

Correspondence

Foundations

To the Editors: It is *not* "my assumption," as Richard Neuhaus avers ("Foundations and Freedom," *Worldview*, February), nor is it my *will*, "that anything that escapes going into government coffers is in effect a government expenditure" ("property"?)

I believe that the foundations should be "controlled by government officials accountable to and removable by the people" because of the way they obtained and obtain their enormous resources.

The tax laws have exempted both contributions to these foundations and the subsequent earnings of those contributions. If both their contributors and the foundations themselves had paid their taxes, like all the rest of us, most of the funds now spent on projects approved by, and of special interest solely to, a private élite would have gone, instead, for purposes reflecting the public will and designed to promote the public weal—or, at least, for projects for which the American people could hold their elected representatives responsible.

Neither I nor any other "faction of the labor movement" of which I am aware argues that the foundations should be destroyed. But since they accumulated their vast holdings purely by virtue of what amounts to a public largesse, we believe that they should be subject to public control.

In charging that I and the teachers union are "read[y] to shut the [school] system down when[ever] the people and their elected representatives attempt to interfere in its operation," Mr. Neuhaus lapses into mere demagoguery.

The "people [of New York State] and their elected representatives" have given us the right to bargain collectively on a range of matters affecting our terms and conditions of employment. Our strikes, in New York City, have come either (1) because the school board, in its role as employer, had refused to bargain in good faith, as required by the law, or (2) because the board had refused to respect and enforce those

contract provisions to which it had agreed, and had refused even to require compliance with its own policies and with the law.

Our union does not have and does not seek that control over the public schools which Mr. Neuhaus attributes to us. We have quite enough to do simply representing the legitimate interests of our members. We respect the public's legitimate interests and the public's legitimate role. If certain elements in the community had returned that respect, our most bitter strikes—those precipitated by arbitrary punishments and by illegal attacks on the job rights of teachers—would never have been called at all.

Albert Shanker

*President,
United Federation of Teachers
New York, N.Y.*

To the Editors: Among the most important contributions to the American giving impulse and to innovation in humane and cultural services has been the establishment and effective implementation of the philanthropic foundation. I believe that foundations are one of the most important elements in improving the American condition. We must do everything within our power to preserve the freedom of the foundation to make choices as to whom and how and what they will support in the marketplace of ideas.

No matter how many mistaken premises, no matter how many faulty ideas have been propagated with foundation support, the ultimate objective of enriching the opportunity to try new things suited to new times has been well served by the foundation concept. I believe that we must do everything in our power to keep it so. The American foundation, when it works within the law's intent, is one of the most important factors in shaping "the diversity essential to Democratic society. . . ." We must do everything we can to encourage the dissemination of new ideas and to permit them to be tested in social action without further government or private commitment until they are proven.

Jacob K. Javits

United States Senate

To the Editors: I want to continue the very interesting discussion of foundations and American freedoms begun by Richard Neuhaus in "Foundations and Freedom." This is a key problem for those of us concerned about the continuing homogenization of our society and its sharp (indeed increasing) concentration of power. Neuhaus puts his finger on the right issue in speaking about the tradition of voluntary associations and their relationship to the actual practice of freedom in our country—a fact which marveled Tocqueville long ago. But I am less certain than Neuhaus of the one-to-one correlation between private foundations and the multiplicity of powers which break open a society and make the concrete practice of public freedom possible.

So I want to continue the discussion Neuhaus happily began, hoping that others may add their insights in these pages. I want to do this by inquiring into the growing concentration of economic power in our society and its relationship to the business-wise use of (tax-free) foundations to consolidate intragenerational family corporate control. Also, I want to consider the overall practice of foundations vis-à-vis the underwriting of alternate systems of conceptualization and evaluations to the establishment consensus. Put differently, is the distance which Neuhaus seems to assume between "political" Washington and foundations headquartered in New York City, or wherever, really that great? Or is there much more of an "old boy" network between the two which does more to rigidify than to pluralize our social discourse?

