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ORG1 Freedom Leadership FOUNDATION
SOC4.01.1 Rising Tide
(orig under ORG1)

THE FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION

United States Headquarters

March 1, 1979

STAT

Dear [redacted]

Just a short note to thank you for your prompt attention in sending me the material concerning the C.I.A. Some of the information will be used in forth coming issues of the Rising Tide. We truly want to help relieve the anti-intelligence hysteria pervading our country and we want to counteract the communist program of descrediting our intelligence agencies. My outreach is world wide. If I can help in other ways please let me know.

With warmest regards,

Joseph Sheppard
Secretary-General

1413 K Street, N.W., Suite 600 • Washington, D.C. 20005 • (202) 347-8016

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

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The Rising Tide

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No 'Novosty' Is Good Novosty

Story of the Soviet Press Propaganda and Subversion System

by Thomas Schuman

This month, The Rising Tide is pleased to present this special feature. Written by a former Novosty Press Agency (APN) employee who also worked for the Information Department of the Soviet Embassy in India before his defection there in 1970. Tomas Schuman (born in Moscow. 1939) details how he and his comrades perpretated Soviet subversion and ideological warfare in India. Schuman exposes just how Novosty—as an extension of the Soviet KGB in the form of its ideological subversion arm—serves the relentless and unchanging goals of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"An information Agency of the Soviet public organizations", Novosty-APN was established in February, 1961. Hardly two years passed when it had become obvious, what kind of "public organizations" were using Novosty Press Agency and for which sort of "information".

In 1963 the government of the Congo Republic (Kinshasa), today Zaire, expelled, allegedly for espionage and subversive activity, a Soviet journalist by the name of Banik Beknazar-Youzbashev, an employee of two Soviet organizations, both equally "public", Novosty and the KGB. In five years time he died in Moscow, officially from blood cancer. Unofficially, according to rumors circulated in Novosty, the cause of death was a strange incurable disease inocculated into him in a Congo prison by the African "brothers" as a sign of their gratitude for his far too active work towards Sovietization of the young African state, "independent" for the decadent West, but destined by the Kremlin theoreticians to become a part of the Soviet empire.

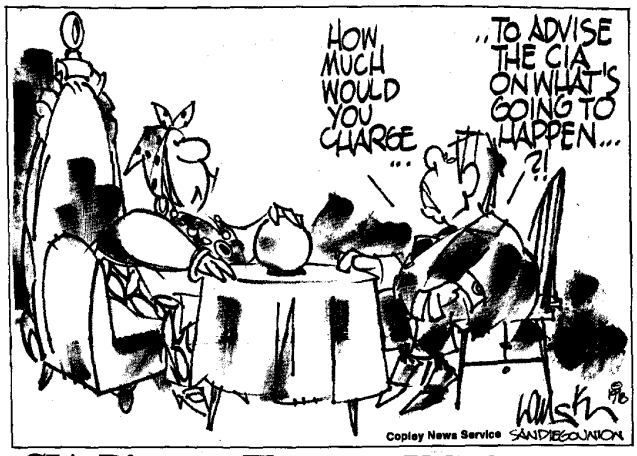
In May, 1963 another African country—Kenya—expelled another "journalist"-spy, an employee of Novosty Press Agency, whose name was diplomatically not even mentioned in the Kenya press. In March, 1966 Kenya had to expell another Novosty-KGB man, this time his name was known to the media—Youri Kuritsin.

In 1964, Washington received a Soviet diplomat, deputy chief editor of the "Soviet Life" magazine, published by the USSR Embassy in the USA. His name was Boris Karpovich and he was former deputy chairman of Novosty Press Agency. Comrade Karpovich lasted as a "journalist" only till January 1965, to be expelled as "persona non grata", which is a nice way to say "for espionage and subversion".

In 1965, a humorous and extremely sociable Soviet journalist from APN, Boris Korolyov, known by the nick-name in Moscow as "ant", arrived in Ottawa. His affiliation to the KGB was well known to the RCMP and for that matter, even to the press. But due to an extremely busy schedule—Canadian media was too busy criticizing the Southern neighbor USA—the Soviet spy enjoyed traditional Canadian hospitality. During the peak of the Soviet invasion into Czechoslovakia, in August 1968, the Ottawa Press-Club kindly offered its premises to comrade Korolyov to organize a banquet in honor of another Soviet spy, arriving in Canada: "Pravda" correspondent Konstantin Geivandov. It is not known, how successful the comrades were as spies, but Geivandov was expelled in 1974, while Korolyov remained and became known in the press as a strong "critic" of the exiled Soviet classic—Alexander Solzhenitsyn. The slanderous insituations bo Boris Korolyov had been published both by "solid" Canadian papers, such as Globe & Mail, and the yellow-red tabloids like "Canadian Tribune"—a communist newspaper existing on the Soviet Embassy's money.

In 1966, in New Delhi there was a youngish, handsome and snobish Soviet journalist, a correspondent of Novosty Press Agency, named Vladimir Simonov. It would be a waste of time to look for him at the Novosty headquarters on Barakhamba road number 25. There were not many reports or publication by Simonov in the Soviet press about India. No wonder: Vladimir Simonov was a KGB officer, whose duty was not so much reporting from India, as attracting Indian public figures and politicians into the Soviet orbit. For that activity Simonov had to live separately from the usual Soviet diplomatic anthill, in a spacious bungalow with Indian servants and two cars. According to

see NOVOSTY, p. 2



CIA Disarray Threatens U.S. Security

by Josette Sheeran

WASHINGTON—Stolen CIA documents and a negative image of clandestine activities pose a "serious threat to the nation's well being," a former deputy CIA director and a congressman charged recently.

In a news conference sponsored by the American Conservative Union, Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham and Rep. Steve Symms, R-Idaho, called for congressional hearings on recent "breaches of national security" in the CIA.

Major cutbacks in CIA personnel by the Carter administration last year were cited as a major cause in the decline of intelligence capabilities.

"Where one year ago the C.I.A. was in a state of flux caused by the administration's disregard of intelligence needs, today it is in a state of disarray, and this is causing a serious threat to our national well being," Symms said.

Graham said that the sale of a manual describing the capabilities of a key U.S. spy satellite to the Soviet Union was a "major blow to our ability to monitor Soviet compliance with any arms limitation treaty."

The manual was sold to the Soviets last February in Greece by C.I.A. clerk William Kampiles for $3,000. Kampiles, 24, was recently convicted and sentenced to 40 years in prison.

"The Soviets would have paid millions for that manual," Graham said. "They now know the capabilities of the spy [satellite] so they can avoid verification [under the SALT treaty]."

Graham said the major threat to the CIA is the loss of morale among CIA agents who "used to believe they were doing something great for their country."

"Clandestine intelligence is being put under the gun and being made a wicket and nasty thing to do," he said. "Worse than penetration [into the CIA by Soviet spies] is the demoralization of those in the intelligence community."

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KGB Step Up Activites Throughout Southeast Asia

by Bui Anh Tuan

Non-communist Southeast Asian governments have been genuinely concerned about a marked increase in Soviet intelligence activities in the region.

Early this month, Philippine martial law President Ferdinand Marcos tabled at the provisional pro-government National Assembly in Manila a bill attempting to curb seditious "propaganda," banning, among other things, foreign financing of local political activities in the country.

However, because of its failure to monitor the movement of so-called "diplomats and officially accredited journalist" from the Soviet bloc, the new measure will hardly affect the local KGB. In the immediate past, observers recalled, a number of Russian "diplomats" and "journalists" stationed in Manila were exposed as KGB operatives.

The Kremlin has used the tactic of "cultural exchanges" to subvert the pro-U.S. Buddhist kingdom of Thailand. This past July, Thai Foreign Minister Uppadit Pachariyangkun declared that "despite repeated persuasion" from Soviet diplomats, his government "does not think it necessary to sign a cultural agreement with the Soviet Union."

The "suggestion" to open cultural ties between the two countries were made by the Soviets in 1976. But, the Bangkok National Review reported, "no agreement has been reached because the Soviet Union refused to let Thai authorities search members of its cultural groups before entering the county for security reasons."

Two weeks ago, immediately after presenting his credentials, Yuriy I. Kuznetsov, the new Soviet ambassador, urged Thai Prime Minister Gen. Kriangsak Chamananand to reconsider the Thai rebuff. "Thailand," Kriangsak later told the press, "is willing to cooperate if

see KGB, p. 3

Dismantling of FBI Makes KGB U.S. Operations Easier

by Lee Edwards

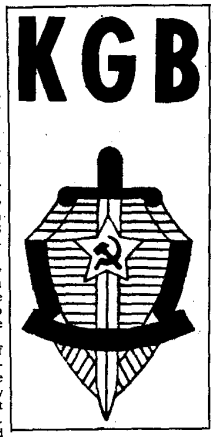
While the Justice Department persists in its persecution of former FBI officials for alleged illegal eavesdropping practices during previous administrations, the KGB and other Soviet-bloc agents are stepping up their espionage activities in the United States.

American intelligence sources, as quoted in the *American intelligence sources, as quoted in the Reader's Digest*, estimate that "of 898 Soviet nationals presently enjoying diplomatic immunity from arrest and prosecution, fully 65 percent are KGB and GRU officers."

But the FBI, by reason of new legal restrictions, faltering Bureau morale and an understandable reluctance of American citizens to cooperate, are not tracking these foreign spies as they once did.

George Hiscott IV, a member of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, has put the number of "foreign adversary agents on station" in the U.S. at 1,400, not including "their U.S. contacts and sub-agents," and others posing as seamen, tourists and visitors from Communist countries.

But the U.S. Congress as well as Justice and the news media have made it clear that if the FBI and our other law enforcement agencies are



too zealous in trying to find out why these foreign agents are visiting factories, wining and dining Congressional aides, and getting chummy with officers of American companies that make strategic hardware, they will regret it.

Since the U.S. opened 40 of its ports to Soviet ships in 1972, KGB agents posing as seamen have been able to ply their trade on American soil. In 1976 alone, more than 25,000 Soviet seamen came ashore.

