

America versus Russia

Nearly one hundred and fifty years ago Alexis de Tocqueville uttered an amazingly accurate prophecy regarding the rise of the world's two superpower giants — America and the Soviet Union.

An Amazing Prophecy

That remarkable prophecy, given in the early 19th century, reads as though it had been written quite recently:

There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend towards the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed; and while the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere, they have suddenly placed themselves in the front rank among the nations, and the world learned their existence and their greatness at almost the same time.

All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and they have only to maintain their power; but these are still in the act of growth. All the others have stopped, or continue to advance with extreme difficulty; these alone are proceeding with ease and celerity along a path to which no limit can be perceived. The American struggles against the obstacles that nature opposes to him; the adversaries of the Russian are men. The former combats the wilderness and savage life; the latter, civilization with all its arms. The conquests of the American are therefore gained by the plowshare; those of the Russian by the sword. The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends and gives free scope to the unguided strength and common sense of the people; the Russian centers all the authority of society in a single arm. The principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting-point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.

So said Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835 — nearly a century and a half ago!

Only Two Superpowers

There are just two superpowers in the world today — America and the Soviet Union. After World War II, the U.S. emerged as the indispu-

table economic and military giant of the world. Soviet Russia, though battered during the Second World War, came through that war the second strongest world power.

At the end of the earth's second titanic struggle, America had the atomic bomb, and also possessed enormous economic strength. Perhaps it was inevitable that a suspicious Communist regime in Moscow should look with deep misgivings upon the dynamic American economic and military titan. Also, perhaps it was quite natural that the United States looked upon the growing might of the Soviet Russian giant with deep distrust — noting that the Red Army had unceremoniously swallowed up most of Eastern Europe as well as some of the Baltic states — and it was clear that Russia intended to keep her boot firmly planted on those parts of Europe.

These facts led President Truman and the American nation to adopt a policy of "containment" following World War II. Communism would have to be contained so that it couldn't gobble up more countries.

The Soviet Union's reaction to containment was to intensify the Cold War under the leadership of Joe Stalin. Russia would seal off herself and her satellites from the rest of the world — from Western penetration and influence. Until the Soviet-dominated Communist nations built up their strength to either parity or superiority with the West — they would just remain in their cool self-imposed isolationism.

Thus, the Siberian blasts of the Cold War which began at the close of World War II have continued blowing across the world ever since.

Many now ask: Is today's apparent thaw, called *détente*, the result of a genuine warming of relations between the Soviet Union and the Western nations? Or, is it a deliberate attempt by Moscow to lull the West into thinking the Communists have turned soft and have now become more humane?

Is the present Soviet-American *détente* deliberately calculated to cause the West to let their guard down? Is today's uneasy East-West rapprochement a policy which is designed to give Communist Russia many advantages and favors at the expense of the capitalistic West?

Agricultural Comparisons

How do the two superpowers — America and Russia — compare in size, in economic strength, and in military might?

Soviet Russia is the largest nation on earth and comprises about 8,649,489 square miles. The United States is the fourth largest nation, and comprises about 3,615,191 square miles.

The Soviet Union has a population of over 255,000,000, whereas the U.S. population now exceeds 215,000,000. But even though Russia is considerably larger than America both in population and its size, the

United States far outproduces the USSR. The annual gross national product (GNP) of the Soviet Union is now estimated to be about \$873 billion, while that of the United States is over \$1.5 trillion — nearly double that of Russia.

Slightly less than one third of Russia's total work force is employed on the land, whereas only one twentieth of the U.S. work force is employed on America's farms. The Soviet Union has nearly 50,000 collective and state farms, but the average Russian worker is only one tenth as productive as his American counterpart. Nonetheless, the Soviet Union actually produces more wheat and grain crops than any other country. Also, there is more livestock in the USSR than in America. The Soviets claim their milk production is equal to all of the production of the U.S., Britain and West Germany.

Even though the Soviet Union is nearly two and a half times the size of the United States, little more than one tenth of her land is well suited for farming. Neither corn nor soybeans (both important crops in America) grow well in Russia. Furthermore, the Russian climate is much colder and her growing season much shorter than that of the U.S. And recent Soviet attempts to utilize vast tracts of virgin land in the production of wheat and other grain crops have not been all that successful. Her recent disastrous grain crop failures attest to that fact. Russia had to purchase vast amounts of grain from the U.S. in 1972; and with another disastrous grain failure in 1975, (34 percent less than expected), the Soviets again eagerly sought American grain to feed their hungry millions.

Russia's most dramatic move toward agricultural self-sufficiency is her 45-billion-dollar project to develop 124 million acres of generally unfertile clay and sand flatlands that stretch north and east over vast stretches all the way from Moscow and Leningrad across European Russia into Siberia.

Grain output per Soviet farmer is 5.3 metric tons, compared to 50.8 for his American counterpart. Grain output per acre in Russia only averages about 1.41 metric tons, as compared with 6.3 metric tons per acre in the U.S.

Soviet Industry

When the Communist Revolution seized control of Russia in 1917, the Soviet Union was a very backward nation — both agriculturally and industrially. Russia has come a long way toward modernizing her agriculture and industry since that time, but she still has a long way to go before she will have completed that task.

In spite of massive assistance from the West (the opening of the world's largest truck factory on the banks of the Karma River, about 600

miles east of Moscow, is one of the more modern examples of Western assistance) Russia is still not moving forward as rapidly in her industrialization as she would like. Much of the financing and technical know-how for the building of the gigantic Karma River truck production complex came from America. Long-term American credit, both private and U.S. Government, helped finance its construction. The entire cost of the truck factory is estimated to have been about \$4 billion. But the factory is expected to produce 150,000 diesel trucks a year. During 1973, total Soviet production of trucks and buses was 685,000, whereas the U.S. built more than 3 million during that same year.

Some time ago Fiat of Italy also built a large automobile producing plant at Togliatti in Russia. During 1973 it produced about 660,000 passenger cars. But Soviet roads are not the best. Without good roads cars aren't nearly as useful as they could be. The U.S. often produces 10 million or more cars per annum. There are now 130 million cars, buses and trucks clogging America's roads.

Here are a few interesting comparisons between America and Russia. The U.S. produces about 117 million tons of steel each year, the Soviet Union about 155 million tons. (Though during 1974-75 the U.S. outstripped the Soviet Union).

The Soviet Union, during 1974 surpassed the U.S. in the production of oil, coal, pig iron and mineral fertilizers. *Pravda's* top commentator, Yuri Zhukov, recently stated that the Soviet Union is now the world's leading producer of the aforementioned four "important indices."

