fight the war into a rehabilitation of the ghettos, as Dr. Niebuhr suggests. This throws a cloak of social respectability over what is essentially an isolationist position. In the '40s, the isolationists advocated Fortress America, which, by implication at least, meant that we should look after America First; that would include the ghettos, but was not expressly mentioned because it lacked the popularity the idea has now.

There is much that might be done about the ghetto, and pouring billions of dollars into it is not the complete answer, but whatever the answer is it does not involve our permitting the aggressors to take over the world, piece by piece, and our own national security is endangered.

Miami, Fla.

MARK LEWIS

The Evening Star

Washington, Feb. 13, 1968

The New York Times

Letters to the Editor

Published letters are subject to condensation, and those not selected for publication will be returned only when accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelopes. The use of pen names is limited to correspondents whose identity is known to The Star.

At the Bar of History

SIR: We have been led astray. Like babes into the woods, we have allowed ourselves to be deluded by propaganda — financed in part by our own dollars — into believing that somehow, someday, the "lamb can lie with the lion" and awaken unconsumed, white-healed and alive. (Substitute "sheep" for "lamb" — "red bear" for "lion.")

A couple of hundred years from now: Will students of our American civilization ponder our avowals of political error and offer only a "tsk-tsk" at this proud, however extinct, nation? Or will the United States be simply stricken, Orwellian fashion, from the history books as is the common practice of Communism, once triumphant?

Congratulate the Communists (next time you get the chance) for:

(1) Supersalesmanship. They sold us the line that their's is a bona fide political party not so much unlike our own. We bought it on 'time' and are still sweating out the installments. They also sold us the basket of rotten eggs: 'War is 'peace'; defense is aggression; free enterprise is 'imperialism'; private ownership is 'oppression', etc.

(2) 50 years of successful "bully-ism." We turned our head and pretended to pick the circles of post World War I and World War II from our eyes while the Red bully kicked and stomped her neighbors into submission as satellites.

(3) A present-day "ice-berg" on the remaining Free World. Communist leadership the world over has been successfully motivated into believing that, now, it is only a relative 'matter of time' before the land masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America are theirs.

And we, the Free World leaders, are slowly revealing ourselves to our fate. We can't be "beaman for the whole world, now can we? Our military is defensive in posture: our treasure diminishes; our finest young men are sent to fight "controlled wars" around the globe. We "decided long ago to give the bear and the tiger "half." Now we wonder why they want it all. Small wonder.

Like babes we have been led astray and then left leaderless and powerless and helpless. Our grandchildren may someday curse our gullibility, our indecision, our cowardice. Oh, God save us, may we yet awaken from our slumber and beat the bear at his own game.

R. H. McHaffey.

Alexandria, Va.

SIR: I am surprised by the naivete of your editorial which gives more credit to your good intention than to your ability to reason the case you are trying to make; the same is true with Messrs. Kennedy and Romney, as well with the National Council of Churches and the United Nations Association of the United States. Your arguments ("China should be invited . . . because it is there," or "the eventual seating of Red China is the best hope for eventual world peace") would be appropriate for a high school debating team; they sound strange on the pages of a metropolitan newspaper. You fail to show that the move which you propose would in any way benefit the United States' position in the world; without it, the State Department would have to treat your proposal simply as an emotional outburst of your editorial writer who is apparently unaware of the serious political liabilities attached to this move.

Vladimir Petrov,
Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies,
George Washington University.

SIR: Putting aside 22 paragraphs of faulty reasoning, I call your attention to the statement: "China should be invited into the United Nations, in short, simply because it is there."

R. H. McHaffey.

Alexandria

SIR: Your editorial "Time to Invite Red China into the U.N." was an insult to the intelligence of your readers. Too bad that the writer did not have the opportunity to learn from the lessons of history by reading the wonderful column of Dr. Frederick Harris "Righteousness and Peace" which appeared in the same issue.

C. D. Hill.

SIR: The editorial argument that Red China should be invited into the U.N. "simply because it is there" is an appalling tribute to non-logic.

Any consistent reading of The Star's excellent world news coverage discloses that a three-part war is now being waged against the United States and that it is being supported by Peking, Moscow and all Communist forces here and abroad.

Donald W. Miller.

SIR: What a "bold day" the Communist propaganda machines will have with your editorial, "Time to Invite Red China into the U.N."

R. H. McHaffey.

President's Record on Negotiation Offers

To the Editor:

It is true, as former Congressman Hamilton Fish points out in his letter (Times, Feb. 12) that President Johnson, by encouraging trade with the Communist-controlled countries, and favoring additional consulates with the Communists—while sending young Americans to Southeast Asia to resist aggression there—has confused the issues of the Vietnam war. But there is no reason for confusion as to the President's desire for a negotiated settlement.

He has offered to negotiate 28 times. He has offered to negotiate unconditionally. He has stated he would agree to stop the bombing of North Vietnam if the latter would agree not to take advantage of such a bombing pause to strengthen its military position, which can only increase our casualties. His opponents have charged that this very reasonable and modest request is a demand that the Communists surrender unconditionally.

It is important to remember how Communists negotiate. Captured North Vietnamese documents, and their public statements, confirm their intention to negotiate and wage war simultaneously. We sustained 20,000 casualties in Korea after the Communists agreed to negotiate.

Spirit of Negotiation

If negotiations are to lead to the "just and honorable peace" Mr. Fish states he feels they must be conducted in a spirit of accommodation, and not for the purpose of taking an unfair advantage of the other side. And it should be noted that the bargaining power of the negotiators will be no better than the military posture in which the respective parties find themselves on the battlefield. Otherwise it will not lead to a peace that is just, or honorable or durable. The Communists have given no indications that they are ready for that kind of a conference.

The record is clear that the commitments which President Johnson was called upon to honor were made in the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations, particularly and most unmistakably in Kennedy's.

The President has proved that he has no fear to negotiate. His plans for such negotiations have reached a point where they become self-defeating. The enemy may have conspired then to mean that we are on the verge of collapse. It is only unconditional surrender that Mr. Johnson rejects.

Finally, Mr. Fish argues that this is a wrong war waged at the wrong time. Mr. Fish, who is a dedicated anti-Communist and has rendered distinguished service in combating Communism, has also a long record as an isolationist.

As a member of the America First Committee, before we entered the war against Hitler, he thought it was a wrong war. But if we are going to fight aggression we must fight it where it raises its ugly head, and when it does. In this case it happened in South Vietnam, and it happened at this time. It will happen again and again, and time and again, if aggression should succeed now in Vietnam.

Max Lewis
Chairman, Council Against
Communist Aggression
Hollywood, Fla., Feb. 13, 1968

The chairman of the Council Against Communist Aggression said here yesterday that recent events, including the Pueblo affair, have "shattered" the idea that the Communists have mellowed toward world conquest.

Marx Lewis, of Hollywood, Fla., the chairman, came here to talk with a group of Philadelphians affiliated with the council at a luncheon in the Sylvania Hotel.

The council was founded here in 1951 and is a national organization with headquarters at 1509 N. Broad st.

Viewed as Deceit

Lewis, in an interview, said the council considers itself a moderate group, rather than a militant group against communism. He said:

"The idea, fostered by the Administration and the State Department that the Communists have mellowed, that the cold war is a thing of the past, and that by 'building bridges to the East' we can get the Communists to abandon their objective of world conquest, has been shattered."

"In Korea, in the Middle East, in Latin America, in Southeast Asia, in Africa, on the high seas and on land, the Communists are challenging us with complete impunity, while we continue our retreat from reality," Lewis said.

Checks Use of Force

In connection with North Korea's seizure of the Pueblo, a U. S. Navy communications ship, Lewis said the U. S. "could have gotten the ship back in 24 hours."

Instead of asking the Russians to help us out of the predicament, Lewis said the U. S. should have given the North Koreans 24 hours to return the vessel and its crewmen or face bombing from planes of the Navy aircraft carrier Enterprise, which was sent to waters off North Korea.

"The only thing the Communists understand is force," Lewis said. "If we don't use power against them they are going to take over more and more of the world."

Had Proposed

He said the Pueblo seizure has bolstered the chances of Congress passing the council's bill to create a Freedom Academy to train Americans in the art of political and psychological warfare.

About 130 in this area are affiliated with the council. Philadelphia members include Methodist Bishop Fred Pierce Corson; the Rev. Dennis Comey, director of St. Joseph's college Institute of Industrial Relations; Sal B. Hoffmann, international president of the Upholsterers' Union, and Robert Eckert, editor of the "Sons of Italy Times."

Lewis was former secretary-treasurer of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

Council Against Communist Aggression

A committee of correspondence founded 1951 to disseminate information in aid of World Freedom

National Headquarters — U.I.U. OFFICES, 1500 N. BROAD ST., PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19121

Chairman

Marx Lewis
1939 Harrison Street
Hollywood, Florida 33020
Tel. 922-1832

March, 1967

Dear Correspondent:

Vice-Chairmen

Roy Brewer
Rev. Dennis Comey, S.J.
Mrs. Geraldine Fitch
Gerald Gidwitz
Sal B. Hoffmann
Victor Lasky
Benjamin McLaurin
Herbert Philbrick

After a lapse of four months, we are resuming the publication of the documents which Arthur G. McDowell issued, but in a modified form. The enclosed is the first of the new series.

Treasurer

Marshall Peck

We hope to improve on it as time goes on. Because of the format, we are not using much of the material we receive daily from our foreign correspondents. It has to be omitted. The information they make available is invaluable, and nowhere else available. This would be included under the heading of Cold War Digest. If and when funds become available we will issue the material in printed form. It would give us more extended coverage and also make it more readable.

Capitol Correspondent

George Holcomb
Arlington, Va. 22207

The monthly bulletin is only one of several activities in which we plan to do our part in the struggle against Communist aggression. In the legislative field we are working to secure the passage in this Congress of our Freedom Academy Bill. Committees in both Houses of Congress have at one time or another, following extensive hearings, recommended that the bill be passed. At one time it passed the Senate, but too late in the session to bring it up in the House. These bills have recently been introduced, and we are trying to arrange for their consideration. We will keep you informed as to their progress and also advise you as to how you can help mobilize Congressional support.

Foreign Correspondents

V. L. Borin
Central Europe
Geoffrey Fairbairn
Canberra, Australia
H. W. Henderson
Glasgow, Scotland
Suzanne Labin
Paris, France
Andy McKeown
London, England
Jose Roberto W. Penteado
Sao Paulo, Brazil
O. Rosenbes
Melbourne, Australia
D. G. Stewart-Smith
England
Ram Swarup
New Delhi, India
Keilchi Ariyama
Osaka, Japan

We are also devoting our attention to organizing new chapters in localities where they do not now exist. Recently, two chapters have been added, and contacts are being made in other cities.

