

**TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY**  
**Testimony of Dr. Frederick C. Schwarz**

**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,

OF THE

**COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY**  
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Terrorism

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### SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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J. G. SOURWINE, *Chief Counsel*  
ALFONSO L. TARABOCHIA, *Chief Investigator*  
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## RESOLUTION

*Resolved, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, That the testimony of Dr. Frederick C. Schwarz, taken in executive session on July 5, 1974, be released from the injunction of secrecy, be printed and made public.*

JAMES O. EASTLAND, *Chairman.*

Approved January 28, 1975.

<sup>1</sup> Resigned from U.S. Senate as of December 31, 1974.  
<sup>2</sup> Resigned from U.S. Senate as of December 27, 1974.

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## TERRORISTIC ACTIVITY

FRIDAY, JULY 5, 1974

### U.S. SENATE, SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, *Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:40 a.m., in room 2300, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Strom Thurmond presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; David Martin, senior analyst; Alfonso L. Tarabochia, chief investigator; and R. J. Short, senior investigator.

Senator THURMOND. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are to give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. SCHWARZ. So help me God.

### TESTIMONY OF DR. FREDERICK CHARLES SCHWARZ

Mr. SOURWINE. Sir, would you give the reporter your full name?

Dr. SCHWARZ. My full name is Frederick Charles Schwarz.

Mr. SOURWINE. And are you a long-time student of communism?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes; I have been studying communism for at least 34 years. I had my first debate with a Communist in the year 1940. My opponent was Max Julius, a member of the Central Committee of the Australian Communist Party. I have debated many Communists since. Many years ago I issued an open challenge to debate any Communist on any aspect of Communist doctrine or practice. I have studied communism consistently during the past 34 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you have been, over many years, a very active lecturer on this subject, have you not, and teacher?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I have been consistently lecturing, writing, teaching, and debating on the subject of communism. I have served as president of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and as director of numerous freedom seminars, antisubversive seminars, and anticommunism schools.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I believe that qualifies Dr. Schwarz as an expert in this area.

Senator THURMOND. He is an expert on communism.

Mr. SOURWINE. We are going to talk to him about that.

Senator THURMOND. That's fine.

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Dr. SCHWARZ. I propose to explain the doctrines which transform normal, decent people into killers such as the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army; to explain why individuals like Willi Wolfe and Angela Atwood became urban guerrillas.

Senator THURMOND. Now, let me ask you, do you think Patricia Hearst is a member of that group now?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I am sure she is now.

Senator THURMOND. Do you think she was when they captured her?

Dr. SCHWARZ. No.

Senator THURMOND. You don't think so?

Dr. SCHWARZ. No, and I will tell you why.

Senator THURMOND. I wondered if all that screaming when they captured her was just put on; that she had made up her mind her life was dull; that she got tired of living with this boy and just wanted to do something different.

Dr. SCHWARZ. I don't think so. The Hearst Foundation offered \$4 million to be distributed to people selected by radicals. If Patricia Hearst had been a member prior to her kidnaping, the logical thing would have been for her to have returned temporarily while the money was distributed and to have rejoined the group later. At that time there were no legal charges against her.

However, I think she may have been conditioned by her education and associations so that she felt guilty about her family wealth, and guilty about the privileged position America occupies in the world, and this may have made her susceptible to the arguments advanced by members of the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Senator THURMOND. You mean she was brainwashed?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I don't like to use the term "brainwashed" too loosely. I believe she was brainwashed after her kidnaping but not before. I use the term "brainwashing" to indicate an intellectual and emotional transformation which is brought about by the application of the forces of exhaustion, confusion, physical pain, and emotional tension. These produce a mental and emotional breakdown characterized by diminution of physical activity, fragmentation of memory, and deep depression. Release from pain and depression is obtained by believing the ideas of those who have administered the torture.

Consider the position of Patricia Hearst. She is suddenly seized and dragged screaming from her apartment. She watches her lover being physically attacked and her kidnapers firing guns at random down the street. She is thrown in the back of a covered van where she is tied up, blindfolded, and gagged. She, like any normal person, would be terrified. In acute discomfort and unable to sleep, it would not be long until she was exhausted and completely confused. She is constantly bombarded by the arguments of her captors who are completely convinced of their truth and who are prepared to die for what they believe. She knows that her death is probable and imminent, and she longs to live. A state of moral and emotional disorientation soon develops which is brought about by physical and mental exhaustion combined with pain and fear, and it is characterized by a deep and unbearable depression.

There is only one pathway to deliverance from her intolerable situation—that is complete intellectual and emotional surrender. She accepts the arguments as they have been presented to her. She renounces her former associations and standards, and lavishes love and affection upon her captors. She has become a new creature—born again.

Nothing less would solve her problem. Defiance would mean death. Pretending to join them would not relieve the unbearable mental and emotional anguish she was experiencing.

In this manner she was converted and became a genuine member of the Symbionese Liberation Army. It's typical of new converts that they are very enthusiastic so she is probably an enthusiastic member also.

Senator THURMOND. The leader of the crowd was killed, wasn't he?

Dr. SCHWARZ. It's doubtful that he was the real leader. In all probability the real leader was Bill Harris. The Symbionese Liberation Army followed the customary pattern of revolutionary movements. It was originated by intellectuals, and it endeavored to recruit activists into its service.

University students are relatively easily recruited into the revolutionary cause. However, they lack something as revolutionary activists. Their training has not conditioned them to kill and they tend to stop short of the act of wanton killing.

Consider the Weathermen. Their rhetoric is extreme and they have engaged in numerous bombings. However, they usually make a phone call and give warning before the bomb explodes so that the number of deaths has been minimal. It is easier to find conditioned killers among the inhabitants of the prisons and among the returned veterans. The revolutionary intellectuals went into the prisons to recruit their killers. The courts helped them by opening the prison doors to revolutionary literature and organizers. In prison they found Donald DeFreeze and presented him as the field marshal.

The Symbionese Liberation Army emerged from the radical movement of northern California. Many organizations in that area talked violence. Some individuals grew impatient because deeds did not match rhetoric. The Symbionese Liberation Army was a group that tried to make their deeds match their rhetoric.

Senator THURMOND. How many people do you think they have now?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I don't know the actual number, but I think it is small. One of the concepts of urban guerrilla warfare is to keep organizations small and independent so that when the members of one organization are captured, they cannot inform on other organizations because they do not have knowledge concerning them. There are probably a considerable number of individuals who have had contact with members of the Symbionese Liberation Army and who are sympathetic to it but who did not actually become members.