Furthermore, in 1977, with the passage of the McGovern amendment, Communist "visitors" were allowed into the U.S. without any request by the State Department for a waiver.

AFL-CIO head George Meany charged that the McGovern amendment "permits Soviet agents to come to this country in the guise of 'trade union representatives' despite the fact that Soviet 'unions' are not genuine workers organizations but instrumentalities of the Soviet state designed to enforce labor discipline."

In March 1978 alone, according to the *Daily World*, the official publication of the American Communist Party, 30 Soviet "autoworkers" visited Detroit.

In July 1978, in an all-too-rare display of internal security concern, the Senate reestablished the curbs by passing an amendment offered by Senate minority leader Howard Baker of Tennessee.

In the fall of 1977, the *New York Times* dramatically reported that the Soviet Union was "systematically intercepting the

see FBI, p. 2

What Does the CIA Know About the Soviet Union?

by Allan C. Brownfeld

The C.I.A. is, unfortunately, receiving the wrong kind of criticism.

Most of those who attack it do so from the left, arguing that it is somehow "illegitimate" for a great power such as the U.S. to have an intelligence agency at all. These critics would simply like the C.I.A. to cease to exist---giving the Russians and their allies virtually a free hand in the world.

Conservatives, on the other hand, usually rise to the C.I.A.'s defense, seeing the transparent nonsense inherent in the criticism from the left. Unfortunately, while the criticism from the left is clearly wrong, the C.I.A. itself is hardly worthy of wholehearted support. In its pursuit of intelligence, the C.I.A. has been guilty of a very haphazard performance. The nation has been misled perhaps more often than it has been informed.

In 1974, in secret testimony, the C.I.A. calculated that "Soviet defense spending" might well be as low as 6 per cent of the "Soviet gross national product," the same percentage which the U.S. was allocating.

The fact is, as we now know, that between 1967 and 1977, the Soviet war economy moved from a 1:6 inferiority vis a vis the U.S. to a 3:2 superiority. Since the Soviet economy is much less efficient per worker, the giant leap to reverse the Soviet-American strategic ratio can only have been made by, as Lev Navrozov, who left the Soviet Union in 1972, notes, "paying, say, a Soviet doctor a weekly salary which bought (as of 1974) one American umbrella (costing $1.90 in New York) or half an Italian nylon raincoat (costing $2.40 in Rome). Contrary to countless books and reports of Western correspondents, who have been describing Soviet prosperits in the 1970s as cheerfully as they described it back in the 1930s, the proportion of consumption in the Soviet GNP has, even according to Soviet propaganda, been declining every year since 1929. Yet the C.I.A. was suggesting in 1974 that the Soviet regime, allocating to civilian production only those resources which were rejected for military use, had been spending the same proportion of its GNP on military purposes as the fabulously wealthy, semi-pacifist, consumer-oriented U.S."

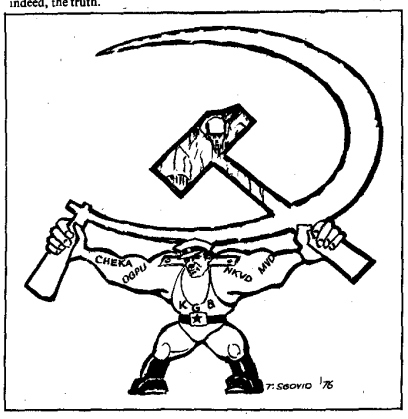
Mr. Navrozov, in an important article entitled "What the C.I.A. Knows About Russia," which appeared in the September issue of COMMENTARY, declares that, "To make such a suggesion means, quite simply to understand *nothing* about the Soviet economy or the Soviet regime and to close one's eyes to what even an American tourist confined within Soviet Tourlandia could easily find out provided he can do elementary arithmetic."

Finally, in 1976, the C.I.A. told us that its previous calculations were, indeed, wrong. *Yet, how is it that the C.I.A. was able to make a mistake in each of the preceding fourteen years?*

Mr. Navrozov argues that the C.I.A. has, in fact, been presenting to the American people not the results of any sophisticated intelligence network but, quite to the contrary, has been giving us Soviet propaganda figures as if they were, indeed, the truth.

Consider, for example, the chart of Soviet "growth in per-capita food consumption since 1965." Mr. Navrozov compared the C.I.A. chart with that issued officially by the Soviet Union. He discovered that, "The C.I.A. chart was based on Soviet propaganda pamphlets which we had laughed at in grade school and then never looked at again (they are available in English

see CIA, p.3



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Novosty Press Agency's International Propaganda and Subversion

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some Western journalists, stationed in Delhi at that time, Simonov's methods of "recruiting" were primitive, naive and rude. Maybe it is true. But by 1975 India was reaching the peak of anti-Westernism, despite the subtlety of the western, and possibly thanks to the "rudeness" of the Soviet methods of hard-twisting. Comrade Simonov's stay in India was cloudless all the way till 1971. Later he re-emerged in Canada as a "press officer" of the USSR Embassy in Ottawa.

In 1967, Alexei Kazantsev was expelled from Ghana for alleged espionage. Kazantsev also was serving the two bosses—one in APN, the other in KGB.

In 1976, during the "Expo-67" international exhibition in Montreal, a number of Novosty Press Agency officers were functioning as intelligence gathering experts by the orders of the KGB. Some of them were stationed in the holds of "Pushkin", the ocean cruiser docked in Montreal port, and operated a gigantic electronic complex for overhearing and analyzing tele-communications within Canada.

At the end of 1967 an employee of Novosty-KGB, Viktor Dubograz, was assigned to Vietnam. Allegedly in Hanoi as a correspondent of the APN but according to sources—in the so-called "liberated areas" of South Vietnam as one of the "instructors" in intelligence. At the very time the Soviet leaders were talking about peace and denouncing the US "war crimes", the Soviet KGB was hurriedly creating a stand-by force of mass terror in the image of the KGB itself. As it had become evident in 1975, the KGB efforts were successful.

On May 5, 1968, in Moscow, an employee of the APN by the name of Youri Bermenov was given instructions from a KGB officer "attached" to him—Eduard Sidorov, which is the normal practice which every APN journalist working with foreign delegations. The APN employee was instructed to find out from an Indian guest or the APN, Mohan Kumaramangalam, to what extent he could influence his brother. The brother was General Kumaramangalam, who at that time was the Chief of General Staff of the Indian Armed Forces. The KGB was also interested in whether Mohan was able to influence the Indian Government into purchasing the Soviet-made planes—"Tupolev" and "Illushin" for the state-owned Air-India, one of whose directors was Mohan Kumaramangalam. APN itself was interested in inciting the guest to write a book about the Soviet Union's "magnificent achievements in a historically-short period of time", and for that purpose Novosty had spent an enormously large sum of money to pay for the guest's free trip in the USSR and stays in the best Soviet hotels and resorts.

In June 1968, by the orders from the KGB, Novosty journalists were trying to find out the answer to one question during their talks with foreign diplomats and journalists: "How would their countries react if the USSR "actively" influenced the internal politics in Czechoslovakia?" Evidently, the KGB was satisfied with the "public opinion poll", for on August 21, 1968, Soviet tanks were already crashing through the streets of Prague. On the morning of August 28, the APN collective was saying last goodbyes to two of their colleagues who were guided out by a passion for scientific truth, but by an inclinerate to purposes properly regarded as the natural domain of the propagandist. If Marxism partakes as much of propaganda as it does of science, then why should we regard this particular propagandistic science to be a better one than any other, e.g. Christianity, or capitalism, or fascism?

The marriage of science and propaganda in Marx produces an even more virulent mixture, I submit, than either false science or bad moralism alone.

Surely one important reason that Marx and Marxists want to insist that Marxism is a science is this desire to preserve the sphere from criticism and from overturn because of criticism or because of unhappy results when put into practice in a social or political system. Marx believes, following the nineteenth-century notion, that if something is a science then it embodies necessary truths that are not open to criticism and revision. If Marxism were indeed such a science, then criticizing it would be pointless. But even the most "certain" sciences, such a physics, are now known to have a provisional or open character, so that if some discovery is made in the future that overturns even the most basic physical laws, such revision can in principle be made. (I say "in principle" because such revisions are not quickly or lightly made, but they are not excluded *a priori*; but Marx and Marxists seem to feel that because Marxism is a science, basic revisions are *a priori* excluded). So the moralism of Marx vitiates his science in more than trivial ways. It makes the application of Marxism in social or political systems a unscientific activity because such political entities have the power to suppress individuals, movements or groups that would pose a fundamental challenge to the system, and in fact it makes it likely that those political entities will take special measures to ensure that such challenges are not made, because, after all, they will be held to be unscientific and therefore unworthy of consideration.

To sum up this point most briefly, the combination of presumed science and moral or rhetorical passion in Marx, with the rhetorical or propagandistic goal overpowering the science, is a perfect recipe for fanaticism.

Marx's Atheism

In his view of the place and value of religion and belief in God, are followed Feuerbach. Feuerbach had criticized religion as essentially spiritualistic and as de-naturing man; as detracting from man's dignity and value as man. Hence religion and spiritualism were seen as essentially alien to man; the only real being is man himself.

Seeking man's dignity or essential nature as somehow related to some spiritual entity or being or value outside of man is thus foreign to Marx; in fact Marx and Engels argued in the Communist Manifesto that religion only helped keep the proletariat in bondage. Therefore man's dignity, the true development and evolution and release of man's dignity, depends on the overcoming of the bondage of religion and spiritualism, such as the spiritualism found in Hegel, or even that of the "Young Hegelians" such as Bruno Bauer. Marx criticized Bauer for retaining a kind of spiritualism, even though he had inverted Hegel's dialectic. Marx instead insisted on a material development of man and of history and society.

The extent, development and nature of Marx's atheism need not be investigated here because our concern is with the final outcome and its effect on any concrete embodiment of Marx's ideology in a political entity. So it may be entirely possible that Marx himself remained a believer in some fashion or other throughout his life; his philosophical effect is to promote atheism as a condition for liberation of the proletariat from the oppression of capitalism. So Marxism became a philosophy of not just passive or tolerant atheism, but one of militant opposition to theism and to religion as barriers to the emancipation of man from those forces which suppress him and his development. Thus there is in Marx's work itself a strong bias against belief in God and against attempts to search for or ground the value of man or man's activity in any kind of theistic or spiritual basis.