Executive*—National Committee

N. F. Allman
Frank R. Barnett
Earl Copeland, Jr.
Bishop Fred Corson
F. Roger Downey
Edward R. Easton*
Dr. Wm. W. Edell
Earl A. Emerson
Dr. S. Andil Fineberg*
Col. Hamilton Fish
Robert Fitch
Dr. Ben A. Garside
James W. Gerard, II
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Alan G. Grant, Jr.
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Reed Irvine
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Irene Kuhn
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Sarah Limbach
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Lt. Gen. John N. O'Daniel (Ret.)
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Philippa Duke Schuyler
Dr. Fred C. Schwarz
Mark Selko
Peter Steele
Sol Stein
Theodore Streibert
Judge Matthew J. Troy
Dr. Richard L. Walker
Watson Washburn*
Peter Weimer
C. Dickerman Williams*
Dr. Karl Wittfogel
Bertram D. Wolfe
Bernie Yoh
and Officers

We are entering a critical phase in the struggle to defeat Communist aggression. Our people are being deluded into believing that the Cold War is over, that by building "bridges to the East" the Communists will be deflected from their objective of world conquest, and even that it is better to be "Red than dead." We must resist, more than ever, this process of mental disarmament.

We hope to have your support. The security of our nation depends upon what we all do to alert our people to the mortal danger we face. Everyone has a part to play in the struggle to preserve freedom. We are confident that you will do what you can to help.

Sincerely yours,

MARX LEWIS, Chairman

Lest We Forget:

Will Rogers once said that "The United States never lost a war or won a peace conference". It was more than just a quip; it was an historic truth. He might have added, with equal truth, that each peace conference planted the seeds from which grew the next war.

There is now a clear and present danger that in our eagerness to end the war in Vietnam, we will lose at the peace conference what our fighting men are winning on the battlefields of Vietnam.

The war there has not been won as yet. But it is agreed by all military experts, and reluctantly conceded by some politicians and commentators who have denounced our refusal to surrender, that the tide of battle has turned. A year ago the Communists were sure that they were winning. The evidence now is that they have abandoned the hope they had of achieving a military victory. But they have not abandoned the idea that because of the pressures to which the Administration is being subjected at home and abroad, they can achieve a political victory at a peace conference. If they are right, we shall have again won a war and lost a peace conference.

The Communists are proposing that we stop bombing North Vietnam. They will not make any commitment as to whether or when they will cease their fighting against us and our allies there. One of their government spokesmen specifically rejected the idea that they would stop infiltrating the South in return for our unilateral cease-fire; he declared that they could not betray their friends in South Vietnam. But we are expected to betray our friends. What they are really proposing is that they enjoy, as the North Koreans and the Red Chinese enjoyed during the Korean War, a privileged sanctuary, from which they can come down and bomb us, but which we dare not enter to pursue and bomb them. We fought the Korean War with one hand tied behind our backs, and as a result all we had to show for the terrific losses we sustained there was a stalemate settlement and a situation which is still precarious for us. What they are proposing now is that only one-half of the war be abandoned - our half.

The Communist plan is supported here by the leftists, the pseudo-liberals, pacifists and defeatists who claim that the Communist proposal is only a face-saving device which we ought not to deny them if it will end the war, even if it means as it undoubtedly would, our unconditional surrender. If it were merely a face-saving device it might be considered, in return for the lives we save. But if we have to save their face by losing the lives of our men, who would just be sitting ducks for Communist attacks, it is something else again.

In return for our unconditional surrender, the Communists say they will consider the four conditions they had previously insisted on only as a "basis" for peace negotiations. Even many here who reject the idea that we should surrender unconditionally are inclined to believe that this could be an entering wedge for peace negotiations. Before we take this leap into the dark we ought to draw from our previous experience in negotiating with the Communists and to profit from that experience. There is a proverb which says: "If a man deceives me once, shame on him; if he deceives me twice, shame on me". In dealing with men whom J. Edgar Hoover characterized as "Masters of Deceit", it would be well to remember that.

The most recent, and the most illuminating experience to which we can turn for guidance occurred when we negotiated with the Communists following the armistice in Korea. It is described by Admiral C. Turner Joy, who was our Senior Delegate and Chief of the United Nations Command Delegation to the Korean Armistice Conference. He found in months of negotiation with the Communists that "The measure of expansion achieved by Communism through negotiations is impossible to disassociate from what they have achieved by force, for the Communists never completely separate the two methods". He cites the victories the Communists achieved by negotiations at Yalta, and at Geneva, where almost half of Indochina was delivered to Communism.

"Communists", he declares in his book "How Communists Negotiate", "neither blunder into conferences nor rush pell-mell into negotiations. First, they carefully set the stage".

In Korea the stage was set in June 1951, when the Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations remarked publicly that it might be well if the opposing sides in Korea arranged a truce, based on the 38th Parallel as a truce line. Acting on this remark, General Ridgeway, our Commander in Chief, broadcast by radio a message to the Communist military commanders in Korea, inquiring whether truce talks were desired, and suggesting that if such is the case, the talks be held on a Danish hospital ship, internationally recognized as a non-belligerent facility, a ship provided by Denmark, a neutral country. This neutral, non-combative ship would be in waters controlled by Communist guns and mine fields. It didn't seem that there could be any legitimate objection to such an arrangement,

The reply which came from the Communists read, in effect, "If you desire a truce, come to Kaesong and we'll talk". Kaesong is a city almost precisely on the 38th Parallel. It was controlled by the Red Chinese. The Communist idea was to create the impression that the request for the truce came from our side, although it was initially suggested by the Soviet Ambassador, who really spoke for them. By suggesting that the negotiations be held in a city they controlled rather than on a neutral country's ship, they made it appear that the United Nations' representatives were, in effect, coming, hat in hand as it were, to them to seek peace.

General Ridgeway, considering this only a face-saving device for the Communists, agreed. He would not permit that to stand in the way of negotiations if it would end the war. Our representatives did insist, however, on the Communists agreeing to a demilitarized neutral zone around Kaesong. This the Communists rejected.

Throughout the initial meeting our representatives, though completely without arms, were surrounded by troops of armed Communist soldiers brandishing hand machine guns threateningly. Communist photographers and press representatives made the most of the situation, to show that it was the United Nations command, not the Communists, who needed and sought a truce.

As further evidence of their desire to create the impression that the United Nations was surrendering to the Communists, the Communists argued that the U N delegation remain overnight at Kaesong during the negotiations. This would make it appear that the U N delegation was a captive of the Communists. It could have no other reason. This the U N delegation rejected.

Even the table around which the negotiators sat was arranged to make it appear that the U N representatives were the vanquished, the Communists the victors. For example, the chairs were arranged so that the Communist delegates would be looking down upon the U N delegation. Photographs of this were taken before a change could be made. Heavily armed sentinels were everywhere, governing each step taken by the U N representatives. One of the sentinels posted conspicuously beside the access doorway to the conference room wore a gaudy medal which he proudly related to the chief of our delegation was for "killing forty Americans". The U N representatives decided that somewhere a line must be drawn to prevent their suffering further indignities. They announced that Western newsmen would attend the subsequent meetings of the delegations.

At first, the head of the Communist delegation agreed, but then quickly recanted. He said that the matter must be held in abeyance, and, in any event, that presence of Western newsmen "is not the principal problem for our discussion". Our delegation declared that their presence was essential, and that until such time as they were admitted the conference would be in recess. When our delegation failed to show up the next day, the Communists backed down.

The Communists took advantage of the truce talks to improve their situation on the battlefield. When they thought that they had redressed the dangerous situation in which they had stood in June, when they had agreed to truce talks, they staged two incidents, one of which was used as a pretext to launch an attack on our lines. They were temporarily successful. But when they were finally thrown back they suddenly decided to resume talks. Our military advantage proved decisive.

But the real problem came when the agenda was to be drawn up. Westerners consider an agenda a list of items enumerated as a "basis" for negotiation and subject to negotiation. Communists consider the items of the agenda "conclusions" that are not negotiable, except as to details. For them the items are a starting point. Thus, the U N delegation proposed as an item for discussion a cessation of hostilities and acts of armed force under conditions which would assure against a resumption of hostilities. That is the purpose of an armistice conference. The Communists started with a proposal that all armed forces of foreign countries be withdrawn from Korea. This was an issue that could properly be discussed at a peace conference, not a conference to arrange for a truce.

After ten plenary sessions an agenda was agreed upon. The U N delegation discovered later that in spite of all the caution they had exercised, they had nevertheless been trapped. Fortunately, our military position in the field was good, and when General Ridgeway announced a suspension of negotiations unless certain conditions were met, the Communists backed down. It was not our skill as negotiators -- our representatives had the necessary skills -- but it was our military position on the battlefield that determined the outcome.

In dealing with the North Vietnamese now, if and when we get to it, as sooner or later we will -- it will be important to bear in mind that the conditions under which a truce is discussed must be precise in terms, and that even with the utmost precision our position militarily must be such that we do not lose at the conference table what we achieved on the battlefield.

No one wants the war to last a day longer than is necessary. To prolong it unnecessarily for one day would be a crime against our fighting men there. But to settle it a day sooner than is necessary to achieve our objective would be a betrayal of the more than 7,000 of our men who have already died there and the tens of thousands who have been wounded.

"Those who will not learn from history shall be condemned to repeat it," a great Frenchman once said. It has happened often in the past. Let us not repeat in Viet Nam the mistake we made in Korea.

C O L D W A R D I G E S T

Japan and Okinawa

The recent national elections in Japan were an important test for the free world. It had been freely predicted that the government party, the Liberal-Democrats would lose seats, perhaps enough to endanger their continued control of the lower house of the Diet. Had this happened, the chances of obtaining a renewal of the U. S. Japan Security Agreement, which expires in 1970, would have been slim. The termination of this agreement, which permits U. S. troops to be stationed in Japan, has been a prime aim of the communists. The election results were very gratifying from this point of view. The Liberal-Democrats suffered a reduction of only one seat and will remain firmly in control during the crucial years ahead. The Socialist party, which has been rabidly pro-Peking, won 140 seats, a loss of 4. The Democratic Socialists, a moderate leftist party, won 30 seats for a gain of 7. The Communists won 5 seats, a gain of 1. The Japanese Communist party follows the Moscow line. It has probably picked up strength from the Socialists, whose pro-Peking stance has been a liability since the development of turmoil in China.

However, electoral gains or losses, were never a true test of Communist strength, or a barometer of their influence. Official reports show that Communist party membership in Japan rose from 190,000 to 280,000 last year. Their party organ has a daily circulation of 326,000 and a Sunday circulation of 1,180,000. Needless to say, they are concentrating on trying to influence the students, and they are well infiltrated in the communications media. Even in the Ryukyu Islands, which are under U. S. military administration, being the site of one of our most important bases in the Pacific, leftists have won significant influence among the students and teachers. They dominate the influential teachers' association, and it is said that about 70% of the students at the University of the Ryukus, which the U. S. founded, are leftist. The percentage in the University faculty is said to be even higher.

The communist strategy in the Ryukyus is to strive to bring about reversion of control of the islands to Japan. They believe that once this is achieved, the same restrictions will be applied to the military base that now apply to our bases in Japan, including the prohibition on nuclear weapons. This will greatly reduce the value of the base to the U. S. Reversion to Japan is highly popular in the Ryukus, partly because relatively few people fully appreciate the tremendous economic value of the U. S. base, not to mention its importance in the defense of the Free World. The Ryukus provide one of the best proofs of the fallaciousness of the Marxist theory that people are governed by their economic interests. The military base has made the people prosperous as they have never been before. The population is nearly double the maximum that could be supported in great poverty before the war. The removal of the base would be an economic disaster, but clever playing on irrational and emotional themes has obscured all this in the minds of a great many Ryukyuans, and those who have an understanding of economic reality must be very cautious in what they say to educate the public.