First use of foundations to consolidate family business control. Control is the name of the game in the arena of large corporate market-play. And control can mean as little as 1 or 2 per cent of the voting stock of a particular company. Thus Wall Street insiders have concluded that a family interest group such as the Mellon/Scaiff group of Pittsburgh has gained effective control not just of the Mellon Bank but of Alcoa Aluminum, Gulf Oil, and Westing-
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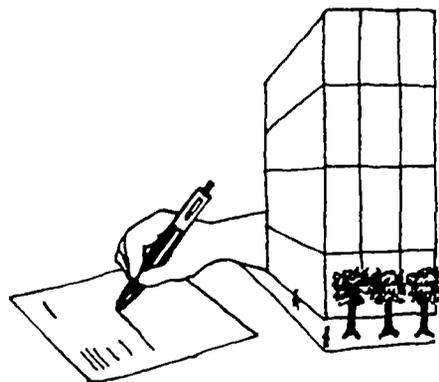
house. Or there is the even more impressive record of the Morgan interest group of New York City, which, it is estimated, owns not only Morgan Guarantee Bank but also has controlling interest in United States Steel, Consolidated Edison Company, AT&T, and Electric Bond and Share Company.

A key element in the maintenance of this kind of interlocking business control is the family foundation. For example, the Rockefeller Foundation is reported to hold 45 per cent of the stock of Standard Oil of New Jersey (Exxon). Or there is the Duke Endowment's \$596 million in Duke Power Company shares, or the Kellogg Foundation's \$461 million in Kellogg Company stock (giving it a 51 per cent voting majority). Perhaps the boldest in conception is Howard Hughes's recent gift of \$500 million of Hughes Aircraft Company stock to the Hughes Medical Institute of Miami *while making himself the institution's sole trustee!*

The usefulness of all this in maintaining business control, and avoiding taxation while doing so, is illustrated by two recent events. One involved an attempt by the Genesco Company to take over Kresge Department Stores. This was prevented because the Kress Foundation holds 42 per cent of the voting stock. Or again, the one-third holding of the Hartford Foundation was decisive in heading off a critical move against the present directors of A & P food stores. Wall Street financial planners are quite direct about all this. The Stock Exchange firm of Paine, Webber, Jackson, and Curtis wrote recently (in their *Charitable Foundations*): "Since the charitable foundation may remain under the direction of the creator either directly or indirectly, its assets may be used to compliment the general financial activities of the creator, while still achieving specific desirable charitable goals."

Those of us interested in the pattern of economic and social control as the concrete matrix within which the practice of public freedom must find its way, should be concerned about all this. We know that where there is steep concentration of eco-

nomie power there is likely to follow a steep concentration of political power (through the interest group pressure system). Moreover, we know that in the crucial area of reinvestment capital the situation at present is that fully 60 per cent of capital funds come from commercial banks, while another 15 per cent are derived from insurance companies. We also know that there are interlocking Boards of Directors between commercial banks like Chase Manhattan of New York and the Metropolitan, Travelers, Equitable, and New York Life insurance companies. Or again, there is the interlocking of First National City Bank with Metropolitan, Travelers, Prudential, and New York Life. What we have found out only recently, however, is that *both* Chase Manhattan and First National City *are under the effective control of the Rockefeller interest group.* And the huge Rockefeller Foundation (together with numerous tax-advantageous third-generation family trusts) plays a crucial role in maintaining this control.



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So far we have been looking at the really large foundations. (We have not analyzed the huge and secret—no public announcements as to its board members or grant policies—Pugh Foundation of Sun Oil in Philadelphia or the now religiously crucial Lilly Foundation in Indianapolis.) But knowledge of the business-wise use of family foundations for the continuation of family control is not confined to these superpowers. In fact, foundations have been growing in numbers at a very

rapid rate all across the country—more than 2,000 per year. In the United States today we have a grand total of over 26,000 foundations, 92 per cent of them having been founded in the last three decades. In these the establishment of distance from family bias in setting policy for foundation grants in research, scholarly colloquia, institutes of policy study, freedom prizes, etc. is much less subject to public scrutiny than is the case for our national giants.