Our concern here must be what this militantly anti-spiritualistic drive in Marx's work does to the conception of the value of the individual person or individual man. Some critics of Marxism have claimed that Marx has no view of the value of the individual, but, as Adam Schaff argues forcefully, this is incorrect. The existence of living human individuals is the first premise of all human history, Marx says.

But even though living human individuals may be the premise of all human history, if one sees that history as operating by laws that lead to social classes, conflicts between those classes, and the necessary triumph of one of those classes over another, and then the dictatorship of the proletariat, all of which Marx believes and indeed argues must take place, then that human individual with which one started quickly fades from the scene. However much someone like Schaff may want to claim otherwise, this trend in Marxism toward ignoring the individual, and even suppressing him if he gets in the way of historical progress, is overwhelming.

Spiritualistic conceptions of man in which man's value is derived from or somehow relates to spirit or to God have the ability to specify the value of the concrete individual apart from his place as a producing unit, operating in history, which is approximately what Marx must say the concrete individual is. In Christianity, for example, each person is inherently valuable because he is, before anything else a child of God. This is not to say that actual Christian practice has been faithful to this insight; in fact it may be true that it has betrayed it more often than it has recognized it, especially when it suited the purposes of some powerful group to betray it. But it is significant that in such cases one can speak of the betrayal of basic principles. In the case of Marxist states' suppression of individuals, rather than speak of the betrayal of basic principles one can point to the anti-spiritualism of Marx and the lack, therefore, of an independant concept of the value of a person based on his spiritual nature, and claim that this betrayal of the rights of individuals is exactly what one should expect under those circumstances, i.e. given the ideology, the betrayal of the value of the individual in favor of the state—totalitarianism, in short—is exactly what one should expect.

Schaff, in trying to find a basis in Marxism for reaffirming the value of the human individual, reasserts Marx's humanism. This humanism is especially apparent in Marx's early writing. This point is correct (see above, the discussion of Marx's dual motivation), but not decisive. There are two kinds of humanism; one is a humanism based on spiritualism, in which man is valuable because he is given value by God (or a God-surrogate); the other is a humanism such as that of Feuerbach and Marx which tries to separate man from any God or antecedent spiritual reality, feeling that to fail to do so is to demean man. It is worth noting as a historical trend that it is states based on the first kind of humanism, the western democracies (all of which have origins or strong connections with Christianity or with ideologies or principles based more-or-less on concepts of individual value derived from or compatible with Christianity), that have been best able to resist totalitarianism. When they have succumbed to totalitarianism (e.g. Germany, Italy, and Spain under fascist regimes) it is because they have abandoned their Christian (or proto-Christian) insights in favor of statism, i.e. the view that the state's value takes precedence over the value of the individual as a concrete entity "endowed by [his] Creator with ... inalienable rights." Two Western revolutions are startling examples of the expression of these two different humanisms: the American Revolution, based on the Deistic humanism of Jefferson and others resulted in a state which, whatever its other deficiencies, is the least totalitarian and most tolerant in the world with regard to individual expression and activity; the French Revolution, based on the more-or-less atheistic humanism of Rousseau resulted in the Reign of Terror. However much Marxism and other atheistic ideologists want to argue against and dispute these things, they remain as clearly factual as are any facts of history or of social and political affairs. Marx's humanism follows Rousseau much more than it follows Jefferson.

FBI

from p. 1

telephone calls of millions of Americans.

"Neither President Carter nor President Ford before him" the *Times* quoted, "has taken any known steps to protect the rights and privacy of American citizens from Russian snoops."

The Soviets use interception equipment on top of their Washington embassy, their U.N. offices in New York City, their residences in Leningrad, the Bronx and Maryland, and at their consulate in San Francisco and Chicago.

Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan, a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, warned that Soviet espionage has involved "the wholesale invasion" of individuals, businesses, stock exchanges, banks and probably the press, universities and other centers of information throughout the nation.

In light of these disturbing and continuing developments, a comprehensive task report by the private non-profit organization, Friends of the FBI, is most welcome. Authored by several of our nation's leading internal security experts, including Otto Otepka, Herbert Philbrick and Phillip Abbott Luce, the FOF study calls for:

(1) An end to prosecution of FBI personnel; (2) the launching by the Administration of a national educational campaign to inform the public of the present real threat to our internal security; (3) reinforcement of anti-terrorist deterrence; (4) revival of the internal security committees in Congress; (5) restoration of warrantless surveillance of suspected security risks; (6) the renewed use of intelligence files and records dealing with terrorists and other dangerous elements.

A KGB officer publicly boasted in early 1978:

"Today our boys have it a lot easier, and we didn't have to lift a finger. You did all our work for us."

It's past time that our government stopped doing the KGB's job for them, and let the FBI and our other law enforcement agencies get about their job of protecting us from enemies, foreign and domestic.

Africa's Newest Ink State

Henry Rosen

Henry Rosen, formerly with the International Herald Tribune, *is a Washington based free-lance writer.*

Certain countries seem to capture the world's imagination for a few brief years before receding into the background and this has been true of Israel, China, and Tibet. Even America was on the list once if you go back a bit.

In Africa, the "in" state was long Tanzania based on the supposed achievements the highly-touted governing system practiced there had carried out. But with the knowledge that these achievements were composed of words rather than deeds, Tanzania has slipped from favor to be replaced by its neighbor Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony.

A number of American students and journalists have now made a pilgrimage to Mozambique, and returned to tell of the El Dorado on the Indian Ocean. They appear to have had the country not to ask the sort of unpleasant, penetrating questions which they would almost certainly ask in their own country.

The answers to some of these questions might have shed light for example on why 220,000 former Portuguese inhabitants have fled Mozambique since its independence, or suggested the whereabouts of 240 native opposition leaders to Frelimo, the present ruling party, or showed why Mozambique which has yet to carry out land reform needed 20 million dollars in U.S. food aid. The Portuguese refugees certainly didn't take the plants with them.

Just a few such questions might create considerable perplexity about why Mozambique is "in."

According to a report which appeared in The New York Times last year, Rhodesian troops crossing the border to raid Rhodesian guerilla bases located inside Mozambique, were greeted by the local populace as potential liberators. Some of these may have been members of the RNM, the Mozambique resistance movement which although the government denies it, controls much of the countryside. Some may also have had friends or family members imprisoned in one of the 20 "reeducation" (read concentration) camps in the country (sometimes referred to as Frelimo's Gulag. A Norwegian Member of Parliament, Paul Thyness, stated that there were 100,000 prisoners in them forced to labor 12 hours per day.

Recently Carl T. Rowan, an American columnist went to Mozambique, and interviewed the country's sexy, American born information minister Janet Mondlane. Mondlane, whose politics are of the far left, did not mention any of this, at least not in the documentary which Rowan made furthering the cause of the Rhodesian guerillas Nkomo and Mugabe. According to Mrs. Mondlane, the main problems of Mozambique were a lack of toilet paper, and a shortage of soap and wheat. It was also saying that the main trouble with a desert was the lack of drive-in banks.

The natural question is how these, myths start? Where do "In" countries get their publicity which after further examination often proves to be highly misleading.

In one of his newspaper columns, Rowan mentioned that the health services in Mozambique were much better than they used to be. They even earned his praise. Presumably he was not referring to the inmates of Mozambique's concentration camp system. Earlier this year at the World Health Congress in Geneva, the Mozambique delegate (to the annoyance of delegates of other poor countries) asked that special aid be given Mozambique to combat its widespread medical deficiencies.

What Mozambique really is a base for the Soviet Union and a "springboard for Soviet interests in Southern Africa" writes Jan Du Plessis of the Foreign Affairs Institute. The Soviets have the use of the Nacala deep water naval base in Northern Mozambique which has been called "the strategic key to the Mediterranean Frelimo, the only legal party has become a Soviet Marxist type of political organization.

The truth about Mozambique can't be hidden forever. Where the next "In" country will be is the question.

History Repeats Itself At Dept. of State

Elmer Fike

Elmer Fike is president of Fike Chemicals Inc., Nitro, W. Va.

One Liberal columnist has compared the pilgrimage of Jan Smith to the United States with similar trips of Madame Chiang Kai-shek from Nationalist China and Diem from Vietnam. In each case, there was a nation sympathetic to the United States being threatened by a Communist force. There were other similarities. All three regimes had or have problems within their own country that were viewed with disfavor by certain Liberals in this country. Therefore, they did not have the full support of our State Department. Each pilgrimage received considerable popular support and in each case, pressure was brought on our administration to give greater support to the current leadership in each country.

Up to here, there is an exact parallel with the current Rhodesian situation. The colonialists attempts to use these two historical events as a lesson to prevent us from getting caught in the same disastrous trap we were caught in in the two precedents.

According to this columnist who is typical of much of this kind of thought, our State Department yielded to the public pressure at the time, became involved in supporting corrupt and weak regimes. The end result was that the regimes we attempted to support failed because of their inherent evil nature. Our support eventually pulled us into disastrous wars — the Korean War as a result of our China policy and the Vietnam War.

I perceive that a different scenario took place. Admittedly, both Madame Chiang and Diem received an outpouring of public support and enormous pressure was put on the State Department, but the effect was minimal. While the career diplomats gave lip service to support these regimes, they never really tried. In the case of China, the commitments made by Congress to support the Nationalist Chinese were never carried out. The Undersecretary of Treasury, Harry Dexter White, who was unquestionably a member of the Communist apparatus managed to block the financial aid authorized by Congress that might have given financial stability to Chiang government and kept it from failing.

In the case of Diem, our State Department virtually orchestrated his overthrow. First, they forced Diem to grant the extremists within his country the freedom to create turmoil and then used this turmoil to discredit him. The final straw was withdrawal of support which results in the overthrow and assassination of Diem. The resulting chaos forced the United States to commit far greater forces than we had intended.