There is no question but that Japan and Okinawa are prime targets of political and ideological warfare of the communists. It is a mistake on our part to assume that the growing prosperity of these areas somehow makes them immune to the communist efforts to sow intellectual confusion and weaken their will to resist. The confusion that has hit China presents a wonderful opportunity to discredit Communism in the Orient. But to exploit this properly, we need a greatly stepped up effort to influence the intellectual climate in these countries through articles, lectures and films. This is the type of thing that could come out of the Freedom Academy, if we only had it operating.

The Red Trail in Rhodesia:

In the discussions that have taken place so far as to whether the U N was justified in intervening in the dispute between England and Rhodesia, and whether the United States is justified in carrying out a U N decision to apply economic sanctions to bring down the Ian D. Smith government, the role that the Communists are playing in the Rhodesian issue has been overlooked. The Communists have succeeded in mobilizing world opinion against Rhodesia and the South African countries, and they stand to be the principal beneficiaries of the situation.

Nathaniel Weyl, formerly a labor attorney, and a dedicated anti-Communist, recently visited the South African countries, where he had an opportunity to investigate conditions and interview influential and knowledgeable people in and out of the governments. He found that in addition to hoping to gain eventual control over this important land mass, the Communists are exploiting the issue of apartheid to acquire the rich resources of that part of the world. If by imposing these sanctions, the United States scores a victory, it will lead to the extension of Communist influence or control over the wealthiest and most strategic portion of Africa. In the meantime, the Communists, by exploiting the issue of apartheid, in which they have no real interest, have succeeded in dividing the free world.

Mr. Weyl writes:

"The Communist orientation of the campaigns against Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese possessions should be abundantly clear to the American public, but it evidently isn't.

"These three targets can be separated in terms of presentation to a public hostile to South Africa, but they cannot be separated in reality. The fundamental Communist target in Africa is the Republic, for a variety of reasons. It is the only modern industrial complex anywhere in the world south of the Rio Grande; it produces 72% of Free World gold, 40% of the industrial output of Africa (with only 6% of Africa's people and 4% of her land); is a formidable military power, has vitality important reserves of maganese chrome, uranium and copper; produces the world's cheapest coal in abundance, and is one of the most rapidly expanding economies on earth.

"She is a primary Red target as the only bastion of Western civilization (together with Rhodesia and Portuguese Africa) on the Continent, and because of her strategic control of the sea lanes from Europe and North America to the Orient. (Today's big tankers cannot go through Suez and consequently round the Cape.)

"Captured documents of the illegalized South African Communist Party stress the key role of the conquest of South Africa in Soviet strategy. These documents date from Operation Mayabuyi (1963) and from the Braam Fischer arrest (1965). They stress a combined operation. South Africa is considered particularly vulnerable to outside pressure since virtually the entire U N opposes her: the USSR for reasons of fundamental strategy; the Afroasian states because of racism, resentment of apartheid and the fact that the political, social and economic success of South Africa and Rhodesia is a reproach to black Africa for the hunger and chaos it has created; the U.S. and the West, as the Red documents point out, because they can be counted on to play the Soviet game wherever an issue of 'racial injustice' is involved. The Rhodesian, Portuguese African and Southwest Africa controversies are flanking and preliminary operations preparatory to a decisive attack on South Africa itself".

The ties between the so-called nationalist organizations in Rhodesia and the Communists, Mr. Weyl points out, are real, and apparently effective, even though the Communist party in Rhodesia is outlawed. He cites chapter and verse.

"In Rhodesia," he writes, "the so-called nationalist organizations are the National Democratic party and the Zimbabwe African People's Union: NDP and ZAPU. The headquarters of ZAPU in London are 374 Gray's Inn Road, the same address as that of the movement for Colonial Freedom and the African Communist. ZAPU has been successful in getting the Defense and Aid Fund of Christian Action to step into the limelight in terms of British public relations and fund raising".

In England, as elsewhere, this group has enlisted the support of some well-meaning people who have become aroused by Communist claims of suppression and racial injustice. A large group of distinguished Englishmen, including Prime Minister Wilson, signed an appeal issued by this Fund for "fair trial in Southern Rhodesia" in which the "Southern Rhodesian Government" was accused of "persisting in banning all legitimate opposition to its racialist policies". In "ads" run in British papers, the case of a "George", an African detainee, who was a sick man unable to get medical treatment in prison and refused permission to seek it elsewhere, whose family of seven were living in the African reserve in conditions of great poverty and distress, was cited as evidence of Rhodesian inhumanity. None of this was true, as the Rhodesian Federal High Commissioner subsequently proved. Thirty signatories of the appeal apologized to the then High Commissioner for the many lies the "ads" contained.

When Rhodesia ousted and expelled some professors and instructors from the University in Salisbury, the Government was castigated by the usual chorus of liberals for an alleged infringement of academic freedom. When the trial of the associates of these teachers comes up, the Government will show that at least one of these teachers had been engaged in caching Chinese small arms, grenades and land mines for future insurrectionary activity.

The American Security Council, in its December Washington Report, sums up the African question well when it declares:

"The Western policy towards Africa has been a record of one tragic error compounded by another. The problem seems to be that many of the men chiefly responsible for United States policy toward Africa have little or no experience with the continent itself. Their thinking is dominated by ideological cliches which may be relevant to Western democracies but violently contradict the every day facts of life in Africa."

"Experience has already shown that while African 'friendship' can be temporarily rented, it can never be permanently bought. In this kind of game, Communist cynicism is likely to prove more effective in the long run than

Western idealism. Africans can comprehend the former more easily than the latter What guarantee do we have that, in the smoking aftermath, African hostility would not be simply transferred to all Whites in general in order to provide the emotionally necessary foreign enemy?"

A Half Century of Failure:

Before this year is over, the Soviet Union will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Communist seizure of power in Russia. It will use its vast apparatus around the world to tell of the "wonders" of its achievements, the paradise it created on earth. The truth it will not tell is that Communism as an economic system has been a ghastly failure, and that to the extent that the Communist tyranny has survived at all, it can be attributed to the abandonment of its economic practices and the introduction of some of the features of the free enterprise system which it persists in denouncing.

Last October, the Institute for the Study of USSR convened an international conference in Munich on "The October Revolution: Promise and Realization". Over 150 specialists from 20 countries -- including some who had taken part in the revolutions of 1917 -- met to examine the expectations of yesterday's revolutionary leaders in terms of the actual achievements of the Soviet Union over the past fifty years.

Robert Farrell, in his report of the conference, appearing in this January's issue of East West Digest, the Journal of the British Foreign Affairs Circle, mentions several very relevant facts which leftists ought to know before they get into an ecstasy on the Soviet Union's achievements.

Dr. Stanley H. Cohn, of the State University of New York, and Dr. John P. Hardt, of the Research Analysis Corporation of Virginia, submitted a joint paper which traced the development of the Soviet Economy since 1917. They observed:

"Spurred by new requirements as perceived by the Soviet leadership, the pressure to attain higher performance mounts year by year. This steep demand in desired performance coupled with a very modest increase in actual performance leads to an expanding gap creating an increasingly unstable situation".

Prof. Cyril Black of Princeton University remarked that the USSR today ranks twentieth among the world's economies in terms of per capita gross national products, or approximately on the same relative level as in 1913, before the Communist paradise was created.

Prof. Warren Nutter of the University of Virginia pointed out that if the basic promises of the October Revolution are taken to be those proclaimed in the slogans of the time -- "Land to the Peasants", "Bread to the Workers", and "Freedom to All", then economic developments during the period of Soviet rule must be viewed as having run sharply counter to them.

The Soviet agricultural failures were described by Carl Zoerb, Soviet affairs analyst of Radio Free Europe. Soviet agriculture has failed to live up to Soviet expectations, he said, "because of persistently low yields and exorbitant production costs....."

In a report on "Collectivization: New and Old Myths and the Future", Prof. Roy D. Laird, of the University of Kansas, told the conference that the changing myths of Soviet collectivization are rooted both in Marxist-Leninist doctrines and the lessons of experience. Noting that the collective farms constitute an emotional as well as economic and political investment of more than a quarter of a century, Professor Laird said that abandonment of the system now would amount to an unprecedented admission of grave error on the part of the Party. "For good or ill", he said, "nothing short of another revolution or a series of production failures far more serious than those yet experienced can be expected to result in a serious challenge to the basic myth of Soviet collectivization".

Many other phases of Communist practice and theory in the USSR were discussed and analyzed. It has proven its failure in every sphere but one, Soviet foreign policy. The leaders of the October Revolution had guessed right about the weaknesses in the foreign policies of non-Communist countries, and have been successful in fooling the rest of the world as to their intentions and objectives. They had won in many cases by default. The democracies contributed to their foreign policy successes.

NEAR EAST REPORT:

Senator Jacob K. Javits, of New York, recently announced that he had information that the Soviet Union "is ready to do business with the United States in every area." One of the areas in which he was sure the Communists are ready to do business is in the Middle East or Near East. The New York Times, in reporting Javits' optimistic opinion, stated that "he did not say on what he based his statement."

It turned out, as one read Javits's statement, that he had no such information, and was merely proposing that "the United States put a cessation of Soviet arms shipments to the Middle East at the top of the agenda in any conversations with Moscow." He said that his confidence was based on "the new spirit of relaxation" between the Soviet Union and the United States, brought about because the Soviet Union has decisively prevailed over Communist China "for the leadership of the Communist world". "A titanic effort, he added, "must be made to solve outstanding difficulties and especially the relationship between Israel and the Arab states, because the situation there "was more threatening to world peace than Vietnam."

Who is to make this "titanic effort"? The United States, of course. In the Security Council of the UN, the Soviet Union, to which Israel had appealed for help to stop a series of outrages committed by Syria's military junta, vetoed a mild resolution our country introduced which merely asked Syria to "strengthen its measures of preventing incidents that constitute a violation of the general armistice agreement." Does this sound as if the Soviet Union "is ready to do business with the United States, in the Middle East, any more than in Vietnam?"

Javits, long the darling of the liberals, an old hand at "building bridges to the East", is thinking of the next election, when he hopes to be the Republican Vice Presidential nominee, rather than of the next generation. He has over the years shown a remarkable ability "to run with the hare and hold with the hound". In the current debate on our Vietnam policy, he has played both sides of the street, with the "hawks" and the "doves". To satisfy the "doves" he calls for an immediate cessation of the bombing; to satisfy the "hawks" he says that we should do so only if our pause is not used as a cover for continued infiltration of men and supplies into the South. We can easily cease the bombing, but how do you get the Communists to agree to stop their infiltration of the South? That he fails to say, hoping that the question may not be asked.