Senator THURMOND. It's a wonder some of them didn't squeal on them.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Some of those who have had contacts have informed the authorities of what they know but their knowledge is limited.

Senator THURMOND. Oh, they have?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I cannot prove this but I believe that as we are sitting here, there are at least 100 meetings in progress discussing how programs similar to those of the Symbionese Liberation Army can be carried out. These meetings would be held in homes, in college dormitories, in communes, in ghettos, and in all sorts of unlikely places. Those present at the meetings would be professed revolutionaries because of their belief that the United States is imperialistic, and they would be excited and inspired by the courageous example of the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army but would have no direct

links with it. The news media would be the vehicle through which they learned of the heroic deeds and thus the news media serves as the revolutionary recruiting mechanism. Violent revolutionary acts which are publicized by the news media are known as the propaganda of the deed.

The news media is cooperating magnificently. Bill Harris, Emily Harris, and Patricia Hearst produced a tape recording for propaganda purposes and sent it to Radio Station KPFK in Los Angeles. Within a few minutes it was broadcast across the Nation. The objective is to use the institutions of a free society to destroy freedom. The courts are used to open the doors so that prisoners can be recruited into revolutionary armies and the news media are used to publicize the deeds of one organization so that hundreds of similar organizations may be formed.

Senator THURMOND. Well, now, these groups are not connected, they don't know they exist.

Dr. SCHWARZ. No; usually they don't even know of the existence of other organizations.

Senator THURMOND. But it does inspire revolutions. Let me ask you this, now, Do you think the Communists are behind this in any way, or is it just the revolutionary nature in mankind that wants to do this?

Dr. SCHWARZ. The Communists provide the doctrine, many of the techniques of organization, and hope to be the final benefactors. Most, if not all, of the revolutionaries claim to be anti-imperialists. They are recruited by a doctrine which was first clearly expressed by Lenin in his book "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism." This doctrine teaches them that the United States is an armed thief robbing and murdering the people in the poor countries of the world. Once they are convinced this is true, they believe that their duty is to destroy the United States. The doctrines that recruit them are primarily Communist doctrines.

Senator THURMOND. Do you think these leaders are connected with Communist leaders, or do you think they are just going on their own to be revolutionary?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Probably there are Communists among the urban guerrillas but many of them would deny that they are members of any Communist Party. Traditionally, communism teaches that the working class is essentially revolutionary and that the task of overthrowing capitalism will be achieved by a mass revolution led by the working class. The official Communist Parties still teach this. Numerous impatient revolutionaries have become disillusioned with the working class in the United States. They claim the workers have been bribed with the profits of imperialism so that they are no longer revolutionary. Since the working class will not rise in revolution, some other method must be found to destroy imperialist society.

Before the mass of the people will revolt, they must develop a revolutionary consciousness. The working class is not developing this consciousness in the present conditions that prevail. In order to develop this consciousness, they must experience oppression in a very real way. In a democratic society, the oppression is real but concealed so that the workers are unaware of it. Therefore, the democratic society must be destroyed and replaced by an authoritarian society which will make the people conscious of oppression. If sufficient urban

guerrilla bands can be formed and will engage in assassination, kidnapping, bombing, arson, bank robbery, and similar violent acts, the people will be afraid to move about the streets and will demand an authoritarian government to provide order. This popular demand will lead to the installation of some form of police state. This police state will deprive the people of cherished liberties and generate a revolutionary consciousness. In due course quarrels will develop among the authoritarian leadership and this will open the door to popular revolt. At this stage the Communists emerge and endeavor to lead the revolution and through it impose Communist dictatorship.

The breakdown of an authoritarian state leading to the emergence of a strongly organized Communist Party is illustrated by what has taken place in Portugal.

Senator THURMOND. Let me ask you: in Portugal, are they working with the Communists?

Dr. SCHWARZ. The leader of the Portugal Communist Party is a member of the government. The Minister of Labor is a Communist. The Communist Party is the best organized political party in Portugal and has infiltrated the army, the trade unions, the news media, women, and youth organizations.

Senator THURMOND. Was that takeover planned by real Communists, or was it revolutionary?

Dr. SCHWARZ. The Communists of Portugal have been working for years to overthrow the dictatorship that governed that country. The Communist Party has the ability to live underground in a fascist state whereas democratic parties do not possess this ability. The actual revolt in Portugal was probably not organized by the Communists but they were in a favored position to take advantage of the revolution when it occurred.

Senator THURMOND. Is their headman a Communist?

Dr. SCHWARZ. No; Spínola is not a Communist but some claim he is a prisoner of the Communists and that they will dispose of him when the time is ripe. We need to remember what took place in Russia in 1917. In February of that year there was a mass revolution which granted freedom of action to the Communists. In November the Communists seized power and imposed their total dictatorship and have ruled Russia ever since.

Senator THURMOND. Go ahead.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Lenin had made a thorough study of the conditions that make revolution possible. He said that three conditions were necessary: (1) Mass discontent; (2) An organized, disciplined party to organize the revolution; and (3) A crisis within the existing government. When these three conditions exist simultaneously, a revolutionary situation exists.

Some modern Leninists believe that an authoritarian government is a necessary stepping stone to the Communist revolution. When such a government is formed, it robs the people of their personal liberty and generates discontent. Almost inevitably, quarrels between the leaders develop. In these conditions a great opportunity is presented to the organized Communist party which has been preparing to promote revolution.

Senator THURMOND. What do you think is the greatest threat to this country today?

Dr. SCHWARZ. From the long range viewpoint, the doctrine of imperialism, which is taught in many schools and which recruits many idealistic youth into the revolutionary army. The revolution is made more likely when, in the name of civil liberties, the powers of the security agencies are so restricted that they are unable to control the subversive organizations.

Senator THURMOND. That is one of the things I am concerned about now. The Congress is demanding to know and make public everything the FBI and the CIA do.

Dr. SCHWARZ. It is possible through a devotion to civil liberties to create conditions in which urban guerrillas flourish. If the security agencies created by the democratic state are unable to control them and to provide security for the people, there is a demand for an authoritarian society. In the name of civil liberties, the doors of the prisons have been open to Communist and revolutionary literature. Many revolutionary organizations are being formed among the prisoners.

Senator THURMOND. Why is this allowed?

Dr. SCHWARZ. The courts have forced the doors open. They have done so in the name of extending liberty.

Senator THURMOND. That's the trouble.

Mr. SOURWINE. One of the reasons, Senator, forgive me, this is in the area of my competency, is the fact that the Communists have concentrated on this particular area of the law and have a "board of experts," so to speak. They take these cases into various areas around the country, and can make it tough for a local U.S. attorney who has not specialized in such cases. The Justice Department has disbanded its Internal Security Division.