That many of these small foundations tend toward status quo oriented programs—or even considerably rightward of that—is clear to anyone who has surveyed the field (or who has tried to get a grant from these foundations to study the revision of our tax or estate laws). Indeed, a look at the scholars assembled by even as prestigious and supposedly value-open foundation as the Rockefeller in its Task Force on National Priorities reveals not a single scholar whose reputation has to do with the revision of personal or corporate or estate laws, although it does include a prominent economist (Irving Kristol) who has written extensively against the idea.

Well, you can see my point. Foundations are established by the Establishment. That they have done some magnificent and socially useful work is foolish to deny. That they are also deeply into the business of consolidating family control over multiple corporations is equally foolish to deny. How the future of freedom shakes out in all this is a good deal more complex, I think, than is commonly let on. As one who has benefited personally from these foundations, I do not wish to be ungrateful. As one who was taught by the teachings made possible in part by these foundations to take freedom as an important social value, I do not wish to be sentimental in my gratitude.

Perhaps we should consider making foundations into public corporations. That way they could carry on their role of independently funding social research, the arts, colleges, theological seminaries, etc. while having removed from them the socially regressive action of further consolidating the economic power in

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a country that is far too sorely unequal already. It is a proposal, anyway, that might clarify the moral and public policy issues involved.

John C. Raines

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Richard John Neuhaus Responds:

Since we have fought on opposite sides of the barricades, so to speak, over who should control New York City's schools, it is understandable that Mr. Shanker and I have dramatically different understandings of the role played by the United Federation of Teachers. The issue at hand, however, is Mr. Shanker's view of private foundations. I frankly do not understand his protest, since he reiterates his position that foundations should be "controlled by government officials accountable to and removable by the people." That is the position I attributed to him, arguing that such a policy would destroy private foundations. If it is Mr. Shanker's position that government-controlled foundations would still be private foundations, that is an intriguing proposition deserving of further elaboration. His reasoning that the government should control funds which would have been collected in taxes had the government not exempted them seems to me to mean "that anything that escapes going into government coffers is in effect a government expenditure." As questionable as its underlying assumptions may be, the notion is hardly original with Mr. Shanker. Following the recent lead of some economists and policy planners, the federal government has this year adopted the concept of "tax expenditures," which, as I understand it, is based upon a line of reasoning similar to that embraced by Mr. Shanker. One hopes that Senator Javits and others will be taking a careful look at these apparent shifts in the operative assumptions in this area of public policy.

Some of the instances cited by John Raines sound like outright fraud and ought to be investigated. I agree with him there is no one-to-one correlation between foundations

and the multiplicity of powers in play. I am not so sure that "family bias" is a bad thing or that it is as determinative as Mr. Raines suggests in the way foundations actually operate. It is widely agreed, I believe, that in both the private and public sectors there is no one-to-one correlation between ownership and control. In any case, Mr. Raines is surely right that the issues touch on basic questions of social and economic policy and deserve more careful attention than they are receiving at present.

Religion & Ecology

To the Editors: I can only hope that Thomas Sieger Derr's approach to religion and ecology ("Religion's Responsibility for the Ecological Crisis," *Worldview*, January) does not indicate that those who profess to link religion with public affairs are adopting a head-in-the-sand approach to potentially significant problems.

Whatever the merits of Derr's basic argument, he does it no service by distorting the evidence he uses. It is conceivable—if unlikely—that Arnold Toynbee simply adopted the argument of a UCLA historian and made it his own. There is no evidence to suggest Toynbee set about "persuading" the *New York Times* to print his piece; it was an abbreviation of a longer article in the British journal *Horizon*, it was identified in the *Times* as such, and it ought to be beneath the dignity of *Worldview* contributors to misrepresent things to that extent. But the larger issue commands our attention.