----- RECOMMENDED READING -----

PEACE OR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, by Richard V. Allen, with a foreword by Bertram D. Wolfe, Published by the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism. Mr. Allen, formerly a Research Principal of the Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University, and now on the staff of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, bases this valuable study on an examination of more than 3,000 articles, books, speeches and documents from 35 Communist Parties. More than 90 percent of the material used in the study was issued since the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962. It is up-to-date, thorough, well-documented, and as complete a study of present Communist problems as can be found anywhere. No student of the subject should be without a copy. It sets at rest many of the claims now being made that the time for cooperation with the Communists has arrived. As Bertram Wolfe, a member of our National Committee writes in his foreword, it "is calculated to give pause to complacent and careless optimism about the present and ultimate intentions of the Soviet rulers and ideologists." (Paperback). Price 75 cents per copy.

NO VISION HERE: NON-MILITARY WARFARE IN BRITAIN, by D. G. Stewart-Smith, Published by Foreign Affairs, Petersham, Surrey, England. Stewart-Smith is a life-long student of Communist affairs and has written extensively in an effort to alert Great Britain, its government and people, to the need of taking affirmative action to assist the peoples living in Communist countries to create political administrations responsible to their wishes. An absolute opponent of maintaining what he considers to be a dishonorable status quo, he calls for an entirely new approach to international affairs, and he feels that the very nature of the Communist challenge has made many traditional diplomatic attitudes irrelevant. He maintains, unless this is done, that the West is in fact betraying its own values, whether they are religious, moral or

political. While theoretically the philosophy of the three major political parties in Britain is Christian idealism, in practice the parties' respective lines degenerate into pagan materialism, he maintains. He includes in his 150 page, well-documented and concise compilation, which carries a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Julian Amery, and a most valuable chapter summarizing the aims and activities of some 45 private groups in Britain concerned with foreign affairs. As the editor of the monthly journal, East West Digest, he makes available invaluable material on Communist activities around the world. Price is \$4 per copy.

COMMUNIST METHODOLOGY OF CONQUEST by Luis V. Manrara, President of "The Truth About Cuba Committee", has succeeded in presenting in a brochure of less than 50 pages a statement of Communist tactics, strategy and objectives which others have written a large volume to describe. It can be a valuable educational tool both to those who have read extensively on the subject, since they have here a concise statement, fully documented, and to those who are introduced to the subject for the first time. We have a limited supply of copies on hand which we will be glad to mail free of charge while they last.

DEDICATION AND LEADERSHIP TECHNIQUES, by Douglas Hyde, and published by Mission Secretariat. It contains several talks by Mr. Hyde at a Leadership Training Seminar devoted to an understanding of the development of Marxist doctrine, particularly as it affects the Catholic Church, and it is recommended for use in the missions and among the intellectuals and students in the missions. It is a unique contribution to Communist literature in that Mr. Hyde was for 20 years a leading British Communist, and he tells the story of Communist dedication and practices as only one who has been on the inside of the Communist conspiracy can tell it. It also tells how we can develop among anti-Communists the kind of leadership and dedication needed to win the world-wide battle for the minds of men. Price, \$1 per copy.

WHY VIETNAM, by Prof. Frank N. Trager. A Professor of International Affairs at New York University, Dr. Trager was formerly the Director of the Point Four Program in Burma. He is the author of numerous books and articles on the Asian world, and is the editor of Marxism in Southeast Asia. In this work, Dr. Trager describes the Indochinese peninsula before and after the arrival of the French, the problems they created, and the mistakes we have made since, and the prospects for the future. For those who want an in-depth knowledge of how we got into the situation we face in Vietnam now, and a clear analysis of the shortcomings of the Geneva agreements, and who was responsible for those agreements, this book will be a valuable source for material needed to counteract Communist claims. Published by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. Price, \$4.95 per copy.

(Orders for the books listed above may be placed by addressing the Council Against Communist Aggression, 1939 Harrison Street, Hollywood, Florida 33020)

----- CACA ACTIVITIES -----

RESUMPTION OF LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES:

The bill to establish a Freedom Commission and to create a Freedom Academy which will train people in the government and private sectors of our country to serve in the field of political and psychological warfare -- a field which the Communists have preempted, and one which has enabled them to achieve their major successes thus far -- will be pushed with renewed vigor by our Council in this session of Congress. The bill once passed the Senate, but too late in the session to receive House consideration. In the last Congress the Committee on Un-American Activities reported it favorably but it could not reach the House floor for final action because the House Rules Committee, under the chairmanship of Representative Howard W. Smith, its chairman, refused to grant the rule which would enable House consideration. Rep. Smith has since been defeated, and Rep. William M. Colmer is the new chairman. We are hopeful that the change will improve the chances of having the bill enacted by this Congress. We are now concentrating our efforts in this direction.

COMMITTEES ON CORRESPONDENCE:Our Local Committees on Correspondence:

New York: Under the Chairmanship of Col. James W. Gerard, our New York Committee has held a number of successful luncheon meetings at which distinguished specialists on various aspects of Communism presented views and material on current problems. Each of these meetings was well-attended, and as the series continued, the attendance grew.

At one of the first luncheon meetings held shortly after Arthur G. McDowell passed away, William Kaufman was elected Executive Secretary of the New York organization. Benjamin Protter, Editor of Today in France, a monthly publication dedicated to working for a better understanding between Americans and Frenchman, is closely associated with Colonel Gerard in the conduct of our New York organization's activities, a more complete account of which will appear in next month's issue of this Bulletin.

Washington, D. C.

Shortly after Arthur G. McDowell's death, our Washington circle met and decided to rename the group the Arthur G. McDowell Washington Circle in tribute to his memory. A committee of seven was elected to direct the Circle's affairs. They include George Holcomb, our Capitol correspondent, Earl Copeland, Lee Edwards, David Lichtenstein, David Martin and Serafino Romualdi, who for many years directed the activities of the AFL-CIO in Latin America. Consideration was given at that meeting to the opening of a Washington office for our legislative work.

Luncheon meetings have been held monthly ever since. One of the speakers was Don Miller, who had recently returned from Korea where he participated in the formation of the World Anti-Communist League in cooperation with the Asian People's Anti-Communist League.

Among the speakers at subsequent luncheon meetings was David Martin, who discussed the need of our developing, if the USSR persists in its present plans, an anti-missile defense system, regardless of cost, and other phases of our national security system. Other speakers at these meetings included Prof. Richard Walker, of the University of South Carolina, an expert on China, whose recent book on China has been published by the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Education Against Communism.

Los Angeles, California:

National Vice Chairman, Roy D. Brewer, one of the Council's founders, who recently moved from New York to Los Angeles, has organized a Committee on Correspondence in Los Angeles. At a well-attended meeting, journalists, educators, labor leaders, lawyers, businessmen and actors decided to form a permanent organization, and to pay an annual membership fee to finance the Council's activities nationally.

On February 21, Reed Irvine, a member of our National Committee, addressed the Los Angeles Chapter and met with our friends and members there. He reports that he had a good visit with Roy Brewer and our friends.

Vice Chairman reports: "Enthusiasm ran very high, and I think we are going to have a very substantial group."

Miami, Florida: The first of what is expected to be a monthly luncheon meeting of the Council in Miami was held on Monday, February 27. Nathaniel Weyl was the guest speaker. Weyl is the author of numerous books and a lecturer of international repute. He has recently returned from Rhodesia where he had an opportunity to get first-hand information as to the part which the Communists are playing there. His subject was "The Role of the Communists in the Rhodesian Crisis". The luncheon meeting was well attended and it is expected that those present, and many others whom they will contact, will attend the next luncheon meeting in March, arrangements for which are now being made by Chairman Lewis. Among those present were representatives of various groups who are now in a better position to work in cooperation for a common goal".

ARTHUR G. McDOWELL MEMORIAL BROCHURE: A 32-page brochure describing the labors, dedication and accomplishments of Arthur G. McDowell, whose life was devoted to the advancement of freedom wherever it is challenged, has just been published by the Upholsterers' International Union, and has been mailed to our correspondents, the local officials of the Union throughout the country, and to trade union officials of other international unions, all of which he served with the zeal of a crusader. It contains tributes by Dr. B. Hoffmann,

under whose direction it was compiled, and Chairman Lewis, the speeches delivered, at the Memorial Meeting held in Philadelphia on October 15th, the remarks of Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut, when news of Arthur McDowell's death was brought to him, and excerpts from some of the hundreds of condolences which were received by President Hoffmann and Mrs. McDowell. The Upholsterers' International Union, at whose inspiration and with whose help the Council's work has been carried on during the 16 years the Council has been in existence, financed the printing of the brochure.

It is hoped that our Committees of Correspondence, where they have already been formed, and that our correspondents elsewhere, will take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself to counteract pro-Communist propaganda wherever it appears. Editorials, sometimes written by those of left-wing persuasion, and sometimes by editors who are influenced by the Liberal Establishment, and letters to editors which follow the Communist party line on current issues, should be met by letters to the editor presenting our views. It is one of the ways we have of countering the work of leftists. Where such letters or editorials appear, they should be sent to the Chairman who may be in a position to supply from special sources an effective and factual reply.

----- IN MEMORIAM -----

Our cause lost recently two distinguished fighters who served the cause of liberty long and well.

Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, a member of our National Committee ever since our Council was formed in 1951, passed away at the age of 83, on Saturday, December 10, 1966. He had a long and distinguished career as a United States Ambassador to the Netherlands and as a top official in our State Department. In all the years of his service, he used his vast experience and his abundant talents to help the United States steer a course that would make our country a tower of strength in the promotion of freedom throughout the world. He was particularly qualified to deal with matters involving questions of international law as they related to diplomatic recognition of governments, such as the Red Chinese government, which had attained power by force. He argued that in international law it is a breach of international law for "outside States to administer to the de jure government the coup de grace by transferring full sovereignty to the victorious opponent."

Dr. Hornbeck, respected by all who came in contact with him, for his service in the struggle to combat totalitarianism, spoke at most of the annual gatherings of the CACA in Washington, and at numerous gatherings where his specialized knowledge made him a valuable contributor to our cause. In the history of the struggle for liberty, he will occupy an eminent place.

Dr. Bela Fabian died on Sunday, December 25, 1966, at the age of 77. He began his fight against Communism when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia. He received a law degree from the University of Budapest and served as an officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army in World War I, and was captured by the Russians in 1916. When the Bolshevik Revolution occurred, he wrote articles for the paper of the prisoner-of-war camp, warning the prisoners against the Bolsheviks. Later he escaped and returned to Hungary in 1918. From 1922 to the late middle thirties, he was a member of the Hungarian Parliament.

In the fifty years that followed, he kept up a relentless struggle against Communism, writing books to expose its horrors, arranging and participating in demonstrations against the atrocities the Communists committed in every country they subjugated, forming committees to conduct anti-Communist activities. When Krushchev visited the United States in 1959, he travelled across the country to distribute literature in the cities Krushchev visited, denouncing the butcher of Hungary, and carrying placards urging "Don't have a crush on Khrushchev".