That leaves some U.S. attorney who knows little or nothing about communism except what he comes up on in 2 weeks to fight a team that has been maneuvering in this area, and imaginatively putting together a program, for 30 years.

Senator THURMOND. And why have they abolished internal security?

Mr. SOURWINE. Perhaps it was popular, sir, to abolish it. They also abolished the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

Senator THURMOND. And why did they do that?

Mr. SOURWINE. I think the reason was that it was obsolete.

Senator THURMOND. I was surprised—

Mr. SOURWINE. It is a long story, Senator, and I am afraid that what I say here may oversimplify it. This subcommittee, as you know, recommended 12 or 14 years ago that they either abolish this list or update it and provide additional information. Since that time we have brought it up, officially or unofficially, every time we had a change of Attorney General; and we haven't had one, until General Saxbe, that wanted to either step in there and bring it up to date, and provide the basic information about listed organizations, or to abolish the list outright. So the situation has just hung in limbo.

Senator THURMOND. All right.

Dr. SCHWARZ. The press is strangely silent about Communist involvement in agitation for civil liberties. For example, the press is featuring the recent rally in Charlotte, N.C., as a big rally for civil rights and against the death penalty. The word communism is not even mentioned but the facts are as follows: the Communist Party,

U.S.A., formed an organization called, The National Coalition Against Political and Racial Oppression, under the chairmanship of Angela Davis. The official sponsoring committee contains 20 Communists. They have been successful in recruiting many non-Communists to serve on the committee also. This coalition sponsored a rally in North Carolina to protest the death penalty and 5,000 attended. In all the reports I have read, it is merely described as a civil rights rally and the role of the Communist party received no mention. However, the Communist newspaper, The Daily World, has been promoting this rally for some considerable time.

Senator THURMOND. If the press did their job, they would tell who Angela Davis is, what she stands for, and how the organization was formed.

Dr. SCHWARZ. It is significant news that she is a member of the politburo of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and that the organization of which she is chairman, The National Coalition Against Political and Racial Oppression, was created by the Communist Party.

Senator THURMOND. Do you think the Communist Party should be allowed to operate here?

Dr. SCHWARZ. It is difficult to answer that by a simple yes or no.

Senator THURMOND. I don't think we should allow any party to operate that advocates overthrowing the Government by force.

Dr. SCHWARZ. The problem is to design laws which are constitutional and which will prevent the activities of the Communist Party. It is easy to outlaw the use of the name "Communist" but the Communists attempt to carry on their activities using some other name. I saw this happen in Australia. During the early days of the Second World War, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union were allies. The Australian Communist Party was doing everything it could to help the Nazis by hindering the Australian war effort. The Australian Government, which at that time was a labor socialist government, outlawed the Australian Communist Party. At that time the party conducted a big rally in the Sydney Domain each Sunday. The leader was a well-known Communist labor union leader, Stan Moran. When the Communist Party was outlawed, he abolished the Communist meeting and commenced the people's meeting. He continued to conduct the people's meeting until the ban on the Communist Party was lifted when he once more called it a Communist Party rally. All that the Australian law achieved was to outlaw the use of the word Communist. It had very little affect upon their activities. If the Communist Party is outlawed, the laws should be written so that the activities of the party are stopped. This is not easy to do.

Senator THURMOND. Certainly not in the Congress as it is constituted today.

Mr. SOURWINE. Senator, we tried. Congress outlawed that party as far as they thought they constitutionally could, and the courts tore it down.

Senator THURMOND. That's right. I don't believe you could outlaw the party today. There are people over here who call themselves liberals, who are accomplishing Communist goals.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Lenin used the expression "Building communism with non-Communist hands". The genius of communism is that they are often successful in getting 100 people to work for them uncon-

sciously for every one who is a conscious servant. They recognize that a large number of people share a certain emotion such as opposition to capital punishment or devotion to civil liberties. They then form an organization to oppose capital punishment or to promote civil liberties. They enlist many non-Communists into these organizations. However, the Communists are careful to keep control of these organizations in their hands so they can use them for Communist purposes. Communists call this the scientific utilization of social forces.

Senator THURMOND. It would be better if the newspapers didn't publish anything about the activities of urban guerrillas since their acts inspire others. However, they have a duty to publish the news. How would you reconcile that?

Dr. SCHWARZ. From time to time the newspapers do make agreements to refrain from giving publicity to certain causes. I was informed that the newspapers agreed more than 20 years ago not to publicize the activities of Gerald L. K. Smith. He organized the Christian Nationalist Crusade and has a strong anti-Jewish emphasis. I believe the lack of publicity handicapped his work greatly.

Senator THURMOND. They destroyed him and his organization in that way.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Consider the shoot-out between the Symbionese Liberation Army and the police that took place in Los Angeles. The news media did not publicize all that was taking place. I was in Long Beach, less than 20 miles away, and I listened to the reports on radio and watched the events on TV. At the conclusion, the reporter said, "Now, we can tell you something we did not feel we should report before. Gangs of young blacks have been gathering around the periphery of the shoot-out and they were starting to throw stones and bottles at the police and firemen." If the siege had continued into the night, it is possible, if not probable, that there could have been a major riot.

The press has given that little publicity.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think Ed Montgomery wrote the story.

Dr. SCHWARZ. However, the press played it down. The press constantly selects the news they publish. If they believe a story will help a group they oppose, that story receives minimal or no coverage. If they believe it will help a group of which they approve, the story is featured. A process of selection goes on constantly. It is too much to ask that those people who are engaged in the violent destruction of our society should not be presented as heroes? The press should not allow itself to be used as the recruiting mechanism for revolutionaries.

Senator THURMOND. The Washington Post never mentions my name unless it is unfavorable. Recently they published an article about my family. It was principally about my wife and children and included photos and that type of thing. However, in the middle they included a statement about what a sorry Senator I am. They used my wife and children to get people to read the article and then dig at me.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Selection is an essential element in the presentation of the news. It is a rare newsman who can keep his personal prejudices out of the selective process.

Senator THURMOND. You have done a great job. Keep up the great work.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Thank you, sir.

[Discussion off the record.]

Mr. SOURWINE. Dr. Schwarz, you recently wrote a letter in which you said—quote—"Kidnaping, assassination, and random murder are now becoming popular features in American life. This has not happened accidentally, but as a result of careful planning. The plans were formulated by Communists and collaborators with Communists."—unquote.