Mr. Zhukov did, however, admit that in 1974 Russia slipped in her steel output to second place behind the U.S., though she had out-produced America during the previous three years.

He told a national television audience that he was certain that "our Soviet workers will achieve new capabilities to help us exceed the Americans and occupy first place in the world."

Yuri Zhukov also stated that Russia leads the U.S. in production of tractors, cement, cotton fabric and metal-cutting machinery. He added: "Of course, there are many other indices in which the Americans are still ahead of us. And, incidentally, the gap between the number of indices is still very large. We must work very hard to fill this gap and fulfill in the end Lenin's behest to economically compete with capitalism."

Military Comparisons

Generally speaking, the United States is far ahead of Russia in the production of both goods and services — with an overall figure just about double that of the Soviet Union. But what about military production?

Russia has tended to concentrate her industrial production more in

HOW THE GIANTS MEASURE UP

U.S. U.S.S.R.

Armed forces



Tanks



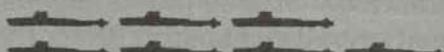
Artillery



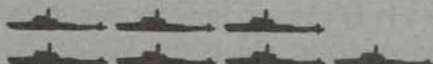
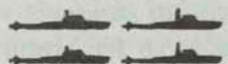
Megatonnage



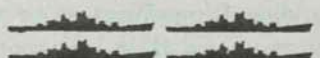
Attack submarines



Missile
submarines



Major
combat
ships



Strategic
Missiles



Tactical
aircraft



Strategic aircraft



Computers in use



Aircraft carriers

the area of the military (more guns and less butter), whereas the United States has put the major emphasis on domestic production (more butter and fewer guns)!

Many in America are worried about the rapid Soviet build-up in military hardware. Ever since the Cold War began in 1945, the United States has maintained a comfortable lead in the manufacture and deployment of strategic military equipment. With a clear headstart in the production of nuclear weapons, and with far superior technology, the U.S. has easily been able to keep well ahead of the Russians in this vital area. As long as America possessed superior weapons and technology, U.S. military men didn't worry about the fact that the Russians maintained a larger number of troops in uniform than did America and the West.

Now, however, both in America and throughout the West, many are becoming quite concerned with the rapid advances the Soviets are admittedly making in the manufacture of high-quality weapons and in their overall technology. Presently, the Soviets have a greater number of weapons deployed than does the U.S. and her NATO allies.

It is this alarmingly rapid build-up of strategic weapons and weapons systems which the West now finds so frightening. They are being told that Russia has already achieved parity, or near parity, with America and the West in overall military power. Some have even charged that the United States has let the Soviets surpass them in overall military strength.

"Our Military is Without Equal"

President Ford, in his annual state of the union message on January 19, 1976, disagreed, however. He claimed:

America has had a unique role in the world since the day of our independence 200 years ago. And ever since the end of World War II, we have borne — successfully — a heavy responsibility for ensuring a stable world order and hope for human progress. . . . We are at peace — and I will do all in my power to keep it that way.

Our military forces are capable and ready; our military power is without equal. And I intend to keep it that way.

Our principal alliances with the industrial democracies of the Atlantic Community and Japan have never been more solid. . . .

However, many Americans are deeply disturbed by the thought that Russia may have already achieved "parity" with the U.S. in overall military strength, and might conceivably even forge ahead in the near future.

It is now estimated that the Soviet Union spends between 10 and 15 percent of its gross national product on defense — as compared to about

5 percent for the United States. (The U.S. defense budget is now running over \$100 billion annually!). Even though Russia's GNP is only about half that of the U.S., nonetheless it is estimated that she is spending about twenty to forty billion dollars more for military purposes than America. If the U.S. continues paring back her military budget, the Russians will gain a clear military lead — an indisputable superiority — in the very near future. And that's what is troubling many military men, as well as prominent senators and government officials.

How do the U.S. and Russia compare in actual military strength?

Soviet Military Strength

The Soviet Union now has about 4,500,000 men in her armed forces, compared to 2,084,350 for the U.S. The USSR has approximately 42,000 tanks, America only around 10,000. The U.S. has about 1,710 strategic missiles, the Soviets have 2,378. Our actual megatonnage is now about 4,000, the Soviets possess 10,000. America has 463 strategic aircraft, the Soviets have only 135. And in tactical aircraft, we have approximately 8,500, and the Soviets have only about 6,100. (All of these figures are approximate and are constantly changing.)

Ten years ago, the U.S. held a 4-to-1 edge in the total number of strategic missiles and bombers. Now the Soviets have about 2,537 long-range bombers and missiles, as compared to 2,142 for the U.S. However, the U.S. still retains a 4-to-1 edge in the total number of nuclear warheads that these weapons can launch. This is due to America's lead in the development of MIRVs (multiple, independently-targeted re-entry vehicles).

Naval Comparisons

America has 182 major combat ships, the Soviets have 226. The U.S. has 14 aircraft carriers, the USSR has only 1. The United States has 73 attack submarines, Russia has 253. America has 41 missile-launching submarines, the Soviets have 73.

Most people have little conception of the horrifying power contained in one of the U.S. submarines. For instance, a single U.S. submarine, armed with deadly Poseidon missiles, packs more firepower than all of the retaliatory forces of Britain and France combined — and it is virtually impossible to detect this quiet-running submarine's location at any given moment!

In April 1975, the Soviets demonstrated their challenge to American domination of the world's oceans by staging the most extensive sea and air exercise in their entire history. Those exercises extended all the way from the Sea of Japan to the Caribbean, and from the Azores to Nor-

way's North Cape. Moscow has also recently consolidated its position in the Indian Ocean by building a base at Berbera in the Somali Republic, and now has a South Atlantic seaport in Angola.

Even though Russia has professed to be hotly pursuing détente with America, she has nonetheless continued vigorously building up her military — trying to shift the strategic balance in her favor. The stark truth is that the SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) and other arms negotiations (which are usually regarded as essential to détente) have been exploited by the Soviets to achieve military gains over the U.S.

Does Détente Favor Russia?

Notice how one-sided the détente concessions have been. Because of America's superiority in the MIRVs, the U.S. has had a clear built-in advantage in strategic nuclear power. During this present period of détente, the Soviets have insisted that agreements must be based on parity between the superpowers. Clearly, they were happy to call for "parity" in this area — since they were far behind the U.S.