Few men have fought longer, harder, with greater zeal and determination against Communist oppression than Dr. Fabian. His activities inspired countless others to join in the crusade in which he played a glorious part. No story of the fight to keep the world free or to bring hope to the enslaved will be complete without an account of the life-long battle he waged for humanity's cause.

9 MAY 1966

Council Against Communist Aggression

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A committee of correspondence founded at Philadelphia, February 1951 for dissemination of democracy's information in aid of World Freedom—Deminform

He who seeks in liberty anything other than liberty itself is destined to servitude.—De Tocqueville, 1835

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Press Release

may 1966

Org! Council against Communist Aggression

Dear Correspondent:

A shortage of staff, of time and the extraordinary speed of international events have delayed these two documents enclosed, our #113 from Fairbairn on the appeal to reason of Australian churchment, which could go as well to American, British and even Roman, and #114 from India, Ram Swarup's urgency on Americans of humility when they ask others to join in the struggle of freedom loving men and women everywhere against aggression of tyrants. While they were ready in March, a rereading finds them as fresh and current as ever, six weeks later.

For those of you on the Eastern Seaboard close enough to New York there is a real treat available on Wednesday, May 25, when we join with the New York Freedom Council and the Citizens for Freedom in a testimonial award luncheon at noon at the Overseas Press Club ballroom at 54 West 40th Street, New York, in honor of diplomatist and columnist Henry J. Taylor and John M. Fisher, President of the Institute for American Strategy for his work in establishing the private Freedom Academy, the Freedom Training Center at Boston, Virginia. An extra feature will be an unprecedented Null Award, in absentia, to the carefully researched quotations of twenty-four years of a certain U. S. Senator.

Against your Secretary's advice, the managers took the relatively small ballroom of the Overseas Press Club, so get your reservation for May 25 in early, at \$7.50 per place, to Roy Brewer, c/o Allied Artists, 165 West 46th Street, New York 10036. Your Secretary cannot handle your reservation because his Union, the Upholsterers, will be in convention in Palm Beach for the intervening weeks and only routine matters can be handled in Philadelphia.

Thanks are due to all our private citizen member correspondents who contributed dues for 1966 from the standard ten dollars to a Vice Chairman's six hundred, which enabled us to do special things such as turning back, for the time being from the Kravchenko course of self destruction, one of our foreign correspondents in a most dangerous location and most desperate

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Council Against Communist Aggression

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AGGRESSION
MCDOWELL, Arthur
G.

A committee of correspondence founded at Philadelphia, February 1951 for dissemination of democracy's information
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March 1965

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RAM SWARUP
NEW DELHI, INDIA
KEIICHI ARIYAMA
OSAKA, JAPAN
VACLAV LASKA
MEXICO, D. F.

Dear Correspondent:

Ever since mid-November, when I was compelled to survey events from a hospital bed and in December from the luxury but remoteness of the Upholsterers' Union Convalescent Center in Florida, with only the outlet of a fury of abbreviated personal correspondence in longhand and occasional dictation over the telephone, the trend of events has been driving through my mind those twenty-four-hundred-year-old words of warning of Demosthenes to self-doomed Athens.

He was trying in vain to convince the Athenians of the advantage of fighting far from home, and pleaded:

"Do not forget that you can today choose whether you must fight there or Philip must fight here. If Olynthus holds out, you will fight there, to the detriment of his territory, while you enjoy in security the land that is your home. But if he takes Olynthus, who is to prevent his marching hither?" 'But, my friend,' cries someone, 'he will not wish to attack us.' "Nay, it would be a crowning absurdity if, having the power, he should lack the will to carry out the threat which today he utters at the risk of his reputation for sanity. It is the duty of all of you to grasp the significance of these facts, and to send out an expedition that shall thrust back the war into Macedon. It is the duty of the well-to-do that spending but a fraction of the wealth they so happily possess, that they enjoy the residue in security; of our fighters, that gaining experience of war on Philip's soil, they may prove the formidable guardians of an inviolate fatherland."

Nevertheless, as the weeks of my first partial return to work in January went by, I felt the chill of the certain defeat which comes so inevitably from an only defensive reaction to a persistent aggression. We blundered inexcusably in the case of friends in Malaysia and seemed to threaten to resume doing

6 APR
1965

Executive* and National Committee of Correspondence

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so in the Congo. The Communists from both the Moscow and Peking centers continued, of course, as for all past years, to recruit the students in all categories, from all nations for training and redispach on mischief bent, while the Freedom Academy bills languish in the Congress, although the rationale of their necessity, to meet the new kind of warfare, was raised in an ad, addressed to other students, in the Harvard Crimson, by then nineteen-year-old Alan Grant, as far back as June 1942.

Guerilla training had started in the Congo, opposite Leopoldville, for the subversion of that economic heart of black Africa, even before Tshombe returned to Leopoldville last year, or turned, in desperation, to the military services of the so-called white mercenaries, quickly used in their own emergencies by the immature new countries of Uganda and Tanzania, without apology, but reprobated in Tshombe's case by the usual foul double standard which U Thant practices so instinctively at the U.N. on Vietnam, or what have you.

Ever persistent and unceasing in their efforts, the Communist vanguard began "casing the joint" in the hills of Puerto Rico, as they had in South Vietnam in the years 1955 to 1958, before ordering the first stage of the guerilla aggressive military operations.

It seemed clear to me, on the basis of all experience, that in a very strict sense we in the United States had overthrown Khrushchev and his accommodation policy based on urgent Russian internal economic interest, if not yet military or strategic concern over a basically weak Communist China, by the simple device of only halfhearted and politically ineffective resistance to Mao's competitive policy in South Vietnam, triumphantly and openly announced in early '65, as soon to be openly expanded to Thailand, etc., etc.

The Chamberlain argument for temporary peace by the appeasement which leads all too soon to real world war, was now being openly advanced by that wide-spread alliance of the egomaniac Senator whose words could be quoted without editing by the Communist organ in the United States, for relay abroad, that "frightful regiment of self-deluded pacifists," the Women's Strike for Peace; the "concentration of the innocents" in SANE; and finally, once again, as in 1951, with the early capitulation of their few tough minded dissidents, the entire force of Americans for Democratic Action; the various "ad hoc" committees on the Triple Revolution, or on Vietnam, all following the same technique of public advocacy of one course for actually unavowed purposes of another and further one. All these joined in a fearful and horrendous appeasement chorus, whose immediate result could only be capitulation and dishonorable betrayal of allies, breaking the moral back of the West more completely than Munich ever did, and all too soon escalation into real war or degeneration into complete capitulation to worldwide tyranny.

Finding myself, to my great indignation, back in the hospital for the third time in twelve months, I composed my bitter protest, in the name of the Council, and addressed it to the President and Members of the Senate and House leadership on February 23. However, on that day Senator Dodd, of Connecticut, completed his preparations and thundered out that splendid, two and a half hour speech, which was to be followed, a week later, by the State Department White Paper, long overdue, as citizen groups like our own had been long left to our own resources in accumulating the evidence of the obvious.

We are enclosing herewith, as an historic item as well as spiritual landmark for the free world, even to those who, like the Congress, have had earlier access to it, the combined Dodd address of February 23 and the White Paper, including Senator Dodd's passionate appeal for the fundamental and sensible action of action on the long delayed common sense measure of the Freedom Academy Bill.

Action and stand on those bills become more and more clearly the litmus test between those who wish to win the cold war and the peace and those who would buy the peace at a cut-rate figure, and actually ensure war, as their advice, that of the appeasers, did in the late 1930s. The same blind mice tried to do the same thing at several stages of the Korean War, one such attempt bringing our Council to birth at Philadelphia in February 1951, and in the Cuban confrontation of 1962 and at any interval that has brought even the most temporary news of defeat or difficulty of our allies and our own forces in the new-old guerilla war of subversion, which is the last alternative of the Communist forces against the real but largely unused strength of the West and the free world, which has stopped their other devices from squeeze in Berlin, to open military aggression in Korea.

Six different versions of the Freedom Academy Bill have, so far, been introduced in the House, the leading bills, most up to date, being H.R. 2215 by Congressman Ichord of Missouri and H.R. 2379 by Boggs of Louisiana. Windup hearings and report of an actual bill are a live possibility in the future, come April and May. In the Senate, on February 19, a little after the House moves of this year, twelve Senators introduced the final current version of the Freedom Academy as S. 1232, the sponsors being Case, Dodd, Douglas, Fong, Hickenlooper, Miller, Mundt, Lausche, Prouty, Proxmire, Scott and Smathers.

Our need for study is evident. The consultation with the perpetually stupid and the congenitally cowardly, as if they were men of wisdom rather than proven folly, goes on in defiance of all reason and hope. Walter Lippmann, who in 1933 predicted that Hitler would settle down and become responsible with success of the election; who in 1938 said that the militarized Japanese Empire was the wave of the future for all Asia, and that not only the colonial powers in Asia, but the United States in the Philippines should fall back to at least Hawaii, in the face of "the inevitable;" this Lippmann who in 1945 said that Stalin and the Soviet would become increasingly democratic, and, therefore, peaceful, this pundit is the sole source of authority for immature U. S. Senators with loud voices, and is interviewed on a national network for an hour for the pearls of wisdom that might drop from these surely discredited lips, if news reporting was rational and had a memory.

However, action alters the course of the most inevitable events of history when it is leadership action and courageous action based on the understanding and use of history and on courage. A George Kennan, way back in 1947, begged his superior in the State Department, with tears in his eyes, not to make him prepare a paper calling for aid for Turkey. He would go along with the Greek half, but said that this eminent container we did not dare, we did not have the resources to go further. The counsels of cowardice and of alleged weakness, like the counsels of appeasement, learn nothing from history and we would be compelled, if they prevailed, to repeat it in its most terrible and finally destructive phase. But time has changed, I truly believe, and the enclosed document is the charter of that change.

After a brief convalescence in late March your Secretary and his wife have hocked the family jewels and are off on a three-week flight to western Europe. We will meet labor friends in courageous Copenhagen, April 6; Borin in Vienna, April 7; old friends in Rome, April 9; Suzanne Labin and others in Paris, April 14; and Rebecca West, Andy McKeown (of IRIS), Douglas Stewart-Smith of the Foreign Affairs Circle in London; and kinfolk in Edinburgh, April 24. This is a personally financed, 35th wedding anniversary gawk, but we will see people of the great fraternity of the free and will report on our return. Send any suggestions for tourist attractions you may have before April 5.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,



Arthur G. McDowell
Executive Secretary

AGMcD:mb
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Encl.
429-P

NOTE

This is sent in response to your request for Commentary on U.B. Society - see page 5 - Documents referred to not enclosed - Will send on request.