Would you tell us in your own words what you know about this?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Urban guerrilla warfare has recently become prominent within the life of the United States. The most recent major manifestation of this was the conduct of the Symbionese Liberation Army which was characterized by murder, kidnaping, arson, and bank robbery and which culminated in the violent conflict in Los Angeles in which six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army were killed.

The soldiers of the Symbionese Liberation Army were carrying out programs described in the "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla" which was written by Carlos Marighella of Brazil. This minimanual was translated into English and published by Communist Cuba. It is the textbook which most modern urban guerrilla movements use. However, Marighella did not initiate the science of urban guerrilla warfare. He was influenced by General Alberto Bayo who was a military leader on the republican side of the Spanish Civil War. When the republican forces were defeated, he went to Latin America where he became an instructor in the theory and practice of urban guerrilla warfare for the Communist revolutionaries.

Within the spectrum of Marxist-Leninist movements in this hemisphere, there has been considerable controversy concerning the most effective pathway to power. Mao Tse-tung advocates rural guerrilla warfare and many revolutionaries follow him. Castro conquered Cuba through rural guerrilla warfare. However, Che Guevara tried to conquer Bolivia and then South America through rural guerrilla warfare and he failed.

Urban guerrilla warfare is an alternative to rural guerrilla warfare. It believes the guerrillas should be based in the cities and not in the country and that they should engage in terroristic acts of violence which become the propaganda of the deed.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you refer to "careful planning" which as you say, "brought about kidnaping, assassination, random murder," whose planning? What planning? Where?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I would like to answer that question under five headings: (1) Recruitment, (2) Organization, (3) Program, (4) Objective, (5) Assisting forces.

#### RECRUITMENT

Most of the guerrillas are recruited from college students. The first step that leads them towards recruitment is that they are taught and that they believe the doctrine of imperialism. If this doctrine is true, their consequent conduct can be considered humanitarian.

Mr. SOURWINE. Weren't at least half of the members of the so-called Symbionese Liberation Army college graduates?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Of the six who were killed, I believe five were college graduates. Of the three known members who remain alive, two are college graduates and the third, Patricia Hearst, was a college student.

The doctrine of imperialism is the most powerful force to recruit college students and graduates into the revolutionary ranks. The doctrine of imperialism is the ideological serum which transforms the gentle, courteous, human student, Dr. Jekyll, into the malevolent and homicidal revolutionary, Mr. Hyde.

The principal source for the doctrine of imperialism is "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," by Lenin. This book is presently, I believe, the world's most influential book. It is creating revolutionary enemies of the United States all around the world. The doctrine of imperialism may be summarized somewhat inadequately as follows:

Capitalism is a diseased social system. The germ that causes the disease is profit which Karl Marx called the surplus value of labor. Profit accumulates and becomes capital. Accumulated capital is owned by progressively fewer people so that it becomes monopoly capital. Monopoly capital finally becomes finance capital which is owned by banks and utilized by industries.

Finance capital is the indicted agent of imperialist theft. In order to invest finance capital profitably, a proportion of it is exported to underdeveloped countries where it pays the workers starvation wages, extracts agricultural and mineral wealth and transports them as raw materials to the mother country, primarily the United States. In the mother country, these raw materials are processed and transformed into industrial commodities which are sold at an enormous profit. It is not unusual for the finished product to be sold back to the country from which the raw materials were extracted. By this process, the industrially advanced or mother country robs the underdeveloped country of its wealth. It follows that the investment of foreign capital in an underdeveloped country is a technique of theft and impoverishment.

A portion of the enormous profits of imperialism is distributed to the workers in the mother country thus granting them a standard of living much higher than that of workers in the rest of the world. This transforms them into a workers aristocracy and hinders the formation of their revolutionary consciousness.

Investments in underdeveloped countries must be protected. This is the role of diplomacy, foreign policy, and, in the last resort, military force. This accounts for the numerous military bases the United States maintains throughout the world. It also accounts for most of the wars in which the United States has been involved.

Thus the doctrine of imperialism teaches that prosperity in the United States is the result of theft and murder carried out in the underdeveloped countries of the world. One example of the influence this doctrine exerts is provided by the Weathermen who became urban guerrillas engaged in violent activities such as bombing and arson. They originated in America's leading universities such as Harvard, Columbia, Michigan, and California at Berkeley. Most of those who joined the Weathermen had been outstanding students and came from very wealthy homes. In the basic Weatherman document, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Show Which Way the Wind Blows," their acceptance of the doctrine of imperialism is expressed in these words:

We are within the heartland of a worldwide monster, a country so rich from its worldwide plunder that even the crumbs doled out to the enslaved masses within its borders provide for material existence very much above the conditions

of the masses of people of the world. The US empire, as a worldwide system, channels wealth, based upon the labor and resources of the rest of the world, into the United States. The relative affluence existing in the United States is directly dependent upon the labor and natural resources of the Vietnamese, the Angolans, the Bolivians and the rest of the peoples of the Third World. All of the United Airlines Astrojets, all of the Holiday Inns, all of Hertz's automobiles, your television set, car and wardrobe already belong, to a large degree to the people of the rest of the world.

Those who became Weathermen believed this so sincerely that they became articulate and active enemies of their own country and dedicated their lives to the violent overthrow of the capitalist system. They felt they must engage in criminal activity.

To many American citizens this Weatherman statement appears ridiculous. Unfortunately, it does not appear ridiculous to many university students. Recently I traveled by bus from New York to Philadelphia. A student from the University of Pennsylvania sat beside me. We discussed revolutionary activity on the university campus, and he gave no indication of being a radical. However, I quoted the above Weatherman description of the United States of America and, his reply startled me: "What's wrong with that?"

The mighty propaganda apparatus of the world Communist movement focuses upon the teaching of the doctrine of imperialism. Unfortunately most of their accusations are not answered in the classroom.

Here is the May 1974, edition of the World Marxist Review which is classified as the "theoretical and information journal of Communist and Worker's Parties." It expresses the doctrines of the Communist parties of the world which support the Soviet Union and is published in the following languages: Arabic, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Mongolian, Norwegian, Persian, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Singhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, and Vietnamese.

A major article in this edition is entitled "Indictment of Imperialism." The opening statement is, "The crimes of imperialism are growing and so is the bill presented to it by the peoples of the world." The article then proceeds to list the alleged crimes of imperialism and covers 20 pages in so doing. The influence of unanswered charges such as these upon susceptible student minds can't be exaggerated.

When an idealistic 20-year-old student is convinced that his native country is the enemy of the people of the world and the primary cause of poverty, oppression, and war, he feels a responsibility to destroy the system which prevails. At this point certain options are open to him.