In the last forty years, we have seen ally after ally sink behind the Iron Curtain as a result of similar mishandling — Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, all of eastern Europe, in addition to China and Vietnam.

The problem is not that our policy makers at State listen to the public and support unworthy and corrupt right-wing governments. The problem is that while they give lip service to the will of the American people they continue to follow a program that results in the ultimate takeover by Communism.

If our policy makers and State Department would actually change their way, and yield to the public sentiment generated by Jan Smith's visit, Rhodesia could no doubt be saved for the free world and end up with true representative government. If we follow historical precedent of China and Vietnam, our State Department will give token support of Rhodesia to satisfy the public, but will continue their program of undercutting any government that is sympathetic to the West. The end result will be another improvised pain by the Communists in their avowed goal of the destruction of democracy.

Tunnels for Aggressions

Bui Anh Tuan

Undercutting China's frantic effort to woo skeptical Thailand, Vietnam's Premier Pham Van Dong made an unprecedented statement in Bangkok. "We don't support the Thai rebels," he asserted. Visiting the kingdom on the heels of Dong's trip, China's Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping scornfully warned. "Don't trust him. Dong is a great liar." Thereupon Radio-Hanoi angrily retorted, "The greatest liar on earth is Teng Hsiao-ping."

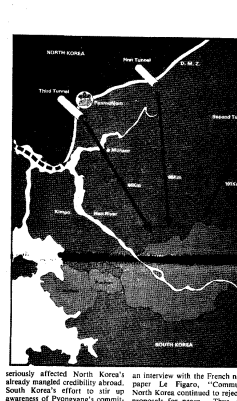
In fact, telling lies has been part and parcel of the communist way of life. Teng has lied — because while the U.S. command came up with details in diagram and on videotape, it beat a hasty retreat. The party-led (North) "Korean Women Union" trumpeted, "The tunnel was dug by none other than the (South Korean) puppets." On November 4, 1978, Nodong Sinmun, the party newspaper, stated, "The tunnel was dug by the U.S. aggressors." Four days later, Pyongyang again changed its tune. "It (the tunnel) was dug by either the U.S. army or the South Korean puppet army."

Usually Peking and Moscow — which have maintained military and political alliance with North Korea — were quick to defend their surrogate. This time, however, they remained embarrassingly silent. A Russian visiting delegation led by V.G. Krylov left Pyongyang without mentioning the tunnel affair. Some observers linked China's silence to a discreet meeting in Osaka between Teng and former South Korean Prime Minister Kim Chong-pil — whom Radio-Pyongyang has called "the pro-Japanese traitor." At the time, Kim was visiting Japan at the head of a 148-member South Korean friendship mission.

Even if China and the Soviet Union felt like echoing North Korean lies, they would be hard put to do so. For the recently unsealed tunnel was not a first one. Two other tunnels were discovered in November 1974 and March 1975. Tunnelling would enable the north to infiltrate — as it did 10 years ago with a 31-member commando squad which reached Seoul—and launche a surprise attack on U.S. and South Korean troops from behind their lines.

The U.N. command has collected solid information that the communists were digging some ten more tunnels. Most alarming is that they were in no mood to stop digging. Said Minju Choson in Pyongyang, "Even if the imperialists and puppets cook up ten or even a hundred tunnel incidents, this will not affect us."

Actually, the tunnel uproar has seriously affected North Korea's already mangled credibility abroad. South Korea's effort to stir up awareness of Pyongyang's commitment to war was not lost on the nonaligned movement, as well as a U.S. Congressional delegation's pre-Thanksgiving visit to Seoul. As President Park put it last month in an interview with the French newspaper Le Figaro, "Communist North Korea continued to reject all proposals for peace. ...Thus, continued security cooperation between South Korea and the U.S. will remain as essential as ever to peace and freedom of the northeastern Asian region."



U.S. Rear Adm. Warren C. Hamm charged that the tunnel, through which at least a division of fully armed troops could pass each hour, "attested to North Korea's war scheme."

extending the olive branch to Southeast Asia China continued to provide a haven for Southeast Asian communist insurgents. So has Dong — many Vietnamese agents have been caught redhanded trying to smuggle gold bars and weapons to Malayan and Thai rebels. Recently, North Korea's Kim Il-sung, another notorious liar, eclipsed Teng and Dong with his "tunnel story."

As Kim launched from Pyongyang a new "campaign for peaceful

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Ideology

from p. 8

how deep this liberationist or moralist impulse is in Marx — it infused all his writings and was the ultimate motivation for the more "scientific" economic, political and social investigations of the major later writings such as *Das Kapital*. If this moralist impulse controls the science, then the question arises as to just how scientific the so called "science" of Marxism is. And if Marxism is not a science, then the application of this theory to political and social affairs will be guided not by a passion for scientific truth, but by an inclinerate to purposes properly regarded as the natural domain of the propagandist. If Marxism partakes as much of propaganda as it does of science, then why should we regard this particular propagandistic science to be a better one than any other, e.g. Christianity, or capitalism, or fascism?

The marriage of science and propaganda in Marx produces an even more virulent mixture, I submit, than either false science or bad moralism alone.

Surely one important reason that Marx and Marxists want to insist that Marxism is a science is this desire to preserve the sphere from criticism and from overturn because of criticism or because of unhappy results when put into practice in a social or political system. Marx believes, following the nineteenth-century notion, that if something is a science then it embodies necessary truths that are not open to criticism and revision. If Marxism were indeed such a science, then criticizing it would be pointless. But even the most "certain" sciences, such a physics, are now known to have a provisional or open character, so that if some discovery is made in the future that overturns even the most basic physical laws, such revision can in principle be made. (I say "in principle" because such revisions are not quickly or lightly made, but they are not excluded *a priori*; but Marx and Marxists seem to feel that because Marxism is a science, basic revisions are *a priori* excluded). So the moralism of Marx vitiates his science in more than trivial ways. It makes the application of Marxism in social or political systems a unscientific activity because such political entities have the power to suppress individuals, movements or groups that would pose a fundamental challenge to the system, and in fact it makes it likely that those political entities will take special measures to ensure that such challenges are not made, because, after all, they will be held to be unscientific and therefore unworthy of consideration.

To sum up this point most briefly, the combination of presumed science and moral or rhetorical passion in Marx, with the rhetorical or propagandistic goal overpowering the science, is a perfect recipe for fanaticism.

Marx's Atheism

In his view of the place and value of religion and belief in God, are followed Feuerbach. Feuerbach had criticized religion as essentially spiritualistic and as de-naturing man; as detracting from man's dignity and value as man. Hence religion and spiritualism were seen as essentially alien to man; the only real being is man himself.

Seeking man's dignity or essential nature as somehow related to some spiritual entity or being or value outside of man is thus foreign to Marx; in fact Marx and Engels argued in the Communist Manifesto that religion only helped keep the proletariat in bondage. Therefore man's dignity, the true development and evolution and release of man's dignity, depends on the overcoming of the bondage of religion and spiritualism, such as the spiritualism found in Hegel, or even that of the "Young Hegelians" such as Bruno Bauer. Marx criticized Bauer for retaining a kind of spiritualism, even though he had inverted Hegel's dialectic. Marx instead insisted on a material development of man and of history and society.

The extent, development and nature of Marx's atheism need not be investigated here because our concern is with the final outcome and its effect on any concrete embodiment of Marx's ideology in a political entity. So it may be entirely possible that Marx himself remained a believer in some fashion or other throughout his life; his philosophical effect is to promote atheism as a condition for liberation of the proletariat from the oppression of capitalism. So Marxism became a philosophy of not just passive or tolerant atheism, but one of militant opposition to theism and to religion as barriers to the emancipation of man from those forces which suppress him and his development. Thus there is in Marx's work itself a strong bias against belief in God and against attempts to search for or ground the value of man or man's activity in any kind of theistic or spiritual basis.

Our concern here must be what this militantly anti-spiritualistic drive in Marx's work does to the conception of the value of the individual person or individual man. Some critics of Marxism have claimed that Marx has no view of the value of the individual, but, as Adam Schaff argues forcefully, this is incorrect. The existence of living human individuals is the first premise of all human history, Marx says.

But even though living human individuals may be the premise of all human history, if one sees that history as operating by laws that lead to social classes, conflicts between those classes, and the necessary triumph of one of those classes over another, and then the dictatorship of the proletariat, all of which Marx believes and indeed argues must take place, then that human individual with which one started quickly fades from the scene. However much someone like Schaff may want to claim otherwise, this trend in Marxism toward ignoring the individual, and even suppressing him if he gets in the way of historical progress, is overwhelming.

Spiritualistic conceptions of man in which man's value is derived from or somehow relates to spirit or to God have the ability to specify the value of the concrete individual apart from his place as a producing unit, operating in history, which is approximately what Marx must say the concrete individual is. In Christianity, for example, each person is inherently valuable because he is, before anything else a child of God. This is not to say that actual Christian practice has been faithful to this insight; in fact it may be true that it has betrayed it more often than it has recognized it, especially when it suited the purposes of some powerful group to betray it. But it is significant that in such cases one can speak of the betrayal of basic principles. In the case of Marxist states' suppression of individuals, rather than speak of the betrayal of basic principles one can point to the anti-spiritualism of Marx and the lack, therefore, of an independant concept of the value of a person based on his spiritual nature, and claim that this betrayal of the rights of individuals is exactly what one should expect under those circumstances, i.e. given the ideology, the betrayal of the value of the individual in favor of the state—totalitarianism, in short—is exactly what one should expect.