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Council Against Communism

F: Council Against Communist Aggression

A committee of correspondence for dissemination of democracy's ideas

National Headquarters - U.I.U. Offices
1500 NO. BROAD ST. • PHILADELPHIA 21, PA.
PO PLAR 5-7671

Washington Office - Address of Chairman
ARTHUR G. McDOWELL, Exec. Secy-Treas.
PHILADELPHIA AND WASHINGTON

June 5, 1961

MARK LEWIS
Chairman
1028 CONNECTICUT AVENUE
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
METROPOLITAN 8-5638

Dear Friend and Fellow Correspondent:

- Vice-Chairmen**
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165 W. 46TH ST.
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.
PLAZA 7-3070
- REV. DENNIS COMEY, S.J.
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- CHRISTOPHER EMMET
NEW YORK, N. Y.
- MRS. GEORGE A. FITCH
TAIPEH, TAIWAN
(Free China)
- SAL B. HOFFMANN
PHILADELPHIA
- VICTOR LASKY
NEW YORK, N. Y.
- FREDERICK C. MCKEE
PITTSBURGH, PA.
- BENJAMIN MCLAURIN
NEW YORK
- HERBERT PHILBRICK
RYE, N. H.
- ROSCOE POUND
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

I am enclosing our documents 87 and 88, taken from the same page of the Herald-Tribune on the same day and representing not only Higgins and Alsop at their best, but the most brilliant daily edited newspaper service being furnished the English speaking section of the free world by any great city newspaper, in fact, almost the only such incisive service in any mass media. These recent contributions even make tolerable the contemporary graceful, but repetitious, preaching of appeasement and defeatism by the pundit of pundits, Lippmann, who first told us and our ancient allies of our inevitable and eternally predestined necessity to surrender world leadership to the demands of new and more vital imperial forces, back in 1938, in the fact of Tojo's Japan, and has sung the same song to an infinite variety of words and tunes and places ever since, substituting the names of new certain victors over us, as the Russian and Chinese actors replaced the Japanese, etc., etc. The brilliance of the intellectual gifts of men such as Lippmann and Kennan illuminates their strange and melancholy lack of most elementary stamina and courage.

Fraternal Foreign Correspondents

- FRED BOWEN
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA
- O. ROZENBES
MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA
- ANDY MCKEOWN
LONDON, ENGLAND
- HUGH MYDDELTON, ESQ.
LONDON, ENGLAND
- HON. KU CHENG-KANG
TAIPEH, FREE CHINA
- DR. H. E. JAHN
BAD GODESBERG, GERMANY
- DAME REBECCA WEST
BUCKS, ENGLAND
- VACLAV LASKA
MEXICO, D. F.

Item 89 is an arresting reminder that the communist camp of the new slavery goes on evolving new adaptations of the political warfare tactics and engineering and sapping science of subversion which the evil genius of Lenin began for Russia as early as 1891. Lenin adapted the exclusive proletarian insurrectionary role theory of Marx to allow the use of the peasant based army to crush the flower of the original revolutionary armed forces at Kronstadt and then to suppress the legality of any independent trade union organization, an element he hated and feared from the beginning, as he later did the emergence of anti-communist guerilla forces. Stalin, with the aid of some borrowing from Ivan, the Terrible, developed the machinery of the massive party police state and unlimited terror and mass murder to destroy the power of resistance of the peasantry as well as the industrial working class. Mao in China, lacking any city industrial base, developed the use of the peasantry alone with an alliance with deluded intellectuals

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and students to secure the power to utterly atomize the peasantry who were his first power base. "Che" Guevara improved on Mao's technique of guerilla warfare, using the landless peasant with Castro's amazing use of the middle class and student groups to get the power to utterly destroy the middle class and straight-jacket the unions and the relatively well off industrial workers of Havana, in Cuba with their own assistance, in a country which had the largest middle class and smallest percentage of peasantry of any populous Latin American country.

The free world and its indispensable leader, the United States, meanwhile has not even as yet recognized the necessity, let alone started upon the development of a doctrine and the training of forces for the waging of the political warfare. The first step, the Freedom Commission and Academy Bill, which passed the Senate without opposition in August 1960 on recommendation of a unanimous Judiciary Committee, is now lodged in Senate Foreign Relations under a chairman normally inclined to shudder in chorus with permanent State Department staff at any unconventional measures. This State Department super bureaucracy, therefore, finds itself not even consulted when White House improvisors launch Peace Corps and Tractors for Castro programs, the latter of which on forty-eight hours or less consideration abandons a principle of American State policy unbroken since the Tripolitanian Pirates Action and the XYZ Papers scandal and insolence of Revolutionary France in the 1790s. It is not impossible that the Tractors deal may do more harm to Castro than to the U. S., but if so it will be a happy accident and those who have undertaken it have set out without counting the cost, to raise from strictly private sources to rescue a thousand out of possibly fifty times that number of political prisoners in Cuba, two and a half times all the money raised in two or more years to care for 37,000 Hungarian refugee victims of the Soviet here and more thousands abroad.

Meanwhile, the enemy marches on to new bloodless victories among American intellectuals, as Castro proves he can bamboozle the professors here after the event of his open proclamation of his selling his soul to the slavery of the Soviet, even more easily than he bamboozled the Cuban professors before he revealed himself. One hundred and eighty-one historians in history departments in forty-one colleges and universities open fire on President Kennedy from Berkeley, California, in strangely, almost militarily precise coordination with seventy educators and authors, including forty-one from Harvard University, who on the same day in an ad in The New York Times, as pointed out by Arthur Krock the next day, completely flunk their history course in Castro and Communism. It is not only their history that they flunk, but their test as lovers of liberty, for, as seventy-seven even more eminent Cuban professors, now exiles, point out only too gently in their answer:

"It is rather distressing to see that the internal use of force by Castro as executor of the armed fist of international Communism, has not deserved the condemnation of the distinguished American professors, who have written neither an open or closed letter to Mr. Castro asking of him a minimum of respect for the rights and dignity of man."

Thanks be given that Oskar Morgenstern and the forty-three Princeton University faculty members have redeemed the great fraternity by their straightforward counterutterance of May 29, which finally reached The New York Times on June 1.

~~Norman Cousins and Dr. Philip Mosley, Director of Studies of Council of Foreign Relations, meanwhile blithely set off with a group of "private American citizens" expressing only their own views,~~ for a conference in Soviet Crimea, which they artlessly and beamingly report is considered so important by the Soviet Union that three members of the central committee of the one and only official party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, will be included in the "matching" Soviet delegation. Meanwhile, the openly Soviet decorated American millionaire stooge for Khrushchev, Cyrus Eaton, latest in a pathetic, if not dishonorable succession of such soft headed millionaires, dating back to 1919 in the U. S. and to the 1890s in Russia, pushes his pugwash conference of deluded American and tightly controlled Soviet scientists.

I have just torn up a letter of reproof to a friend, a good anti-communist trade union president, who went to a Latin American labor conference and mentioned "the stirring example of what has happened in just forty years (in which) "the Russian masses have leaped from the oxcart to the cyclotron." Of course, he has no background of Russian history to know that Whistler's father was engaging in building railroads, not oxcarts, for the Russian Czar, generations before Lenin highjacked the Russian Revolution from what he correctly called "the most democratic government in the world." But how can I criticize him ~~Approved For Release 2004/11/01 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200340001-8~~ ignorance of

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the last three years' history of Cuba, only ninety miles away.

I enclose a replate of our old Document #40, because the recent progress toward education in the nature of the communist operation and enemy for high school students is the only optimistic, though belated, note in free world prospects in the last four years.

The Freedom Commission and Academy Bill is stalled while the tragically discredited C.I.A., which opposed it, has thrown discredit on such open free world preparations of the country's political warfare by the alleged bungling of its secret ones.

I am writing this letter to you now primarily because I will be participating in the Seventh National Strategy Seminar at the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks later in the week, and, while I can keep security conscious as well as most, I want to put this down before things said there under security just might unconsciously creep into my observations later. To avoid any remote possibility of this I am going to refrain from any personal observations from now until September when I finish a concentrated piece of writing on the History of the Upholsterers' International Union, which will keep me remote enough and my tongue tied.

We are losing the battle to the communist enemy steadily every week that goes by, because they are waging the decisive nonmilitary political warfare in a consistent disciplined military fashion and we are either not waging it at all or on a skirmishing desultory fashion under an untrained civilian type of Administration, which, if it persists, will go down in history along with Charles, the First, of England, of whom it was said "He never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one." When Lincoln went with Seward to Fortress Monroe to meet with Confederate commissioners the question arose of treating with commissioners of a side that was still under arms and in the field for the purpose of subverting the Union. When the Confederate commissioners claimed that there was a precedent in English Civil War of such action of Charles I in agreement with Cromwell, Lincoln replied that such abstruse matters would have to be discussed with Mr. Seward who was finely educated, as he, Lincoln, was not, and the only thing he could remember about Charles, the First, was that he had lost his head.

Karl Marx, by count, made either 152 or 153 predictions in his Das Kapital, only two or three unimportant items of which came true. Alex de Tocqueville, a predecessor and near contemporary of Marx and an analyst and friend of American democracy, predicted the rise of America and Russia as the two leading nations and leaders of nations of the world and inevitable opponents, foresaw the inadequacy of American democracy in waging foreign policy, predicted the German acceptance of phony race doctrines a hundred years before Pearl Harbor, and indicated the rise of the Labor Party in British politics and the complication of American politics by the residue of Negro slavery even long after its abolition.

It takes no such insight to predict that until the U.S.A. takes the resolve involved in adopting the Freedom Commission and Academy Bill, which is to prepave, wage and win the political war with aggressive world Communism, we will move closer and closer not only to defeat but to surrender. All the arms, missiles, disarmament conferences, Peace Departments, Peace Corps, billions for the Moon, etc., etc., fine and noble as they and their sponsors are, are and will remain meaningless, ineffective and irrelevant 'til the decision to wage political war to victory is made. President Kennedy at Vienna and the Nation and our Allies everywhere will move at greater or lesser speed to new surrenders and appeasements in Berlin, in nuclear bomb testing, etc., just as we did before in case of Baltic countries, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, North Viet Nam, Cuba and Laos.

During the first World War as a very young boy my family moved back on a farm near where the family had settled on old frontier on a soldier's land grant after the Revolutionary War. Two generations of town dwelling had intervened and we lacked much precise knowledge, but we did love maple syrup. When early spring came we found the boring bits and taps of the previous owner and went out and tapped every maple tree in sight and brought in bucket upon bucket of sap and started the boil. All we ever got was a faint odor and much steam after days of hard work, because, as our neighbor explained when he recovered from his near hysteria of laughter, we had tapped any maple, when the only thing that produced any sugar was the sap of the sugar maple.

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All our foreign aid, loans, development, general education, development in new countries of a middle class (Cuba had a larger one than we can hope to see develop in any other major Latin American country in our lifetime and long after it is decided whether the free world will expand or communist slavery and war triumph) industrialization, Disarmament Departments and Peace Corps abroad and civic virtue and civil rights at home will be so much scented sap, without solid results until they are hitched to a decision to make answer to the political warfare waged against us from vast national and now multinational political base and bases.