But in the field where the Soviets hold a decisive advantage over the United States (i.e. conventional military forces in Europe) — they flatly refuse to even discuss parity.

The leaders in the Kremlin are using superpower détente as a means of gaining global military supremacy.

Is America Still Ahead?

Has the Soviet Union already reached parity with the United States in overall military strength? Perhaps nobody in either Russia or America really knows for sure the answer to this question. But it would appear that the United States still has a slight overall military edge over Russia.

What are some of the indications of this?

Firstly, the United States has the MIRV's — which would enable her to knock out important enemy targets with great accuracy and with comparatively less defense expenditure than the big, cumbersome and very expensive Russian nuclear warheads.

Secondly, the United States is far ahead of Russia in general weapons development and in overall technological advances. America's recent development of her deadly cruise missiles (which can fly undetected below enemy radar defenses) clearly underlines America's strength in this field. (The Soviets, realizing the U.S.'s lead in the development of cruise missiles, are pressing to have them banned).

America's Secretary of Defense, Donald H. Rumsfeld, made the following comments regarding the cruise missile:



Richard M. Nixon tried to thaw out relations between the U.S. and Communists. His warmer relations between America and China and Russia was referred to as Détente. During his unhappy second term, the Watergate scandal forced him to resign as America's 37th President.
— *United Press International Photo*

... The cruise missile will have a quite different use than a B-1 (bomber). It is based on a new technology — essentially that of a pilotless, subsonic aircraft We seem to have a considerable lead over the Soviet Union in this field.

Cruise missiles potentially are very accurate, but slow. They can be launched from aircraft, from land, from surface ships or from submarines. They would well have a variety of potential uses, both strategic and tactical. In our budget we are funding the air-launched cruise missile with the thought that it would be a valuable weapon to be carried by a B-52 for a variety of purposes.'

"Need to be Vigilant"

The Secretary of Defense also gave a timely warning about détente:

If one thinks that détente means that the Russians are our friends — that we can trust them, and that they will conduct themselves the way we do in our country, that they believe in freedom and individual, God-given rights of man, that they will not continue to support "just wars of national liberation," or that they will not continue to develop substantial military strength to serve their interests — anyone who thinks that is dead wrong. That is not what Soviet policy or behavior is all about.

Détente, most precisely, from our standpoint, is an approach that the United States is using with the Soviet Union to determine if it's possible to relax tensions.

Mr. Rumsfeld also warned about avoiding "a sense of euphoria that can accompany a marginally improved relationship" between America and Russia.

We have to avoid being lulled into thinking that, because our strength has given us relative peace and stability, we therefore no longer need to be vigilant. That is just plain wrong. We do need to be vigilant. And we must be wise enough to realize that the reason we are at the negotiating table with the Soviet Union is because we are militarily strong.

President Ford and his administration appear to be wary of Communist intentions. Mr. Ford is a realist, and hopes to achieve "peace through strength."

As America begins the third century of her national existence, will she be able to muster sufficient moral strength, and enough military might to deter aggressive Communists from taking over much of today's free world?

In addition to American superiority in the area of MIRVs and the cruise missile, the U.S. also has a strategic advantage over Russia in her far-flung bases scattered all around the globe. However, the Soviet Union is rapidly establishing a globe-girdling net of air and naval bases.

What Russia Wants From U.S.

What do the Communists expect to get from détente?

When relations first began to thaw between the U.S. and Russia many Americans — as well as non-Americans — were euphoric — hoping the Iron Curtain had really rusted away. Many vainly imagined the Cold War was just about over.

At the close of World War II Russia had been decimated — at least 18,000,000 soldiers and civilians killed. Many of her chief cities lay smouldering. Her productive capacity had suffered terribly under the brutal blows of the world's most devastating war.

Ravaged by the Nazi armies of Hitler, Russia was in no position to compete with the steadily growing agricultural and industrial might of America.

The U.S. undoubtedly prevented the collapse of the Soviet fighting machine in the dark days of World War II — through massive infusions of military and economic aid. The Soviet Union, however, instead of loving and respecting America, came to distrust her — even to fear the powerful American giant.

But why?

All during World War II the U.S. continued growing in economic and military strength, and in international dominance. American cities had not been devastated like those of much of Europe and Japan. American war deaths totalled only 298,000 during World War II, whereas Russia lost an estimated 11,000,000 soldiers and 7,000,000 civilians — a colossal loss by any standard!

The truth is that nobody really knows exactly how many Russians — both soldiers and civilians — died during the second World War. Some think as many as 25,000,000 may have died.²

Russia saw herself greatly weakened through World War II. But at the same time, she witnessed with envy the U.S. rise to an economic and military pinnacle to which no nation had ever before attained. Russia feared that America might exploit her strengthened position by seeking to dominate the rest of the world.

Furthermore, just before the end of World War II, the U.S. dropped A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki — not only proving that she actually possessed such terrible weapons, but demonstrating her willingness, if she deemed it wise, to use them.

In other words, at the close of World War II, Russia, comparing herself with the U.S., felt like a dwarf economically and militarily.

² Demographic evidence suggests that the Soviet Union may have lost 25,000,000 or more persons during World War II. Of these, losses of men of military age may have been between 15,000,000 and 20,000,000 (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 22, 1973 ed.).

This lack of economic and military *parity* between these two giants, and the resultant inevitable inferiority of the Russians, triggered a long Cold War.

The Cold War Thaws

However the Communist leaders in Moscow soon began to realize that the vaunted superiority of their *socialist* system just didn't exist. The *capitalistic* system produced superior technology and a higher standard of living. To this very day, a tremendous technological gap has continued between the West and the Communist countries. If the Soviets are ever to catch up with the West, and with America in particular, they will have to receive a massive transfusion of Western technology — Western ideas and inventions — all the way from computers to electric shavers.

But the USSR gradually began to catch up in her nuclear capacity with the West. Russia's proliferation of powerful A-bombs began to give her a heightened sense of national self-confidence. She now felt she could hold her own with the U.S. or with the other nations of Western Europe.

Russia at last felt she could begin to relax — could let the Cold War thaw into warmer relations between herself and the nations of the West, the U.S. in particular. Perhaps cultural, economic, scientific and other exchanges would prove to be a useful tool to the U.S.S.R. Russia fully realized she would gain more by *détente* than would the Western nations.

And also now the Soviet Union can boast the world's second largest gross national product, and a high enough standard of living to assure her that she can afford to open, at least a little, the gates of the hitherto tightly-sealed *Iron Curtain* which had surrounded Russia for two decades.