One option is to join one of the orthodox Communist parties which are functioning within the United States. These parties affirm the doctrine of imperialism and teach that world peace and prosperity can be achieved only through the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism within America. The members of these parties are disciplined and are required to study. Their work to promote revolution is under the direction of senior Communists. These believe revolution must come through the activities of masses of people and not through individual terrorism. These parties include the Communist Party, U.S.A., which supports the Soviet Union, the Socialist Worker's Party which is the Trotskyist Communist Party, the Progressive Labor Party which is independent, and a host of smaller groups

such as the Revolutionary Union which supports the Chinese Communists and the policies of Mao Tse-tung.

A second option is to join one of the groups which follow the teaching of men such as Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse teaches that the American state, which he calls the welfare through welfare state, can be overthrown by adopting a new attitude toward the human body. The body should be treated as an instrument of pleasure rather than labor. Anything unpleasant should be renounced while anything pleasurable should be indulged. If this principle is followed, the work ethic is scorned and a major portion of time is spent in sexual and other indulgences. This results in society being deenergized and weakened. The family and political institutions degenerate so that the state cannot withstand the encircling Communist might.

The name I have selected for this teaching is political sensualism. Groups practicing it include undisciplined groups such as the yippies, zippies, and a considerable number of the hippies.

The third option is urban guerrilla warfare. This concentrates on immediate courageous, desperate action and appeals to certain impatient youth who desire activity, excitement, and immediate results.

A national organization to promote urban guerrilla warfare may be formed but this is unnecessary. A few people can form an urban guerrilla unit and operate independently. They are linked to other groups ideologically but not organizationally. They follow the general principles of urban guerrilla warfare such as those laid down in the Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla but they do not report to any central authority. When such a unit is formed from a group of personal friends, it is very difficult for the authorities to infiltrate it. If the members of such a group are captured, they are unable to inform on anyone outside their own group. If one unit is destroyed, the publicity given to the destruction may stimulate the birth of numerous similar units.

#### PROGRAM

The program of the urban guerrillas consists of (1) murder, (2) kidnaping, (3) bombing, (4) arson, (5) bank robbery. Their program is, of course, not limited to these activities but usually includes them.

1. Murder. The murder or assassination may be either discriminate or indiscriminate. Selective individuals may be killed for a variety of reasons. A leader of the government or police force may be killed to set an example and to terrorize the opposition. If the individual is selected carefully, this may gain the support of the groups which hate him. Killing thus becomes a recruiting mechanism. It can also be used as punishment for those who desert the organization or oppose the leadership.

Indiscriminate killing tends to terrorize the general population and create demands for more effective police power to establish law and order. If the community becomes sufficiently terrorized, it may demand punitive action which shortcuts the due process of law. This is a step toward the creation of a police state.

2. Kidnaping. Kidnaping may be used in order to obtain large sums for ransom or it may be used to secure new recruits. While the kidnaping of Patricia Hearst does not appear to have been designed for the purpose of securing a new recruit, this was the ultimate result.

Various urban guerrilla organizations in South America have used the tactic of kidnaping for ransom very effectively. American corporations have paid enormous ransoms to secure the release of kidnaped executive personnel.

3. Bombing. The bombing may be directed against property, people, or both. Weathermen selected the various properties of the Bank of America as a primary target for their bombing. They did this to emphasize the role finance capital, which is owned by banks, plays in the alleged exploitation and pauperization of the underdeveloped countries of the world. This bombing was designed to harass the enemy and to make a doctrinal point rather than to kill.

4. Arson. The property of the capitalist enemy is vulnerable and arson is one of the most effective ways to destroy it. It is one of the crimes most difficult to prevent and it is also difficult to capture and punish the arsonists.

5. Bank Robbery. Even dedicated revolutionaries require food, clothing, and transportation; and this requires money. When they are cut off from their families and other legitimate sources of income, the robbery of banks is one method by which funds can be secured. According to their revolutionary moral code, robbing banks is virtuous.

When these programs are carried out, they generate great publicity and every attempt is made to publicize the ideas, doctrines, and objectives of the perpetrators. Those who sympathize with the doctrines and objectives of the guerrillas, classify their actions as political protest rather than criminal conduct. If the guerrillas are caught, tried, and imprisoned, they are frequently classified as political prisoners rather than criminals.

This type of violent activity makes a strong impression on the public mind and is called armed propaganda. Such activity breeds new similar activity.

Mr. SOUTHWINE. If I may interrupt, sir, do you think it would be useful at this point to put into the record the 14 action models, to use his words, which Marighella set the urban guerrillas to carry out?

Dr. SCHWARZ. I think that would be excellent. The 14 action models are:

- (a) Assaults.
- (b) Raids and penetrations.
- (c) Occupations.
- (d) Ambush.
- (e) Street tactics.
- (f) Strikes and work interruptions.
- (g) Desertions, diversions, seizures, expropriations of arms, ammunition, explosives.
- (h) Liberation of prisoners.
- (i) Executions.
- (j) Kidnapings.
- (k) Sabotage.
- (l) Terrorism.
- (m) Armed propaganda.
- (n) War of nerves.

#### THE OBJECTIVE

Most of these small urban guerrilla organizations do not believe that they are powerful enough to destroy the capitalist state and create a socialist state. However, they do believe that together they can create such chaos and fear that the continuation of a democratic

society will be impossible. Their immediate objective is the destruction of democratic free society. Any authoritarian society is preferable, including military and fascist dictatorships. The people must be made aware of their oppression. Their theoreticians affirm that the people are oppressed in a democratic society but for some peculiar reasons they are unaware of their oppression. The majority are convinced that they can improve their economic and social well-being and progressively eliminate injustice and poverty through the democratic system with its general elections and due process of law. As a result of this, the people do not acquire a revolutionary consciousness and do not become revolutionaries.

A number of reasons are given to rationalize the failure of the workers to become revolutionaries. One of these is that the workers have been bribed by the profits of imperialism and another is that their consciousness has been changed in the wrong direction by the products of the consumer society. Workers have become so attached to their automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, color television, and the ownership of their own homes that they have developed a vested interest in the maintenance of the corrupt system and have become conservative.

Summarized, the argument goes something like this: A revolution is imperative to destroy the welfare through welfare state.

There can be no successful revolution without a large number of people developing revolutionary consciousness.

A democratic free society inhibits the development of a revolutionary consciousness.

The democratic society must be destroyed and replaced by an authoritarian society.