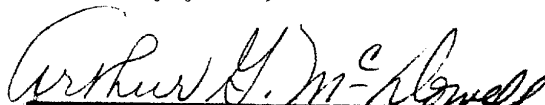
We can get cheers for tractors for Cuba from our friends at home and abroad and the communists will cheer it along, as their "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" front has already done. When a Wall Street Journal (May 16) story tells of our preparing paramilitary warfare by guerilla, political planning, etc., the communist organ in the U.S.A., The Worker, screams in pain, as of their May 28 front-page issue. Edward R. Murrow can conscientiously tell all the detail of our Montgomery, Alabama, and Jackson, Mississippi, warts and blemishes on the face of our Declaration of Independence and world image and only our friends will be deeply affected. Nehru, whose opinion is deferred to by the superficial who mistake it for reality of power, is not even slightly concerned about the Soviet's million times worse crimes, but clasps them to his bosom because he hopes their rival power may be used to offset their Red China ally's power of aggression. He probably is deluded in this respect, as in so many others. His hard won and easily lost words of approval mean little or nothing to us, but the fact that the only foreigners who fight beside the Hungarian Freedom Fighters against Soviet tanks were idealistic Russian deserters means a very great deal if we arm ourselves politically.

The Voice of America could cut its self-flagellation about Alabama to a footnote, which it is, to the history of the fact that Soviet arms are murdering 500 to 600 or more colored Viet Nameese each month, that for the third harvest the Chinese Communists are again going to add tens of millions by starvation to the mere several millions mowed down by their execution squads after they won their civil war.

The scars and pimples on the cheek of democracy should be admitted - some of our most respected spokesmen in journalism reminded that the Declaration of Independence speaks of rights from the Creator, not by permission of white folks - but the smallpox on the communist face of farm production per capita in most satellite lands - East Germany, yes, their showplace in Czechoslovakia (which has just obliterated the last memorial to Thomas Mazaryk in his native village birthplace while the public held weeping villagers at bay and American doesn't even mention it), and in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, North Korea and North Viet Nam - all hanging well below pre-World War II levels as result of consistent agricultural failure of communist system - should be shouted from the house tops. Instead, it isn't even mentioned in the back pages very often, while Khrushchev's latest lying speeches about his devotion to peace get headlines in the free world press as Kennedy approaches his Vienna.

Communist China, looking forward to a third year of starvation, self-induced, if not planned, along with Czechoslovakia, the show piece, buying desperately immense quantities of wheat in the capitalistic free world, because even with good weather Soviet production is down and cannot help - these are political war weapons of immense power and usefulness - and they are in very good shape, because neither the Voice of America, the State Department, the Defense Department or the Free Press, nor even President Kennedy has yet used them practically at all.

Sincerely yours,


Arthur G. McDowell, Executive
Secretary-Treasurer

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P. S. As if this record of insanity and inanity by the best minds was not enough to bear, we have to be burdened by a public Tom Fool by the name of Robert Welch, who lived and prospered in the U. S. for fifty years before he discovered the communists were at war with our society, sometime around 1957. With himself as a self-appointed Messiah, prophet and political virgin all in one, he sets out without the benefit of experience or political education to redeem the virtuous remnant of the Nation, which he defines so narrowly that it looks suspiciously like it is just a highly select section of his old National Association of Manufacturers. The amazing result of Mr. Welch's and the John Birch Society's program, which seem to be inseparable under his authoritarian procedure, is that in his own certainty of his divine inspiration and knowledge he has put forth a program in practical terms which parallels exactly all eight points of the immediate program and tactical objectives of the Communist Party as it operates in the U.S.A. for its master in Moscow.

Communist Program

John Birch Society Program

1. Weaken NATO so that it would be unable to check any possible Soviet advance into Western Europe.

1. Take U. S. troops out of NATO. This would enable the USSR to march into Western Europe without real opposition and most of it would fall to the Soviet without fight.

2. Weaken or wreck the United Nations by insisting on Soviet veto power in the administration of the United Nations, as well as in the Security Council.

2. Take the United States out of the United Nations. This would leave the Communists in full control of it, adding the full weight of uncommitted world and many present allies to the Soviet bloc.

3. Urge under-developed nations to refuse American economic or military aid on grounds that it would make those countries puppets of America.

3. Withdraw American economic and military aid from foreign nations, thus allowing Communist nations to fill the vacuum.

4. Try to convince Americans that the Communists pose no military external threat to America and world peace, and concentrate attention on every domestic issue which will keep Americans from noting or combatting communist advance across other borders.

4. "Although our danger remains almost entirely internal, from Communist influences right in our midst, and treason right in our government, the American people are being persuaded that our danger is from the outside, is from Russian military superiority." Blue Book

5. Try to persuade the American people to cut the defense budget as not necessary to meet the Communist threat.

5. Abolish the income tax, which provides the irreplaceable withdrawal to pay for defense needs.

6. Convince Africans and Asians that America does not merit their support because of growing racism, and that Supreme Court and other federal government stands against survivals from slavery are phony and unsupported in America.

6. Impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren because of Supreme Court decisions on civil liberties and desegregation, argue for states' rights against the Court.

7. Give protective coloration to real Communists by charging that all who stand for social reform are inevitably attacked as Communists.

7. Attack all who stand for social reform--even very moderate--as Communists. Deny that there is any rational or intelligent way to identify communists or Communism except mystical powers of an authoritarian leader who divines it.

8. Use front groups, to promote the party's objectives; infiltrate union, civic and political groups; attack and smear as "Fascist" all opponents; insist that the end justifies the means.

8. Use front groups to promote the John Birch Society's objectives; infiltrate unions, civic and political groups; attack and smear as "Communist" all opponents; insist that the end justifies the means.

ITEM #87 DOCUMENTS OF THE COUNCIL AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION MAY 1961

THE WILL TO FAIL

By Marguerite Higgins
Washington

The swift undoing in Laos of the independence to which the United States has long been publicly committed is due neither to the fighting qualities of the Royal Laotian Army nor to the presence of too many Cadillacs in Vientiane.

It is due fundamentally - and inescapably - to the fact that America's will to defend Laos by force if necessary rather than let it go down the drain appears in doubt before the world. The Communist bloc no longer finds the only real deterrent in its way - the possibility of American counteraction - to be completely credible.

And, Kennedy historians please note, it is this possibility of help to Laos from the outside and this alone that kept the Communist Viet Minh neighbors of Laos in Hanoi from sending some of their 300,000-man army to seize the strategic prize that is the mountain kingdom. Alone, Laos could have fallen at any time, irrespective of what particular mode of pressure the Reds decided to bring.

It doesn't matter whether the Viet Minh soldiers came into Laos in organized battalion strength or, as in fact happened, as officers and technicians to command and supply so-called Pathet Lao forces. If the Communist world with all its vast resources of guns and ruses could be sure that its sole opponent on the ground would be the 20,000 men of the Royal Laotian Army, then Laos was in due course theirs for the taking.

As to the Cadillacs, since when did honor, integrity and popularity with the masses save an unwilling victim from communism?

Jan Masaryk, Eduard Benes, free Czechoslovakia - where are they now?

And if ^{it} is going to be argued that they are where they are because Russian troops were on Czechoslovakia's borders, the answer must be made that so were American troops on Czechoslovakia's borders. (U.S. occupation troops in Germany.) And the fact that people remember the former but forget the latter provides an insight - not just to Communist estimates but to world-wide estimates of America's will to help those on its side at a time when something far more precious than a Cadillac is required.

If corruption in Laos were really an issue, the time for the Communists to have struck was between 1954 and 1958. But not August 1960. For the fact is that the government of that time, led by Premier Tiao Samsonith, whose overthrow last August by Capt. Kong Le began the present tragedy, was by far the most progressive Laos ever had. If John Cool, the American director of the village help program and the one American who has really been to the grass roots in Laos, is to be believed, there is an excellent case for asserting that the Pathet Lao went back to war last year because their hopes of winning by political means were going glimmering.

There is, indeed, in Laos itself a province that aptly demonstrates the irony and tragedy of the belief that having the support of the people is a shield against communism. This is Xieng Thouang Province, peopled by the Meo tribesmen who fought the Communist Pathet Lao so firecely both before and after their invasion that the tribe is being hunted down with a ruthlessness that indicates genocide. And yet fiercely anti-Communist Xieng Thouang Province was the first to be seized in this latest Red offensive.

"Thank God there was a Korea," an American diplomat said the other day, "For there the Communists found out that, even if every outward sign showed that America would not fight, they couldn't count on these signs because at the last minute America could change her mind."

And the crucial necessity of maintaining the deterrent of doubt explains why professional diplomats around town raised their eyebrows when Sen. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, engaged in what Washington has dubbed "the wrong words at the wrong time at the wrong place." (A televised declaration opposing American intervention in Laos under virtually any conditions, made when critical negotiations with the Communists depended on their being faced with this possibility as a deterrent to their aggression.) Said a veteran diplomat: "If Sen. Fulbright's words had been taken by the Communists as serious American policy, it could have had tragic results on the battlefield by removing the last real incentive for the Communists to stop the fighting."

In Southeast Asia the United States dared to tempt the Communists with weakness - not of arms but of will. And however well meant, public declarations of a will to let freedom fail in Laos rather than intervene cannot but help to undermine the West's negotiating position, not only on the battlefield but in the crucial conference on Laos at Geneva.

ITEM #88 DOCUMENTS OF THE COUNCIL AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION MAY 1961

"GOVERNMENT WAS TOO HARSH"

By Joseph Alsop

Some weeks ago, after studying the underground war in South Viet Nam, this reporter passed a week in Hong Kong collecting the best available evidence - the evidence of recent refugees - about the mysterious evolution of Communist China. The resulting reports from Hong Kong were pushed aside, however, by the pressure of events in Cuba and Algeria.

Yet the Hong Kong evidence is not merely sensationally horrible. More significantly, this evidence indicates the clear possibility of an internal explosion which could destroy or radically alter the Chinese Communist government. Hence the Hong Kong series seems worthy of belated publication. This is the first in the series.

HONG KONG.

The articles which begin herewith mainly concern a crime almost past imagining, which is being perpetrated upon the Chinese masses by their Communist masters. In the simplest moral terms, the Chinese people are now being offered as a blood sacrifice on the altar of the new mammon of our times, industrial power.

But in hard political terms, the chief interest of this crime lies in the enormous political risks which it involves. For the sake of forced industrialization, the Communist masters of China are now gambling their regime's future. Although this view will seem wildly eccentric to the more fashionable analysts, it is quite possible that the Communists will lose their gamble. Oddly enough the best proof that this view is not eccentric is to be found in the following passages from the official Communist "Outline History of China."

"In the year 209 B. C. a group of 900 conscripts on their way to the frontier for guard duties . . . killed the officer in command and revolted.

. . .

"In less than a month their army had grown to more than 1,000 cavalry and several tens of thousands of infantry and owned some 700 war chariots. Inspired by their uprising, peasants all over the country took up arms."

The history goes on to describe how the power of the Chin empire effectively collapsed, almost within a matter of weeks, after this sudden, desperate strike in a chain gang of wretched peasant conscripts. As explanation for this astonishing collapse, the official history also approvingly quotes an ancient author, as follows:

"The more powerful the armies of Chin grew, the more its enemies multiplied. The government was too harsh towards the people and punishment was too severe."

The lessons of the past are supposed to be utterly outmoded nowadays. Yet anyone who reflects upon the real meaning of the foregoing quotations will understand why the crime the Chinese Communists are now perpetrating is also a perilous gamble. It is a gamble in their own terms, moreover. The harshness of the Chin government towards the people was as nothing - it was the merest milk and water stuff - compared with the present harshness of the Chinese Communists.

