

## OLD AND NEW ELEMENTS IN THE POLICY OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

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The bourgeois mass media have been drumming into people's minds slogans which may differ in form but which are essentially similar in meaning: "Rout terrorism!", comes the order from the citadel of imperialism. "Halt Soviet intervention!", echo its satraps. "Totalitarianism dominates Nicaragua!", chimes in the chorus of reaction. "Join forces to defend the West!", is the alarm sounded in the army barracks. These slogans are an expression of the fierce anti-communist campaign which has been mounted across Latin America. It is a campaign by means of which the anti-communists are trying to dull the consciousness of the masses, to entrench the order existing in our countries and to deny the peoples the choice of a revolutionary alternative.

There is no doubt that the numerous and diverse efforts aimed to attain these goals are directly connected with the successes of the peoples' liberation struggle, the change in the balance of forces in the world arena and the growing influence exerted on international development by the socialist community and also, of course, with the sharpening crisis of the capitalist system itself. That is why imperialism has been desperately trying to rally diverse states and governments, parties and



other social organisations and political leaders on an anti-communist basis.

The collapse of Carter's "human rights" policy has forced the US ruling circles to send anti-communism on another tack, concentrating efforts on support of regimes headed by men like Pinochet, Duvalier and others of their stripe, and setting up anti-communism as the ideological and political basis for an alliance with the most reactionary and fascist-minded circles in Latin America. As in the past, attempts are being made to adapt anti-communist policy to the changing conditions and to reckon with the policy failures of the past. With that end in view, new postulates are being combined with old ones, use is equally made of newly invented and long tested methods, and "bold" forms of propaganda and violence are employed. This mix is designed to clothe anti-communism in new garb and to make it more effective. The present face of anti-communism is, in effect, the result of this alchemy.

For US "National Security"

There is a need to have a concrete knowledge of anti-communist conceptions, first, in order to be aware of their goals, and second, to tackle the tasks posed by the upswing in the people's revolutionary struggle.

Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff General David C. Jones has declared: "We live in an age when a coup, a major strike, a terrorist attack or an on-going war between two neighbouring countries can cause, more than ever before in the past, world-



wide consequences affecting our national well-being and security. We need to have a broad strategic outlook that would put regional problems into a global framework."<sup>1</sup> US Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger have made even more explicit statements. Their numerous statements show the precise point of the "US national security problem" on which the main ideological and political emphasis is now being made.

Up until the end of the 1950s, Washington's aggressive military-political doctrine spearheaded against the socialist world, was based on the strategic "massive retaliation" concept. As a result of the crisis of imperialist domination, one of whose manifestations was the victory of the Cuban revolution, the basic propositions of the US national security doctrine were revised and replaced with the "flexible response" concept. In Latin America, this doctrine gave preference to the need to prepare and improve repressive government agencies for fighting patriotic and revolutionary forces. These forces were designated as the "internal enemy" and the source and vehicle of "subversive activity". According to President Kennedy, "subversive activity is a different type of war, one that is new in strength but old in origin: guerrilla warfare ... We shall have to use a new strategy, other armed forces, and this will require new forms

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<sup>1</sup>"Le Monde diplomatique", en español, September 1981, p. 19.



for their preparation and training."<sup>2</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s, imperialism concentrated its efforts precisely along this line in the military, political and ideological spheres.

Now, as General Jones insists, crucial importance is attached to the global aspects of the "national security" doctrine. The main emphasis is on the geo-political definition of the world which is divided into two opposed military-political blocs. Any socio-political event in any country of the world whatsoever is evaluated and declared to be a component part of a war allegedly being carried on in the Soviet Union's "hegemonistic interests". Let us note that there is no contradiction between the "internal enemy" concept and the geo-political definition of the world. On the contrary, being two sides of one and the same coin, they are closely bound up with each other, and constitute an organic part of the said doctrine, whose realisation has become the definitive line in the whole activity of the US authorities.

But whereas in the past anti-communism was intent on fighting "subversive activity" as its main objective, today it tries, without in any way abandoning that struggle and even intensifying it, to explain any shift in the world as resulting from a clash between the so-called blocs. This is clearly reflected in a document prepared by the State Department and made known to the Latin American governments through the US embassies. It

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<sup>2</sup> Quoted in: S.Rojas, "Reflexiones sobre la Doctrina de la Seguridad Nacional en Chile". Araucaria de Chile, No. 9, 1980, p. 48.



says: "Cuba's policy is determined by its relations with the Soviet Union. By its interference which promotes armed struggle in Latin America, Cuba adds to local conflicts the dimensions of the situation which has taken shape between East and West".<sup>3</sup>

There is, of course, more to it than armed struggle. Every popular movement, every revolutionary, anti-imperialist or democratic action is now instantly declared to be a component element of "extra-continental aggression" on the part of the USSR or is condemned as an act helping to promote "Soviet pretensions".

Diverse means are used to vindicate the anti-communist policy. Here is only one example which was reported in a conversation with the leaders of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica by the journalist G. Neuberger, who has exposed in that country 36 CIA agents, and altogether nearly 200 US spies in Central America and the Caribbean. According to Neiberger, these agents concentrated their efforts on "inducing public opinion to believe that Central America has become the objective of a sinister plan to establish Soviet-Cuban domination which has already allegedly led to the establishment of a bridgehead in Nicaragua and is now aimed to take over El Salvador."<sup>4</sup>

The recipe worked out by Washington's "think tanks" for fighting the patriotic and democratic movement in Latin America is a simple one: concentrate all attention on anti-Sovietism and

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted in: Que Pasa, January 7-13, 1982, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Libertad, November 13-19, 1981.



make it central to anti-communist activity. Despite the obvious limitations of this kind of policy, especially in present-day conditions, its consequences should not be underestimated.

Since the emergence of the world's first socialist state, world reaction has been trying hard to spread anti-Soviet myths and prejudices. Anti-Sovietism is being used to deny real and deeply rooted causes which make our peoples fight for genuine independence. The charges of "outside intervention" are designed to camouflage the fact that these real causes of the struggle for social change and progress are rooted in the ruthless imperialist exploitation, the lack of political liberties and repression by the ruling classes. The imperialists are trying to scare the fighters for democracy with the prospect that a victory for the revolution would allegedly amount to the first step of involvement in a "Soviet sphere of influence". All of this is meant to distort the Soviet Union's role in the international arena and to smear not only its tremendous efforts to safeguard peace from a nuclear catastrophe, but also the steadfast stand taken by the socialist community in support of the peoples' right to self-determination and solidarity with the liberation struggle.



### Enshrined as State Policy

The elevation of anti-communism to the rank of state policy is one of the means used by imperialism and the oligarchy in their efforts to consolidate their power in Latin American countries. That is precisely what some fascist-minded dictatorships on our continent have done. Anti-communism has been the key ideological and political factor which determined their installation in power and their continued rule. These dictatorships have framed and enacted constitutional norms proclaiming communism to be the arch-enemy. In these conditions, the whole activity of the state is geared to "eradicating the Marxist tumour". All the resources of the state, its whole potential and instruments of influence, primarily the official and secret repressive apparatus, the army, the mass media, the education system, juridical institutions, diplomatic departments, and so on, are thrown into the fight against communism.

Imperialist propaganda is virtually saturated with attacks against the Communists and the Soviet Union and with fraudulent reports, articles and commentaries. The Communists are prevented from holding office in government agencies and they are sacked from private enterprises. Children and young people are being subjected to systematic ideological brain-washing so as to prevent future generations from being "infected with communism". Official methods of instruction at schools and colleges in some countries distort history in every possible way, while fascist-type books and pamphlets are allowed to circulate, and



Hitler's Mein Kampf is once again on sale here and there. The "national security" doctrine is an obligatory subject in colleges and universities, and "pro-communist attitudes" are even fished out from folklore and folk culture.

The dictatorships which seek to present themselves as "modern and technocratic" are also doing their bit in fighting communism. This is being done along two lines. On the one hand, referring to the defective practices of corrupt bourgeois parties heading governments in some countries and simultaneously attacking experiments of mass participation in running the state, they reject bourgeois democracy as such, extolling in its place an "authoritarian" or "limited democracy" which is aimed against those who pose a threat to the powers that be, i.e., primarily against the working class and the Communists.

On the other hand, the most refined ideologists of reaction argue that Marxism-Leninism is "obsolete". For instance, the reports, lectures and conferences arranged for army officers, members of management in industry and university rectors are designed to convince audiences that Marx had failed in his "predictions" and that Lenin's doctrine is "insidious". In accordance with such assertions, the crisis of the world capitalist system, the successes and strengthening of socialism, and the unbridled arms race started by the military-industrial complex of imperialism allegedly refute the uniformities of social development discovered by Marxism. As for Leninism, attempts are now being made not only to pit Lenin against Marx, but also to prove that Lenin's revolutionary methods



used by the Communists are "sinister". Consequently, intimidation continues to be the anti-communists' main weapon.

Similar tendencies and the political trends expressing them are in evidence even in Latin American countries with bourgeois democratic regimes. Reaction keeps plugging the idea that the "Communists are alien to the social environment of our continent and the interests of its peoples". Progressive organisations and democratic-minded leaders are accused of being Communists. The drumming in of this idea and its conversion into a stereotype now and again yields some results. Thus, the Colombian CP said, the introduction and broad application in the country of the "security status", the local offspring of the US "national security" doctrine, were due precisely to such causes. A Colombian CP document says: "This does not imply any new circumstances calling for a response to an actually emergent short-term situation, but the maintenance by legislative means of an atmosphere of constant war against left-wing parties and organisations."<sup>5</sup>

Even when dictatorships with anti-communism as state policy mount electoral farces, they merely provide evidence that their policy remains unchanged. It is perfectly obvious that a change of names at the helm in countries run by such dictatorships does nothing to alter the basic orientation of their anti-communist line.

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<sup>5</sup> Documentos Politicos, January-February, 1979, p. 13.



Thus, in connection with the forthcoming electoral farce in Guatemala in March 1982, the Party of Labour emphasised: "Virtually all the main reactionary programmes coincided in their urge to 'save Guatemala from communism', i.e., to preserve a regime of domination, exploitation and injustice under which we continue to live. They differed in nuances: some accentuated demagogic measures in the economic and social sphere, and others, criminal repressive activity by the fascistised state apparatus. This process as a whole is being put through within the framework of the overall counter-revolutionary line of imperialism."<sup>6</sup>

It is true that for the bourgeoisie, bourgeois democracy continues to be a more reliable means than a fascist or fascist-type dictatorship in realising its class domination in some of the countries on our continent, and that is why it has retained its importance. But it is equally evident that the viability of such democracy is limited, and that in some cases it even poses a threat to the capitalist system. The events which occurred in Chile with the installation of Popular Unity in power; the successes of the Broad Front in Uruguay, which may not have won power in 1973, but did constitute the main political force in the country; the victory of the revolutionary and democratic forces in Bolivia in the 1980 elections --all of this served as a warning to imperialist circles. Reaction drew this conclusion; if legality hits at the interests

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<sup>6</sup> Verdad, September 1981.



of capital, let us put an end to it. And that is precisely how it began to act.

Trampling on bourgeois democracy, the dictatorial regimes seek to maintain power without any changes in the form of state administration and to prevent the use of bourgeois-democratic institutions for the people's interests. In this way, some strata of the bourgeoisie abandon their own rules of the game.

It goes without saying that despite the difficulties and temporary reverses in our struggle, anti-communism does not in any sense testify to the strength of the counter-revolution but, on the contrary, provides evidence of its weakness. On the Latin American continent, there is an ever wider spread of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and a strengthening of the mass movement for changing the existing social system and for truly just living conditions for the working people. Ever broader strata of the population are beginning to connect the nature of the necessary changes and ways of putting them through with the doctrine of scientific socialism. This is a reflection of the main trend of development. Revolutionary-minded Christians, democrats and intellectuals share many of our positions, and this opens up fresh opportunities for mutual understanding and unity.

In the past, religion was one of the main ideological bases of anti-communism in Latin America, and because 85 per cent of the inhabitants of our continent were religious, anti-communism managed to attain its goals. But after the Second



Vatican Council and due to the process of "renewal" which began shortly thereafter, the atmosphere within Catholicism has markedly changed. The Church no longer pins its hopes on the "pillars" of anti-communism to the extent it did in the past. Millions of believers have joined the Communists in action against imperialism. There is an ever more ideologically active dialogue between Christians and Marxists in search of joint positions in the anti-imperialist struggle. That is a phenomenon which is characteristic for Chile, El Salvador, Brazil and some other countries, and which was most pronounced in the course of the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua.

One could say, therefore, that the potentialities of imperialism in standing up for its interests on the continent have been narrowed down. That is why, the Reagan Administration has been using all the available economic, diplomatic and military means to involve Latin American states in its efforts to fan the anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria. But for all that, Washington has far from achieved nor is it likely to achieve unanimity of views and actions in the region. For a long time now, far from everyone in Latin America is responsive to the influence of anti-communist hysteria.

#### Catering for Reactionary Violence

As in other parts of the world, which still remain dependent on imperialism, the bourgeoisie which continues to rule most of the countries of our continent has stepped up its repressions against the peoples. The scale of the terrorism is growing



and the methods are being constantly improved, and these repressions now and again develop into sanguinary and devastating wars. The acts of violence are numerous and they are condemned in most diverse strata of the society. Massacres, treacherous killings, abductions and disappearance of people without trace, physical and mental tortures, incarcerations and exile—such is the day-to-day reality on the continent. The UN General Assembly has repeatedly issued condemnations of this barbarism.

Since its origination, anti-communism has always allowed something of a free hand to its votaries, giving them the "right" to commit any crime against the representatives of the popular forces, notably against the Communists and all revolutionaries and democrats. Modifying their arguments and adapting them to the concrete conditions of the class struggle and their own requirements, Latin American reactionaries have always used anti-communism as a cover for their repressive policies. The material and technical equipment of the punitive agencies, especially the armed forces, is being sharply intensified for the purpose of expanding these policies. Their personnel are subjected to intense anti-communist treatment. A paramilitary fascist apparatus is being built up and consolidated for the purpose of wiping out Communists and all other consistent democrats.

The Argentinian Anti-Communist Alliance and the Death Squad in Brazil, the Avengers of the Martyrs Squad in Chile, the MAS ("Death to the Abductors") which has taken over from



the "Black Hand" in Colombia, etc., are notorious on the continent. Far from hampering the activity of such outfits, the dictatorships and some bourgeois-democratic governments maintain contacts with them, give them patronage and inspiration in their fight against communism. In Bolivia, for instance, there is<sup>a</sup> kind of symbiosis between the government security organs and the military intelligence service with local fascist bands, criminals and powerful clans of drug traders. Well-known nazis provide services as "consultants". These groups were used as a shock-force in the 1980 military coup and have continued their operations to this day.