Why Russia Favors Détente

What does Russia hope to receive as a result of her policy of *détente* with the West? Why is the USSR so desirous of strengthening *détente* with Washington — even though President Ford loathes even to use the word “*détente*”?

What does Russia hope to get from her present pursuit of *détente* with the West? She hopes to receive massive infusions of technology, foreign capital and expertise. The Soviets want Western technology, equipment and easy, pay-later credit terms. *Détente* also helps Russian leaders to pare back a little in military spending in order to put a few more consumer goods at the disposal of avid Russian buyers.

Many Americans, like Senator Jackson, are having second thoughts over these U.S.-Soviet "deals." They question the wisdom of our exporting to Russia massive credit, technology, and machines. They doubt the wisdom of our building factories (like the recently-completed Karma River truck factory) in the USSR, and they are skeptical about helping the Soviets develop and exploit their sources of energy — while we are lacking adequate capital to properly develop our own badly-needed sources of energy.

There may be some positive *benefits* to détente — but there are also inescapable *pitfalls*.

The Leaning Elephant Lesson

Russians, like most people, respect a show of strength, determination and will. This fact was driven home to me personally recently when I visited the Soviet Union with my wife.

Many Americans who have visited the Soviet Union have come away firmly convinced that the majority of the Soviet peoples are friendly toward America, and are quite interested in what the U.S. does.

And this is the distinct impression I received when my wife and I visited Soviet Russia. While in Bangkok, Thailand, we had a very friendly visit with officials of the Russian Embassy, and we were quite impressed with the friendliness of the Soviet peoples whom we met there.

In fact it appears that a Soviet official at the Bangkok Embassy must have gone to some lengths to make our stay in Russia a memorable occasion, for when we arrived at the Moscow International Airport, we were given the red-carpet treatment.

To our surprise, we were driven to our Moscow hotel in a beautifully-carpeted limousine which was roughly comparable to a Cadillac. And everywhere we went, we were treated with great respect and courtesy.

What kind of an impression did we receive from our visit to the Soviet Union? We concluded that the Soviet people are very friendly to Americans and appear to be keenly interested in any information they can get concerning our country. The Russians impressed us as being a people who want to be both understood and liked. Several times, we were asked what we thought of the Soviet peoples and their country.

An Obtuse Taxi Driver

But we also had one very exasperating experience which proved to us that Communists respect tenacity and a show of determination.

We were ready to depart from our Moscow hotel, and be driven to

the International Airport at Moscow. We were supposed to arrive at the airport an hour early — in order to fill out necessary papers, check our luggage through, and take care of any last minute formalities before departing for London.

Since neither my wife nor I spoke Russian, we asked the concierge at our Moscow hotel to tell our Russian-speaking taxi driver to take us to the International Airport. But from the beginning of our trip to the airport, we had anything but red-carpet treatment. It soon became apparent to us that we had unfortunately been given a not-too-alert taxi driver. We should have arrived at the Moscow airport in plenty of time, but our driver took a wrong turn and drove us miles out of our way. We learned to our consternation that he had taken us to the wrong airport — the inter-Russian air terminal — instead of taking us to the international terminal as we had requested. And we lost another ten or fifteen minutes driving from the inter-Russian air terminal to the international terminal.

These delays caused us to arrive at the international terminal about a half hour late. Would this cause us to miss our plane to London?

Seeing the "Manager"

While checking in at the airport, we were informed by an English-speaking woman employee that it was already too late for us to get seats on our previously scheduled flight. (We still had about 25 or 30 minutes left before the plane was scheduled to take off for Copenhagen en route to London). To our utter amazement, we were told that there was only one seat available!

What could we do to make sure that we got on that plane? I suspected that we were being given the run-around — were being lied to.

At that point, I decided to ask the young English-speaking Russian woman employee of the airport to let me speak to the airport manager, since I still thought we ought to be able to get on that particular flight — having booked the seats months in advance.

This obliging Russian lady took me down a labyrinth of corridors and into a room — where there was a junior official plus several Russian women. I asked the young lady to explain to this official the circumstances of our late arrival at the airport; and I asked her to tell this Russian airport official that it was not our fault that we arrived late. Furthermore, I asked her to request his assistance in getting us on the flight which was scheduled to depart in only minutes. Repeatedly, I heard him say "Nyet" (no).

As we left his office and were going back to where my wife was waiting with our luggage, I again asked the young Russian lady to let me speak to the manager. And this time she apparently did take me into the

manager's office. At least the Russian official looked like as though he might really have the authority to speak to the pilot and get us on board the plane. By this time, the door of the plane had been shut, the engines were warming up, and the plane was ready to taxi out to the end of the runway for the take-off for London.

Would we make it?

By now I was pretty annoyed, so I asked the young Russian lady interpreter to please tell the "manager" about our plight — how we were given a taxi driver who didn't appear to know where he was going — how he had taken us to the wrong airport, causing us to be late — through no fault of ours.

Also, I asked her to tell this manager (or whoever he was) that I had contacted relatives, informing them of the arrival of our flight at the London airport, and had no way of letting them know we had missed our plane. Furthermore, we had no reservations in Moscow for the night, and the next London flight left a day or so later.

"Hold that Plane"

This airport official (presumably the manager) at last seemed to get my message. He grabbed the phone and gave some kind of an order — apparently ordering the pilot to hold the plane until my wife and I were on board. The pilot supposedly informed him that it was too late for us to catch that flight. Anyway, the manager's authoritative reply must have persuaded the pilot to hold the plane. I only knew about two Russian words — da (yes) and nyet (no). During the conversation with the pilot, I heard this manager say "Da, da, da, da . . . !" My own interpretation of what he said ran something like this: "Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah . . . I know, but you just hold that plane anyway. I'm sending these people right out!"

The "manager" nodded to the Russian lady who had accompanied me, muttered a few words, and we departed from his office.

This lady interpreter then told me we were going to get on the flight after all. We practically ran through a maze of corridors — back to where my wife was impatiently waiting with our bags — then hurriedly filled out a form or two. (We were told to forget about weighing our bags, although we had previously had to pay about \$65 for excess baggage at the Bombay airport as we boarded the plane for our Moscow flight. Presumably, we would have had to pay a similar amount here as we departed from the Moscow international airport had we not been so hurried.)

In order to save time, we were told to get into a car, and were driven directly to the aircraft. The jet engines of the airplane had been roaring for some minutes. We quickly boarded the plane, took our seats, and

sure enough, just as I had suspected, the plane had more than one vacant seat — as we had been told when we began first checking in at the airport. Actually, about half the seats were empty.