Those who ponder the relationships among population, food, pollution, and natural resources (energy in particular) have been warning us that the industrial nations cannot continue their policies without threatening the planet itself. Some of the observers have pointed out that Christian doctrines have made their own contribution to the problem. This does not imply that such doctrines are the *only* source of difficulty; had Derr taken the trouble to read the longer Toynbee article

he would have noticed as much. The observers suggest that if the problem is as serious as it appears to be, we have no choice but to re-examine some of our doctrines as a step toward deciding what we must do.

An immediate question, of course, is whether our concern with the lives of individual human beings is traceable to anything but an *a priori* social assumption that unlimited economic growth is necessary and that individuals are needed as laborers. Admittedly, the pursuit of such a question can lead to an apparent lack of concern about human life, but it is manifestly unfair to launch comprehensive attacks against individuals who raise such questions in the first place.

The same observers remind us that if we permit things to continue as they are, thousands—perhaps millions—will die of starvation; indeed, they are dying now. While a range of feasible alternatives remains to be explored, it is increasingly clear that human disaster can be avoided if we adopt, e.g., a comprehensive approach which distributes the world's resources (food included) on an *absolutely equal basis*, while we go about setting up a longer-range plan for planetary and human survival. To some, of course, such a decision would appear compatible with Christianity, but some Christian thinkers are in the forefront of the resistance. Why?

With some reluctance I conclude that, in the manner typical of all social organizations, Christian organizations are more interested in their separate existence and survival than in facing up to the problem facing all humanity. Journals such as *Worldview* have a great opportunity to join the inexorable social



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transformation already in progress, but they seem more determined to defend the old doctrines at whatever cost. Admittedly, redistribution of the sort mentioned here would require the end of the nation-state system as we now know it, the substitution of some type of collective, or communal, ethic for the individualist one we have advocated, and the termination of élite-mass models of organization.

In this context White *may* be implying that we can preserve the social systems we have (including religious ones) only by *consciously accepting the responsibility* for mass starvation and death, and he may or may not be advocating such an outcome. If he is, he has nothing in common with me. But, in any case, the questions must be explored. The choice will be increasingly clear, although relatively few see it now; either humanity will survive or a distressingly small number of our existing social systems will survive, with the few individuals in them treated as cogs in the machine.

Frederick C. Thayer
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Pittsburgh, Pa.

Thomas Sieger Derr Responds:
Mr. Thayer is right on one point, that Toynbee's article came originally from *Horizon* (*sic*, an American magazine)—which means their editors were gullible before the *New York Times*. I slipped up there, and I'm sorry. But the article, even in its longer form, is still a slick tour through a familiar theme, that "extravagant consumption . . . and pollution . . . can be traced back to a religious cause, . . . the rise of monotheism." Toynbee comes very late to the fashionable topic. It is conceivable—if unlikely—that he arrived at his conclusions quite independently of a discussion which had been filling the journals for at least six years. But I wouldn't bet on it. The resemblances between his article and Lynn White's earlier one are startling.

This minor skirmish aside, Mr. Thayer's objection consists mainly of saying that Christians tend to be against anything constructive that would rescue humanity from its plight. He offers no supporting detail, and one can only conjecture about his evidence. He seems more certain than I am that Christian doctrine is properly cast as a villain, but he doesn't say why. His round summary judgment that "Christian organizations are more interested in their separate existence and survival than in facing up to the problem facing all humanity" is silly, if not an outright libel.

I don't understand his own long-range policy (what does his last sentence mean?); but if he means that the population-resource squeeze is going to produce some fundamental social changes, I quite agree. In coping with these changes, however, the problem will be to maintain continuity with the best in our ethical tradition, not to abandon it, lest in our drive to survive "at any cost" we make some very barbarous decisions and create a life scarcely worth having.