US imperialism is supporting army intelligence services and outfits for combating "subversive activity" on the scale of the continent as a whole. This will be seen, in particular, from the decisions of the 14th Conference of OAS armed forces commanders. With Reagan's installation in power, the fight against the so-called Soviet-Cuban international terrorism has been set up as a political axiom. The result is a close interlacing of the policy of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, on the one hand, with brutal anti-popular repression, on the other. Anti-communist "arguments" are used to whip up the terrorism and those who carry it out fabricate such "arguments" in great number.

One has to ask this question: what is the reason for the emergence of the idea of "Soviet-Cuban terrorism" in Latin America? What was it that induced the imperialist propaganda machine to fabricate this myth?



Following the victory of the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua, many other peoples on the continent took the path of armed struggle for their liberation. They are left with no other alternative by the dictatorial regimes. In the ensuing situation, it is important for the imperialists to accuse the Soviet Union and Cuba of interference in the internal affairs of other countries and to pin on them the "responsibility" for the violence which arises in the course of the class struggle. By clutching at the term of "terrorism" the imperialist circles are trying to equate the just armed struggle being carried on by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador and the terroristic acts being perpetrated by Italian "red brigades" or to equate military operations by Guatemalan guerrillas and the barbaric dynamiting of a synagogue in France. In this way the anti-communists are trying to kill the class content of terrorism. By labeling revolutionaries as "terrorists" they are trying to cover up and legalise reactionary violence.

#### Against Unity

Unity is the key to success for the revolutionary and democratic forces. In view of the internationalisation of the class struggle, this formula--as the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua once again confirmed--is acquiring universal significance. The masses in many countries seek to learn the lessons of the Nicaraguan experience. Imperialism, for its part, also tries to learn some lessons, making extensive



use of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism as instruments of division, in its efforts to separate from each other various trends working for social change. The imperialists resort to this tactic also in order to hamper or prevent the development of victorious revolutions. Tomas Borge, Nicaragua's Minister of the Interior, referring to the Santa Fe<sup>7</sup> document drawn up by a group of US presidential advisers, says: "Military support for reactionary governments is combined with ideological escalation based on anti-communism and subversion in the sphere of ideas." Anti-communist campaigns, he said, "are carried on for the purpose of diverting us from the solution of urgent problems."<sup>8</sup>

It is important at this point to indicate a phenomenon which frequently makes itself felt in the countries of the continent. Democratic circles which are subjected to repression under the banner of anti-communism may, nevertheless, themselves frequently adhere to this reactionary ideology. Now and again, even some representatives of revolutionary forces take an anti-communist and anti-Soviet stand. This phenomenon could be regarded paradoxical if it were not tragic. It is one of the most serious obstacles making our struggle more difficult and hampering the attainment of victory. Not is it only a point of whether that section of the revolutionaries among whom anti-communist prejudices remain have differences with the Communists. Such differences are quite possible and even inevitable. There is no doubt that the anti-communist attitudes of some revolutionary

<sup>7</sup> WMR, July 1981, and January 1982.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in: Granma, January 28, 1982.



groups<sup>9</sup> among whom there are many people prepared to sacrifice their lives for the ideals of the struggle against imperialism, are in some cases caused by sectarianism. It still has to be expelled from the daily practice of political struggle.

Instructive in this context is the conclusion drawn by the Meeting of Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean (Havana, 1975). Its final declaration emphasised that it is a different matter altogether to be non-communist and to be anti-communist. The stands taken by these groups are largely due to causes which spring from the class origins of their individual representatives and the influence of anti-communist propaganda.

How are these class factors manifested? What is their interaction with anti-communism? The answers to these questions are highly important, because the victory of the revolution largely depends on the consolidation of unity between the Communists and other revolutionary forces. To provide answers, there is, of course, a need for precise knowledge in each concrete situation. But let us try, however generally, to consider some of the aspects of this question.

Democratic circles in the countries of the continent undoubtedly include parties and organisations which are bourgeois by nature, but which do not belong to ruling blocs,

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<sup>9</sup> We do not mean, of course, the Maoists and the Trotskyists, who have converted anti-communism into the pivot of the whole of their activity, which is why they are increasingly losing their influence on the continent.



which do not accept terroristic methods of domination and carry on a struggle against them. Of course, such a struggle is essentially aimed only at modifying the forms of the bourgeoisie's state administration and does not cast doubt on that power itself. It is not surprising that, while exposing and resisting dictatorial regimes, these parties and organisations actively take part in anti-communist ideological campaigns. Their class affiliation determines the limited nature of the changes which they demand. But among such political organisations there are groups and individual progressive members who, while actively exposing the ills of the capitalist system and making anti-war demands, take the road of joint action with the Communists, while not entirely abandoning their anti-communist views. That, too, is a manifestation of the success of the ideas of scientific socialism on the continent.

As for the revolutionary-democratic forces in Latin America, their attitude to anti-communism is a more complicated phenomena. They take an open stand against capitalism in virtue of their petty-bourgeois origins, their social status and their experience, while trying to find some intermediate solution for the basic contradiction of our epoch, by constructing theories for the establishment of "democratic socialism".

Many of these trends (movements or parties) are not moving away from Marxist-Leninist views, but towards them. In their theoretical and practical activity, they frequently switch from bourgeois ideological conceptions to scientific positions.



But this process is not consistent and may be hampered by various factors, not least importantly by the propaganda of the bourgeois mass media. Unfortunately, it does manage now and again to score by exerting an influence on the more primitive sides of human mentality rather than on consciousness.

The spread of stereotypes and prejudices amplified over and over again by various channels and combined with downright intimidation of the masses--such is the arsenal of anti-communist methods in Latin America. It is not surprising, for instance, when one hears statements about the need to combat this or that terroristic dictatorship while seeking to avoid the establishment of some "red dictatorial regime". Such prejudices and stereotypes are merged into the pursuit of a single goal: they are designed outrageously to equate fascist regimes and methods, such as those used in Uruguay and Chile, and the system and modes of government under socialism.

Speaking of anti-semitism, Einstein once asserted that it was much easier to split the atom than to outlive prejudice. In this way he emphasised the difficulties of eradicating the survivals of old ideas in the minds of men. Many democrats and revolutionaries in our countries are confronted with similar difficulties. Anti-communism, based on prejudice and stereotype, also addresses itself to the minds of those who seek answers to the most diverse questions of national and international social life.

The situation in the world today hampers even a temporary flourishing of apologetic concepts of imperialism, like the theory of "convergence" or the "post-industrial society".



The difficulties now facing capitalism are much too great. Also of the utmost importance is the fact that over the past twenty years there has been an immense spread of true ideas about existing socialism throughout Latin America. The new Cuba stands as a shining example for the peoples of the continent.

To counter this, the ideologists of anti-communism seek in every way to undermine the authority of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. That is why the struggle against anti-communist stereotypes and prejudices is becoming one of the main tasks of the revolutionary forces of the continent.

We have been unable, of course, to consider in one article all the aspects of anti-communism in Latin America today. We have left out, for instance, the essential matter of the specific conditions for its spread in the armed forces and in the organised working class and trade-union movement. Nor have we dealt with many of the immediate problems of the struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

Our purpose has been above all to show that anti-communism is not the main trend on our continent. The growing anti-imperialist mood is helping the masses to find out from their own experience who their friends and who their enemies are. Everywhere there is more vigorous joint action by the most diverse strata of the society against imperialism, and the circle of forces they involve is not contracting but expanding. All of this helps to bring about the failure of the anti-communist policy.



Nevertheless it is not right to underestimate just now--  
as never before--the importance of the struggle against anti-  
communism and the need to expose its forms and methods.

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A Comment

## CRUSADERS OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

The United States Secretary of State, George P. Shultz, has developed a remarkable ability to transcend his immediate surroundings as well as world reality.

Ignoring such mundane things as the highest US unemployment since the 1930s, the mass misery, spreading hunger and growing homelessness; oblivious to the smashing of strikes and unions by the Reagan Administration; shutting his eyes to the rise of racist outrages by a resurgent Ku Klux Klan and other reactionary groups, and ignoring the growing official and unofficial violations of human and democratic rights at home, Shultz soared to the heights of fantasy and proclaimed that "a new age of democratic reform and revolution lies ahead" in the socialist countries due to "the weaknesses of communist societies", which he said were "becoming increasingly apparent".<sup>1</sup>

The podium from which he spoke was not Cloud Nine, but the State Department in Washington at an official conference to "discuss ways of changing the structure of communist countries", --no less!<sup>2</sup>

The conference was called to work out concrete measures to implement Ronald Reagan's "Crusade Against Communism"--launched last June in his speech to the British Parliament. One can be

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<sup>1</sup> International Herald Tribune, October 20, 1982.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



sure that it did not intend to work for easing world tensions, to promote a climate for peaceful negotiation of differences, to bring about arms control and reduction on the basis of equal security, to strengthen detente and peace.

The practice of blatantly interfering in the internal affairs of other countries--in violation of international law, the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords --in order to push the world to the brink of war, is once again openly enshrined as the official policy of the US government.

Where Dulles failed, Reagan hopes to succeed with new plans for infiltrating and subverting socialist societies and propelling psychological warfare to new depths. Reagan's new Crusade Against Communism is an attempt to revive Dulles' brinkmanship and push it to the extreme, irrespective of the consequences. He quite likely thought that his speech to the British Parliament would serve to reopen the cold war in Europe and the world in much the same way that Churchill's speech at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946 opened the cold war.

The Reagan Administration is beset with a deep-going economic crisis at home, the deterioration of US imperialism's economic, political and moral positions in the world, a crisis of confidence in the Atlantic Alliance, and a rising tide of mass struggles, both at home and abroad, against Reagan's policies.

Having no workable solutions to the difficulties and contradictions of US imperialism, the Crusade Against Communism is offered in the hope that it becomes a bigger concern of the people than jobs, bread and peace.



Arrogance and objective judgement have never been handmaidens. Extreme arrogance blinds one to his own fatal weaknesses and attributes them to his adversary.

What gives Mrs. Reagan and Shultz the authority, and by what moral right, to tutor the socialist countries about democracy?

Does this authority come from the Black victims of racist violence in Boston, or from the Black youth who face life as a blind alley with 50 per cent unemployment, or from the people of other national minorities in the United States deprived of equal rights, or from the more than 11 million unemployed, or from the air-controllers, whose strike and union were brutally smashed by Reagan, or from other trade unions victimised by Taft-Hartley and other anti-labour laws and forced on the defensive by the wage-cutting, job conditions destroying drive of the big corporations, or from the ghost towns of Mahoning Valley, Ohio, and other steel centres abandoned by big business, or from the tens of thousands of small farmers and business people forced into bankruptcy by monopoly greed, or from the so-called "minor parties", including the Communist Party, whose lawful ballot rights are curtailed and violated by anti-democratic regulations and practices, or from the US working people who are not represented in the country's supreme bodies of power, for almost all seats there are occupied by representatives of the parties which are in the pay of big capital underwriting their election campaigns.



And by what "democratic means" does the State Department propose to "teach democracy" to the socialist countries? By halo-crowned cloak-and-dagger agents of the CIA, by honey-covered poisonous pollution over the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and the blasphemously-named Radio Marti, by economic warfare, by threats, intimidation and blackmail? Or, perhaps, they want to show how to install "democracy" by supporting and bolstering the most reactionary regimes, the most bloody dictatorships throughout the world, or, for instance, by encouraging Israel to ensure "human rights" in the Middle East with fire and sword, the seizure of foreign territories and killings of civilians? As the reader can see, democratic means to a democratic end.

Fear that time is running out on US imperialist ambitions to dominate the world is one of the motors generating the Reagan Crusade. The old, discredited Dulles' cold war policies are resurrected under the dangerous illusion that if pursued a thousand times more vigorously they will somehow live and succeed, especially if pursued on every front and at every level.

The much trumpeted Crusade Against Communism is also aimed at creating a smokescreen behind which the Reagan Administration could launch military adventures in the Caribbean, the Middle East and other flash points.

In no way does Reagan's Crusade accord with the interests of the people of the United States or of the peoples in the rest of the world. This is clearly manifest in the outcome of



the November elections in the United States, and in the numerous mass demonstrations and results of public opinion polls. No unemployed can get work, no worker can feed his family, no peace can be assured the world as a result of Reagan's policies. The call of the President of the biggest imperialist power for a Crusade Against Communism stands in direct opposition and contrast to the repeated calls by the Soviet leadership for strengthening and extending detente world-wide and to the Soviet Union's / unrelenting efforts to promote confidence-building measures, to create a climate conducive to successful arms reduction negotiations.

Evidently, the Reagan Administration operates on the theory that still more virulent anti-Sovietism is the way to surmount the ever-rising mass opposition to his Reaganomics policies. This Goebbels' formula ("if you tell a lie often enough, people will believe it") is being reinforced in the USA in much the same way as Reagan conducts foreign policy: coercion, intimidation, threats. The drive is on to make peace a dirty word. Congressmen's wives who formed a group merely to promote the study of peace have been branded as subversives and linked, somehow, to the Soviet Union. Trojan horse "peace movements" have been set up to split the peace movements from within and to prevent their support for or identification with Soviet peace initiatives. Such are some of the facets of Reagan's crusade.

Much, if not all, of this has been tried before. If it didn't succeed then, it is hardly likely to succeed now.



Nonetheless, one cannot let one's guard down. It takes the hard, persistent work of millions to build the edifice of peace, but it takes only a few to destroy it in a moment of laxity or negligence. Eternal vigilance and mobilisation for mass struggle without let-up is the price of world peace.

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ANTI-COMMUNISM--ITS SPECIFICS IN THE 1980s

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In his address to the British parliament in June 1982 US President Ronald Reagan proclaimed yet another "crusade" against communism. In his speech he combined venomous attacks on the Soviet Union with a blanket smear of socialist theory and practice. The choice of venue for this new call against communism was not accidental. It was made in Europe and was addressed to the USA's allies, who were to take it as a signal for joint actions against the world's progressive forces. Evidently to add weight to the President's proclamations about "safeguarding" freedom and democracy against communism, this signal was given in the British parliament, called the "cradle of bourgeois democracy". The proclamations were made with an implied claim to a reassessment of world history, with a claim to a "right" to change its natural course allegedly "hindered" by existing socialism.