Assuming the harshness as a fact for the moment, what are the other reasons why the foregoing quotations have so much current meaning? The first and simplest reason is the inherent proof that even the most awe-inspiring facade of monolithic authority can be remarkably deceptive.

The Chin government was founded by a ruthlessly totalitarian power originally based in Northwestern China. This state of Chin owed its strength to the iron program of the world's first Stalinist, Shang Wei-yang. The Chin empire was Stalinist in character over two millennia before Stalin.

The Chin conquest of the rest of China, completed only twelve years before Chin's sudden downfall, not merely produced the first phase of the historic, long enduring Chinese empire. It also produced the most powerful single government ever founded in any part of the world, in the whole long period since the first man-ape had first used a rock as an offensive weapon. Such was the state which came to an end because of a strike in a chain gang.

This gigantic police state of the past built the first Great Wall of China to guard against external enemies. But the remedy was probably worse than the disease, because of the internal enemies created by the remorseless conscription of countless labor gangs to build the wall. The enemies who "multiplied" were certainly internal. They were the Chinese people. And Chin really fell because of the first of those sudden, unpredictable, overwhelming general strikes, for which the Chinese people have a curious knack as their later history also proves.

The key to the success of the rising against Chin is also to be found in the quotations from the official Communist "Outline History." The Chinese peasantry in 209 B. C. could not muster the cavalry and war chariotry mentioned above, any more than the toiling masses in the Communists' peasant communes possess armored cars and tanks today. In fact the Chin armies, being peasant armies, joined the peasant rising. Without this, the rising would have been quickly crushed. With this, the rising was irresistible, and so will a modern rising be irresistible, if it occurs and rallies the armed forces.

The real question, in sum, is not whether the Chinese Communist government can be brought down by the people. The real question is whether the conditions exist in which the people may be driven to bring down the government.

CASTROISM AND THE CUBA INVASION FIASCO

(Analysis by Joseph Z. Kornfeder - Detroit 5/5/61)

Now that Castro has let the Iron Curtain down officially with a May Day bang, it would be time to single out the specifics of the Cuba pattern as it evolved out of the events.

Most noticeable is the fact that in many respects it did not follow the classic Lenin pattern as practiced in Russia.

1. It was not even assertedly based on the Factory Workers as Lenin's pattern -- based on Marx -- was.
2. The C.P. instead of playing the role of a vanguard, publicly remained very much in the background until after the seizure of power.
3. Lenin's preconditions for a successful Revolution, namely, an economic and political crisis plus a strong and experienced C.P., did not exist. A political crisis however was in the making which -- unlike the Russia of 1917 -- could have been avoided.
4. The role of the vanguard and force element was played by the guerillas -- not the Party -- which so far as the public was aware of played the role of a mere auxiliary.
5. The C.P. became the key instrument -- political organizer and technician -- only gradually after the seizure of power. Its prior absence from the scene played a big role in the deception of the many.
6. The old government apparatus was completely destroyed gradually -- in less than 2 years -- but no classic united front form of Soviet government or committee and assembly system took its place. Instead, the Fascist system of autocracy operating through controlled mass organization took its place. This apparently represents the new system of Communist control as evolved under Stalin; it liquidates even the sham form of democracy formerly played with and should particularly be taken notice of.
7. In Castro's Cuba there is very little pretense of ruling in the name of the workers and the peasants. The Communists establishing themselves as the state bureaucracy become the master class, and, creating a police system in their image, bolster propaganda by an abundant use of force. They act with the assurance of men who have come to rule, not to serve.
8. The Cuba pattern is closest to that of the Chinese, but is operating as more of a departure from Lenin than the Chinese, both as to the committee system, the role of the Party, and other particulars.
9. It is these departures from the classic Leninist pattern, plus the fact that Castro's Cuban Revolution in its first stage followed the Democratic Revolution pattern prescribed for backward countries, which made it possible to deceive the great majority in and out of Cuba as to the true nature of it, and as to who is behind it.
10. The Cuba pattern with but slight variations is likely to be repeated in other South American countries and hence it is necessary to identify its characteristics as compared to standard Communist patterns in order to forewarn against it.

The Cuban anti-Castro invasion of April 15 was an imitation -- in reverse -- of Castro's own example and if conditions had been as favorable might have succeeded where Castro failed. In both cases the landings failed. There is however this difference -- Castro's landing was based on skimpy resources, while the anti-Castro landing was just the opposite.

The question as to when to start an uprising has nearly always been a knotty one and the early blunders of the Communists in this respect had been studied at the Lenin School. In each case, Riga 1921, Hamburg 1923 and Canton, China, 1928, the situation was deemed propitious, but the resources to carry off such action successfully were inadequate; there were of course also some other failings and errors, but most of the "putsches" of the Communists in those years were the result of inadequate resources. Soviet airlifts a la Laos were impossible in those years.

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The "Cochines" landing in Cuba, however, is the first one I know of with the characteristics of a "putsch" sponsored and equipped by a great power and carried out with an ineptness extraordinary. To the extent that I know of the details, the art of insurrection and its prerequisites are a stranger to those who organized the "Cochines" affair. In fact, whether it is merely ignorance or also sabotage and treason combined, is difficult to tell. Certainly even if the landing had succeeded, the participants without major reinforcements would have had no chance.

If all of the Cuba blundering will teach us however that political warfare is a primary problem and not just a sideline for an agency like the CIA, then all of this will not have been in vain. The Communists too in the early days of the "Comintern" started combining political warfare with intelligence, but not for long. The two, although of aid to each other if properly interlinked, just do not go together. The organization of social strife is obviously an entirely different preoccupation as compared with the gathering of specialized information. The Communists however never considered intelligence operations as the "overlord" over their political combat operation as a whole. Just the contrary. Considering their range of experience in this matter, we could learn from them.

Laos: Giving the devil his due, Nikita and Mao surely made the right and best possible selection in Laos to flagrantly breach our "containment" policy. Arming and organizing their partisans by airlift or using the "freedom of the seas" for that purpose as in Cuba, while keeping us on the "straight and narrow" by cynically protesting our "Invasion" of Cuba is part of their nuclear age methodology. Nikita may yet succeed to make us give up some of our obsolete concepts and learn a few things from him. Thus Nikita plus Castro -- extroverts maximo -- may yet be worth something to the free world.

France and Algeria: Now that de Gaulle has alienated the "Rights" in Algeria and France, the political situation will be something to watch -- in a country in which Moscow has a mass Communist Party. In a comparable situation in Germany under Hindenburg Hitler took over, but there being no Hitler in France, could it be a new version of the "popular front" with de Gaulle as a transitory figurehead?

#8-M

Editor's Note:- In the mid-1930s important conservative Lutheran clergymen defended Hitler's regime after visits to Germany, the now refurbished hero Niemoeller kept quiet until Hitler meddled with his own institution, the saintly Quaker Rufus Jones led Society of Friends delegations to confer with Goering, which even in remonstrance gave world impression that these totalitarian political gangsters were people who could be reasoned and negotiated into doing justice and seeking peace. Dr. Buchman of M.R.A. saw Hitler as a great hope for humanity when he could convert him.

Today, having learned nothing and forgotten everything they and the world learned in the tragic 1930s about aggressive totalitarians, many Christian churchmen from the ever optimistic Friends, whose meddling in U. S. difficulties with French Revolutionary bureaucrats led Washington to get the Logan Act of the 1790s passed, to prominent theologians such as John C. Bennett (J.C.B.) of Union Seminary are clouding their own and their countrymen's conscience and reason with wishful nonsense, defying history and experience. Here is a letter of remonstrance to one such. (A.G.M.)

The Editor
Christianity and Crisis
537 West 121st Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

In your June 12, 1961, issue J.C.B. writes an article entitled "A Conservative Nation In a Revolutionary World," in which among other sweeping statements clearly flying in the face of recorded, established and undeniable facts of current history, as in his references to Castro's Cuban actions, he sets forth a view with which we must remonstrate most solemnly, viz., his extraordinary assertion that ". . . we would take a wiser view of the Communist threat if we realized that communism is not in intention a criminal assault on humanity but rather one way in which economically underdeveloped nations can find a short cut to a social, industrial, technological revolution."

The authority on Communism and its intention is undeniably not J.C.B. or any converts to his "wiser view," but those who created, and then and now, administer it, namely, Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev.

Said Lenin - "As soon as we are strong enough to defeat Capitalism," (which he defined as all societies which are not ruled by the Communist Party, whether reactionary or extreme social democratic as was the Russian provisional government he overthrew, which he himself defined at the time as most democratic government in the world), "as a whole, we shall immediately take it by the scruff of the neck." Speech to Moscow Party Nuclei Secretaries

Said Stalin - "The object of the party is to exploit all and any conflicting interests among surrounding capitalist groups and governments with a view to the disintegration of Capitalism." (And advanced socialistic, liberal Czechoslovakia was "disintegrated" like any other by a "criminal assault" on it and its leaders, such as Benes and Masaryk, just the same as was tried on the backward, new and weakly independent Congo). Pravda No. 190 - "The Party Before and After the Seizure of Power."

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Said Khrushchev - "We will bury you." (and he has made his meaning abundantly clear in East Berlin, Hungary, Laos, etc., as has mass murderer Mao in China and Castro with his hundreds of open executions and mass imprisonments and exile of his own early and most liberal associates, not the conservatives who are the only elements J.C.B.'s myopia sees in his opposition.)

As to Communism being a "short cut to social, industrial, technological revolution," the fact is that individualistic, underdeveloped Malaya, Singapore and Taiwan have advanced the standard of living of their people farther in a shorter time, without mass murder or destruction of all individual freedom, than any province or city of Communist China, Soviet Russia or any of their satellites. Communism has indeed been a "short cut," but to the grave for 18,000,000 Russian peasants, deliberately starved to death at home or deported to death by weather and slavery in Siberia, to create an agriculture that has not yet in over forty years reached the per capita production of food and fiber equal to the best days of the Czars. It was a "short cut" to the grave for three million executed Chinese (our authority: Premier Nehru to Chester Bowles) in a period less than the years of communist-led civil war with its total casualty list of a million, at most, and the Chinese communes will easily account for "short cut" starvation of many more million Chinese peasants than the Soviet record of eighteen.

J.C.B.'s attempt to rise above the massive facts of history as to what Communism and its "short cuts" in recent past in Soviet Russia and in present week in China really is, is beyond our intellectual comprehension. His proposal to submerge all moral judgment on regimes built on deliberate mass homicide and to suppress all human compassion for the victims of "short cuts" in history surpasses our stomach's tolerance for articles in a "Christian" magazine. Even his pragmatism for which he would trade moral judgment and human compassion turns out to be less than a mess of pottage. The Chinese Communist regime has just announced a five year postponement of communization of feudal or individualistic Tibetan agriculture, because its surpluses are needed to feed the starving in "short cutting" conquering China.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) Arthur G. McDowell
Philadelphia

(Sgd) Roy Brewer
New York City