Religion & American Power

To the Editors: Unfortunately "The End of a Promise" by Rev. Richard J. Neuhaus (Excursus, *Worldview*, February) fails to give the best picture of the goals and character of *American Report*. It is difficult to know what he refers to by "having cut itself off from those readers who had a nuanced view of American power." Certainly the editors of *American Report* consistently found sincere eyewitness journalists and investigators who told the stories "like it was" in an intelligent and not overworked style that continuously won readership to renew their subscriptions. A 1973 readership survey sample told us that 63 per cent of the readers had subscribed for more than two years.

Furthermore, that readership was not made of "a dwindling audience of refugees from the radicalisms of the sixties" any more than any other national tabloid would include such

types. The same survey revealed that 91 per cent of *American Report's* readers had been to college, 51 per cent of them having attended graduate school; that 30 per cent were professionally employed, 17 per cent educators, and 11 per cent clergy. Thirty-eight per cent described AR as giving information needed for "deciding personal stand on an issue" and 96 per cent chose military spending as the topic of first and second interest to them.

CALC and AR are not to be contrasted or compared, as Neuhaus seems to try. CALC never set the editorial policy for the newspaper, and in that way it has been said that *American Report* was "a gift to the movement." During the years that *American Report* was published many other journals were forced to close.

We like to think of AR as having come in with the Nixon era and going out, after the job of pressuring him to leave office was accomplished—by investigative reporting across the country, of which AR had done its share. Consider, especially, the problem of bringing the religious conscience and its values to bear on issues of foreign policy and the use of American power at home and abroad—these are no merely entertaining goals to pursue.

Readers of *Worldview* who may be interested in pursuing that "definitive history" of the last ten years of the peace movement should note that CALC's and AR's files are periodically deposited in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

CALC, by the way, was not only "perhaps the largest peace organization," but it is also, now, one of the few extant network organizations, with chapters in forty-two cities. With a membership drive planned in the later part of the year, it will continue growing and hopes soon to begin publishing a monthly members' newsletter. Inquiries should be directed to CALC, 235 East 49th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Robert Bland

National Staff,
Clergy and Laity Concerned
New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Richard Neuhaus was generous in some of his comments on the passing of *American Report*, but other remarks in his Excursus "The End of a Promise" call for an effort in rebuttal.

Pastor Neuhaus says religion was at the periphery of the paper's concerns. It's true we didn't report frequently or in detail on the doings of the WCC, the NCC, the denominational bodies, local parishes, or individual religionists. Neither did we publish essays on the relationship of theology to politics. But the paper came into being under religious auspices and in response to a religious impulse: the sense of moral outrage over realities of the Indochina war that were either neglected by the secular (and religious) media or that were presented "neutrally," outside any context of human feeling or ethical judgment. I believe most readers of *American Report* recognized its character as religiously inspired service to "the world."

It is also true that AR was consistently critical, even hostile, toward America's use of its power. To characterize this stance as one of "unrelieved animus" carries a suggestion of stridency and unreason. It was a committed paper, an example of advocacy journalism; I don't believe it was shrill.

As for content: The people of Cambodia, as I write, await their final grinding through the gears of American policy in Southeast Asia. The junta now gloriously reigning in the erstwhile republic of Chile labors faithfully to keep that corner of Latin America safe for Anaconda. The State Department has just announced the opening of arms sales to Pakistan, following swiftly on the disclosure of arrangements to ship American mercenaries to Saudi Arabia, of the sale of tanks to Israel and antitank weapons to Syria, not to speak of bombers for Iran and Egypt. Our Secretary of State is offended by the application of the rule of law to the Cyprus crisis; the Secretary of Defense is pleased by arrangements with the Soviet Union which will enhance and perpetuate our mutual reliance on nuclear terror;

our Secretary of Agriculture, confronting the prospect of famine in the world, projects complacency. Peoples who have recently overthrown repressive regimes (in Portugal, Greece, Mozambique) have no reason to believe their liberation was favored by the United States; peoples still subject to repression (South Korea, Brazil, South Africa, the Philippines) expect no sympathy or help from us. In sum, in this 199th year of our independence our nation is viewed by politically aware people throughout the world, especially those who are the victims of repression or who are committed to peace and a just sharing of the world's goods, as a counterrevolutionary status quo power—and one which is capable of enormous public brutality, as in Vietnam, and of conscienceless covert subversion, as in Guatemala, Iran, Chile. . . .