In itself the attempt to reassess history in our day, when mankind is faced with the threat of total annihilation, is quite natural for the leader of the power on whose policies the destiny of the world depends to no little extent. Also, it is justified from the standpoint of the segments of society represented by Reagan, because a reassessment of the past is acquiring special



significance to the shaping of the ideology and policies of the class that is losing its stature in society and has to look for ways of adjusting itself to the new situation in the world. But what does this address to history camouflage?

A clear answer to these questions is given in Reagan's aforementioned and other speeches and by the policies of his government. The leaders of US imperialism are "reassessing" history not in order to draw lessons that could help to avoid repetitions of past failures and setbacks but in order to revive the long-bankrupt forms of imperialist ideology and policy. The USA's present policy and its ideological basis are an adventurist course towards regaining unchallenged military superiority and revising the results of preceding world development, a course that conflicts with the logic of history and present-day realities. This is a course towards intense confrontation with socialist countries up to the use of nuclear weapons and an economic and ideological war against them. In fact, it represents an attempt to reverse history, to halt social progress. It represents a reorientation of imperialist strategy from the aim of preserving the social "status quo" in the world to that of wreaking social revenge.

The context of this reorientation reveals the actual significance of the "innovations" distinguishing the priority thrusts of present-day anti-communism from those that characterised it in the period of relaxation of international tensions. In the ideology and policy of anti-communism of that period the accent was on fighting existing socialism and the revolutionary



movements by means of a "quiet" ideological infiltration and "flexible" political manoeuvring. This was the outcome of the positive changes in the world situation that compelled international capitalism to recognise the principles of peaceful coexistence, agree to detente, and thereby take a more realistic stand towards objectively developing processes. Hence the certain switch from confrontation with socialism to peaceful competition with it. However, imperialism proved to be unprepared for this competition, which is vividly showing socialism's advantages. Failing the test of detente, the imperialists are now trying to turn back to the cold war, to a policy of forcibly changing the situation that had taken shape in the world under the influence of socialism and the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

How this is mirrored in anti-communism may be gauged from the documents of what its ideologists term as an amply representative conference held in Washington at the close of 1982 to consider ways of "democratising communist countries". At this conference George Shultz, the US Secretary of State, made it clear that this sort of "democratisation" meant nothing less than the restoration of the capitalist system. It was suggested using ideological subversion and provocations to precipitate dissatisfaction among the population of socialist countries, activate opposition elements in these countries, undermine their economy, and make the people doubt the stability of the new social system. In short, US statesmen, diplomats, ranking officials



of the intelligence community, and anti-socialist emigres looked for ways of stepping up subversive propaganda and the psychological war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This reactionary assemblage considered how to involve official institutions and leading personalities of the capitalist world in anti-communist actions, and how to use international negotiations to blackmail and put political pressure on socialist countries.

The orchestrators of anti-communist campaigns see the measures being taken by the Polish government and the Polish United Workers' Party against counter-revolution as a pretext for such campaigns. Indeed, this is, as the Polish Communists likewise note, no more than a pretext because had there been no Polish events imperialism's reactionary circles would have seized upon something else for a sharp turn to the right motivated by the reasons we have already pointed out and with which is linked the search of the anti-communists for new, in their opinion, methods of fighting socialism.

The question that has to be answered is whether the imperialist forces are in general able to introduce anything fundamentally new into the ideology and policy of anti-communism? This question is answered negatively by experience and by present-day reality.

Ever since its emergence the revolutionary working-class movement has had to contend with anti-communism. As early as the 19th century it clearly reflected the efforts of the big bourgeoisie to halt historical progress and perpetuate exploitation. To achieve this aim the reactionaries have never shrunk



from the most flagrant violence. After the Paris Commune was drowned in blood, Karl Marx wrote: "The civilisation and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilisation and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge."<sup>1</sup>

There is no end of instances of this barbarism--recall the white terror unleashed by the whiteguards and the foreign interventionists against the revolutionary people of Soviet Russia; recall the atrocities committed by the nazis. And even after nazism was defeated the anti-communists missed no opportunity to stop the liberation process by force of arms--this is exemplified by the application of the Truman doctrine to Greece and the US intervention in Korea, Vietnam, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic.

The bellicose anti-communism of the Reagan Administration is no new development in imperialist policy. For its substance, aims, and basic orientations it is the selfsame anti-communist policy that capitalism has always pursued against the forces of progress.

Nonetheless, some new elements may be pinpointed if present-day anti-communism is considered from the standpoint of the conditions facilitating its activation and the specific forms adopted by it.

First, let us note that with the war preparations of the imperialists having now reached an unprecedentedly high level, anti-communism's inherent role of actuator of international

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 235.



tension is being enhanced. New features are being acquired by the fusion of anti-communist ideology and policy with militarism, and an extremely aggressive form of anti-communism is appearing that gives an outlet for imperialism's adventurist aspiration to restore its supremacy in the world. And further. By using the most sophisticated means of communication and information and adapting methods of social psychology to its needs, anti-communist propaganda is growing more intensive and changing its mechanisms of indoctrination. Propaganda is increasingly becoming a technology of suggestion, of manipulating people's emotions and thinking, a means of creating a climate favourable for the operation of reaction.

We believe that all these elements must be taken into account when we assess anti-communist "crusades", "marches", and "campaigns". Far from being isolated from each other, these elements converge, as it were, into a single channel.

The "crusade" proclaimed by the US government under the slogan of "democratising communist countries" is a continuation and modification of previous anti-communist actions. It will be recalled that it was preceded by the "human rights" campaign, whose aim was to drive a wedge between the socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement, on the one hand, and the non-proletarian democratic movements, on the other. The course towards the "democratisation of communist countries" complements the "struggle for human rights" with the "struggle against international terrorism". As a matter of fact, such a combination is not new. In 1919 Lenin noted that



the world bourgeoisie was seeking to "stifle the Soviet power, alleging that it is terrorist and undemocratic".<sup>2</sup>

Of course, this change of names spells out a certain shift of accents in anti-communist strategy. To some extent the "human rights" campaign has hit imperialism's allies--the reactionary, dictatorial regimes. For that reason, as was noted by the American semi-official quarterly Foreign Affairs, the Reagan Administration has been applying human rights policies less publicly.<sup>3</sup>

By whipping up anti-communism and anti-Sovietism on a global scale the US ruling circles are trying to draw the entire capitalist world into a confrontation with socialism. More, they are endeavouring to carry this confrontation into the socialist countries by supporting so-called dissidents and provoking internal conflicts. They state openly that their aim is to destroy the social system in socialist countries.

Thus, having raised a hue and cry in the 1970s about international law in connection with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, imperialist circles are now engaging in undisguised interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries, demonstratively flouting the UN Charter, the Helsinki accords, and the basic principles of international law. In many respects this is reminiscent of the old policy based on the doctrine of "liberating the countries behind the iron curtain", which failed

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<sup>2</sup> V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 30, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Robert E. Osgood, "The Revitalisation of Containment", Foreign Affairs, Vol. 60, No. 3, 1982, p. 495.



so ignominiously in the 1950s. As in those years, the plans for instigating counter-revolutionary elements are linked to the idea of embarking on various forms of intervention against socialism. But today political calculations of this sort bear the hallmarks of extreme adventurism that is increasing the threat of a world thermonuclear conflict.

Of course, the anti-communists are debating whether it is worth making a frontal assault on socialist countries and progressive democratic movements regardless of who is affected, or whether to adopt a differentiated approach to the ideological adversary, in other words, whether other means should be used for the attainment of the same ends. The ultra-reactionary circles, who would like to destroy, in one sweep, everything that smacks of communism, declare that it is inexpedient to base the global strategy of anti-communism on contradictions among revolutionary forces. Norman Podhoretz, an ideological guru of the US neoconservatives, writes: "Playing one communist power against another may be sound geopolitics, but it increases the difficulty of explaining to ourselves and our friends what we are fighting for and what we are fighting against. It may therefore make it harder to mobilise the political support without which a steady and consistent strategy of containment is impossible."<sup>4</sup>

Another school of anti-communism is insisting on using distinctions between socialist countries, pursuing a selective policy combining promises and pressure in order to make individual socialist countries dependent on the capitalist world

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<sup>4</sup> Norman Podhoretz, The Present Danger, New York, 1980, p. 98.



and thereby undermine the cohesion of the socialist community.

Distinctions in tactics do not affect the overall anti-socialist thrust of the various schools of imperialism's reactionary policy. The "new" doctrine of anti-communism envisages the use of every form and method of struggle against socialist countries and other states whose social system or policy is not to the taste of imperialism, against all revolutionary movements. It links up in one "intimidation package" all known methods of anti-communist activity--from nuclear blackmail and economic pressure to political intrigues and ideological warfare.

One more feature of the present situation in the anti-communist camp is the sharp intensification of direct attacks on Marxist-Leninist theory. As distinct from the 1970s, when "theoretical" anti-communism used the cover of objectivism, its present spokesmen base their arguments on a total negation of scientific socialism. In connection with the centenary of the death of Karl Marx bourgeois theorists are vainly trying to prove that historical development does not bear out the viability of scientific socialism.

At the same time, attempts are being maintained to counterpose / Marxism to Leninism and thereby erode the influence of Marxism-Leninism as an integral theory of the revolutionary working class. Our ideological adversaries continue to spread the specious argument that Lenin "compromised" Marx's ideas by using them "pragmatically" in the course of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the Soviet state. Further,



Marx is often "defended" in this manner by the same ideologists, who in other theories seek to prove that Marxism has become "obsolete". Do they not contradict themselves? By no means. The point is that actually it is not a matter of defending Marx but of offering an apologia of reformism slightly screened by Marxist phraseology, of striving to use anti-Leninism as a lever to push the communist movement into opportunism.

As in politics and propaganda, anti-communism does not, in its "theoretical" quests, contain anything fundamentally new. In this area its proponents continue to ignore the objective historical and social significance of society's development and deny that there are regularities in the class struggle. They attribute social processes mainly to an accidental concurrence of circumstances or to psychological reasons. Agnosticism and overall rejection of the possibility of understanding the objective principles guiding historical development are gaining ground in bourgeois philosophy.

Since the ideologists of the bourgeoisie ignore the actual dialectics of the present epoch they evolve theories claiming that imperialism's struggle against socialism and the revolutionary movements is an expression of a confrontation of different civilisations on the historical scene, of a defence of "Western values", and so on. Theories of this kind, it will be recalled, were the "theoretical" basis of fascism's anti-communist campaigns. Their present variants are fulfilling the same role.

An indication of this is the growth of chauvinistic and hegemonistic tendencies in imperialism's ideology and policies.



Bellicose, militarist American anti-communists characterise the policies pursued by Washington in the 1970s as a "strategic retreat" and declare that the USA must achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and use that superiority to roll back socialism and assert the domination of US capital in the world. They are demanding the cutting off of economic relations with the USSR and the abandonment of detente, and are contending that the USA could win a nuclear war. Their credo is: Either we destroy communism or communism will destroy Western democracy and civilisation. Actually they are using the screen of anti-communism in a bid to make US imperialism supreme in the world.

This course logically leads to a close link between the official ideology of the US ruling circles and the most reactionary--chauvinistic, racist, and neofascist--doctrines. In foreign policy this is seen in the growth of all-sided support for the semi-fascist, dictatorial regimes of South Africa, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and South Korea, and in the assistance extended to enemies of the peoples of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Angola and other countries.

Moreover, a sign of imperialism's growing reactionary character is the further activation of Zionism, in which Judaic clericalism is fusing with racism and aggressive anti-communism. This is in fact neither an ethnic nor a religious phenomenon: it is an ideological and political instrument of the international monopoly bourgeoisie, notably of US imperialism. Zionist capital controls a large part of the capitalist world's



ideological machine. It controls international press agencies, newspapers and magazines with large circulations, the Hollywood film industry, and big publishing facilities. Making capital out of the sufferings that millions of Jews underwent under nazism, Zionist propaganda is trying to create the false impression that Zionism articulates the interests of all Jews and that its adversaries are anti-Semites and continuers of the dirty work of the nazis. Actually, it is Zionism that preaches chauvinistic ideals and conducts a policy of genocide towards the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, that continues the fascist practices.

The fact that anti-communism is figuring more prominently in the policies and ideology of imperialism is due primarily to the latter's striving to halt the growing influence of Marxism-Leninism and of the example of existing socialism on world social development. Scientific socialism is winning over the masses as it asserts itself in historical practice. A hundred years ago many people felt that Marx's ideas about society's transition from capitalism to a new social system, the historic role of the working class and its revolutionary parties, the inevitable downfall of the colonial system, and the possibility of preventing wars were no more than a utopian dream. But as decade followed decade they became reality and acquired a colossal influence over the life of nations. Marxism-Leninism is asserting itself in the social consciousness as a genuinely scientific world view, as the only sure theory giving the working people a realistic programme of struggle for peace, democracy, and social justice.



In this article we have characterised some features of present-day anti-communism that strikingly meet the eye when the general situation is assessed. But we, Czechoslovak Communists, encounter echoes of anti-communism in Czechoslovakia, too. The anti-communist campaign directed against socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia on the basis of the so-called Charter 77 ended in failure. It was denounced emphatically by the Czechoslovak people. After this fiasco enemy centres modified their tactics in the hope of finding some base in a distorted image of socio-economic reality. On the one hand, the propaganda paid by them is alleging that we are cultivating "goulash socialism", giving the people a decent living standard solely in order to keep them from "engaging in politics". On the other hand, rumours are spread to the effect that the Czechoslovak economy is on the verge of bankruptcy, attempts are made to question our social prospects. Bourgeois propaganda goes to all lengths in its slander in order to evoke the distrust of the population, particularly of the workers, for the party's policies. It makes much <sup>of</sup> transient problems, obscures the relationship between the past and present, between the essential and the particular in society's life, and distorts the basic tendencies of socialism's development. Each of our shortcomings is presented as a sign that an unstoppable decline is beginning.

Of course, as it develops our society encounters problems. The 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia mapped out concrete ways and means of tackling new tasks.



Without closing our eyes to the problems facing the country, we are certain that they will be resolved. Our confidence derives from the experience of history and the convincing achievements of socialism in Czechoslovakia. A social vice like unemployment has not been known in the republic for a long time. All the people enjoy a guaranteed right to work, social insurance, and full-fledged participation in running the affairs of state and society. Marked changes have taken place in the working class during the years of socialist construction. Its material condition has improved visibly, it has become more active politically, its professional and general education level has risen, and its leading role in society has been strengthened. The cooperated countryside has come level with the town in the life-time of a single generation in terms of social development and has drawn close to it in terms of culture. The dynamic economic and cultural growth of Slovakia and the development of the federal political system have reinforced the unity between Czechs and Slovaks, among all the nationalities inhabiting Czechoslovakia. There have been striking advances in education, science, art, and literature. The intelligentsia now plays a more significant social role. There has been a fundamental change in the status of women, and the opportunities open to young people are greater than they have ever been. In all areas of the life of the nation there have been tangible changes as a result of the progress along the road to socialism.