Once an authoritarian society is established, people become aware of their oppression. Freedom is like breath. While you have it, you are usually unconscious of it. Once you lack it, the hunger for it becomes all-consuming. Once the people feel the oppression of authority on their own flesh, they will generate a revolutionary consciousness.

Most authoritarian societies have a limited life expectancy. Sooner or later the ruling group loses its cohesion and quarrels break out among the leaders. At this point, the institutions of authority become paralyzed and revolution becomes possible.

If the revolution is to prove successful, it requires leadership. This presents the Communist party with an historic opportunity.

Communist parties can function and live underground and retain remarkable vitality and strength. This is not true of democratic parties. Their members are accustomed to obeying the law and are not skilled in the techniques of secrecy and deception essential for underground operation. Consequently democratic parties disintegrate and die in a dictatorial regime.

When revolution breaks out, Communist parties have individuals ready to assume the leadership role. Their organization remains intact. Overnight, Communist magazines and newspapers appear as if by magic. Individuals suddenly announce their membership in the Communist party and assume leadership roles. They attempt to influence and control labor organizations, women's organizations, youth organizations, and cultural groups. Sometimes they succeed. The

present situation in Portugal provides an example. Thus the objective of the urban guerrilla warrior is the destruction of democratic free society.

This was explained by Ted Gold, one of the leaders of the Weathermen, in their general conference. He said, "Well, if it will take fascism, we'll have to have fascism." (Guardian, January 10, 1970.)

#### ASSISTING FORCES

The students who become urban guerrillas are aware of their limitations and realize they must have the assistance of individuals, groups, and institutions within our free society if they are to succeed in their objective of destroying free society. One problem is that urban guerrillas should be able to kill without inhibitions and their background and past experiences have not prepared students adequately for this role. Typical college students have not been trained for killing and retain inhibitions against the taking of human life. This limitation has apparently handicapped the Weathermen so that their activities do not fully match their rhetoric. For example, Bernardine Dohrn, one of the Weatherman leaders, eulogized the Manson gang who killed Sharon Tate and many others and presented them as models to be emulated. Her precise words were: "Dig it, first they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them, they even shoved a fork into a victim's stomach! Wild!" (Guardian, January 10, 1970.)

However, in practice, the Weathermen do not appear to have been able to match the indifference to human life of those they praised. They seemed to have killed almost as many of themselves as of those whom they consider the imperialist enemy. They have planted hundreds of bombs but their custom has been to call the authorities and give adequate warning time so that casualties have been minimal.

The best places to seek psychologically conditioned killers is among the inhabitants of the prisons and among the returned veterans. Many of the prisoners have already killed and their environment has made them callous towards taking human life. The same thing applies to certain veterans. If such conditioned killers can be recruited into the revolutionary ranks of the urban guerrillas, they will not hesitate to shed blood, innocent or otherwise.

The role of the prisoners as the military arm of the revolution was expressed by the convict, George Jackson, who was killed on August 21, 1971, while trying to escape from San Quentin prison. In an interview published in the "Black Panther" of August 29, 1971, George Jackson said:

I'll reiterate that I feel that the building of revolutionary consciousness of the prisoner class is paramount in the overall development of a hard left revolutionary cadre. Of course, the revolution has to be carried by the masses. But we need a cadre; we need a bodyguard; a political worker needs a bodyguard. We see ourselves as performing that function. The terms of existence here in the joint conditions the brothers for that type of work. Although I have become more political recently, from listening to Comrade Newton, and from reading the Party paper, I've gained a clearer understanding of the tie-in between political and military activities. I still see my function as military.

Realizing the potential that exists in the prisons, the revolutionaries have been seeking to recruit prisoners into their ranks. Their task has been made much easier by court decisions. The courts have ruled that

the prisoners are entitled to receive Marxist and other revolutionary literature. Consequently, such literature is circulating widely in the prisons. Letters from prisoners are frequently published in revolutionary periodicals such as the Daily World, the Guardian, and the Militant. Revolutionary organizations are flourishing within the prisons.

Personal recruitment takes place as the revolutionaries gain access to the prisoners. Some of the revolutionaries operate as lawyers and others as cultural and rehabilitative workers.

The founders of the Symbionese Liberation Army made a special effort to recruit prisoners. They had some success. Their field marshal, Donald DeFreeze, who called himself Cinque, was recruited while he was a prisoner and he later escaped. There were a number of other black prisoners who were apparently attracted to the Symbionese Liberation Army and there was a temporary impression that their role in that army was greater than it was. However, Cinque appears to have been the only permanent black member, and he was killed along with five white members who were originally students.

The doctrine of imperialism depicts the colored races as the primary victims of American capitalism. This is extended to include the minorities within the United States, particularly the black minority. They are regarded as the natural enemies of the U.S. Government and the attempt is made to harness their anger and use it for murderous acts.

The Symbionese Liberation Army also recruited from the returned veterans. The first public act of the Symbionese Liberation Army was to assassinate Marcus Foster, the black superintendent of schools of Oakland, Calif., with cyanide-impregnated bullets. Two men have been arrested and charged with this murder. Both are returned veterans and were formerly members of the organization known as "Vietnamese Veterans Against the War."

A deliberate attempt is being made to recruit prisoners and veterans as soldiers in the urban guerrilla army.

Mr. SOURWINE. Doctor, may I intrude? I wanted to ask you if you are taking issue with Marighella's statement about the suitability of students for guerrilla warfare. Let me read a brief paragraph:

Students are being noted for being politically crude and coarse, and thus they break all the taboos. When they are integrated into urban guerrilla warfare as is now occurring on a wide scale, they show a special talent for revolutionary violence, and soon acquire a high level of political, technical, military skill. Students have plenty of free time on their hands; and because they are systematically separated, suspended and expelled from schools by the dictatorship, and so they begin to spend their time advantageously in behalf of revolution.

Dr. SCHWARZ. I would agree with that statement in general terms. However, in the United States, the students have been very effective as revolutionary agitators but not so effective as revolutionary killers. Others adapt more easily to that role, and the student leaders seem to be aware of this and seek to recruit them. The revolutionary doctrines to which these students give their allegiance also teach them that they must recruit from the revolutionary masses.

The Symbionese Liberation Army is the most ruthless and brutal organization that has yet made its appearance on the American scene. Their deeds have matched or surpassed their words.

The name "Symbionese" is an adaptation of the word "symbiosis." Symbiosis describes two organisms living together in mutual benefit. They formed the army as a symbiosis of students, criminals, and returned veterans. There were, however, other aspects to this symbiosis. It also applied to different racial groups living together in cooperative harmony.