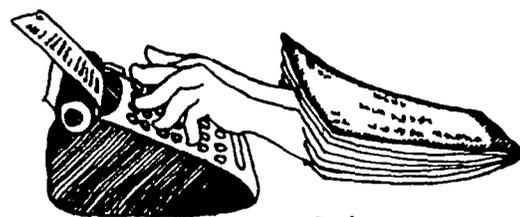
There is some cause for animus, and if mine is "unrelieved" I'm not sure I should be sorry about it. Even if judgments like these, which I shared with my colleagues at *American Report*, contributed to its demise, I'm still not sure we should have sent them out to be nuanced in the nuancing factory. In the religious purview survival is not the ultimate value.

Robert G. Hoyt

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: Richard Neuhaus's comments about the passing of *American Report* were generally thoughtful. With my long-time friend Mr. Neuhaus I too think that more distance between *American Report's* demise and a careful analysis of its importance and impact on the anti-war movement and the nation will come, most appropriately, five to ten years from now. However, two issues are raised by Neuhaus's remarks.

First, while I also regret the fact that *American Report* rarely lived up to its early expectations of being a "review of religion and American power"—concentrating almost solely on the latter theme—I am conscious that this failure has roots deep in the present Protestant church/social action enterprise generally in this country. Any accurate description of



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secular and religious social change groups in this country will reveal that they differ very little beyond personalities, size of budget, and length of service. Given this general atmosphere, the explicit religionlessness of *American Report* is less to be lamented than the large church/social action scene is to be criticized.

Connected with this issue, of course, is the *disconnectedness* of those who serve the church as theologians/social ethicists on the one hand and social change agents on the other. Because of their experiential detachment from the great issues of our time, there is no collective vision coming from American theologians and ethicists that can motivate, influence, or inform the church social change agents and agencies. Conversely, the church's social activists, some with modest reading in the liberation theologies emanating from Latin America, have been left to swim in the secular sea of pragmatism, relativism, and the uncritical acceptance of various socialisms imported from rural communities of the Third World.

That *American Report* failed as a "review of religion and American power" cannot be challenged; that this failure was organic to the publication—the staff or the parent organization, Clergy and Laity Concerned—is certainly debatable.

Richard R. Fernandez
Consultant,
Middle East Working Group
National Council of Churches
New York, N.Y.

Richard John Neuhaus Responds:
Mr. Bland's version of the events surrounding the ill-fated history of *American Report* is interesting but seriously flawed by the fact that Mr. Bland was not around at the time. Those of us who were involved on an almost day-by-day basis in the launching of the paper know too well the time and energy expended

in trying to extend and strengthen the constituting vision of CALC through *American Report*. To be sure, the effort failed, but it most emphatically had to do with setting "editorial policy." Mr. Bland would do well to hie himself to Swarthmore College in order to check out those files before carrying his revisionist history any further.

As editor during its final phase Mr. Hoyt can speak with authority about *American Report*, and his letter is, I believe, a fair representation of the posture that, in part, contributed to the paper's demise. To my knowledge no one wanted *AR* to report on denominational comings and goings. But the richness and diversity of religious thought, life, and social action in America warranted more than an irregular column "on the religious scene" in the back of the paper. "In the religious purview survival is not the ultimate value." Right on, as they used to say at *AR*. But we were talking about accuracy, fairness, and editorial judgment, which are about as ultimate as you can get in terms of the values of journalism, including religious journalism. Not every failure is a consequence of radical commitment.

Finally, I agree wholeheartedly with Richard Fernandez, long-time director of CALC. What went wrong with *AR* is symptomatic of larger scale distortions which afflicted the "religious and social change" scene in the last decade and are still too much with us. The aim of my original remarks was not to assign blame but to suggest some lessons to be drawn from our common experience. There is more than enough blame to go around. One wishes the self-critical spirit evident in Mr. Fernandez's letter was as generously distributed.