The difficulties we are tackling are entirely different from those encountered by capitalist society. The CPCz is working to ensure a further growth of the people's political activity, to secure their maximum participation in the settlement of all problems arising from socialist construction. It regards the enhancement of the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of production not as an end in itself but as the principal condition for achieving a higher living standard and promoting the all-sided development of each person in accordance with the needs and interests of society.

Czechoslovak reality in no way resembles the misrepresentations being spread by anti-communist propaganda. By launching one smear attack against socialism after another, this propaganda only demonstrates its helplessness against the realities of socialism. Anti-communism is organically unable to offer an alternative to the new social system and resolve urgent problems in the interests of the people. It has no future. However, our confidence that anti-communism will ultimately fall flat should not prevent us from seeing that it is a threat to the cause of peace and social progress.

Present-day anti-communism is growing increasingly active not only in the context of a confrontation with socialism but also in all other directions of the attack on the new and progressive, on democracy and the freedom of the peoples. This attack is part of the imperialist "crusade", which has many political targets world-wide.



In capitalist countries the anti-communist crusaders are fighting a war chiefly against the communist and working-class movement. Propaganda baiting of Communists is combined with ideological manoeuvring calculated to discredit existing socialism, defame its domestic and foreign policies, and thereby undermine socialism's prestige and influence in the working-class movement, among the working masses, and try to emasculate this movement of its anti-capitalist content. As in the past, these attempts are simultaneously directed at driving a wedge between the communist parties of the capitalist world and the socialist community, to fragment the communist movement, which is the international force of the working people.

Anti-communism is increasingly determining the content and aims of imperialistic strategy in developing countries. Under colonialism it performed chiefly "preventive" functions with the purpose of sustaining a cordon sanitaire between the colonial world and socialism, of preventing the forces of national liberation from acting together with the international communist and working-class movement. But today the ideas of socialism are sinking ever deeper roots in the minds of the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and in some new states have become the lodestar of social changes. The response to this has been a sharp vitalisation of anti-communism, which permeates the strategy of neocolonialism and manifests itself in acts of armed violence in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Angola, Lebanon, and other countries, and also in economic, political, and propaganda actions against the forces of progress, against the strengthening of the alliance of these forces with socialism.



The experience of history and the present-day practice of the class struggle show that anti-communism is hostile to the interests of all revolutionary and democratic movements. It is quite natural, therefore, that it meets growing resistance from the working class and its revolutionary vanguard in industrialised capitalist countries, and that the progressive forces in the developing states see it as a weapon of imperialism, neo-colonialism, and racism. As an extreme reactionary expression of imperialist policy and ideology, present-day anti-communism is in conflict with the interests of large sections of the society, including a considerable segment of the bourgeoisie. More, it carries out definite hegemonistic functions in the capitalist world on behalf of US imperialism. The "crusade" against communism proclaimed by the US Administration is also aimed at disciplining and subordinating to Washington the centres of political and economic strength competing with it, namely, Western Europe and Japan. Small wonder that this action by the White House evoked a less than enthusiastic response from the USA's allies, as was shown clearly by the opposition of some of them to the US actions to impose an economic boycott on the USSR and other socialist countries. Moreover, in the capitalist countries there is growing resistance to Washington's preparations for a nuclear war which are being carried out under cover of the "Soviet threat" myth. The militarist adventurism of the US anti-communists is encountering mounting protests throughout the world and sharp criticism in the USA itself.



Anti-communism is today in conflict not only with the needs of social development but also with the advanced ideas propounded by the bourgeoisie when it entered the world stage as a new force, the ideas of democracy and humanism, and belief in progress and the human intelligence. Bacon, the French encyclopedists, Voltaire and Rousseau among them, and other giants of the human spirit enriched the treasure-store of world culture with these ideas. By comparison, what a squalid picture is formed by the obscurantist ideology of the modern monopoly bourgeoisie. The strategists of anti-communism have no alternative to counting on the standing traditions of exploiting society, on the inertia of the related habits, notions, norms of morality, and psychological patterns. They would like to preserve fossilised prejudices and fear of change in society.

Marx wrote that the "tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living".<sup>5</sup> The influence of deep-seated conservative notions on the public mind should not be underrated. The anti-communists can for some time sustain or resuscitate some of them and thereby compel opposition to the new society.

History and present-day life show that in any of its forms anti-communism is incompatible with social progress, democracy, and humanism, that the struggle against it is an indispensable condition for consolidating peace, a vital prerequisite for

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<sup>5</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 398.



asserting the principles of freedom, equality, and social justice. The attitude to anti-communism is a criterion of the class consciousness of working people and, at the same time, a criterion of the humanism and civilisation of our contemporaries.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI  
TÜSTAV



Ag. 84

## ANTI-COMMUNISM'S IDEOLOGICAL BELLICOSITY

It is beyond all question that a bent towards violence is the underlying characteristic of the actions of the anti-communists today. This line has been pursued frenziedly since the beginning of the 1980s by imperialism's ultra-reactionary forces, who have proclaimed a "crusade" against existing socialism. Also, these forces have steeply escalated their attacks on the national liberation movements, in many cases going to overt armed aggression. Moreover, anti-communism is trying to assert itself broadly in the theory of social development. It is trying to complement violence with various forms of ideological pressure and foist its own approach to social phenomena in all forms of the class confrontation--economic, political, and ideological.

This does not escape the notice of the Communists, who are guided by Lenin's propositions that "the dominant ideological and political trends of the given period, or the most widespread of them, or those which are most harmful for democracy and socialism"<sup>1</sup> must be analysed and that the actions of the class adversary must be exposed systematically and consistently.

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This article is a further contribution to the series about the characteristics and trends of present-day anti-communism (WMR, Nos. 3, 5, and 6, 1984).

<sup>1</sup> V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 17, p. 280.



### Vitalisation of the Theoretical Function

In the present situation the struggle between the bourgeois and communist world views is acquiring new dimensions as a result of the steadily growing role being played in bourgeois ideology by the most reactionary, anti-communist concepts about present-day social development. This stimulates the attempts of the anti-communists to formulate a philosophy of history that would somehow explain the changes taking place in the world in a light benefiting them, to justify capitalism's policies, and to organise an ideological offensive against socialism with the use of the "word in science" for the indoctrination of the people. They are trying to vindicate imperialism's concrete actions with plausible theory.

The activities of the anti-communists in developing theory are thus acquiring more diverse functions. The imperialists want their academic agencies to provide them with specific information about socialism and about the actual processes of social development. The acquired expert knowledge, accurate or otherwise, is used for correcting policy and organising more effective assaults on the socialist world.

Consequently, anti-communist ideology is being developed with the obvious aim of putting the monopoly circles of the bourgeoisie on their guard against gross miscalculations.

At the same time, in addressing the population of capitalist countries, anti-communism seeks to reinforce its political positions on the basis of entirely new attitudes. These are developed



in response to imperialism's pressing need to create a false image of socialism, an image that would turn the masses away from it. To this end various anti-communist schools of thought are mobilised not only in the bourgeois West but also in the so-called Third World.

Anti-communism's ideological activity rests on an objective foundation: after all, the purpose of every ideology is essentially to elaborate a world view to translate the basic social interests of this or that class into the language of political programmes. In defining the general conditions of the emergence, development, and consolidation of ideology, Lenin noted that it is founded on the sum-total of human knowledge, presupposes a high level of scientific development, and demands research.<sup>2</sup> It is not accidental that the "researches" of leading anti-communists of the recent period (for instance, Daniel Bell, Seymour M. Lipset, Alvin Toffler, and Edward Shils) are indicative of anti-communism's immensely heightened attention to "unsolved riddles" of social dynamics, to the mechanisms of social processes, to the historical destinies of capitalism.

On the other hand, reactionary social forces are looking for philosophical material that would vindicate outdated foundations of society's life and depict the policies of the ruling class as expedient and substantiated. Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s bourgeois political leaders implemented specific guidelines with only limited recourse to a comprehensive substantiation of these guidelines, present-day anti-communism seeks to "enrich" its ideological arsenal in order to justify its political guideline in the eyes of large sections of the public. This is

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. 6, pp. 163-164.



being done to provide ideological justification for imperialism's aggressiveness, for its adventurist attempts to halt the revolutionary, liberation processes in the world. This explains why the "hardened" anti-communism of the 1980s draws so actively from the arsenal of theoretical speculations.

Since in bourgeois society the general character of ideological processes is influenced by the violence of the attacks on the progressive forces, this makes an imprint on theoretical concepts as well, on the modes of thought of the anti-communists. These modes of thought are growing increasingly more aggressive. But aggressiveness is not always a sign of strength. The more choleric anti-communism becomes, the more its theoretical declarations contain miscalculations and discrepancies of a logical and methodological nature, and the more frequently are arguments put aside in favour of a presentation of primitive social myths.

#### Tide of "Re-ideologisation"

For several decades the anti-communists, including the French sociologist Raymond Aron, regarded as the "patriarch" of West European anti-communism, and his no less well known American colleagues Seymour Lipset, Edward Shiels, and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., have been asserting that all ideologies have lost their significance in the modern world. This assertion figured in the then fashionable theory of "de-ideologisation". But a different tendency has been looming large since the mid-1970s. The bankruptcy of the "de-ideologisation" theory has had to be acknowledged by its own proponents. But here, too, one



observes something of a paradox. The very same theorists who spoke of "de-ideologisation" are now developing a new fashionable concept--"re-ideologisation". The prefix "re" expresses revitalised faith in bourgeois ideology, which, it is asserted, is crucially important and indispensable. Going farther, the anti-communists call for an "intensification of ideology", elaborating social myths on a larger scale than before, and resort to deliberate falsifications. Precisely this doctrine of "re-ideologisation" is being adopted by many schools of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thought, particularly of the rabidly anti-communist stripe.

Leading exponents of "re-ideologisation" have in recent years proclaimed that dormant resources in terms of theory and philosophy have been identified and activated, and that it is their purpose to restore and reinforce the bourgeoisie's confidence in the mobilising power of imperialist ideology, and simultaneously facilitate a turbulent "renewal of the spirit". "A new ideological age is beginning,"<sup>3</sup> declared the recently deceased Raymond Aron. The British bourgeois sociologist Donald Wilhelm put the rhetorical question: "For if non-Marxist philosophy, together with religion, cannot formulate a convincing statement of the fundamentals by which men live, then in what can we believe? If we are not to embrace Marxism, then how do we conduct ourselves and make necessary day-to-day decisions?" He feels that the answer to these questions can be found through the elaboration

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<sup>3</sup> Raymond Aron, Remarques sur le nouvel âge idéologique, Paris, 1979.



of an "alternative view of the world", a "flexible", "all-integrating" ideological system that embraces "new ideas". This explains why the title of his book sounds like a manifesto: Creative Alternatives to Communism.<sup>4</sup> The West German bourgeois sociologist Eugen Lemberg has likewise come round to the conclusion that ideas make history and move mountains.<sup>5</sup> Spokesmen of imperialism are thus endeavouring to combine, to integrate various anti-socialist doctrines and mobilise bourgeois society's scattered intellectual forces against the Marxist-Leninist world view. This is mirrored in, above all, the ideological vindication offered for imperialism's diverse actions.

In the course of two centuries Americans, for example, have been brought up in a spirit of "historical messianism". It has been drummed into their heads that their manifest destiny is to build the finest of worlds, and that Europe, to say nothing of other regions of the globe, will have to keep running after swiftly advancing America. In the mass consciousness the conviction was planted and reinforced that precisely the USA, in contrast to the rest of the world, could become the true proponent of religious and civil liberties, and put into effect the precepts of Biblical and bourgeois prophets.

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<sup>4</sup> Donald Wilhelm, Creative Alternatives to Communism. Guidelines for Tomorrow's World, London, 1977, pp. 56, 76, 155.

<sup>5</sup> Eugen Lemberg, Antropologie der ideologischen Systeme, Wienheim, 1977.



However, historical practice is debunking this myth. The socialist countries are developing more dynamically. Capitalism's economic and social life likewise refutes the legend about America's manifest destiny. It would seem that this legend must explode. But it is namely this myth that is today acquiring a meticulously elaborated ideological setting. It is asserted that all the peoples of the world are now living in what for the United States is yesterday and even the day before yesterday. And it is the mission of precisely the USA to put history, which has allegedly almost gone astray, back on the right path and make sure that it moves along the highroad agreeable to the USA. Cooked up through the efforts of many, including such bourgeois theorists as the American historian John O. Robertson<sup>6</sup> and the French academic Georges-Albert Astre,<sup>7</sup> the myth about the USA having a special mission is being amplified with might and main by the anti-communists. It is constantly on the lips of the not unknown Zbigniew Brzezinski and other American sociologists, one of whom is Daniel Boorstin, who maintains that <sup>American history</sup> is moving five times faster than the history of Western Europe.<sup>8</sup> This theory is questionable, to put it mildly, but it is a fact that it is being vigorously disseminated.

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<sup>6</sup> John O. Robertson, American Myth, American Reality, New York, 1980.

<sup>7</sup> Georges-Albert Astre, Situation de l'idéologie aux USA, Paris, 1980.

<sup>8</sup> Daniel Boorstin, The Republic of Technology, New York, 1978, p. 43.



Imperialism has long been bringing cultural pressure to bear on other countries. It has created a mind-manipulating industry, which it has been using to implant so-called mass culture stereotypes and images to take the place of national cultures. This practice is today backed up by various culturological doctrines. On precisely this basis the anti-communists are trying to prove that a "planetary" super-culture is now in the irreversible process of being created. It is seen as the result of the dissolution of local, national cultures and the creation of cosmopolitan values on the American pattern. Actually, this whole exercise is an attempt to vindicate the total Americanisation of culture. In this context, anti-communism regards social development as a process of cultural expansion, of a gradual diffusion of American values throughout the world, in Western Europe in the first place.

This cultural-ideological vindication of the "Americanisation of the world" pursues specific socio-political objectives. US imperialism and its pundits are thinking not only in terms of bleeding the socialist countries white or subjugating them by means of updated military hardware. The objective of this strategy is to turn the corporations of the American billionaires into global monopolies and make the White House the world government in everything but name. The ultimate aim is to Americanise and rule the world.