To return to the question of students and violence: In Palo Alto, Calif., an organization was formed called Venceremos and it professed dedication to the use of violence to destroy the American economic and social systems. Members would engage in certain violent acts. However, Venceremos broke up because some members believed that it was not living up to its words. There was too much talk and too little action. Some of the members, who desired more violence, graduated into the ranks of the Symbionese Liberation Army where there was violence aplenty.

The results obtained from court decisions and legislative acts do not always coincide with the wishes of those who initiate the court actions or promote the legislation. To increase civil liberties for all American citizens is a most desirable goal. To increase civil liberties of the prisoners in the jails seems a worthy part of this goal. To grant the prisoners access to literature and to open the prison doors to religious and cultural rehabilitative workers seems an advance for the cause of civil liberties.

When this results, however, in the recruitment of violent revolutionaries who engage in murder, kidnaping, arson, bombing and bank robbery in order to destroy the democratic society, there is an alarming diminution in civil liberties! Marcus Foster lost all his civil liberties very suddenly. This is a dilemma which civil liberty groups and courts should keep in mind.

Mr. SOURWINE. Isn't it true, from a strategic standpoint, that the Communists themselves and most of the groups, including terrorist groups, that follow this line of destroying imperialism actually move along three separate lines:

1. To weaken, discredit and destroy the government itself as such.
2. To change, weaken and destroy the political system, democracy and all that goes with it; and
3. To weaken and destroy the economic system?

Dr. SCHWARZ. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not only in this country, but in every country they attack?

Dr. SCHWARZ. As a general principle that is right. However, the Communists design programs in each country in the light of conditions that prevail in that country. They have great flexibility and in order to recruit supporters, they identify themselves with causes which have many supporters. Their program is expressed by the formula, "Find out what people want, promise it to them, go to work to get it for them so that you can come to power over them." The mainstream Communists are very patient.

The urban guerrillas can be regarded as a Communist fringe group or sect. They combine many of the doctrines of communism with some of the practices of anarchism. They don't give priority to study, organization, discipline and mass action. They take it for granted that

the American economic, political, and governmental systems are utterly evil and that any means to destroy them is legitimate. They engage in armed propaganda or the propaganda of the deed. They depend upon the news media to publicize their deeds and win recruits for their cause. The success of their program rests upon the cooperation given by the news media. To date the revolutionaries have no cause for complaint.

Freud teaches that every human being is the possessor of aggressive tendencies derived from the death instinct. In some individuals this tendency to aggression is dominant. Such individuals will become excited by the press accounts of the brutal acts of the revolutionaries and will be recruited for the cause. To the urban guerrilla, the violent deed is a recruiting act.

I believe a little history may be appropriate at this point. The role of violence has been a subject of intense discussion since Karl Marx made his statement that "force is the midwife to deliver the infant socialism from the womb of an aging and decaying capitalism."

There has been general agreement about the need and virtue of violence but considerable disagreement concerning the type of violence that should be used. The official Communist line on violence was given by Lenin. He stated that when a revolution was not imminent nor in progress, violence should be limited to the actions of a mass of people. He taught that individual terroristic acts were counterproductive. The main task of the Communist was to organize and agitate the masses. If the Communist engaged in acts of violence which compelled him to hide underground from the police, he severed his links with the masses. For this reason, individual terrorism was, in general, condemned.

From this, it would appear that the urban guerrillas are in conflict with the teaching of Lenin. Nevertheless, many of them claim to be Marxist-Leninists. How do they justify their apparent departure from Lenin?

They have little difficulty. They say that one of the basic tenets of Leninism is that techniques must change when conditions change. The teachings of Lenin were appropriate for the conditions that prevailed in his day.

Despite this, during his lifetime, Lenin organized and approved many acts of individual violence. For example, he organized violent bank robberies which were carried out by the Bolsheviks in Caucasia under the direction of Stalin.

The urban guerrillas claim that if Lenin were alive today, his attitude toward violence would change completely. In his day, if a public leader were assassinated, the only people who knew about it immediately were those close at hand. The news took weeks and even months to reach the entire nation.

Today, with radio, television, and wire services, an act is known all around the world within minutes. Millions of people actually watched the conflict between the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army and the police while it was taking place. I listened to it on radio from its inception and watched it on television during most of the action.

Due to these changed circumstances, the propaganda of the deed is 1,000 times as effective as it was in Lenin's day. Such revolutionary violence can therefore be considered Leninist.

If one group is wiped out, the record of their deeds lives on so the members of the group can continue to recruit revolutionaries even after their death. There is little comfort to be derived from the fact that the Symbionese Liberation Army was almost wiped out during the shootout with the Los Angeles police. I cannot prove it, but I am convinced that the day after that debacle, at least 100 meetings took place during which potential urban guerrillas discussed how they could conduct programs similar to those of the SLA. These meetings were probably held in a variety of environments such as college dormitories, ghetto apartments, communes, and even penthouses.

Many, if not most, of these meetings will not lead to overt acts, but sometimes they do. As long as there are susceptible youth poisoned by the doctrine of imperialism so that they believe the American system must be overthrown; as long as there are angry, aggressive personalities which can be stimulated by reports of violent deeds; and as long as there are radio, television, and newspaper reporters willing to glamorize the participants in revolutionary violence, new urban guerrilla movements will continue to be born.

I am stressing, but not overstressing, the role played by the news media. Somewhere a balance must be struck between the virtue of providing information and the vice of revolutionary recruitment. This involves both the manner and the timing of the presentation of the news. The revolutionaries do not own the news media, but they act as though they did. They prepare and record on tape speeches with the full confidence that they will be broadcast as soon as they are received by the selected radio station. For example, when the surviving members of the SLA—Bill Harris, Emily Harris, and Patricia Hearst—produced a war communique and sent it to radio station KPFFK, it was broadcast, obscenity and all, within minutes of its inception.

Thus, among the groups and forces assisting the urban guerrillas, we must include:

1. Portions and policies of the news media.
2. Certain court decisions.
3. Some civil libertarian individuals and organizations.
4. Teachers of the doctrine of imperialism.

#### PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS

The urban guerrillas are not tilting at windmills. They have definite prospects of success in their war to destroy democratic society. If confronted with the choice between security and liberty, it is probable that a majority of people will choose security even if this means the surrender of cherished democratic liberties.

Recently in the San Francisco Bay area there were numerous random and apparently motiveless murders of white people by young blacks. Many people were afraid to walk the streets and there was a public demand that strong action should be taken.

