

Smoke: Another Jimmy Carter Adventure. Alexander Cockburn, James Ridgeway. Times, \$7.95. (fiction)

The Social Background of the American Communist Party Elites. Harvey Klehr. Hoover Institution.

To Build A Castle: My Life as a Dissenter. Vladimir Bukovsky. Viking, \$10.95. There is, legend says, an old Russian technique for hunting bear. Bait is placed in a tree. Suspended by rope from a higher limb is a log which interferes with the bear's access to the bait. He brushes aside the log and starts on the bait. The log swings back and hits him. Angrily, the bear swats the wood harder. It comes back with more force. The process goes on until the log clonks him for good.

Bukovsky likens the life of a dissenter in the Soviet Union to the bear's situation. You reach out for the right to express yourself and you brush against the State. Jail. Then a period of freedom in which to work again for human rights. But each time, the log comes back to hit you harder until, finally. . . .

Bukovsky first ran afoul of the KGB at the age of 17, when he took part in a satirical school play. Between then and his expulsion from the Soviet Union 17 years later, he spent 12 years in prisons, work camps, and psychiatric hospitals. What has come out of those years is one of the most eloquent testimonials in the growing body of literature spawned by Soviet terror. (Sharing the credit is Michael Scammell's fine translation and illuminating annotations.)

During his stays in jail, Bukovsky writes, he used every scrap of paper, every bare space on the wall or floor, to draw a castle in the minutest detail—turrets and tapestries, chandeliers and secret passages, tables, goblets, fireplaces and guests. It was his mantra, his refuge against the KGB's efforts to break him down. He forayed from his castle only to bedevil the authorities. He organized hunger strikes and made good use of the Soviet law that requires every letter of complaint from a prisoner to be answered and investigated. Once, as the sole political prisoner in a convict camp, he organized a letter-writing collective, which saw to it that about 400 letters of complaint left the camp every day.

In his ever-briefer out-of-jail periods, Bukovsky met with foreign correspondents. He gave interviews, some secretly

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filmed for television, and documented the authorities' desperate measures to suppress the growing political dissent in the Soviet Union, including the use of psychiatric hospitals as instruments of terror.

The value of getting the information to the West lay only partly in having it spread throughout the Soviet Union by the BBC, the Voice of America, and Radio Liberty. More important was the sensitivity of the Soviet leaders to the contempt of world opinion. Americans who derided President Carter's (short-lived) human rights initiatives or who thought the result was only to harden Soviet punitive measures against dissidence would do well to read *To Build a Castle*. As the Bukovskys of the world see it, the more furiously the regime rages, the more difficult it becomes to know who, finally, is the bear and who the log.

—Leonard Reed

United States and the Two China Regimes: Conflict or Cooperation? Ramon H. Myers, ed. Hoover Institution.

Who Is To Be Tried? Incident at Sagami-hara. Sueyoshi Ohtani. ITS, \$14.95. Japan is the only nation to be the

victim of nuclear warfare, the only major capitalist society to have emerged from feudalism within this century, and the only major world power whose constitution explicitly renounces warfare.

Japan is also among the few nations whose institutions were shaped and modeled after the United States. The process by which the United States, in the person of Douglas MacArthur, transformed Japanese society is retold in William Manchester's recent biography of the General.

And according to Ohtani, post-war Japan is a society with social problems familiar to Americans—corrupt, corporate-dominated politics, commercialization of daily life, and large corporations that dominate the lives of their employees and the larger society. Japan's business-oriented Liberal Democratic Party—neither liberal nor particularly democratic—has held a stranglehold over the government since the war, and the Socialists, Communists, Social Democrats, the smaller leftist groups, have spent more time squabbling with each other than challenging the ruling party.

—Harry Lesser

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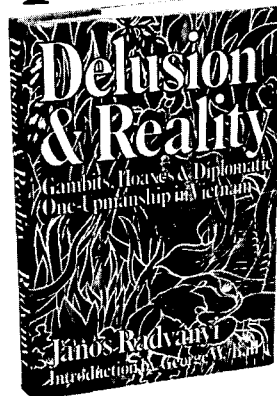
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