There are particularly strident cosmopolitan keynotes in the writings of the "new philosophers" of France (André Glucksman, Bernard-Henri Lévy, Maurice Clavel), who have since 1976 been



critical of "conservative components" of culture and proclaiming anti-Marxist, anti-communist views. Lévy, for example, questions the need to safeguard national culture.<sup>9</sup> In fact, his study is an apologia of the interests of the bourgeois world's cosmopolitan circles, of the transnational corporations. The same purpose is served by the attempts of the anti-communists to debunk a priori the concepts of homeland, patriotism, and inimitable national cultures.

Such is the actual content of the "tide of re-ideologisation". With their many writings the anti-communist ideologists are quite obviously going to the rescue of the ruling elite of the capitalist West, who are finding it increasingly harder to take the political initiative without the prior elaboration of new concepts.

#### Pluralism Or Unitarianism?

Anti-communism has many faces. As the concentrated expression of the policies of imperialism as a whole, of its reactionary forces, notably of the industrial and financial oligarchies, it breaks down into many schools and varieties. In this context the question arises: To what extent can one speak of this ideologico-political phenomenon as of a relatively integral system of views?

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<sup>9</sup> Bernard-Henri Lévy, L'idéologie française, Paris, 1981.



Traditionally, the concept of "anti-communism" has three components: theory spearheaded against scientific communism; governmental action to suppress the communist, working class, and national liberation movements; and retrograde notions and reactionary stereotypes figuring in the mass consciousness. As a single whole it acts against the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, to perpetuate capitalism. But the various anti-communist ideological schools are locked in argument over the ways and means of safeguarding capitalism and of countering the communist movement and the socialist countries. The different bourgeois ideological-political trends--neoconservatism, liberalism, and petty-bourgeois radicalism--have their own concepts and arguments.

The fact that bourgeois ideology has itself become an arena of violent ideological conflicts, of an ever sharper polarisation of rival trends is due to the contradictions of capitalism and the class-political collisions generated by it. But here the argument is, essentially speaking, over who is fighting socialism more effectively. In the final analysis, the choice of a conceptual approach is determined by whether it is actually possible to use this approach. With capitalism stuck in a general and extremely acute crisis, every ideological school is trying to prove that it alone is the saviour of the bourgeois system and can produce the recipes to discredit the new society. The anti-communists often criticise one another, charging members of kindred schools with using less effective ways and means of struggle.

That bourgeois theories are engaged in a sort of contest is seen by the present aggravated conflict between neoconservative and neoliberal schools of anti-communism.

The neoconservative school has won a large following in capitalist countries. Social conservatives such as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Daniel Bell, and Robert Nisbet in the USA and Gert-  
Klaus Kaltenbrunner in the FRG enjoy the greatest influence in official, state-monopoly circles. They are apprehensive of social progress, and are often inclined to adopt anti-progressist postures. However, they accept technological and economic innovations designed, as they see it, to strengthen capitalism and ensure its superiority over socialism. In their search for a way out of the present crisis they are trying to work out theoretical patterns that would, so it seems to them, provide a more dependable foundation for imperialism's economic policies. Hence the pretentious concept of Reaganomics and the economic policy of Thatcherism, which, while claiming to be invigorating the influence of market forces, are in fact doing no more than pushing up military expenditures to mind-boggling dimensions. The social essence of neoconservatism is very lucidly characterised by such foundations of Reaganomics as the tax exemption of "economic activists", who comprise, to use the words of the French economist Guy Sorman, the capitalist elite and the "makers of wealth".<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Guy Sorman, La révolution conservatrice américaine, Fayard, 1983, pp. 203-204.



Reagan's preaching that to revive the "American dream" it is enough to give each person the opportunity to work freely and the assertions of the proponents of Reaganomics that the money of the rich ultimately bring happiness to the poor<sup>11</sup> are in fact directed towards no other purpose than to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Instead of resolving pressing economic and social problems, this is only exacerbating the crisis state of the world capitalist economy. For that reason the inevitable purpose of the neoconservatives is to modernise their ideological apparatus to serve as an effective propaganda instrument protecting capitalism under conditions where the socialist system has become the factor determining the further course of world history.

While these theorists sharply attack collectivism, they give individual enterprise and the readiness to compete an oracle of heroism. They regard the free market and the restriction of the power of the state as vital conditions for the attainment of the aims pursued by each individual. The ideologists of neo-conservatism invent arguments in support of imperialism's course towards the fanning of international tension and acts of aggression, and urge the "unravelling" of socialism and all "recalcitrants" by means of boycotts and military pressure. Relative to Third World countries they justify the policy of military gambles, are hostile to all dissent, and reject progressive modernistic trends in religion and culture.

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11 Ibid.

However, crisis processes began to surface in this school of anti-communism in the 1980s. First, it was found that its economic programmes were untenable. Further, neoconservatism is suffering setbacks on account of its unpopular militarist policies. The burden of military spending as a result of the unbridled arms race, the growing influence of the military-industrial complex, and the unchecked chauvinistic propaganda are evoking the disaffection of large groups of the population. This is impelling the neoconservatives to "modernise" anti-communism, to camouflage its most odious aspects with demagogic calls for "peace", for "democratic" settlements of socio-political contradictions, and so forth.

In parallel with the growth of the tendencies we have noted, recent years have witnessed the beginning of a sort of counter-tendency that is strengthening the neoliberal school. Its spokesmen, of whom Daniel Boorstin, Alvin Toffler, Norman Barry, and other American sociologists are becoming particularly influential, are trying to develop technocratic ideas to serve their quest for new methods of confrontation with socialism.

After the innumerable forecasts that "technological civilisation" will perish, that industrial capitalist countries are facing imminent disaster, there is now a revival of technocratic illusions. This time they are linked to the "communications computer revolution". The broad penetration of communication and computer technology into the economic and social life of the West in the period from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, and the appearance of a new department of knowledge--information (telematics)--have regenerated the technocratic utopia.



Unlike the neoconservatives, the reformists and the liberals believe that the world can be rapidly renewed in technological terms on the basis of state-monopoly organisation. They believe that in a capitalist society prosperity can be ensured not so much by economic as, in the first place, by political mechanisms, by joint planning on the part of various bourgeois governments. And they hope that the "computer society" of tomorrow will help to resolve the problems which the neoconservatives have been unable to resolve. In particular, the robots in "information banks" would take over administrative functions. The "anarcho-capitalism" spoken of by the neoconservatives would give way to an efficiently organised society. In that society private enterprise would be combined with scrupulously regulated production and distribution.

According to the neoliberals, "computerisation" will make capitalism more mobile and flexible than socialism. They contend that socialism's political system cannot accommodate such radical innovations, that it will resist the spread of computerisation and, as a result, lose the competition with capitalism.

This interest in the historical prospect is also expressed in the appearance of innumerable "scenarios" and "forecasts" of humankind's development. The spate of forecasts and the rapid flowering of <sup>social</sup> <sup>12</sup> utopianism are likewise striking evidence that present-day anti-communism is trying to formulate its own wide-ranging philosophical concept of society's life.

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<sup>12</sup> B. Hawrylishin, Road Maps to the Future: Towards More Effective Societies, Oxford, 1980; F.E. Manwel, F.P. Manwel, Utopian Thought in the Western World, Cambridge, 1979.

On the basis of arbitrary assertions of this kind, which they are assiduously spreading, the neoliberals are now virulently attacking the political system in socialist countries, drawing heavily on their methodology of the 1970s, i.e., of the period of detente, when their long-term tactic was that of gradually eroding socialism's ideologico-political foundations. As in that period, they are pushing their "bridge-building", "convergence", and other ideas, which supplement the imperialist theories calling for a "selective approach" to and "power" pressure on socialist countries.

The ideas preached by the liberal "re-ideologisers" do not go beyond the bourgeois world view and do not reject private property. They flourish on the soil of capitalism. For that reason the attempts of the neoliberals to evolve "new ideologies" are no more than illusory, no more than "ideological smoke",<sup>13</sup> to use Lenin's expression.

More often than not the neoconservatives so far have the upper hand in their confrontation with the neoliberal school of anti-communism--they are at the helm of power. For this reason they claim continued leadership in elaborating anti-communist ideology. At the same time, they are seeking to make use of some of the preachings of the neoliberals. Their traditional themes--nation, family, duty, power--are now being complemented with such theses of revived neoliberalism as personal interest, individualism, and "freedom".<sup>14</sup> However, they focus chiefly on vindicating

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<sup>13</sup> V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 13, p. 238.

<sup>14</sup> See  
/ The Politics of Thatcherism, Edited by S. Hall and M. Jacques, London, 1983.



their basic concept of protecting the old system and giving stronger philosophical support for historical adventurism.

### Philosophy of Historical Adventurism

Anti-communism has always been the travelling-companion of attacks on democratic freedoms and the rights of nations, of the policy of aggression and war. Its present reinvigoration accompanies the inflaming, by imperialist circles, of international tension, which threatens the interests of all nations.

The German nazis preached the philosophy of historical adventurism and openly linked it to their foreign policies. The ruling circles of the USA likewise want ideology to vindicate even the situation twists in their political policies so that military actions, above all, get ideological support. Hence the fact that attacks on socialism and on developing nations are accompanied by an intensification of ideological propaganda. This propaganda assumes the forms of psychological warfare. This specific type of propaganda and the special mechanism of spreading it were developed by the imperialist governments during the period of the cold war.

As part of the ideologico-political struggle, psychological warfare has some distinctive features. Imperialism is trying to organise what amounts to an information-propaganda intervention, to use radio and television channels as instruments for interference in the internal affairs of nations. Practically all elements of the government apparatus of the USA and some other capitalist countries have been drawn into the psychological

warfare that is being waged against the USSR and other socialist countries and against the communist and workers' parties. Also involved are subversive agencies and innumerable institutes specialising in anti-communism.<sup>15</sup>

Historical adventurism is seen very strikingly in social mythology: the stories about the "Soviet military threat", the "communist menace", and "totalitarianism", to mention a few. The ideologists of imperialism focus on problems they have themselves created ("human rights", "international terrorism", and so on) and are stepping up their political campaigns against existing socialism. Attacks on the socialist way of life are growing more frequent. At the same time, every encouragement is given to political coercion, irrational and mystical thought, racism, and misanthropy.

Having lost its political supremacy in some regions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, US state-monopoly capitalism is actively fostering anti-communism in these regions in order to counter the ongoing socio-political struggles--witness what is happening in El Salvador, Lebanon, South Africa, and many other countries. Theories are being evolved to justify the infiltration of foreign capital into these countries, the creation of new forms of dependence on transnational corporations, and the reinforcement of private enterprise--"interdependence", "Western technological leadership", and other theories.

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For more detail see  
<sup>15</sup>/Hans Pirsch, "Psychological Warfare in the Strategy of Confrontation", WMR, No. 5, 1984.



Spokesmen of the so-called free world are arguing that developing Asian, African, and Latin American countries will inevitably travel the road already traversed by capitalist countries. This is part of the argumentation used to substantiate and justify capitalist expansion in the Third World, and those who propound it assert that the Third World peoples will adopt the bourgeois standards of economic development and lifestyles, and capitalist modes of society's organisation.

Moreover, anti-communism appeals to nationalistic feeling. It tries to impress upon the people of each individual country that their cultural traditions and national psychology rule out acceptance of socialist ideas. There is total silence about the unique fact of the flourishing cultures of the peoples and republics of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, cultures which are in all cases national in form and socialist in content. Here the stake is on standardising identity on the American model, promoting the cult of parochialism, and stirring chauvinism.

Taking into account the fact that religion has sunk deep roots in the minds of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the anti-communists are trying to incite religious people against the policies and ideology of the social forces advocating revolutionary reforms and socialism. They insist that there can be no alliance with atheists, and for support fall back on the most primitive postulates of reactionary religious circles.

In their campaigns to influence the developing world ideologically, the anti-communists pursue a global strategy to suppress liberation movements. They are calculating on ideologically demoralising the peoples who have embarked upon an independent life and are out to subvert communist parties and progressive and patriotic movements. They support fascist, confessionalist,<sup>16</sup> and dictatorial regimes, their stock in trade being economic and political blackmail.

Of course, the working people in the industrial capitalist countries are the object of this anti-communist "philosophy of action". They are on the receiving end of the propaganda campaigns aimed at developing a "global consciousness" and "planetary international relations", at playing "computer society" off against socialism. To this must be added the religious preachings, the teachings of the "new prophets", "gurus", and "messians" urging passiveness, aloofness from conscious public life, political subservience, and conciliation. They go so far as to depict poverty and other social vices of capitalism as "providential" and use Biblical prophecies to misrepresent modern history and to describe the present epoch as apocalyptic.

<sup>16</sup> Lately, the reactionary forces of the bourgeois West have been making very active use of confessionalism as an ideologico-political means of dividing the people. By stirring religious fanaticism, chauvinism, and hostility between nationalities and religions, confessionalism as an ideology conceals the class essence of social contradictions and relations. On the political level, as the example of Lebanon and other Middle East and Asian countries demonstrates, confessionalism is being used by imperialist agencies as a means of inciting internecine strife between different groups of the population on the basis of national and religious prejudices.



In all areas of its theoretical activity anti-communism has to use ideological symbols, to camouflage the actual aims of the ruling class. In practice this boils down to the creation of manipulative theories and the corresponding methodology for indoctrinating the population. The purpose of this entire torrent is to assert new ideological stereotypes and cultural standards and to use new means for influencing the people ideologically and psychologically.

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Our analysis of the attempts of the bourgeoisie to reinforce its political strategy with an arsenal of ideological means allows us to draw some general conclusions.

First, it is evident that the monopoly circles are trying to use all the ideological resources of the bourgeois world, bringing into play--as required by the situation--neoliberal, neo-conservative, and other recipes for the preservation of their social and political privileges. Anti-communism plays a steadily mounting centralising role in their ideological formulations and political actions.

Second, an unbiased view of the processes of social development in the world over the past few decades makes it plain that the tendencies of the class struggle identified by Marxist-Leninist theory, the liberation of the peoples from the fetters

of capitalist exploitation are irreversible. Just as bourgeois society cannot halt the course of history, anti-communism cannot develop ideological and political alternatives to the theory of the Communists.

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## ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE FIELD OF THEORY

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The faces of anti-communism are legion, and it has served the most diverse masters, always crying down the aspiration of the working people to live without overlords of any kind, to be free among equals. There are moral, political, and theoretical aspects in any exposure of anti-communism, which has a dirty and, for the most part, blood-stained history. A survey of its actual role in history and of the crimes committed in its name and for its sake in individual countries and throughout the world helps to ascertain what further crimes people blinded by hatred of communism are capable of committing. This is an effective way of countering anti-communism.