Although San Francisco is one of the most liberal cities in the United States, an official policy was formulated to stop, question, and search every black man on the street who fitted the profile of the killers. Civil libertarians protested that this was an infringement of the civil liberties of many innocent people as indeed it was.

The program to stop, question and search was discontinued, partially because of the protests, but also because the police believed they had discovered the perpetrators of the murders and their motives. If the killings had continued and increased and the police had not been able to stop the murders by normal methods, it is probable that drastic action would have been demanded and taken.

When people fear for their lives, there is a spontaneous demand for a strong leader and a real threat to the continuance of democracy. The urban guerrillas of Uruguay, the Tupamaros, were unable to conquer that country but they successfully destroyed democracy. Only recently, Uruguay was known as the democratic jewel of Latin America. The people enjoyed the freedoms of democracy and the benefits of a welfare state. A Marxist-Leninist urban guerrilla movement, known as the Tupamaros, was formed and it commenced an efficient program of kidnaping, assassination, bank robbery, arson, and bombing. Their activities inspired the Weathermen in the United States. The democratic government proved unable to prevent the activities of these urban guerrillas. In the crisis thus created by the Tupamaros, the military seized power. The new rulers dealt successfully with the Tupamaros but they also abolished the free operation of the institutions through which personal liberty is expressed. Political parties and trade unions are restricted and the military rules.

To this extent the Tupamaros have been successful. This is the scenario proposed for the United States.

#### PREVENTIVE ACTION

A number of steps can be legitimately taken to prevent both the recruitment and the functioning of urban guerrillas:

1. The falsity of the doctrine of imperialism should be exposed: This can be done either by a thorough examination of the argument as it is presented by Lenin or by drawing attention to the prevalent facts in the international realm which contradict the conclusions of the doctrine.

The essence of the doctrine of imperialism is that the investment of capital in an underdeveloped country is a technique of theft which impoverishes the country in which the investment is made.

This conclusion is reached theoretically by concentrating on the things that are extracted from a country through foreign investment and ignoring the things that are added. Foreign investment often increases the real wealth of a country by providing homes, transportation, skilled personnel and money through taxation for education, medical care, et cetera. The numerous advantages that can and often do accompany the investment of foreign capital must be balanced against the resources that are removed.

Foreign investment is like fire. It can be destructive or it can be immensely creative. By concentrating solely upon the havoc and destruction that fire has caused through the ages, an argument could be developed that fire is the great enemy of human well-being. However, controlled fire has added immensely to human comfort and well being.

The wealth of the Arab oil-producing states is a definitive answer to the doctrine of imperialism. The development of their oil industries

has been due to foreign investment through which the oil was discovered, the wells were drilled, the pipelines constructed, the refineries built. If the doctrine of imperialism were true, the states in which these investments were made should be impoverished. The truth is that they are incredibly wealthy.

The doctrine of imperialism presents false conclusions which are reached by selecting certain facts and building a logical system upon them while other facts are ignored. It is the perversion of the half-truth.

However, it is often presented in a logical and appealing package and convinces students who have limited experience, logical minds, and a resentment because poverty and injustice are allowed to continue to exist in the world.

The doctrine of imperialism can and should be demolished intellectually. This would eliminate genuine idealists from the revolutionary ranks.

2. Laws must be written which are adequate to prevent violent revolutionary activity: Freedom can only exist in a society of laws. Every law restricts a freedom. Thus we have the paradox that the restraint of freedom is essential to the life of freedom.

This paradox is caused by the fact that in society freedoms conflict. The exercise of freedom by one individual to smoke often denies other people the freedom to breathe air uncontaminated by carcinogenic toxins. It is only recently that this conflict of freedoms has been acknowledged and laws have been written to deny individuals the freedom to smoke in certain places. For example, on aircraft an area is set aside where smoking is prohibited.

The hope is that the limitation of certain freedoms will result in the maximization of freedom for all.

The objective of legislation is not to grant unfettered freedom, but to maximize general freedom.

The activity of urban guerrillas threatens to destroy the liberty of all. It is legitimate that laws should be written to minimize the possibility of recruitment in prisons, et cetera. Is it impossible to design laws which will prevent revolutionary literature and agitators from recruiting prisoners as soldiers in the army of destruction? The transformation of prisoners into urban guerrillas is dubious rehabilitation.

The press serves society. It, too, should be subject to the law. No institution should be above the law.

3. The peace forces, such as the police, must be strong enough to cope with the urban guerrillas: This is not merely a matter of providing them with adequate physical weapons such as guns. They should also be trained so that they can understand the appeal exercised by communism and associated doctrines as well as the techniques used by the communists and other revolutionaries. I would go so far as to advise that police forces should be given a course in communist theory and practice to arm them ideologically as well as physically. In order to know what individuals and groups are likely to do, it is essential to know their pattern of thinking and laws of operation. An educational course should be designed to meet this specific need.

## THE LAW AND THE GOVERNMENT

Some will doubtless make the charge that by writing laws to restrict certain types of individual conduct and by strengthening the police, we are embracing communist methods in order to fight communism. While there is certainly a danger that this may happen, there is no necessity that it must happen. One of the fundamental differences between communism and democracy is that in a communist society the communist party is supreme while in a democracy, the law is supreme.

Under communism, law is the servant of the government. In democracy it is the master.

Communism teaches that a successful revolution must lead to the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Lenin defined the dictatorship of the proletariat as "the rule, based on force and unrestricted by law, of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie."

The Communist Party administers the dictatorship of the proletariat, therefore, by definition, the law does not restrict the actions of the communist party. It is above the law.

It is true that some time ago the Communist rulers of Russia announced that in the Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the proletariat had been replaced by the state of all the people. However, this difference in terminology has not produced any difference in conduct. The Communist Party continues to exercise absolute and final authority within the Soviet Union and the law is a tool by which it exercises this authority.

The role of the law is quite different in a free society. It is acknowledged that there are certain absolute values of justice and truth which many believe derive from the being and nature of God. The law is an expression of these values and the law limits the freedom of activity of the government. There are certain things which the government must not do. Government, unrestrained by law, is tyranny.

The important thing is that restraints on individual liberty necessary for the functioning of a free society should be specified by law and not left to the arbitrary whim of some individual. This applies whether that individual is president, policeman, professor, journalist, civil libertarian, or an urban guerrilla. All are susceptible to restraint by law. The responsibility for writing adequate laws is that of a freely elected legislature operating under constitutional restraints.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you very much, Doctor.

Dr. SCHWARZ. Thank you.

Senator THURMOND. Thank you very much for a very interesting presentation. The committee will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., the subcommittee was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.]

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