As we sat down in our seats, I heaved a sigh of relief and took comfort in knowing that, after all, the Russians are very human — just like other people. Even Communist Russians can be appealed to and persuaded to cut through red tape *if the right approach* is used — the approach of the “smiling, leaning elephant.” I learned that the principle of importunity — of doggedly persevering — works in Russia, as in any other country.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn

How do foreigners view America’s flirtation with détente? Perhaps present-day Russian thinking and Communist tactics can be understood best through the eyes of *Alexander Solzhenitsyn* than through any other living being. He is a Russian author, expatriate, and eyewitness to the horrors of Communism.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn was born in 1918 and served in the Russian Red Army during World War II. He rose to the rank of artillery captain, and was decorated for bravery.

While still serving on the German front in 1945, Solzhenitsyn was arrested for criticizing Joseph Stalin in letters to a friend. It was while languishing in Moscow prisons that he was confronted with the tragic fates of other political prisoners.

After being sentenced to eight years in labor camps, he worked as a menial laborer and was finally stricken with cancer — from which he later recovered. After Solzhenitsyn completed his prison sentence, he was exiled to Kazakhstan.

After Stalin’s death in 1953 his standing with the Russian leaders improved dramatically, and his citizenship was restored in 1956.

His first novels vividly describe the grimness and horrors of life in the vast labor-camp system of Soviet Russia. Solzhenitsyn’s *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was permitted to be published in 1962, after Nikita Khrushchev personally intervened in an effort to encourage anti-Stalinist feeling in Russia. His book was immediately hailed as an exposé of the brutal Stalinist methods, and it placed its author in the foremost ranks of Soviet writers.

But when Khrushchev was toppled from power in 1964, Soviet censorship was again tightened, and Solzhenitsyn began to be regarded as a very dangerous and hostile critic of Soviet society. Nevertheless, Solzhenitsyn’s books found publication and an enormous audience abroad, and in the Soviet Union they were circulated in *samizdat* (self-publishing underground) editions. Eventually, Solzhenitsyn was ex-

pelled from the Union of Soviet Writers and was prohibited from living in Moscow.

Solzhenitsyn was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1970, but Soviet government pressure (specifically, the threat of not being allowed to return from Stockholm) caused him to decline the prize.

Solzhenitsyn feared that he might again be imprisoned. But even so he courageously decided in 1974 to authorize publication of *The Gulag Archipelago*. This vast work documented, with personal interviews and reminiscences, the operation of the oppressive Soviet totalitarian system from 1918 to 1956.

Solzhenitsyn was arrested in February 1974, and was formally accused of *treason*, stripped of his citizenship and forcibly *deported* to the West.

Since he was proficient in German, Solzhenitsyn decided to take up residence in Switzerland with his family who were also permitted to join him. He belatedly accepted personally his Nobel Prize in Stockholm in 1974.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn is highly respected as a fearless novelist, who in vivid terms, describes techniques of terror and the resultant moral debasement. He is also a leader of a small but vociferous group of intellectual dissidents who ceaselessly endeavor to expose the nature of the oppressive Soviet system.

Solzhenitsyn's Exposé

While visiting America during the summer of 1975, Alexander Solzhenitsyn gave dramatic warning to all the world — and especially to all Americans.

Some of his more startling revelations will serve as a stern warning to any who would continue the policy of appeasement toward Communist Russia:

Nikita Khrushchev came here and said: "We're going to bury you." People didn't believe that — they took it as a joke,

Now, of course, the Communists have become more clever in my country. They do not say, "We're going to bury you" any more. Now they say, "Détente."

Nothing has changed in Communist ideology. The goals are the same as they were

Let me remind you with what sort of system the Communists started. They came to power by an abhorrent uprising. They drove away the constituent assembly. They introduced the *Cheka* (dreaded secret police) and shooting and *executions without trial*; they crushed workers' strikes; they plundered the villages, and they crushed the peasants in the bloodiest possible way.

They crushed the church. They brought 20 provinces of our country into a condition of famine — this was the famous Volga famine of 1921....

Civil war, which was started by the Communists, was a slogan of the Communists. When they got the country into a civil war, then they asked America: "Help feed our hungry."

And generous and *magnanimous America* did feed their hungry. The so-called American Relief Administration was set up, headed by your future President Hoover, and indeed, many millions of Russian lives were saved.

But what sort of *gratitude* did you receive for this? Not only have the Communists tried to erase this whole event from the popular memory so it's almost impossible today in the Soviet press to find any reference to the American Relief Administration, they even started to accuse you of a clever scheme of American imperialism to set up a spy network in Russia.

"The Situation Is Catastrophic"

The emotion-charged Solzhenitsyn continued: "I'm not going to tell you sweet words. The situation in the world is not just dangerous. It isn't just threatening. *It is catastrophic.*"

According to Solzhenitsyn, the Western allies made needless concessions to the Communists following the defeat of the Axis powers in 1945. The West ought to have been more firm with Russia.

This out-spoken, deeply concerned Russian author also sees the fallacies of *détente*. He points out:

... The Soviet Union has used *détente* in its own interest, is using it now, and will continue to use it in its own interest.

For example, in China and in the Soviet Union they're both participating in *détente*, but they have grabbed three countries of Indo-China in a quiet way. True, perhaps as a consolation, they will send you a table-tennis team!

You helped us many years with Lend-Lease, but the Communists have done everything to make us forget this, to erase it from our minds, not to remember it....

Everything poisonous which could be said about the United States was said in Stalin's days... "Blood-thirsty American Imperialism Wants to Seize Control of the World."

Some say that the Soviet leaders have now given up their inhumane ideology. Not at all, not at all. They haven't given it up one step....

It's (the Communist system) a system where unmasked *butchers of millions* like Molotov, and others lesser than him, have never been tried in the courts, but retire on tremendous pensions....

Solzhenitsyn explains that what the Communist leaders in Russia are following is not really *détente*.

This is not a *détente*, if we here with you today can spend our time in a friendly way, while over there (in Russia) people are groaning and dying and in psychiatric insane asylums. The doctors are going around and putting injections in people which destroy their brain cells.

And the second sign of true *détente* is the following: that it be not one based on smiles, not on verbal concessions. It has to be based on a firm foundation. You know the word from the Bible, "Not on sand, but on Rock." There has to be a guarantee that this will not disappear overnight or be broken overnight. . . .