It is said that anti-communism appeared simultaneously with the revolutionary working class movement and scientific socialism. This is true. But it would be more accurate to say that the powers that be began hunting the "spectre of communism" when the class struggle of the working people was in its early,

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This is another contribution to the series of articles on the features and trends of modern anti-communism (See, Michael O'Riordan, "Anti-Communism and the Threat of War", WMR, No. 3, 1984; Hans Pirsch, "Psychological Warfare in the Strategy of Confrontation", WMR, No. 5, 1984).



lower phases. They fancied they saw it even in such one-time progressive bourgeois demands as the abolition of medieval guilds and workshops and the initiation of free competition. They denounced any threat to their privileges as a menace to morals, property, and freedom, as coercion over the "nature of the human being".

By and large, it is unquestionable that full-blown anti-communism is as old as the struggle of the working class against capitalist society. Already this brings to light a distinctive feature of anti-communism: it is a negative response to onward social development, an embodiment of reaction. Anti-communism was initially directed against the organised working class movement acting as an independent political force, against the scientific world view of the working class, against Marxism and solidarity in the class struggle. With the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, when the international working class movement acquired its first-ever state base, anti-communism became in large part anti-Sovietism. It is aimed at socialism as a social system and, particularly, at its most dependable bulwark, the Soviet Union.

There is an inner logic to the fact that anti-communism now also attacks any more or less consistent anti-imperialist national liberation movement, that with the Reagan theory about communism being the "focus of evil" as their guideline the most reactionary quarters of US imperialism are set on achieving military superiority in order to be able to dictate their will to the rest of the world and put back the clock of history. The



past decade has demonstrated that the changes in the balance of political, social, and economic forces on the national scene and in the world at large could not but have evoked a reaction from anti-communism, the appearance of new and the resuscitation of old, long-forgotten varieties.

The struggle against anti-communism poses revolutionary parties with many problems. In this struggle it is vital to distinguish the anti-communist policy of bourgeois and social-reformist parties, the anti-communist prejudices, cliches, and stereotypes that are infiltrated into the mass bourgeois consciousness, from theoretical anti-communism. The latter specialises in theoretical attacks on the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the programme of a communist party, in misrepresenting the experience of the revolutionary movement and the building of socialist society. It seeks to give its slander against the theory and practice of scientific socialism the semblance of credibility and even scientific objectivity. The conditions are thereby created for a broader dissemination of this slander and for making it more effective. At the same time, theoretical anti-communism argues for and justifies the anti-communist practices of the imperialist bourgeoisie and its sycophants.

All these directions of anti-communism are closely interwoven and directly relate to each other. For instance, what today represents the "last word" in bourgeois theory is tomorrow given in a simplified, "popular" form on television screens and in newspapers. For that reason the efficacy of the struggle against anti-communism is cut back significantly when there is a



gap between theory and day-to-day explanatory work, when the public relations aspect is non-existent or weak in the world view and political activity of the Communists.

Present-day reality confronts us with yet another problem. Each of the three Austrian political parties that are part and parcel of the bourgeois political system claims it has its own ideological and socio-political programme. The bourgeois People's Party vows fidelity to the "partnership society". The right-wing Austrian Party of Freedom pledges devotion to "liberal order" with its "conservative value elements"; it patterns itself on 19th-century bourgeois wisdom, which says that the fewer social duties a person has the freer he becomes. The Socialist Party advocates what it calls "social democracy" and hopes to achieve it by some miraculous means in "partnership with capital".

In each of these specific ideological postures, or "guideline ideas"--and we should, of course, distinguish between them--there are basic components of anti-communism. It is noteworthy that all three parties, which are seemingly divided in terms of philosophy, in many cases borrow either similar or exactly the same elements from the theoretical arsenal of anti-communism. They equate socialism to "totalitarianism", and democracy to capitalism.

The common anti-communist posture of these parties does not mean there is no rivalry between them. They quarrel vehemently over who should be closer to the feeding-trough, and who should have the largest spoon. These quarrels are overshadowed



by the tacit conspiracy to keep the foundations of anti-communism inviolate. More, anti-communism itself is becoming an object of competition between these parties. Their leaders are competing for the "honour" of being seen as the most dependable "shield against communism". Given all the theoretical and ideological distinctions between them, their negation and, more, their smearing of the only real socio-political alternative, namely, socialism, is the common, "super-ideology" that unites their leaderships.

One of the most effective anti-communist myths is that for the Communists everything non-communist is anti-communist. If that were the case the Communists would be making an unpardonable error by recognising the dividing line that the anti-communists want to draw in order to attract all non-communists. There is, of course, a grain of truth in the martial saying that "the more enemies there are the greater is the honour". But it is no credit to any revolutionary if he has more enemies than is predicated by circumstances, if he sees enemies where there are none.

It would have been a miracle if anti-communism of any origin did not try to sow <sup>confusion and</sup> discord in the peace movement, which is a major political factor in Austria. Countless misrepresentations are used to this end by the anti-communists and these quickly find their way into the bourgeois mass media and become catch-words. Let me give one example, which is particularly important in the sense that it helps to distinguish between non-communists and anti-communists. Reagan's theory about communism being the "focus of evil" is now rejected by many thousands of people who



recently found it acceptable, albeit with reservations. They reject it because they realise that the "crusade" philosophy undermines peace and justifies a slide into war. To influence these people--and not only them--the anti-communists of the conservative school and those claiming to be "lefts" disseminate the "two super-power theory" in innumerable variations and are going to all lengths to get the peace movement to accept the theory of "equal" or "comparable" blame for the war threat. To this day among people whom the peace movement cannot ignore there are many who believe that although the USA bears most of the blame, both sides are "culpable".<sup>1</sup>

In our explanatory work this brings us up against problems that are not at all simple. The key to resolving them lies in the fact that within a short space of time there have been significant changes in the minds of most of the people who think along precisely such lines. The attempts to equate the policies of socialism and monopoly capitalism are effectively countered by exposing US imperialism's global strategy. Is this strategy not the product of the madness of imperialism's most reactionary circles, who felt the ground moving from under their feet in a situation of detente and approximate military equilibrium? However illusory their striving for world supremacy, they are cynically and openly trying to force their will upon the rest of the world. The Communists have always said that as long as imperialism is strong, peaceful coexistence cannot be regarded as guaranteed. Hence the need for tireless efforts on its behalf.

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<sup>1</sup> For a critique of this theory see, Eugene Jorgen, "A Justified Presentiment", WMR, No. 5, 1984.



In Western Europe many people are shocked and disturbed by the fact that US imperialism wants missiles to be targeted on their countries. However, when these people forget that its claims to hegemony are global the threat of war may seem to be farther away than it actually is. It is owing to this that the significance of international solidarity with the victims of imperialist aggression to the preservation of peace is not fully appreciated.

Thus, what characterises anti-communism as a theory? Chiefly, its defence of capitalism, its espousal of any pseudo-concept claiming that capitalism has a future, is superior, can be humanised, and is long-lasting. Protagonists of conservative varieties of anti-communist theory blindly repeat that capitalism is the best of worlds. Exponents of liberal, reformist schools of thought reject and even castigate the imperfections and vices of bourgeois society but in the same breath insist that any social alternative to capitalism--if it is implemented--will be an even greater evil. "Left" anti-communists, following in the wake of some spokesmen of the Frankfurt School,<sup>2</sup> portray the capitalist system as a prison and substantively and vividly expose the alienation and dehumanisation in bourgeois society; but for them capitalism is a prison from which there is no escape.

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<sup>2</sup> A school of bourgeois philosophy and sociology that appeared in the 1930s with its centre at the Institute of Social Studies of Frankfurt on <sup>the</sup> Main University. Its leading proponents were Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Eric Fromm, and Jurgen Habermas. This school combined some Marxist precepts with left-Hegelian and Freudian ideas. It has hindered the development of the democratic protest against capitalism, preventing critically-minded intellectuals and young people from understanding Marxism.--Ed.



Every brand of anti-communism is an apology of capitalism. However, not every apology is anti-communist. The hallmarks of anti-communism are, first, its deliberate distortion of existing socialism. Second, it uses every debate and every theoretical study for its attacks against the communist movement and Marxism-Leninism. Even when it cannot be denied that the Communists champion the interests of the vast majority of the people, when many people in the working class and progressive movements begin instinctly to feel and realise this, the anti-communists develop arguments to show why in the light of "higher values and considerations" joint actions with the Communists cannot be allowed under any circumstances. More, they flagellate all non-communists who are prepared to relegate their differences with the Communists to the background for the sake of common aims.

Anti-communism, including its "left" varieties, is identified in the field of theory as a bourgeois ideology because its protagonists deny or misrepresent the links between society's basis and its political system, its politics, attributing an independent and, in some cases, irrational and absolute significance to individual aspects of the superstructure, of the political system, and even personalities. This approach is seen in all anti-communist speculations.

Bourgeois or social-reformist concepts of "pluralism", whatever their shade, assert that in the long run society's essence and character are not determined by property and power. They attach paramount importance to the structure of the political system, to the activities of the different organisations and associations in a state, declaring that their interaction gives the



state the ability to act as a "neutral arbiter" bringing various interests to a common denominator for the sake of the "common good". Countering the understanding of the revolutionary working class movement that an improved social system presupposes a new state, they argue that the existing bourgeois state should be used to maintain a "dynamic equilibrium" between classes as the "basic condition of progress".

All variants of this theory allow for only "gradual" progress. They rule out qualitative changes and irreversible modifications of the equilibrium. Since it attaches the decisive significance to group structures rather than to class relations, this approach closes the door to fundamental changes in the interests of the working class.

Advocates of "pluralism"--and here there is a particularly sinister overtone--bombastically claim that under capitalism there is practically no restriction on participation in economic and political processes, but, where possible, they are silent about how rigidly these processes are limited by capitalist economic domination and the political power resting on this domination.

A similar approach is adopted by the theory of "totalitarianism". In order to show that there is an "essential kinship" between fascism and communism, it denies or obscures the fundamental difference between capitalism and socialism, and between the class nature of the socialist and the fascist state. Or they present all this as being minor and insignificant. As a result, no trace is left of a circumstance that is very unpleasant for



bourgeois ideologues, namely, that fascism is invariably capitalism, that it is the most reactionary form of bourgeois monopoly rule.

The parliamentary form of bourgeois domination is portrayed as the "golden median", and any deviation from it is regarded as blasphemous. And, as a consequence, they draw a picture of the future in which capitalism is depicted as the ultimate and most progressive stage of history. From this it is deduced that it is vital to preserve capitalism and move farther along the road of this "golden median". After all, this road leads to the "best" capitalism, which will, properly speaking, no longer be capitalism as such.

A similar approach is to be found in the assertions of bourgeois ideologues that under socialism the development of the productive forces and of science and technology inevitably generates political and social processes that will sooner or later lead to the restoration of class structures, to the re-emergence of a "pluralist" superstructure and, eventually, capitalist relations of production. This is also true of the more naive theory which reduces the distinctions between social systems to distinctions between the "social market economy" and "centralised planning". Underlying this theory, as many others like it, is its renunciation of fundamental indications of a social system in favour of formal-political indications.

In a very interesting study headed "The Sociology of Anti-Communism",<sup>3</sup> the West German sociologist Werner Hofmann singles

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<sup>3</sup> Werner Hofmann, Stalinismus und Antikommunismus, Suhrkamp-Verlag, Frankfurt on <sup>the</sup> Main, 1967, pp. 131-167.



out three characteristic methods of misinterpretation used by anti-communists. First, attributing notions consistent with one's own thinking and experience to the theory and practice of the adversary; second, giving a slanted interpretation of the immanent contradiction between the two main opposing social concepts and social systems, and reducing it to a contradiction of political forms; and, third, depicting the internal social conflict as an external political conflict.

The "psychological warfare" conducted by the anti-communists daily produces examples of the use of these methods. The ideologues of US imperialism depict the internal conflicts generated by irreconcilable internal contradictions as reflecting an external contradiction. They see the reasons for the protest of, for example, the people of El Salvador not in social contradictions and not in the existence of a reactionary regime: they blame everything on Moscow's "long arm" or on a "Cuban conspiracy". Marx noted the "strange fact" that "no sooner do the working men anywhere take the subject (emancipation of labour.--E.W.) into their own hands with a will, than uprises at once all the apologetic phraseology of the mouthpieces of present society ... as if capitalist society was still in its purest state of virgin innocence, with its antagonisms still undeveloped, with its delusions still unexploded, with its prostitute realities not yet laid bare".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works in three volumes, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, p. 223.



Also widespread among the anti-communists is the striving to direct against socialism the mistrust and aversion that capitalism generates against itself in the mass consciousness. For example, the "totalitarianism" theory owes its influence to the real experience of the horrors of fascism. This theory now focuses on mobilising such feelings against socialism.

The sense of personal helplessness and insignificance is common in capitalist society. It is the result of countless, frequently invisible, external dependences, the self-sufficing role of the state, the close bond between the state and monopoly capital, the socialisation of production under these conditions, the growth of the influence wielded by the bureaucracy, and the ruin and diminution of the number of independent smallholders. Theoretical anti-communism supplies the explanations and arguments for directing such feelings against socialism, public property, and socialist socialisation of the means of production. Bourgeois collectivism--the individual entangled in the dense network of bureaucracy and of institutions affiliated to the state--is being used by the anti-communists as an argument against socialist collectivism, which highlights the independent activity, consciousness, and organisation of the people.

In combating anti-communist stereotypes, cliches, and myths it is always important to bear in mind that a characteristic of the theoretical constructions of the anti-communists is their negation of and refusal to acknowledge the significance of the cardinal question of the working class movement, that of property and power. When there is not even a hint of recognition of the



determining role of the relationship of property and power, every invention is brought into play to explain social processes, contradictions, and international conflicts: "will for power", "higher interests" of the state and "superpower", the "self-sufficing role of the apparatus", the "primacy" or "diktat" of technology, and even man's "ancient instincts" and "unchanging nature", "genes", and "call of blood and land".

Of course, in a critique of anti-communism it is not enough to answer socio-political questions solely with references to the relationship of property and power. There is no persuasiveness where concreteness is absent. Where the question of property and power is lost sight of, belittled, or ignored, a convincing answer cannot be expected. In this case the socialist consciousness is not advanced, and the counteraction to anti-communism is inadequate. For instance, in explaining the mainsprings of the threat of war it is not enough to expose specifically this or that action of the reactionary imperialist circles. It is necessary, in addition, to show that this threat comes from the nature of imperialism, for it is only from this angle that it can be correctly understood.

As I see it, an immensely important task of the party's theoretical work is to show, on the basis of the relationship of property and power, concrete social mechanisms down to their smallest ramifications.

To combat the influence of anti-communism it is imperative to have a sound knowledge also of the workings of the mass psychology. I would say that here we are only at the beginning



of the road. For example, those who agree with the definition given by the Communists of the essence of fascism often complain that we do not adequately explain how and why the victims of monopoly capitalism can act in its support and adopt fascist ideas.