Schaff, in trying to find a basis in Marxism for reaffirming the value of the human individual, reasserts Marx's humanism. This humanism is especially apparent in Marx's early writing. This point is correct (see above, the discussion of Marx's dual motivation), but not decisive. There are two kinds of humanism; one is a humanism based on spiritualism, in which man is valuable because he is given value by God (or a God-surrogate); the other is a humanism such as that of Feuerbach and Marx which tries to separate man from any God or antecedent spiritual reality, feeling that to fail to do so is to demean man. It is worth noting as a historical trend that it is states based on the first kind of humanism, the western democracies (all of which have origins or strong connections with Christianity or with ideologies or principles based more-or-less on concepts of individual value derived from or compatible with Christianity), that have been best able to resist totalitarianism. When they have succumbed to totalitarianism (e.g. Germany, Italy, and Spain under fascist regimes) it is because they have abandoned their Christian (or proto-Christian) insights in favor of statism, i.e. the view that the state's value takes precedence over the value of the individual as a concrete entity "endowed by [his] Creator with ... inalienable rights." Two Western revolutions are startling examples of the expression of these two different humanisms: the American Revolution, based on the Deistic humanism of Jefferson and others resulted in a state which, whatever its other deficiencies, is the least totalitarian and most tolerant in the world with regard to individual expression and activity; the French Revolution, based on the more-or-less atheistic humanism of Rousseau resulted in the Reign of Terror. However much Marxism and other atheistic ideologists want to argue against and dispute these things, they remain as clearly factual as are any facts of history or of social and political affairs. Marx's humanism follows Rousseau much more than it follows Jefferson.

Will the World Take Note of Chinese Human Rights Violations?

Allan C. Brownfeld

Many Western intellectuals were so enthralled by Communism that they refused to believe the stories of terror which slowly began emerging from the Soviet Union even before the death of Lenin. While some departed from the Soviet bandwagon after the Hitler-Stalin pact, many continued to support Stalin until Khrushchev, after Stalin's death, told the world the story of his mass murders and other barbarous acts. Only when the Communist regime then in power said that it was alright to believe the truth about Stalin did many in the West reluctantly consent to do so.

Much the same appears to be true about Communist China. Before the death of Mao Tse-tung his adherents in the West denied the stories of mass murder and other depravations of basic human rights. Some, such as Shirley McLaine, went to Peking and made movies telling us how happy the people were to live under Mao's brand of Communism. They almost uniformly advocated the abandonment of Taiwan in an effort to ingratiate ourselves to the Communist leadership.

Now, with Mao's death, Amnesty International has published a 176-page report detailing the real status of human rights in Communist China. Among the findings are these:

* Loosely worded laws have permitted large-scale imprisonment of political dissidents, while categories of persons described as "class backgrounds" are being deprived of their political and civil rights on the basis of "class origin" or political background.
* "Trials either in secret or in the form of mass public meetings too often have permitted no real defense. They have not begun until a defendant has confessed and their main purpose is to announce a sentence."
* Once an arrest warrant has been issued, pretrial detention has too often been prolonged. Certain political offenders could be imprisoned for months without even out judicial investigation. Wide scope for pretrial detention has allowed authorities to pressure defendants into confessing before being brought to trial.
* Detention conditions often fall below standards set by the United Nations and Chinese law itself. Psychological abuse, isolation, shortages of food and medicine, and use of handcuffs and chains have been reported.

Amnesty International declared that for 30 years the Chinese Communist regime has systematically repressed political dissent, jailing and executing large numbers of people for their political views. The report stated that, "The government of the People's Republic of China is, today, one of those governments which, in the last year, has executed persons convicted of political offenses."

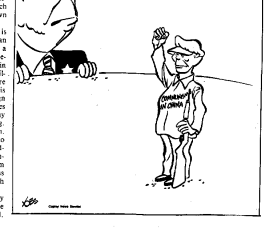
Among the specific cases reported:

* Teacher Ho Chun Su was immediately executed in February, 1978, after a death sentence for writing and distributing a "counter-revolutionary" leaflet.
* Farmer Teng Ching San was sentenced to 15 years in prison after his 1970 arrest on charges of sundering Chairman Mao.
* Tibetan Monk Chombo lost second-and-a-life term in prison after a public meeting in 1966 accused him of "exploiting the masses in the name of religion."

Why the world has ignored the tyranny of Communism in China for so long is difficult to understand. The fact is that much of the adulation of Mao by Westerners has come from those who themselves are racist—and have exhibited nothing but contempt for the Chinese people. The Belgian Sinologist Simon Leys, in his important book CHINESE SHADOWS, notes that, "Most of the praise bestowed on Mao and his bureaucrats by Westerners comes from people who feel only contempt for Chinese people and who are ignorant of Chinese culture....Maoism has a peculiar fascination for some clerical-minded souls. Those who harbor a certain nostalgia for totalitarianism and unconsciously regret the passing away of the Inquisition and the Pope's Zouaves will find in Maoist China the incarnation of a medieval dream, where institutionalized Truth has again a strong secular arm to impose dogma, stifle heresy, and uproot immorality....Western ideologues now use Maoist China just as 18th century philosophers used Confucian China: as a myth, an abstract ideal projection, a utopia which allows them to denounce everything that is bad in the West without taking the trouble to think for themselves...This starry-eyed admiration for all that is done, or not done, in China, with no effort at critical scrutiny—is it really the best service one can render a despotism that already has too much of a propensity to believe in its own infallibility...."

Life for the Chinese people is more squalid than Americans can ever understand. Fan Yuan-sen, a Chinese Communist pilot who defected with his MIG-19 to Taiwan in 1977, reported that, "The 800 million on the Chinese mainland are leading a miserable life which is beyond the imagination of foreign visitors. Peasants in many places lack food and clothes...Many people in rural areas are starving. They even try to sell their children. Unfortunately they often find no one is able to buy them....According to the 'constitution,' the mainland people seem to enjoy freedom of speech, correspondence, press and assembly....Actually, no such freedoms exist.

Communist China has for many years been a vast prison—and the world has looked away. The U.N. which denounces Israel, South Africa and Rhodesia, has never criticized Peking. Instead, it expelled Taiwan to make way for the Communist regime. President Carter has applied his "human rights" policy to Iran and Nicaragua—but not to Peking. Hopefully, the Amnesty International report will awaken Americans to the realities of life in Communist China—and will cause them to ask why their government and press never told them this story before.



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Critique of Marx as Liberationist

Lloyd Eby

Today in the self-avowedly Marxist countries people are personally, politically and economically unfree, especially in comparison with the non-Marxist (or anti-Marxist) Western democracies. Yet the works of Karl Marx are understood by many people to be a philosophy of social and economic and personal liberation from the perceived inequities of or contradictions of capitalist (and sometimes feudal) socio-economic systems. Is this perceived outcome in the current avowedly Marxist states the authentic outcome of the embodiment of Marx's philosophical and economic theories as a concrete expression in a political institution, or has something gone wrong, so that Marx's vision has been betrayed? Is it the misappropriation of Marxist dialectics and criticism by others (e.g. Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Castro) that has led to the existence of the results we see in current Marxist states, or is there something in the work of Marx himself that will or is likely to lead to this result if it is put into practice? It is my view that the latter is true, that the current Marxist states, even though they may be in important ways betrayals of Marx's hopes and expectations, are authentic expressions of central features of Marx's work. To put it briefly, the central thesis here is that Marx's theories, if put into practice as the guiding ideology of a political institution, will naturally lead to results such as we see in current Marxist states.

Lloyd Eby formerly worked on the staff of the Freedom Leadership Foundation. Currently he is pursuing a Phd. at Fordham University.

This thesis cannot be proved by listing the ills of existing states because it may be possible that those ills are not the result of those states' adoption of Marxism as an ideology. Nor will it do to blame Marx for every excess committed in his name (e.g., the events in Jonestown in Guyana carried out by Rev. Jim Jones, who according to press accounts, was much more of a Marxist than a Christian). But if it can be shown that important factors in Marx's thought have consequences that either naturally lead to bad results in practice, or that there is no way within Marxist ideology to prevent such outcomes, then this will show, I believe, that these outcomes are authentic to the Marxist theory.

The task here will be to present some features of Marx's work and to suggest the way that they will lead to inhumane results in practice. An it must also be admitted that many Marxists would not admit that there is a problem, arguing instead that the task is fundamentally misconceived because it assumes that Marxist states are inferior to what Marxists would call pre-revolutionary ones, when indeed (the Marxists would argue) they are not inferior but superior. The objection would be made that the central thesis of this paper denies that Marx's work is a science, and that therefore this thesis is immediately unscientific and therefore of no value. But it must be admitted that current Marxist societies do violate such things as freedom of speech, of religion, of publication and expression, of travel and emigration, and of assembly for purposes of criticism of the state, and it must be admitted that there are serious economic difficulties in Marxist states which are even greater than the economic difficulties of the non-Marxist western democracies, so that the question of some deleterious result for political and economic affairs if Marx's theories are put into practice is not inappropriate or fundamentally misconceived. Nor will it do to claim, as some Marxists would, that any attack on Marx's theory is fundamentally unscientific. One of the things at issue here is the question of just whether and to what degree Marxism is a science, and to insist that criticism of Marxism is unscientific because it violates the scientific nature of Marxism is to argue by tautology, and that won't do, even if one claim that somehow dialectics vitiates such tautologies. If Marxists insist against all argument that still Marxism is true, then this means that philosophy has been abandoned and disagreements can be resolved only in some way other than argument.

This topic will be pursued by considering four aspects of Marx's thought or work: the duality of Marx's purpose, Marx's atheism and its effect on the value of persons, Marx's mythology of history, and Marx's doctrine of production. Each of these four topics is large enough to support a treatment of many pages, so they will be merely outlined here or treated in relatively summary fashion. But, by temperament I am more interested in the power and truth of basic insights than in the detailed working out of a position, so this treatment here will be, I hope, of value in pointing the way toward a detailed account of why it is that Marxist states seem, in practice, to be so much less than the utopias that Marxist theoreticians and revolutionaries hope they will be.

The Duality of Marx's Purpose

Marx's work is motivated by and infused with a dual purpose. Marxism aspires to be a science which traces the development of capitalism and capitalist economics, trying to show that capitalism contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. In carrying out this more-or-less scientific part of his program, Marx gives a tolerably accurate account of the economic features of the capitalism of his day as it existed in Western Europe (primarily England, Germany and France, with some minor comments about the United States). In this part of his work, Marx gives insights into the relationship between such factors as money and production for use versus production for profit, profits and wages, the interests of capitalists versus the interests of wage-earners, and so on, and these insights still apply today to the economic and social situation of today's mixed and highly regulated economic systems, or at least they apply often enough to make Marx seem amazingly insightful and prophetic.