Our "Friend" in Korea

To the Editors: Some thoughts about Donald Kirk's "America's 'Friend' in Korea" (*Worldview*, February).

America has, since World War II, spent millions propping up corrupt despots all over the world. We have also tried, with less success, however, to export the U.S. model of

democracy. Of late this latter policy seems to have caused some soul-searching. Perhaps a model that works, however haltingly, for those who have undergone a prolonged industrial revolution is just not suited for emerging nations, whose peoples are fired with the desire to leap several hundreds of years of growing pains.

I submit that we must also ask ourselves whether we are not just as inappropriately attempting to judge our allies by our cultural norms. Yes, we can condemn Park Chung Hee. But we are condemning him for being a Korean's Korean.

In a society where people are under severe pressures just to survive, where competition is always fierce and unfair, and the spoils go to the clever and the strong, many traditional patterns of behavior are the product of socioeconomic factors which do not exist, or at least not in the same intensities, in our Western culture. Face is all-important. Flattery, graft, and calculated gift-giving are ways of life. Government is a natural evil and exists for the benefit of the governors. Bribery and power are all-important, and only one's family can be trusted. *Caveat emptor* is the rule in business. Honesty is a luxury that cannot be afforded, and majority rule still seems ridiculous to most Koreans.

In Korea one is guilty until proven innocent, and an "unperson" may be kicked, beaten, or tortured. The Korean lives for the day when he too can be "King of the Mountain," but to be "King" one must survive. And one does what one must to survive, including collaborating with the Japanese or North Koreans, as the situation may dictate.

In retrospect, I am not taking issue with anything that Mr. Kirk has said, but am, rather, wondering aloud why such policies should come as a surprise to so many supposedly educated Americans. Syngman Rhee was no George Washington or Thomas Jefferson when Harry Truman sent the U.S. 24th Infantry Division dashing to his rescue in June of 1950. Perhaps it's time we were completely honest, even if we only look in the mirror just this once.

The U.S. went into Korea in 1950 because Harry Truman was convinced that it was in America's best interests to do so. And we support Park Chung Hee today, not because of what he is or isn't, but because someone in our government has decided that it is in the interest of the United States to continue to do so.

LTC Robert A. Weaver, Jr.
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Military Science
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Indiana, Pa.

To the Editors: The shallowness of this man Park frightens me. This was the chill I had after reading Donald Kirk's article "America's 'Friend' in Korea." Kirk correctly observed Park Chung Hee's character in terms of "the agility with which he has switched allegiances and alliances as the moment dictates." Indeed, Park is a man without ideology, whose respect for terror is to reaffirm "his own supremacy over his people." The cruel techniques of torture and his cunning play of factions for preserving his position clearly indicate how shallow and insecure the man is. It is really frightening that such a man of ideological peregrination and cruelty should lead a nation of 33 million people.

Kirk cites his informant as saying that tortures, mass arrests, and other repressive measures Park practices are based on his thesis that "the only thing that Koreans seem to respect is force or terror—that is his philosophy." This is a correct assessment of Park's "philosophy," and such a nonsensical "thesis" exposes how shallow the man's knowledge of Korean people and Korean history is. It is true that Koreans have suffered throughout their long history of repressive rules and social conflicts, especially during the period of Japanese colonial rule, the Post-Liberation Military Occupation, and the Korean War. However, it is a totally erroneous notion that human suffering breeds respect for terror and force. The country has been traditionally called "*Cho-son*," which means "the land of morning calm." This symbolizes the peace-loving nature of

the Korean people, who desperately long for peace and tranquility. They have suffered far too long from wars and conflicts to respect any form of violence and terror. Moreover, Korea has a long history of resistance and struggle for freedom and human dignity. For example, the March 1 Independence Movement of 1919 arose as an expression of Korea's independence from the brutal colonial rule of Japan, and the 1960 Student Revolution finally toppled the repressive regime of Syngman Rhee.