As the history of our movement shows, the party programme is one of the most effective instruments for fighting anti-communism in the field of theory. It generalises the experience of the working class struggles under diverse conditions and reflects the party's self-awareness, its long-term objectives, and its scientific notions about the ways to socialism and the features characterising a social system free of exploitation. It gives a lucid answer to the distortions and jugglings used by the anti-communists to smear the aims and actions of the revolutionary party.

In capitalist countries a large section of the population--this section becomes all the larger where the communist party is numerically small or where it is harder for it to carry forward its struggle--knows practically nothing about the Communists and judges them not so much by their actions, aims, and plans as by what is attributed to them by our adversary. It would be very unrealistic to expect that specific forms of anti-communism--designed to erode the communist parties, social-democratise them, and sow confusion and uncertainty among their members and supporters--do not influence party cadres. Moreover, with the development of new social movements, the spread of sentiments of protest, and the growth of the number of questions about possible social prospects more worthy of man, the theorists of anti-



communism not only concentrate on smearing the socialist alternative but also try to suggest pseudo-alternatives, which they paint in glowing colours. The attractive force and inner unity of a communist party, its commitment, and its ability to mobilise the people consequently depend to a large extent on a sound knowledge of realistic socio-political alternatives, on the degree the party's programme becomes the flesh and blood of its members and the lodestar of their thoughts and actions.

Even where the socialist aim seems far away (for instance, in Austria), many people are asking how that aim can be achieved. The Programme of the Communist Party of Austria proceeds from the postulate, borne out by practice, that "just as regularities do not exist by themselves, in isolation from national, concrete historical specifics, there are no national specifics independent of regularities. Consequently, both (the former and the latter) must be taken into account."<sup>5</sup> Theoretical anti-communism either passes the programme conclusions over in silence or shamelessly attributes to our party a belief in models, which the programme quite rightly rejects: "No models of socialism are suitable, for they fail to take into account one of two things--either regularities or specifics."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Sozialismus in Österreichs Farben. Programm der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs, Vienna, 1982, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



Nothing disconcerts the anti-communist theorists so much as the fact that socialism is gradually coping with the problems that are unsolvable for the capitalists. This is why they are attributing to the Communists the assertion that their ascension to power would mean the disappearance of all problems. The implication is that history comes to an end and an entirely new epoch begins. The former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, who was one of the most experienced anti-communists among the Social Democrats, liked to have recourse to this device in order to have the possibility of putting forward real or invented problems as counter-arguments. The Communist Party of Austria is guided by its study of reality and by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and in its reply to inventions of this kind by the anti-communists has recorded in its programme: "Under socialism, too, progress is possible only by resolving contradictions as they arise. Every advance gives birth to new problems, and every growth is fraught with the danger of imbalances... Progress is expressed not by an absence of contradictions but by a growing ability to draw ever closer to the set objectives."<sup>7</sup>

In Austria, which has common frontiers with socialist countries, anti-communism is particularly shameless and strong. It constantly has recourse--and this is by no means a national specific--to slander and blackmail, declaring, for example, that the Communists "begin to understand democracy correctly" when any of them dissociate or distance themselves from existing socialism, which our adversary portrays as "undemocratic".

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 7.



Idealisation of existing socialism, however understandable this is in human terms as an expression of the striving for a world worthy of people, ultimately presents the anti-communists with a splendid pretext for speculations. People who find that the chimerical ideal they have been nourishing is inconsistent with reality either keep it to themselves or, becoming disenchanted, invent a new "ideal" of socialism that reality cannot harm because the conditions for giving effect to it are non-existent. This is only further grist on the mill of our adversary: the number of false alternatives is thus increased by one more.

The standard repertoire of anti-communism, particularly of its reformist varieties, includes attributing to the Communists the intention to achieve the socialist aim by undemocratic means. By the same token they claim that by its nature existing socialism can only be undemocratic. Our programme gives such inventions the following reply, which stems from our analysis of international experience and national conditions without the involvement of even the hint of tactical considerations: "There is a sure guarantee that any road to socialism, wherever it lies, can only be democratic: it is possible to move along that road only by winning the masses to the side of socialism."<sup>8</sup>

When we ponder the possible roads of our people to socialism, we ask ourselves whether in an industrialised capitalist country it is possible to get the better of a highly organised adversary, of the combined power of state and monopoly, if the working class,

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 43.



within the framework of broad alliances and led by a strong revolutionary party, does not become the people's political, ideological, and moral leader, in other words, does not win hegemony? Past experience makes it clear that such hegemony cannot be full and lasting as long as the adversary holds the decisive levers in the economy and in politics, notably in the repressive apparatus and the agencies manipulating the people's thinking. To speak seriously of socialism or at least of a tangible step in its direction, use must ultimately be made of elements of hegemony in order to change the alignment of forces radically to the detriment of capitalism and its partners and hangers-on. It would be appropriate to ask: What is undemocratic about this?

What happens when the possibility is missed of storming capitalism or when no attempt is made of using this possibility has been demonstrated by the action of February 1934 in Austria and the civil war, whose 50th anniversary was marked recently. The Social Democratic Party was at the time the largest--in terms of the numerical strength of the country's population--the most confident and best organised of the parties in the Socialist Workers' International. For a long time it maintained that it held a position between reformism and Bolshevism. It had its own armed wing--the Republican Schutzbund. And on one occasion, in the Linz Programme, it went so far as to envisage the possibility of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat as a defensive measure if reaction and capital resisted the majority will for building a new system. But the social democratic leadership did



not at any time think of using this possibility for curbing reaction, for pushing it aside or, what is most important, terminating its power. On the contrary, it increasingly backed away itself, setting its hopes on future battles, on more favourable conditions in the future until finally, superseding the will of this leadership, the most conscious workers, Socialist and Communist, rose in armed struggle against fascism.

Of course, history does not repeat itself, but serious, cardinal problems are handed down from one generation to another until they are eventually resolved.

We are fully aware that anti-communism, which has sunk deep roots in Austria, chiefly in the minds of the senior and middle generations, must be fought more perseveringly, resourcefully, prudently, and scientifically. There are many reasons why it has sunk these roots: on account of the long domination by different varieties of fascism; on account of a favourable economic situation that persisted almost uninterruptedly for a quarter of a century and provided the ruling elite with a wide field for making concessions to the working people, concessions that it was forced to make by the proximity of socialist countries; on account of how capitalism's general crisis has been developing, nourishing illusions about the potentialities of the capitalist system. But even with the political landscape having undergone a change and with the spread of sentiments of protest evoked by the economic crisis, the absence of broad mass movements in Austria, with the exception of the peace movement, is seriously hampering and limiting the people's possibilities of drawing lessons from their own



experience. In this situation the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Austria (1984) noted that the party's influence in the country and its ability to pursue at any level and in a left framework a policy upholding the interests of the working people depend on the "politicisation <sup>of</sup> /the leadership" of party organisations, on a thorough knowledge of the party programme, on the ability to see changes and movement in society, on understanding the fact that however important they may be technical-administration questions should not divert us from going deep into problems, the answer to which enables us to correctly organise and direct the actions of the people, and comprises our essence, and distinguishes us from all other parties.

Thomas Mann called anti-communism the greatest absurdity of our century. To show anti-communism for what it actually is--the embodiment of reaction, to turn the spotlight on all its anti-humane manifestations, on its contempt for the people, human rights, and democracy is an indispensable condition for defeating imperialism and advancing along the road of peace and socialism.



CIA CLANDESTINE OPERATION UNDER THE GUISE  
OF "HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS"

B. Antonov

The Western leaders, no matter if currently in power or in opposition, have developed a habit of making their political and business contacts with the Soviet Union heavily strings-attached by linking them to a list of persons who have been denied permission to emigrate to Israel for motives inherent in Soviet laws. Those pleading for "refuseniks" include even the most top-ranking officials. What's the secret of so high-level patronage and so high stakes?

A closer scrutiny of the issue reveals that the emigration from the Soviet Union of 250,000 Jews in the past 20 years is far from a spontaneous process of "reunification of families". It is rather a large-scale demographic operation involving adaptation of a large number of Soviet citizens in a different political system.

From the economic point of view, the operation has taken huge investments. The Zionists have mailed 680,000 invitations to the Soviet Union. Envelopes and postal stamps alone have cost them about a million dollars. But Soviet citizens are not just getting envelopes inviting them to emigrate. They are cajoled and lured with all kinds of promises of material wealth. Several companies, including MELA, Dinnerman & Co. etc., have sent in numerous free parcels, each containing things worth up to a thousand dollars, in an apparent attempt to convince people that when they leave, they will live in a paradise and be showered with wealth.

Several radio stations have engaged in cajolery and



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issued numerous appeals to emigrate, mailing tens of thousands of video cassettes with films about Israel and the Western way of life. Zionist envoys coming to the Soviet Union have brought along advertising books, booklets and brochures for free circulation in this country. Most of them arrive as tourists and are later rewarded generously for having carried out each particular assignment. Some carry large sums of money in hard currency for bribery.

But where does all the money come from? Apparently, from those who know a way to extract dividends from luring Soviet Jews to emigrate. Gen. George Keegan, a former officer of the U.S. Air Force Intelligence Service, shed some light on the issue. He said in an interview with The Jerusalem Post that on each dollar invested in the operation America was getting from the immigrants a thousand dollars worth of information on Soviet military and other secrets. The information comes mostly from those "refuseniks" over whom the West has been raising the propaganda ballyhoo. The Western secret services subject all immigrants from the Soviet Union to intensive questioning, requesting them to fill in numerous questionnaires and using other methods to obtain information from them. The art of selecting the required pieces of information and merging these into a single picture has been dubbed the "mosaic method". By using this method no one risks imprisonment like refusenik Anatoly Shcharansky who decided to work for the CIA while still in Moscow.

So that's what makes the Zionists in the West to push so hard for securing the emigration of those who have been denied exit visas for being in the know of state and military secrets of the USSR. Politicians and public figures are also encouraged to participate in this intelligence gathering operation. Their involvement goes along the



following lines. Each "refusenik" wishing to whip up the provocation has to call Tel Aviv by telephone and say he has been denied an exit visa. Those whom he calls pass the information on to a secret service which promptly arranges a "support action". While the Voice of Israel announces the names of those who "must be saved", a web of Zionist organizations leaks dramatic reports about the "martyrs of Zion" to Western newspapers and television networks. The public remains unaware that it is being duped and that the "refuseniks" for whose emigration from the Soviet Union people are encouraged to campaign are in fact wanted only by intelligence gathering experts at Langley, the CIA headquarters.

The numerous Western "controllers" are using Helsinki's "third basket" and "humanitarian considerations" as a camouflage in seeking that no obstacles are created in the way of their unsightly deeds. Otherwise, they allege, the Soviet Union is violating the Helsinki accords. In actual fact, it is undeviatingly observing them. If there are no reasons for refusal on grounds of knowledge of state secrets and some other grounds envisaged by the law, the emigration procedure is made much easier. According to the new rules, if the matter concerns permanent residence abroad, applications are considered within a month's time. This is much earlier than provided for in the final document of the Madrid Meeting (six months) or suggested at the Berne Meeting of Representatives of Signatories to the Helsinki Accords, held last spring. Those refused a permission are informed without fail of the reasons for the refusal (this is not always required under the laws of Western countries). In re-examining an application declined, the earlier submitted papers are accepted, for the sake of simplifying the procedure.

If one were to speak of who observes the Helsinki accords



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and how at all, one cannot help noting arbitrariness in the practice of issuing visas in the United States. There are acts passed during McCarthyism still in effect there. Under them, the issuance of a passport or permission to immigrate into the US depends on the applicant's political convictions.

One can recall at least the "affair" of Margaret Randall, a progressive American writer and poetess. This was a striking example of using immigration legislation against "non-conformists", workers in culture in particular, whose political views are at variance with the Administration's anti-communist ideology.

Therefore, the question of "refuseniks" in the USSR is an example of persons noticing minor faults in other people while disregarding their own far more serious faults.

(Sovetskaya Rossia, April 3. In full.)

THE END



WHO ORCHESTRATED THE ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN?

I. Kovalev

Manila. (Izvestia staff correspondent.) An unprecedentedly intensive and coordinated anti-Soviet campaign was waged in the Philippine newspapers in the past few weeks.

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It was aimed against the USSR Embassy and the Soviet people working in the Philippines, and is based on the absolutely proofless reports about ostensible Soviet interference in the home affairs of the Philippines and about all kinds of "penetration", as well as about the allegations that "Russian warships" camouflaged as merchant vessels and fishermen have almost encircled the Philippine archipelago...

It was perfectly clear who orchestrated this campaign -- the most active in it were the authors known for their long-time "creative" relations with the Americans. Furthermore, the American Interco Press news agency which, according to press reports, is financed by the US secret services supplied the newspapers with its materials.

The campaign has somewhat abated now. This took place after Vice-President and Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Philippines Salvador Laurel stated in the press that he did not approve of this "regrettable flow of unconfirmed reports which have placed the Soviet Embassy in a difficult situation."

Why has the anti-Soviet flow emerged exactly now? The new local weekly MM gives a rather clear answer to this question. It writes that dramatic intensification of the CIA's activities in the Philippines is observed in recent time: the USA is stepping up its interference in connection with the forthcoming elections to the Philippines' Congress and local



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bodies of power in which Washington is seeking to place the maximum possible number of people loyal to it, as well as with the continued conflict between the government of the Philippines and the rebel movement. Of course, all this boosts the anti-American sentiments on the archipelago where two large Pentagon military bases are situated. This also explains why the US secret services have decided that the Filipinos should be ever more intimidated with a "Russian threat".

The clamorous anti-Soviet campaign was engineered with the aim of making a smokescreen to hide the escalation of the direct American interference in the home affairs of the Philippines, the MM weekly writes in conclusion.

One cannot but agree with it.

(Izvestia, March 31. In full.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TÜSTAN ARAŞTIRMALARI



TIME TO BURY CONFRONTATION:

WHY DOES WEST EVADE DIRECT ANSWER?

N. Kurdyumov

The Observer, a prominent British periodical, described the January 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee as a historic event and wrote that it was high time for the West to re-consider its relations with the Soviet Union and bury stale stereotypes, starting, say, with a constructive reply to Moscow's arms control proposals.

We should like to add to that reasonable statement that it is high time for the West to assume constructive stances on other issues essential to improve interstate relations and set up dependable international security: a guarantee of universal survival in this nuclear-missile age. It is long necessary to go off the beaten track of confrontation in politics and information. The involved problems of human rights and their guarantees require that change.