There is, however, a second motivating factor in Marx's work, and that is a strongly rhetorical or moral tone or emphasis in which Marx tries to make the proletariat aware of its own misery, using emotional and rhetorical language and devices. In this aspect of his work Marx is a moralist and a utopian, arguing that the proletariat has the responsibility or duty to rise up against its exploitation by the capitalists. This purpose and tone infuses the *Communist Manifesto*-quite clearly, but it also infuses all his other work as well.

These two purposes exist in uneasy alliance in Marx, interfering with one another. As a scientist, Marx should stay away from moralism, but as a moralist or propagandist he is free to produce distorted or pseudo-science if that suits his propagandistic purposes. So we can never be sure that what we are getting is indeed science. True science has an open character; it is always subject to further testing and falsification. But it is a very real question whether Marxism is open, in the minds of committed Marxists, to *any* tests. The recent discovery or widespread dissemination of the early works of Marx raises this question with renewed urgency because these writings show just

see IDEOLOGY, p. 2

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The Rising Tide

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Special Book Selection
No 'Novosty' Is Good Novosty

Africa
A New 'In' State

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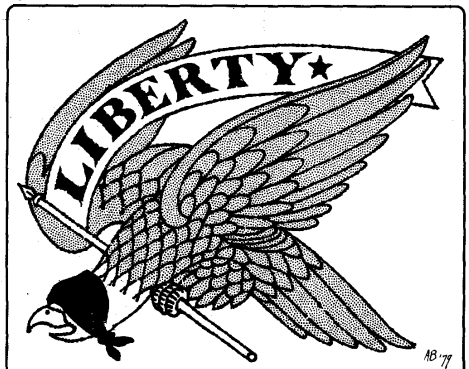
Korea
Tunnels for Aggression

China
Human Rights



America Blind

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No 'Novosty' Is Good Novosty

NOVOSTY, from p. 2

see now what it is exactly the APN "provokes" the masses of people to do. A concise Political Dictionary edited by A.R. Dobronravova on page 5 says:

"Agitation, verbal and printed, is a political activity directed to **influence consciousness** and mood of the masses with the purpose of **attracting or involving them in active participation in solving of important socio-political and economical tasks.** The means of agitation: discussions, meetings, newspapers, radio, television, cinema, posters, cartoons etc. Agitation is a sharp and potent **weapon of political struggle** between classes and parties. See also 'propaganda'.

Now let us see what Mrs. Dobronravova and Soviet officialdom considers propaganda. In the same dictionary, on page 210:

"Propaganda—is the process of explanation, dissemination and establishing of political ideas, theories and teachings. Propaganda has always a class character, it is always partisan. Communist Party's propaganda is verbal or printed explanation and dissemination of ideas of Marxism-Leninism and of the current policy of the Communist Party. It is an inseparable part of the political education of the masses. Revolutionary propaganda was a reliable **weapon of the Communist Party** in the period of **preparation and implementation of the armed uprise** in 1971 as well as on all other consequent stages of the Socialist construction. Propaganda of Marxism-Leninism acquires special importance in the circumstances of **sharpening ideological struggle and class struggle in of international arena.** The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is constantly perfecting the methods of propaganda.

As we see, everything is rather logical, consistent and—most important—perfectly honest; translated from the Soviet Newspeak into passable English, the two definitions above mean the following: a) within the USSR or any territory under Soviet totalitarian control, be it "people's democracies" or "newly independent countries", APN "influences" masses of populace to accept the conditions established by the Party unquestionably and work without strikes or protests. Ideologically and economically Novosty works within the totaliarian camp towards stability and preservation of status quo; b) "In the international arean" i.e. in foreign countries which are not yet included in the sphere of Soviet imperialism Novosty Press Agency functions as a factor of destabilization and disruption of social structure and destruction of accepted moral values through encouraging class and ideological struggle.

It could not be any simpler! Both of these functions of Novosty Press Agency are evident if one reads the official APN Charter carefully, translating the paragraphs of the Charter from the "newspeak" into normal human language. Here is an example of such a translation as it is related to the most important statements of the APN Charter:

Official text of the Charter

The Novosty Press Agency (APN) is an information agency of the Soviet public organizations, operating under Articles 125 and 126 of the Constitution of the USSR.

No Soviet State organ bears responsibility for the business activities and financial obligations or any other actions of the agency. Nor does the agency bear responsibility for any claims against the Soviet State or any other Soviet organization.

The agency pursues the aim of facilitating in every possible way the promotion and consolidation of international understanding, confidence and friendship.

. . . widely circulating abroad true information about the Soviet Union and acquainting the Soviet public with the life of other peoples.

exchanges information material . . . on the basis of reciprocity.

Its aim is not to make profit . . . sponsoring public organizations participating in financing the agency.

Enters into contract and concludes agreements and contracts with both state-owned and cooperatively-and privately owned (foreign) media . . . to supply them with agency material for an appropriate fee.

Actual meaning

The Novosty Press Agency (APN) is an extension of Agitprop Department of the Central Committee, established for propaganda, subversion and intelligence gathering.

Posing as "independent", the APN is in fact a direct and subordinate extension of the Party-State bureaucracy, which removed from itself any responsibility for knowingly illegal or immoral actions of the APN.

The agency facilitates in the way of propaganda the implementation of the USSR leadership's internal and foreign policy, using indoctrination and coercion on one hand, and inciting hatred and class struggle on the other.

In the USSR: slandering and downgrading everything foreign is not under Soviet domination.
Abroad: presenting selected and censored half-truths glorifying the Soviet way of life, disinformation.

Strictly controlled one-way flow of informational ways in accordance with the Party interests. Showering foreign countries with Marxist propaganda, while banning every foreign newspaper, periodical or book within the USSR.

Unlimited budgeting of the agency by the State-Party dictatorship, absolutely unaccountable to any public organization or private individual whatsoever. The budget is secret.

Forcing agency's material upon foreign media free of charge, more often paying the media for publications of the APN stuff, or using "every possible way"—i.e., bribery, blackmail, corruption, drunkenness.

There is no point in going into technical details of the Novosty Charter. What is important here, and what will be demonstrated in further chapters of the book, is: despite the masquerade as a "public and non-government", the APN can not be anything else but an organ of monopoly propaganda, an extension of propaganda-subversion apparatus of the Party. The functions and aims of APN can not be anything else but those of forming public opinion by the methods, which even in the "fascist" rightist dictatorships are understood as violating human mind. It can not be otherwise in the society where "The Party is our consciousness' and where "The Party and the People are one".

The danger of monopoly propaganda could hardly be overestimated. A Swiss author Peter Sager in his research on Novosty's activity in India arrives at following definition of **monopoly propaganda:**

"Propaganda is the attempt to convince a greater or lessor group of people of the [illegible] of one's own opinion (whether ideology, philosophy of life or religious beliefs) through a consciously onesided description of data or events. It is not necessarily bound to any particular political regime. In so far as it works towards spreading opinions by conviction and not by force, it is used in democratic countries as well as by dictatorships.

As long as propaganda represents one opinion out of many and accepts or even encourages the existance of its rivals, its onesidedness is entirely legitimate. Indeed, propaganda of this kind provides the basis for the free formation of opinion. It promotes discussion and is consequently a characteristic of democracy.

But when propaganda monopolies the opinion-making function and all counter-propaganda is excluded, so that in the effect the expression of one opinion provides the only source of information—then it is impoing itself by force.

Monopoly propaganda is an inescapable characteristic of dictatorship."

During more than 17 years of its existence the Novosty Press Agency clearly demonstrated itself as an efficient organ of **monopoly propaganda.** Together with other branches of the Soviet State-Party oppressive machinery, such as KGB, the Army and internal police, and APN successfully "excludes" not only "all counter-propaganda", not only any other information, but the very sources of that information in several cases, including the foreign sources, such as Radio stations broadcasting in Russia, certain newspapers and public organizations.

Violating the human mind, polluting international information exchange with the newspeak slogans and demagogery, Novosty Press Agency successfully and efficiently contributed to the process of strengthening of existing totalitarian systems as well as forceful creation of new ones by imposing it onto other nations by word and sword.

During the same 17 year period many open societies lived through many painfull processes of reevaluation of traditional social values. In many parts of the world reason and good will, common sense and solidarity had retreated and yielded to the aggressive advance of the system based on hatred, terror, "class struggle" etc. The former bastion of freedom and democracy, the USA—had abandoned many of its commitments for the sale of appeasing a vocative violent minority within its own society, and the policy of "pragmatism",—a short-sighted one-step-forward two-steps-back policy of appeasing anti-social and destructive forces. Western media successfully "revealed" atrocities and "crimes" against the civil rights of these who represent or sympathize with the forces of destruction and hatred. Western media discovered numerous "conspiracies" in every possible level of authority—from president to local police. But the main source of discontent—totalitarian aggression, and its ideological front—Novosty Press Agency, escaped the critical attention of public opinion.

The APN and its Kremlin owners remain respectable and accepted the APN publications, booklets, posters, cartoons, newspapers, meetings etc.—have unrestricted freedom in any open society which ignores the main "aim" of the APN: that of "provoking destabilization" of the very open society. With the drawing of "detente" policy Novosty has greatly increased its activity both at home and abroad.

Why this is happening? Let historians and psychologists answer this question. The author of this book, a former Novosty employee, takes upon himself to explain how it is done and how does it feel to be part of a subversive system, while inwardly disagreeing both with the dirty methods and "final aims" of [illegible]

Some Statistics

The department I started working for from the moment of my arrival to New Delhi in March, 1969 was titled "Press Services". There were only two Soviet employees working for this particular department—the deputy of Information Department Leonid Mitrokhin and his "junior editor" Gennadi Zhizhin, my predecessor.

The department employed some ten Indian editors, journalists, typists and referents. Considering a huge volume of output, the department was rather understaffed. The functions and the structure of the department of Press Services had been well described by the Swiss researcher Pete Sager[1], in his book published in 1966 to the great displeasure of the Central Committee.