"Imminent Fall of the West"

During February, 1976, while America was celebrating her Bicentennial, Solzhenitsyn visited England and was interviewed on BBC television. During that interview, he made even more startling revelations regarding Russia, *détente*, and the West's continued capitulations to the Communists:

Over the last two years terrible things have happened. The West has given up all its world positions.

The West has given everything away so impetuously, has done so much to strengthen tyranny in our country. . . .

But your *capitulations*, like all political processes, move very quickly. The speed of your capitulations has so rapidly overtaken the pace of our (Russia's) regeneration, that at the moment, the Soviet Union can only move along one path: the flourishing of totalitarianism.

At the moment, the question is not *how* the Soviet Union will find a way out of totalitarianism, but *how the West will be able to avoid the same fate*.

I wouldn't be surprised at the sudden and imminent fall of the West. . . .

The situation now is such that one must think not of what might happen unexpectedly in the Soviet Union, because in the Soviet Union nothing will happen unexpectedly. . . . *The West is on the verge of a collapse created by its own hands.*

Alexander Solzhenitsyn observed how the West changed its strategy since the early days of President Truman's presidency when the West, under his firm leadership, stood firm — refused to concede anything to the Communists. The doctrine of "containment" was not only preached, but was practiced by the West. The Nobel Prize winning author laments:

There was a time at the beginning of the '50's, when this nuclear threat hung over the world. But the attitude of the West was like *granite*, and the West did not yield. Today this nuclear threat still hangs over both sides, but the West has chosen the wrong path of making concessions. . . .

The most important aspect of *détente* today is that there is no ideological *détente*. You Western people simply can't grasp the power of Soviet propaganda. . . .

What does the spirit of Helsinki and the spirit of détente mean for us within the Soviet Union? The strengthening of totalitarianism.

I would like to emphasize. . . . You think that this is a respite, but it is an imaginary respite. *It's a respite before destruction.* As for us [the Russian peoples], we have no respite at all. We are being strangled even more, with greater determination. . . .

Many Westerners, today, have espoused the idea that it is better to let the Communists take over their country than to have a lot of blood and destruction in resisting such a take-over. But Solzhenitsyn doesn't agree:

All my life and the life of my generation, the life of those who share my views, we all have one standpoint: better to be dead than a scoundrel. In this horrible expression of Bertrand Russell ("better Red than dead") there is an absence of all moral criteria.

Looked at from a short distance, these words allow one to manoeuvre and to continue to enjoy life. But from a long-term point of view, it will undoubtedly destroy those people who think like that. It is a terrible thought. . . .

Will the West heed Solzhenitsyn's warnings and quit making endless concessions to the Communists? Or will the Western world continue chasing the elusive goal of peace — looking for it at the end of the phantom rainbow of détente?

Know Your Enemy

Why will détente not work?

Simply because the Communists can never be trusted.

It is well known that, according to Communist philosophy, promises are like pie crust — made to be broken.

Before his death in 1924, *Lenin* laid down to his faithful followers a blueprint for *world conquest* by the aggressive forces of Communism. First, they planned to take over Eastern Europe. This they have already accomplished.

Secondly, they planned to take over Asia. With the fall of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to the Communists, they are well on their way to achieving their second goal.

Thirdly, they planned to encircle the United States which — according to their thinking — will fall like an overripe plum into their lap!

The Congressional Record of March 1, 1967 quotes Lenin as having made this prediction:

Capitalists the world over and their governments, will, in their desire to win the Soviet market, shut their eyes to the above-mentioned activities (subversion and espionage) and will thus be turned into blind

deaf-mutes. They will furnish credits, which will serve as a means of supporting the Communist parties in their countries, and, by supplying us with materials and techniques which are not available to us, will rebuild our war industry, which is essentially for our future attacks on our suppliers. In other words, they will be laboring to prepare their own *suicide!*

The crafty Lenin once said:

The soundest strategy in war is to postpone operations until the moral disintegration of the enemy renders the mortal blow possible and easy.

The Communists are cunning. They are clever. They are determined. They will stop short of nothing to attain their goal.

Dimitry Z. Manuisky (who represented the Soviet Union while presiding over the Security Council of the UN in 1949) reportedly made the following statement at the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow:

War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack.... To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeois will have to be *put to sleep*. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular *peace* movements on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard of *concessions*. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to *cooperate in their own destruction*. They will leap at another chance to be friends. *As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist!*

Some Alert Americans

Not all Americans have been lulled to sleep by Communist peace slogans and glib pronouncements of *détente* with the West.

U.S. General Thomas S. Power clearly understands Communist Russian motives and tactics:

Any pacts and agreements with the Soviets can be expected to be as meaningless and one-sided in the future as they have been in the past. Instruments of this kind are a favorite Soviet device to make their intended victims *relax their guard* and, therefore, tend to increase rather than decrease the threat of aggression. This applies, in particular, to proposed *disarmament* and similar agreements designed to weaken our deterrent posture.

General Nathan F. Twining had no faith in any appeasement policies of the U.S. government. General Twining once remarked:

If we keep trying to *appease* the Soviets with foolish offers and *concessions*, and keep reducing our military capabilities toward their level, and also keep tying our military technology into unrealistic cost-effectiveness straitjackets, I believe we can look forward to a major

crisis. . . . The hour is late, and the enemy is watching the clock.

According to Dr. Fred Schwarz, all of the Communist tactics are tantamount to acts of war:

. . . To the Communist, every negotiation is an act of war. Every delegation is an act of war. Every peace petition is an act of war. Every disarmament conference is an act of war.

Realizing that the Communists are bent on ruling the world, far-sighted Americans have wisely concluded that the best way to deal with the Communists is through *strength*.

America's Real Deterrence

General Thomas S. Power is a strong advocate of a strong America. Says General Power,

Deterrence is more than bombs and missiles and tanks and armies. Deterrence is a sound economy and prosperous industry. Deterrence is *scientific progress* and good schools. Deterrence is effective civil *defense* and the maintenance of law and order. Deterrence is the practice of religion and respect for the rights and convictions of others. Deterrence is a high standard of morals and wholesome family life. Deterrence is honesty in public office and freedom of the press. Deterrence is all these things and many more, for only a nation that is healthy and strong in every respect has the power and will to deter the forces from within and without that threatens its survival.

How right he is!