How, then, can a man of such shallowness and ignorance stay in power indefinitely and engage in the most inhuman atrocities and repressive rule? Kirk indicates that Park's background or "credentials" set forth the tone and the pattern of his worsening dictatorship—such as the "rude" childhood of poor farm life, small physical stature, and the professional soldier's habit of following orders without question. Probably all of these are significant latent factors in Park's behavior. But such a psychoanalytic account, no matter how plausible it may sound, usually does not clearly explain the pattern of dictatorship. Instead, an analysis of external and situational circumstances which Park and his subordinates have manipulated carefully in order to stay in power seems to be much more useful than a psychoanalytic account. Kirk, in fact, mentioned such external factors in terms of "the divided Korea," "American aids," and the "consensus created by Park." Kirk does not elaborate on them, however, and I shall discuss one of them, "American aids," which is a most crucial element, indeed the backbone, of Park's dictatorial rule.

Kirk quotes American diplomats on "America's obligation to defend Korea as reason to keep 38,000 American troops permanently posted . . . and continue pumping more than \$150 million a year into the 'buildup' of Park's military machine." He also cites former American Ambassador Philip Habib's statement that "America's underlying purpose in Korea was to maintain the stability of the Korean peninsula—and that any interference in South

Korean 'internal politics' might have an unsettling effect." What such comments from "patriotic" Americans appear to imply is that a fantastic amount of American taxpayer money (\$37 billion from 1946 to 1973) was spent to "defend" the freedom of South Korean people from the Communist aggression. They also imply that the United States should not interfere in the internal politics of South Korea in order to ensure the stability America has built in that peninsula at the cost of billions of dollars and 50,000 American lives lost during the Korean War. "Our aid is designed," said Robert Ingersoll, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific, in a prepared statement before the House Foreign Affairs Committee last June, "to promote the economic well-being of the people of recipient nations, and, in the larger sense, to promote a secure, stable and relatively prosperous environment in which their interests—and the cause of peace—can be advanced."

Two points need to be clarified. First, the American effort to "defend" Korea is primarily for the national interest of the United States and not so much for the South Korean people. Second, the American effort to maintain the stability of the Korean peninsula is, in fact, protecting the Park regime's maintenance of power. As a result, such an effort to maintain stability of the peninsula for American interests is a massive interference in the domestic affairs of the people of South Korea, perhaps in a more open manner than the "destabilization" process in Chile during the Allende era.

On July 25, 1974, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger testified before a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Requests: "Where we believe the national interest is at stake we proceed even when we don't approve" of a country's policies. It is, of course, anybody's guess what Kissinger meant by "the national interest." It is, however, not so difficult to see what happens to the people suffering under tyrannical rule when America "proceeds" for her "national interest." When President Ford visited

South Korea last November to pay a courtesy to President Park Chung Hee, NBC reported from Seoul: "It was a visit to a cruel place." Ford's visit to Seoul for "reassuring American commitment" in fact boosted Park's prestige and strengthened his power, while it outraged Korean dissidents who had been bloodied for their insistence on more democratic freedom.

There is no doubt that American aids to "defend" South Korea, perhaps unintentionally, provide Park with a comfortable "cushion" and enough "ammunition" to defend his position of absolute power. Moreover, American and Japanese multinational corporations support Park's stronghold as they reap enormous profits out of cheap labor in South Korea under the favorable tariff provided for them by Park's policy. With such protection and prestige boosted by "American support," and framed stability backed by American and Japanese multinationals, Park and his subordinates could manage to manufacture the so-called Yushin Constitution which legitimated Park's permanent tyrannical rule. As Kirk observed, Park and his subordinates carefully manipulate the Korean anti-Japanese and anti-Communist sentiment and create prefabricated "consensus" through "national referendum" for which no one, except government, is allowed to campaign. One would do well to heed the urging of some Korean dissidents who say: "Withhold all American aids until the human rights of the Korean people are recovered!"

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