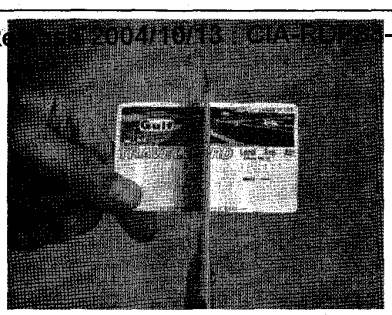
By the time I arrived at Delhi, Sager's statistics, were obsolete: during the elapsed three years the volume of propaganda output increased almost ten times. I learned about this fact very soon after my arrival, because comrade Mitrokhin assigned to me compilation and typing of the monthly reports, which we used to send to the Moscow headquarters of the APN and a copy to the Central Committee of the CPSU—Agitprop department.

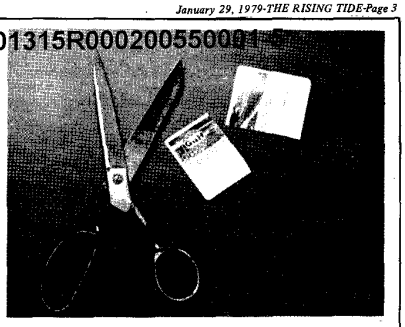
Already by 1965, as Peter Sager mentions, the number of mimeographed press materials increased three-fold, "both their quantity and content giving evidence of the Soviet aim to influence the internal and external affairs of India. The editorial desks of all political newspapers throughout the country are flooded with these press releases."[1]

Peter Sager further describes, very accurately, various types of press-bulletins, "[illegible] the title page",—he writes,—boasts a red or colored letter-head. Each number contains about 15 articles of varying lengths, and most of these are extracts from the TASS services. The articles are grouped under several main headings . . ."

I only have to add to this, that by the year of 1969, the number of various press-bulletins was reduced, while the total number of items increased.

Continued Next Issue





What You Can Do!

A question people always ask us is "What can I do to help the struggle against Communism." We received a very clever suggestion in this regard based on the article on Cabinda which appeared in the last issue of *The Rising Tide.* Cabinda is an oil-rich nation in Africa which is occupied by Cuban and Communist Angolan troops. They are supported in Cabinda by revenues from the wells of Gulf Oil Corp., which provide Marxist Angola with over a million dollars a day. Thus Gulf Oil is proping up a Marxist dictatorship against the efforts of a pro-western liberation movement to free Cabinda. The pictures speak for themselves. Send your Gulf Travel Card along with a letter of protest concerning Gulf operations in Cabinda to Gulf Oil Co.

CIA

from p. 1

at the Soviet bookstore in Washington for 50 cents apiece). According to these pamphlets, Soviet hens lay a certain percentage more eggs each year---let us say 7.8 per cent---than they laid the year before, but with one biological peculiarity. The annual 7.8 per cent increase in egg laying begins only with the advent to power of the current rulers. Under the previous rulers, it subsequently turns out, the hens of Russia had hardly laid any eggs at all.."

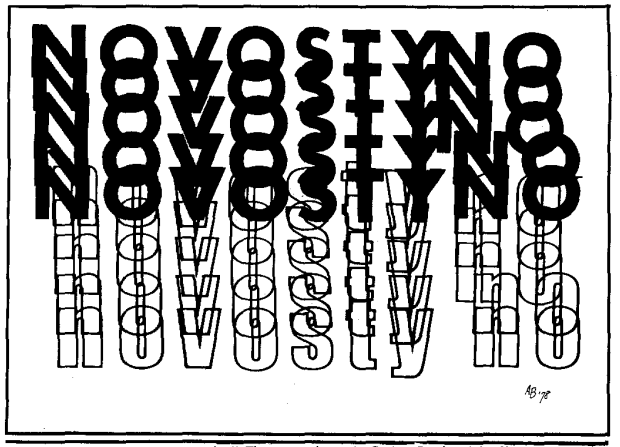
According to Soviet propaganda, it is the laying of eggs and other such peaceful endeavors, rather than the production of weapons, that fills the Soviet economy to overflowing. Does the C.I.A. know what it is doing? Mr. Navrozov argues that, "I do not wish to join in the currently fashionable game of making a scapegoat of the C.I.A., but I have to say that the C.I.A. in its knowledge of Russia is on the whole no better than other institutions in the West which deal in one way or another with the Soviet regime."

The C.I.A., inits congressional testimony, seems not to know what is taking place in the Soviet Union at all. In 1976, Senator William Proximire (D-Wisc.) asked a C.I.A. representative about whether there had been food riots in the U.S.S.R. The representative replied: "There are rumors reported in the Western press." Mr. Navrozov concludes from the record that, "In other words, the C.I.A. does not maintain a single human source in the guise of an ordinary inhabitant or tourist...capable of confirming or denying so obvious an event as a street riot..."

In 1975, the head of the Defense Intelligence Agency admitted to Congress that, "One of the fundamental surprises to the whole intelligence community in the 16 years that I have been in the business is the strong effort that the Soviets have made to get themselves a broad ocean navy."

Beyond all of this, the C.I.A. has followed whatever ideological winds were prevailing in Washington. In 1961, the C.I.A. was consistent with the views of other government agencies in painting a bleak picture of Soviet intention. But in the 1970s, when detente became official policy, the C.I.A. tried to prove---in the face of the real evidence---that the Soviets had abandoned expansionism as a goal.

Mr. Navrozov argues that in Soviet official circles the is a theory that the C.I.A. is only a public front---and that a real U.S. intelligence agency exists in secret, since the C.I.A.'s assessments of Soviet goals and intentions are so clearly at variance with the facts. This seems to impute a sophistication to U.S. policymakers which seems not to be the case. The C.I.A. has failed us dramatically and, as a result, the Soviets move forward---our own guard is down.



KGB

from p. 1

the Soviet Union wishes only to send in a ballet troupe or a soccer team." Kriangsak continued to say "no," even to Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolay Firyubin who made a special stopover in Bangkok to add more weight to Ambassador Kuznetsov's request.

Why has Moscow developed that much interest in a "long-term cultural agreement" with Thailand?

Embassy web of spies

For the Thais, the Soviet embassy in their capital has been a net of KGB spies. In 1962, an Embassy official a TASS agency report were ordered out of the country for "activities endangering Thai security." Three years later, the Soviet commercial counselor in Bangkok was declared persona non grata for doing things other than trade. In 1972, a KGB agent—one of the 105 "diplomats" expelled by the British government—was posted in Bangkok, triggering a storm of protest. In 1976, a former third secretary of the Soviet embassy in Bangkok was caught redhanded spying in Tokyo by Japanese police.

"Under diplomatic cloak," the Peking People's Daily charged on September 18, 1978, "Soviet officials collect intelligence, recruit spies, study the terrain, buy off the people, penetrate student organizations and even stealthily show up at distant places along the coast scrutinizing every inch of land."

During his recent visit to Bangkok, Vietbam's Premier Pham Van Dong tried to pick up where the Russians left off. But, Kriangsak's only concession was to release five Hanoi spies, convicted of undermining Thai internal security.

Two of them were arrested in Ubon Ratchani and Udon Thani provinces while attempting to sabotage airbases installations in 1972. The remaining three, found floating last year in the sea off southern Thailand, were identified as phony refugees on a spying mission to aid Thai communist insurgents.

Hanoi has never acknowledged sending saboteurs and spies into Thailand. Last week, a Vietnamese spokesman finally admitted, "As soon as the prisoners are released, they will be sent back to Hanoi by air."

And now, Moscow and its Hanoi surrogate want Bangkok to acquiesce to their plan of sending saboteurs and spies into Thailand "by air."

Oppression in the name of Anti-Maoism

It was Chairman Mao who first approved of the Chinese "wall poster" war at the beginning of his "Cultural Revolution." A philosophy instructor at Peking University, Nieh Yuan-tzu, put up the first poster in May 1966 in the school's dining hall. In November, this year, he was arrested and executed for his early actions. Likewise, a Cantonese librarian named Li Cheng put up a 100-yard-long poster saying that the Chinese Communist Party had evolved into a privileged bureaucracy. Today he is imprisoned in a labor reform camp, digging coal in a 19th century mine.

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Editorials

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Carter's Spy Pique

There is considerable irony in President Carter's current pique over the poor performance of the Central Intelligence Agency. Inasmuch as the President contributed substantially to the agency's deficiencies, one wonders whether he will now draw the appropriate conclusions.

Mr. Carter boosted himself into the presidency partly by decrying past CIA mistakes and embarrassments. In place of the old emphasis on cloak-and-dagger spooks and covert activities, Carter promised a sanitized intelligence operation. Technology - satellite reconnaissance, electronic sensors, computers and Xerox machines - would move intelligence gathering out of the back alley and into the new morality, or so Mr. Carter suggested.

It didn't take the President's appointed CIA Director, Adm. Stansfield Turner, long to signal the new direction. Early last year, Turner dismissed 820 offices of the agency's clandestine service: an act which shattered morale in an agency already dispirited by blistering public criticsm and humiliating leaks of CIA secrets by self-serving members of Congress.

The fruits of all this cannot have been a surprise. The CIA failed to warn of the pro-Soviet coup in Afghanistan. The agency completely misread the deteriorating situation in Iran. And, there has been a damaging breakdown in the CIA's own internal security.

Mr. Carter's ill-advised assent to Turner's request for greater control over Defense and State Department intelligence operations has, presumably, exacerbated these failures. After all, three differing intelligence assessments are preferable to one that is wrong.

The President has sent a sharp note of complaint about these blunders to Turner, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and National Security Affairs Advisor Zbigniew Brzeninski. How much better if Mr. Carter had critiqued his own role in the dangerous deterioration of this country's intelligence operations.

And Now Korea?

We would like to believe that President Carter has kept an open mind about his announced policy of withdrawing all American ground forces from South Korea. Regrettably, we see few signs that such is that case.