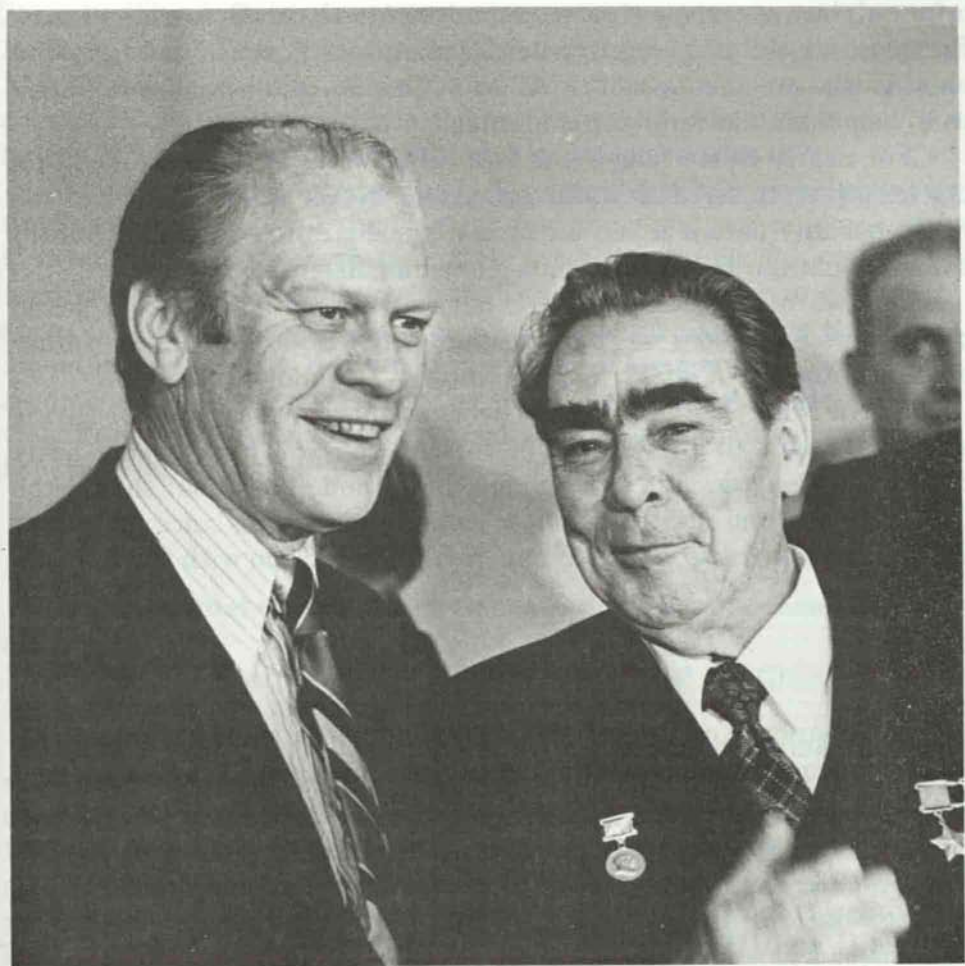
The Father of our Country, George Washington, was also a realist. He knew appeasement was folly. He told Congress, January 8, 1790: "*To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace*. A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined"

Washington realized that aggressive nations respect strength — not weakness! But the dismal record of appeasement and concession after concession in recent years should alarm us and strike a note of urgency in our national deliberations and considerations. Have we forgotten and ignored the wisdom of Washington? Do we turn a deaf ear to the cries of Solzhenitsyn? Have we turned away from those rock solid principles which made this nation great? Are we following the path of least resistance and going the way of ancient Rome?

Only time will tell.

"Fortress America"?

What course should U.S. foreign policy take? Should America retreat from her role as "world policeman" and withdraw into a defensive posture within the framework of a "Fortress America"?



Gerald Ford was sworn in as America's 38th President. Aware that "détente" was one-sided in Russia's favor, Ford gave orders to drop the use of the word from American foreign policy.

Or should the U.S. maintain, or possibly even extend, her worldwide commitments?

Right now, formal treaties solemnly bind America to defend about 42 countries around the globe. And in addition to these formal treaties binding us in a firm commitment to defend these nations, we have informal, but nonetheless deep, commitments to others, such as Israel. Furthermore, we are pledged to defend about one hundred and forty-five nations who are members of the U.N. — should circumstances call upon us to help maintain their national integrity.

For nearly thirty long years following World War II, the U.S. did her level best to serve as world policeman. Never in the history of the world has any nation taken on such a globe-girdling task. No country has ever voluntarily taken on such a crushing defensive burden.

But we need to ask if the U.S. really should try to be a world policeman? Or should we tend to our own fences, and let the other nations of the world settle their own internal squabbles?

In the wake of the Vietnam debacle, many Americans are giving serious thought to the matter of foreign policy. This is being hotly debated in Congress and throughout the nation. They ask: should the U.S. retreat from her position of maintaining a balance of power throughout the entire world? What should the U.S. do with the Panama Canal?

Giving up The Panama Canal

As Americans celebrated their 200th anniversary, U.S. foreign policy became one of the hottest issues in their presidential campaign. And the Panama Canal became one of the main foreign policy issues.

In 1903 the U.S. signed a treaty with Panama which granted the U.S. the right to build, maintain and defend the Panama Canal. But how long was the U.S. to have *sovereignty* over the canal? According to Articles II and III of the 1903 treaty with Panama, the United States was granted rights, powers and authority over the 647 square miles of Panamanian territory “in perpetuity.”

But does this really mean that the U.S. could *possess* the Panama Canal Zone *forever*? Many Panamanians, and even some Americans, want to indulge in semantic jiggery-pokery in order to hoodwink others into believing that “in perpetuity” doesn’t really, after all, mean *forever*. “In perpetuity” simply means “perpetual,” “everlasting” or “forever” — nothing more nor less.

Many Americans were pleasantly surprised to see Mr. Reagan come out boldly against American weak-kneed, pussy-footing foreign policy tactics. These patriotic Americans want to see the U.S. use firmness in

dealings with the Communists, the Panamanians and with all foreign nations.

The question is whether or not "in perpetuity" really means that the U.S. actually has *sovereign rights* over the Panama Canal Zone, or does she merely have the rights to use that territory. Reagan stated that Articles II and II of the 1903 treaty with Panama means that the Panama Canal Zone "is sovereign U.S. territory every bit the same as Alaska and all the States that were carved from the Louisiana Purchase." And many Americans agreed with him when he said: "We bought it, we paid for it, we built it and we intend to keep it."