Time and events now challenge the wisdom of the withdrawal strategy. Consider the U.S. Army's current reassessment of North Korea's military strength. The Army now finds the North Koreans are fielding as many as 41 divisions instead of the 28 previously identified. North Korean tank strength is now put at 2,000 - double the number estimated in 1974. And the North Korean air force remains a third larger than that of South Korea.

Significantly, this new appraisal of North Korea's forces reflects the first intensive re-evaluation of that country's military in several years. It's a telling measure of just how poorly prepared Mr. Carter was to make his 1977 decision to withdraw the last remaining U.S. Army division in phases over a four or five-year period.

Reps. Samuel S. Stratton and Robin L. Beard, both members of the House Armed Services Committee, have urged to President to suspend the troop withdrawal schedule long enough to permit Congress to study the new intelligence estimates and determine their potential significance. The Stratton-Beard recommendation is obviously sound.

A suspension would still leave Mr. Carter free to resume the withdrawal if Congress decided that the danger of a North Korean invasion would not thereby be heightened. Weighed against the danger of renewed hostilities on the Korean peninsula, the case for suspending the withdrawal is clearly overwhelming.

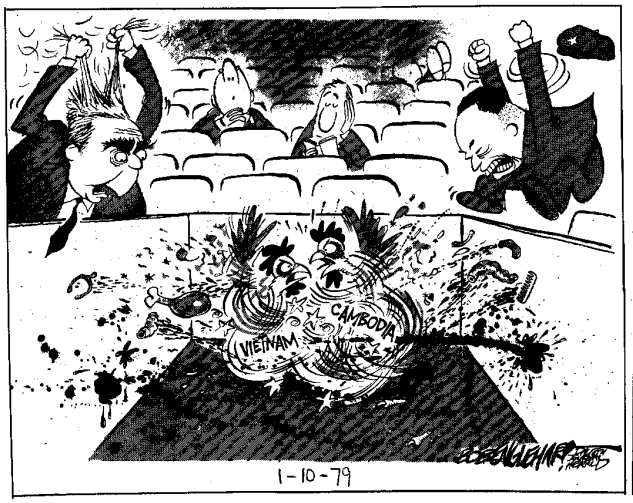
A Theocratic Iran

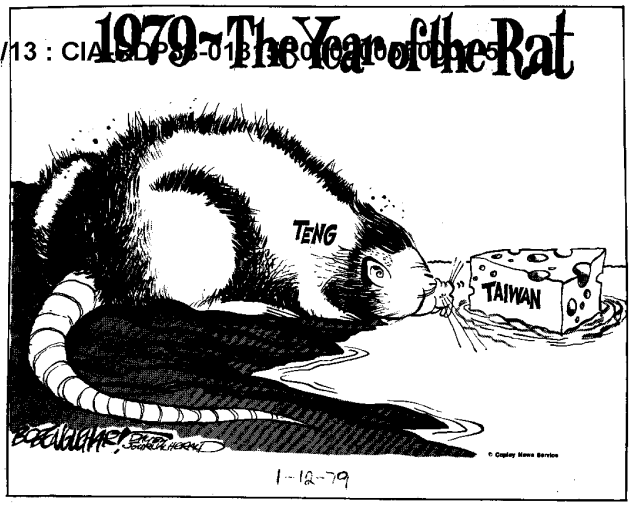
The main losers in a Khomeini-inspired government, if the religious leader's own sermons are any indication, will be religious minorities such as Christians, Jews and Bahais who live in Iran. The Ayatollah has condemned such groups for "distorting" the teachings of the Koran and he has railed against the Jews for trying to take over the world. We suspect that these groups will be severely curtailed and perhaps suffer widespread and ugly pogroms.

Women will also suffer, expecially those who have achieved some measure of independence from the orthodox Muslim attitude towards women. It will be hard for newly liberated women to suddenly go back to wearing the veil, to virtual slavery and to silent submission to the men.

Iran would not necessarily turn toward Marxism under Khomeini. But Iran's cutoff of oil to Israel and South Africa will nevertheless advance Soviet gains throughout the world.

If Iran cuts back on its military as Khomeini promised, the Soviets and their proxies will be able to blackmail Iran and do whatever they want to do in the Middle East, regardless of how anti-communist the Ayatollah's followers are for religious reasons. The Soviets don't care if Iran is religious, just so long as it is weak and isolated, which it is likely to be under theocratic rule.





Wires Ignore National Lawyers Guild Ties to PLO

Reed Irvine

WASHINGTON - Reporters for the AP and UPI have fallen victim to the terrorist PLO's propaganda war in the U.S. A recent Middle-East report of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) accusing Israel of violating the rights of Palestinians was handled by the wires as though it was an objective study issued by a respectable and responsible American legal organization Ignored was the PLO money which made the report possible and the extreme far-left nature of the Guild.

PLO involvement in the production of this report is so blatant that the Justice Department is investigating whether members of the NLG should have registered with the U.S. Government as agents of the PLO. The investigation follows disclosures made at a recent Guild news conference announcing the release of the report. Responding to press questions about funding for the Guild's work, a Guild spokesman acknowledged that the PLO initiated the Middle-East visit and paid their living expenses in Beirut, Lebanon in 1977.

Immediately afterward, a dissenting member of the Guild's Middle-East delegation held a news conference to denounce the report. Howard Dickstein charged that "the Guild has been manipulated to serve the political objectives of the PLO to obtain a human rights report from a responsible legal organization, condemning Israel in absolute terms in order to discredit it in American opinion."

AP and UPI fell victim to this political manipulation and also to the fiction that the NLG is a responsible group. In stories carried by the wire services, no mention is made of the financial arrangement between the Guild and the PLO. Both report that the lawyers were "guest" of the PLO and UPI adds Dickstein's charge that the report was "influenced" by the PLO. But Dickstein said much more than that. He said that the work in LEBANON was "completely subsidized" by the PLO.

Guild ties with the Soviet-backed PLO are nothing new. In 1970, the Guild sent a delegation to the Congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, which was recently labeled by the CIA as "one of the most useful Communist front organizations at the service of the Soviet Communist party." The Congress passed a resolution in support of Palestinian terrorism. The Guild's 1977 convention praised the PLO as a national liberation movement, supported creation of a PLO state in the Middle-East, and condemned the U.S. as an imperialist power.

Despite this background, the AP story carried by the Washington Post referred to the Guild as simply an "American lawyers group" which found the American Bar Association "reactionary." The UPI dispatch went a bit further, identifying the Guild as "left-leaning."

The stories deal mainly with charges in the report that Israel tortures Palestinians. The UPI dispatch notes the allegation of torture twice but ignores Dickstein's rebuttal. AP, however, reports Dickstein's significant contention that the charges of torture were based, in part, on interviews conducted with former Israeli prisoners at PLO headquarters in the presence of armed PLO guards.

The wires failed to report that Guild members at the news conference were joined by Israeli attorney Leah Tsemel, a defender of PLO terrorists. Tsemel was a source for many of the charges contained in the report and is now touring the U.S. with PLO representatives. She admitted during the news conference that she was a member of the Trotskyite Communist party.

Another NLG member at the event, Detroit lawyer Abdeen Jabara, was also ignored by AP and UPI. Jabara is regarded as the Guild's staunchest advocate for the PLO and was an editor of a pro-PLO publication. Dickstein described Jabara as the liaison with the PLO and the source of most of the Guild's contacts and information that went into the report.

Many who read the wire service stories have probably concluded that Israel has been found guilty of torturing Palestinians by an impartial group of concerned American legal scholars. They would have no reason to believe that the National Lawyers Guild has become the PLO's legal propaganda arm and that the wires had become tools in that propaganda effort

Letters

Taiwan and the Carter Record

Dear Sir:

President Carter's shameful betrayal of the free people of Taiwan should be the straw that breaks the camel's back of public indifference, to this administration's appeasement policies. However, America's so called "silent majority" has given ample evidence over the past several year of an unbelievable tolerance for docilely accepting onerous and clearly inimical policies.

One needs only cite a few highlights of President Carter's disastrous foreign policy over the past two years to wonder whether there is any limit to what the American people will tolerate: First there was the shameful pardon on Vietnam draft dodgers and deserters. Then came the dismantling of our military potential with his cancellation of the B-1 bomber and MX missile programs, and a drastic curtailment of our navy shipbuilding program. He has not only abandoned our staunchest anti-communist allies, he has openly supported their communist terrorists enemies in Rhodesia and South Africa, and is now pulling our troops out of S. Korea. His last two initiatives, the insane giveaway of the Panama Canal to the communists and the sellout of our anti-communist allies on Taiwan, are two of the most brazen acts committed to date.

Sincerely yours,
Thomas B. Parsley

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United States Headquarters

Dear Sir:

Because of your contribution as a leader concerned with the vital issues of our times, you have been selected to receive a free subscription to the bi-weekly newspaper of The Freedom Leadership Foundation, THE RISING TIDE.

The Freedom Leadership Foundation is a nationwide youth educational organization dedicated to developing the standards of leadership necessary to advance the cause of freedom in the struggle against Communism. THE RISING TIDE is FLF's primary publication, seeking to bring American youth an understanding of international relations in the context of the world-wide ideological struggle.

FLF was founded under the guidance of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon in 1969 as a federally tax-exempt educational corporation in Washington, D.C. Since then our work has expanded rapidly to include all fifty states, with affiliates in more than fifty nations. Far from just another "anti-Communist" organization, FLF seeks to unite people of various ethnic derivations, religious backgrounds, and political philosophies in the common humanitarian cause of ideological victory over Communist totalitarianism through constructive international action.

We think that you will find the TIDE a refreshing change, with information and analyses often unavailable in other publications. We appreciate any comments or questions you might have, and welcome you to the growing readership of THE RISING TIDE.

Sincerely,

THE FREEDOM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION, INC.

Neil Albert Salonen

Neil Albert Salonen
President

NAS:eb

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GRAYDON
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Fefferman)

18 June 1975

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

Dear Mr. Fefferman,

In response to your letter of May 15 addressed to the Director, I enclose some material which you might find of interest.

Sincerely,

/s/ Angus MacLean Thuermer

Angus MacLean Thuermer
Assistant to the Director

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Encs.

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