Many now believe that if the U.S. relinquishes her sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone, then a great deal of instability would prevail in Central America. Even though U.S. government officials who would negotiate away U.S. rights over the Canal Zone attempt to give assurances that America would still be responsible for *defending* the Canal, Nonetheless, if the U.S. were to grant the Panamanians the right to assume actual sovereignty over the Canal Zone, she will lose real control. From that time forward, America will be standing on slippery banana peels in Central America.

"A Short Cut"

Just how vital is the Panama Canal to the U.S. — economically and militarily?

General George S. Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, states:

"The Panama Canal is of great military importance. While there are ships, such as aircraft carriers, that can't transit, nevertheless the canal does provide a short cut for the rest of the fleet." America's Deputy Defense Secretary William P. Clements, Jr., believes the U.S. needs security guarantees in any new treaty: "It is not so much the physical presence of U.S. troops in the Canal Zone itself that insures safety as it is the assurances that our armed forces could and would repel any foreign attack — and that right of assurance will not change under any proposed treaty."

A Nationalistic Fever

But America has already shown enough weakness in playing her hand to inspire further Panamanian nationalism.

General Omar Torrijos Herrera has already boasted: "I will lead a war of national liberation to regain our territory." Furthermore, he has declared: "The Canal's operations could come to a total halt if the United States Congress refuses to approve a new treaty more acceptable to Latin American countries."

General Herrera knows how to whip up nationalistic fervor among the Panamanians. On one occasion, he told a mass throng of about 200,000 people gathered in the public square in Panama City: "When all hope is lost of removing this colonial enclave, Omar Torrijos will come to this same square to tell you: 'Let us advance!' Omar Torrijos will accompany you, and the rifles of the *Guardia Nacional* (the Panamanian army) will be there to defend the integrity and dignity of the people."

During 1973, the Panama Canal Company, a U.S. government corporation, recorded its first financial loss in 59 years. In order to break even, the canal must average 38 ship transits per day. At present, however, the Panama Canal is averaging only 32. During 1976 it is expected that only about 13,000 will use it, whereas a record of 15,523 ships used the canal in 1970. The canal company estimates they will have lost about \$37 million from mid-1975 through September 1977.

A recent Library of Congress study concluded that the Panama Canal isn't, economically speaking, all that important to the U.S. "While the Panama Canal is indeed an important facility for world and U.S. commerce, it is not of overwhelming or critical economic importance," said the report.

In 1925 about half of all U.S. inter-coastal commercial cargo passed through the canal. Now, only about 2 percent goes through it. Overall, only about 1 percent of the total gross national product of the United States uses the canal.

Since the Panama Canal isn't of too much economic importance to America, today, then why do many Americans want to hang onto their right to possess the Canal Zone "in perpetuity"?

The Panama Canal still has considerable military importance to the United States. Furthermore, the 51-mile-long canal is a living symbol to many Americans of a golden era of American history.

The Panama Canal, however, is just one ticklish foreign policy question facing the U.S. in its role as world policeman.

A Crucial Question

Retroactively, and rather belatedly, many Americans are now asking whether, in the first place, America should ever have tried to police the whole world. Even to this day, with binding formal treaties between the U.S. and about 42 different nations, America is heavily overextended. In fact, we need to ask a yet more fundamental question, whether any country — regardless of its economic or military strength — should accept the mantle of world policeman?

Even more crucial is the question: *Can* any nation effectively serve as policeman to the whole world?

Many, both in the U.S. and abroad, are now beginning to realize that no nation will ever be able effectively to take on this herculean task. For any country to successfully fulfill the role of world peace keeper, requires Messiah-like powers, which, quite frankly, even America does not possess. The U.S. simply isn't rich and powerful enough — or wise enough — to usher in a messianic era of peace and prosperity throughout the whole world.

In 1888, Benjamin Harrison was elected President of the United States. During that same year he said: "*We Americans have no commission from God to police the world!*"

Perhaps many Americans are just now beginning to realize the real truth of that statement. The U.S. can in many ways help needy nations around the world. We can assist them in business, economics, technology and in many other ways. But there is a limit as to how far our nation can or should go — when it comes to interfering in the internal political squabbles of other countries.

Would not America have been far wiser, following World War II, to have built up Europe and Japan, and to have helped those nations who were both willing and able to help themselves, without letting herself become policeman to the entire world?

Would it have been far better had the U.S. not let herself become involved in the political squabbles of far-off nations in Asia who really didn't know the difference between Communism and Democracy? Wouldn't it have been far wiser for our nation to have followed the sage advice of Washington and Jefferson — and to have avoided "entangling alliances" with so many nations around the earth?

President Washington counselled: "It is our true policy to steer clear of *permanent alliances* with any portion of the foreign world... (but) we may trust to *temporary alliances* for extra-ordinary emergencies."

But, once we were committed to the policy of waging an active war in Korea and Vietnam, wouldn't it have been far wiser to have stopped short of nothing but *victory*? Was it necessary for the U.S. to reach a humiliating stalemate in Korea? If we hadn't tied the hands of our military — when we had the Communists pushed right up to China — couldn't we actually have won that war?

The same could be said for Vietnam. Why didn't we go all out to win that war — if we really believed it was a "just war" and that an American military presence was justified? Why did we sacrifice nearly 57,000 lives needlessly? Why did American political and military weakness hand Vietnam over to the Communists? And, more importantly, will America let herself be drawn into other wars in which she lacks even the willpower to declare war on her enemies? Vietnam was the first defeat in America's long, proud history. But unless the weak-kneed,

timid approach of American political and military leaders can be stiffened, will the U. S. have to watch as more countries are taken over by Communism?

Only "Complete Victory"

America needs to heed the prudent advice of two of its greatest sons — Teddy Roosevelt and Douglas MacArthur. In 1917, Teddy Roosevelt said:

The only proper rule is never to fight at all if you can honorably avoid it, but never under any circumstances to fight in a half-hearted way. When peace comes it must be the peace of complete *victory*.

And in 1951, General Douglas A. MacArthur counselled:

Once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is *victory* — not prolonged indecision. In war, indeed, there can be no substitute for *victory*.

The road to true world peace is fraught with many pitfalls. America, and all the world — whether we like it or not — is doomed to live under the uncertainties of a nuclear threat which could, at any moment, mushroom into a horrifying Third World War. The next world war will involve such terrifying weapons that none of us even wants to think about the awful consequences.

America's future presidents will continue to face the threat of Communism. Although they must realize, on the one hand, that America cannot be the "world's policeman," they must also possess the moral fiber and courage to stand firm and resolute in the struggle against Communism.