The clearcut and consistent Soviet stance on the issue demands a genuinely humane treatment for those burning problems: wherever he lives, man must be entitled to guaranteed rights to life and work, and be equal to others in the face of the law. That is why the Soviet Union resolutely supports opposition to racial and other discrimination, and to gain at the expense of others. Our country does it in the United Nations and at all other international forums. The Soviet Union attaches crucial importance to the seventh premise of the Helsinki Final Act: on the respect of human rights and basic freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion and conviction.

The world humanitarian cooperation has many problems, and every one demands close attention. So Moscow offered to host a representative conference in the European process framework,



which could discuss the entire set of issues of human rights and basic freedoms--civil, political, social and economic. They shall be discussed in detail, without prejudice, on a principled basis and with orientation to practical solutions to improve the humanitarian situation in all countries. The matter deserves to be tackled constructively and on the basis of equality, and not for self-seeking propaganda ends.

Some countries have assumed the role of arbiters on human rights and attempt to instruct others how to observe them. At the same time, they close their eyes to the real situation at home. But double standards are not to be accepted in those matters.

We need a serious dialogue across the humanitarian board to promote mutual respect and trust. All things are equally important as far as human rights are concerned, the right to social insurance and racial and ethnic equality, human contacts and the freedom of conscience.

For instance, Western politicians would not deny that the right to work and family security is a major human freedom and that tens of millions in Western Europe and the United States are deprived of this right.

The right to health care is another acute issue in some countries. Incidentally, this was admitted by the US President in his latest State of the Union message to Congress. He said that elderly Americans are haunted by the fear of illness so expensive that it would force a person to make the agonising choice between bankruptcy and death. May we ask, does this fear haunt only the elderly?

The Soviet side will be ready to discuss the housing issue, the right to housing at the proposed European conference on humanitarian matters. The more so as President Reagan touched upon this issue in the above message, saying in his peculiar style that the USSR's aggressiveness is evidenced



by the fact that almost every third Soviet family lives without hot water.

Let us discuss this problem too. No denying, we are still short of housing, particularly of dwellings with all modern conveniences. Simultaneously, we will discuss the reasons behind a dramatic growth in the number of homeless people in the United States which has not suffered from war or destruction for over a century. We will also discuss many other things, particularly outrages committed over innocent people, with the US authorities pretending not to see such things. For instance, Soviet people are greatly concerned at the fate of Leonard Peltier, Johnny Harris and many other human rights fighters, framed up and jailed, as well as the persecution of anti-war activists and trade-union leaders.

Does racial and ethnic segregation and discrimination in the West, primarily in the United States, have no direct relation to human rights? And what about the intolerance of non-conformism, the fear of the freedom of speech, as The New York Times called the McCarthyism-based McCarran-Walter Law, using which the State Department every year refuses to grant entry visas to hundreds of foreigners whose views do not suit the American authorities? Also, can we disregard the fact that in 1985 alone, according to Jewish community organizations, 944 anti-semitic sallies were made in 34 states of the United States, with 306 of them involving attacks on people?

To sum up, if we really want to improve the situation in the humanitarian field, the Soviet-proposed conference of the participants in the all-European process will find more than enough matters that need to be discussed seriously. It goes without saying that if human rights are trampled upon in some countries, this is bad and things must be put straight, as the Soviet Union urges.



Surprisingly, however, as soon as the Soviet Union advanced the idea of such a conference Washington beat the retreat. Conspicuous is the position of the US Secretary of State, formulated after three months of deliberations. Talking to the Worldnet TV, George Shultz said he saw human rights as a key element of the all-European process of security and cooperation, and, in one breath, added that Moscow's proposal looked strange to him.

Logic lets the US Secretary of State down. On the one hand, human rights are a key element and, on the other, he sees the idea of discussing the matter comprehensively as strange. Probably George Shultz fears that honest discussion of this major issue would show that the accusations the West directs against the socialist countries are hypocritical and demagogic. Or maybe this is a camouflaged attempt to torpedo the very idea of the conference? Be it as it may, the position of the head of the diplomatic agency of a great power, trying to avoid pressing questions is not serious, to say the least.

(Pravda, February 11. In full.)



THE BEGINNING AND THE END OF A SENSATION

It gives me no pleasure to return to this story, but since it took place in October of 1985 I have to tell briefly how it began and how it ended.

The Soviet m/s Marshal Konev stood anchored at the New Orleans port. The crew was busy taking cargo on board. When the dusk came, Miroslav Medvid, a young electrician who had just taken over the watch, went to inspect signal lights. He saw that one of the searchlights illuminating the gangplank was dim, leaned over board to see what was wrong and slipped down. The crew picked him up and since he fell from the height of 14 metres, he was put in the sick quarters of the ship.

What happened after that accident?

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A representative of the US State Department arrived on board the ship and demanded a meeting with Medvid. The Americans said that Medvid wanted to defect. I shall not describe here all the details of the provocation that followed but only tell you that inspite of the interrogation that lasted several hours and all persuasion, Medvid did not sign a request for political asylum.

Eventually, the "Medvid case", about which the American press and television had made a lot of fuss, busted. That did not discourage the organisers of the provocation, however. They still continue to spread all sorts of cock-and-bull stories. Their latest invention is that Medvid, who allegedly wanted to stay in the United States, was put by the Soviet authorities in prison and died there.

It was no problem for me to become convinced that it was a lie.

To meet Medvid I went to Chervonogradskaya Mine No. 2.



Why a mine? When he fell overboard, Medvid hurt his hand. He had to quit the ship for good. When he came back home, he was admitted to a hospital and underwent a complicated operation. When he recovered, he decided to become a miner.

Stepan Zhiry, the manager of the mine, introduced me to a tall and well-built young man and said: "We have sent Miroslav and some other newcomers to study mining. He is learning fast and I think he will be a good miner. He has his father's streak in him..."

"Yes," the lad agreed. "They know my father well at Velikomostovskaya Mine No. 5. He had worked there for 30 years. He is on pension now."

"You could have taken a job at that mine to keep up the family tradition," I said.

"It's no problem getting a job anywhere," Miroslav said. "There are lots of vacancies. But I had a personal reason for getting a job at the Chervonogradskaya Mine."

"I don't want to be inquisitive, but what was this reason?"

"I got married and my wife, Lesya, lives and works at Chervonograd," Medvid said. "She is an accountant. She is now on maternity leave. We shall have a baby, so I decided to cast anchor closer to my wife."

"The more reason you should study," the manager said. "I would not be a worker for too long, if I were you. You may continue your education at the local college. When you finish it, we'll make you a team leader..."

The former sailor quickly felt at home among the miners. A student miner, he also plays in the miners' brass band.

"Where did you learn music?" the manager asked Medvid.

"Before I became a sailor, I had finished a music



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school in Lvov," Miroslav said. "And that came in handy when we organised an amateur band on the ship."

"We are going to turn one building into a club," the manager said. "Would you like to be a band leader there?"

"Yes."

We were going to say goodbye when I reminded Medvid about the anti-Soviet show staged in the United States around his name.

Miroslav's face darkened.

"I have already written to those who are campaigning on my behalf that they should leave me alone," Miroslav said.

"Now you know that I am alive and well, married and going to be a miner..."

When their provocation failed, some circles in the United States made an attempt to vent their anger of Medvid by sending messages to him when he had already returned to his home village of Selets in the Sokalsky district. Then Medvid sent the following letter to the editor of the New Orleans Lawrence Eagle-Tribune, one of the newspapers that participated in that anti-Soviet spectacle in October:

"My fellow sailors expressed their condolences to me when they learned that your paper had reported my death. Wishing not to disappoint the authors of that sensation, I nevertheless have to tell them what Mark Twain once said: the report about my death is quite exaggerated."

"As I think about what happened to me in the United States, I come to the only conclusion that that was a knowing provocation. I have no right to give you advice, Mr. Editor, but I nevertheless want to tell you that by distorting the truth and inciting hatred of the people who fought side by side with the Americans against Nazism, you only harm the Americans."

I have nothing to add to this.  
Chervonograd, Lvov Region.

(Izvestia, February 10. In full.)



WHAT PRICE GENTLEMEN'S MORALS?

Viktor Ponomarev, TASS Commentator for  
Izvestia

Nicholas Daniloff, correspondent of the US News and World Report, has written a book. He tells us how deep his Russian roots are, going back to Decembrist Frolov. In fact, he wrote a book a long time ago. And he wrote it with a secret hope that the American reader was informed well enough about the achievements of modern genetics and could draw the parallels he needed without promptings: there was a free-thinker and truth-seeker sent by the Tsar straight from the Senate Square to Siberia and here you have a true American patriot and a gentleman who is descended from a Russian Decembrist.

However, Daniloff seems to have miscalculated about the publishers' acumen and had quite a lot of trouble with his manuscript. Publishers returned it, leaving its author little hope. Rotary presses droned under strain, churning out "socially committed literature" such as "Russians Are Coming," "Red Dawn" and other horror books about "Soviet threat" and "treacherous Russians." They simply had no time for "Decembrists". The book would have never seen the light if its author had not had a sudden stroke of luck: in Moscow Daniloff was caught in the act of espionage and, in accordance with Soviet law, was detained for several weeks. Knowing that no one would buy anything unless you sell it, the offspring of a Decembrist used his arrest for literary exercises and as soon as he was released, he added a new chapter to his rejected book. In it he described his own "troubles" in Russia, the home country of that distant ancestor.

This time the editors heard the prompting and the book was instantly accepted for publication. So the American public will soon be able to study the genealogy of the gentleman



from the US News and World Report, because that mixture of Russian history, "memoirs" of an American spy and stories of prison life promises publishers financial and political dividends.

Unable to leaf through the manuscript, but knowing the author's personality from his publications and behaviour in the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre, we decided to make our own investigation of Mr. Danilooff's genealogical tree and espionage activities in Moscow.

After we had spent many days in the reading rooms of the Lenin Library, rummaged through the archives and talked to many people who became acquainted with the offspring of a Russian Decembrist during his two stays in Moscow, we believed even more strongly in the miracles of genetics. There lives a man and he does not know that he is descended from an ancient family...

Mr. Danilooff is not lying when he says that he is related to Decembrist Frolov. His grandmother, née Frolov, was the latter's granddaughter. However, our exhausting search in the archives suddenly resulted in a sensational discovery.

File No. 448, which the Tsar's secret police had on A. F. Frolov, said that Danilooff's ancestor testified during the investigation that he had joined the Decembrists' society "from imitation and the wish to please his company commander Tyutchev and was going to report on them later..."

These damned genes can really do odd things to man. I will tell you later who was the "company commander" the American relative of Frolov wanted to please. As regards Danilooff, his membership in a secret "cloak-and-dagger" society is a proven fact. But unlike his ancestor, he did "report" on many of his colleagues in the CIA. I will tell you about this later. I shall not venture a guess whether Danilooff demands promotion or not, but we know it for a fact from the archives that his



ancestor, when he was well advanced in years, wrote to Alexander II assuring him of his loyalty and asking at the end of his letter for a rise in pension.

Those were all the things of the hoary past... And though it takes a lot of time and effort to study them, the job is rewarding. So I shall continue and give you further details from the genealogy of the offspring of former servants of Russian tsars.

One of the photographs I found in the archives shows Nicholas Danilooff's grandfather, General Yuri Danilov , standing next to Tsar Nicholas II and chief of staff of the tsarist army N. N. Yanushevich. Gen. Danilov was present at the Tsar's abdication and later demanded the restoration of capital punishment on the front and continuation of war with Germany. He would hate the Soviet regime implacably.

Scientific data do not, for the time being, bear out our hypothesis that ancestral hatred is genetically passed to the offspring. But the pathological hatred for everything Russian and Soviet felt in Danilooff's reportages appears to be in his system. He also engaged in affairs that had nothing to do with journalism, and were pernicious for his ancestral land.

But let us return to his grandfather, General Danilov, War Minister in Admiral Kolchak's self-styled government, who later served in Baron Wrangel's HQ. With the remnants of the routed White Guard, he fled the Crimea. Having lost his estates, money and authority--but not his ferocious anti-Sovietism--he found himself in the Balkans with his wife. Later, the couple rejoined their son Sergei in Paris.

Sergei had gained an ignoble service record in Rome by that time as diplomat and secret police spy. He and his like lost their jobs with the Socialist Revolution. Sergei drifted to Paris and was lost until the years following the Second World War. Many Russians fought nazis in the French



Resistance, but Sergei Danilov was sitting pretty. After the war, he received a Harvard degree on emigre fund student grants, married an American girl and, in 1952, moved to the States for good. Nicholas, his son, was then eighteen years old, and still spelt his name as Danilov.

He had a fine ancestry: a cruel military man and a police informer. Given favourable conditions, his family inclinations could brilliantly develop. And such conditions were granted him as Vlasovite traitors and nazi flunkies joined moth-eaten Whites in the overseas emigre community.

In 1961, Nicholas came to his forefathers' country for the first time as a UPI correspondent. Slim and modest in his late twenties, he still spelt his name with a -v, not -ff, and asked his new acquaintances to call him Nikolai or, better still, Kolya. He posed as "one of the boys", and was frequent guest at Novosti Press Agency. He was effusive in the displays of his charm as he made acquaintances among Soviet pressmen. His namesake, Nikolai Danilov, then department head at Novosti, was the favourite target of his jokes.

Almost twenty years later, he revisited the Soviet Union as correspondent of the US News & World Report--named Daniloff that time. Now, he engaged not only in ideological subversion. He was to act on instructions from a regular cloak-and-dagger man, another White emigre descendant, Murat Natirboff. His father, Islam-Girei Natyrbov, was colonel of the fierce strike force known as Savage Division, and later captain of the Circassian Cavalry Regiment in General Kaledin's forces. Still later, he served under Denikin, and had a narrow escape to Turkey. Penniless and without a trade, he did not know a word in Turkish, and earned his living as circus trick rider. He was lucky to make friends among Caucasian nationalist emigres who helped him move to the US. Islam-Girei brought up his son in the spirit of deadly hatred for Soviet Russia. Murat



studied at Texas and Columbia universities later to become a CIA agent. He was soon promoted to CIA Moscow resident.

It is very unlikely that Danilooff has written about that "company commander" in the completed chapter of his book, simply for fear of criminal persecution for mentioning the name of a professional spy. Such a law does exist in the US and works quite effectively, too, to the disgrace of the "free press". Nor will he mention the other Russian immigrants whom the CIA and the FBI are increasingly involving in hostile operations against the USSR. There are timid testimonies to this effect in many American papers. As for the more important details of the Soviet investigation into his case, I'm absolutely confident that he will disclose none of them. The Soviet authorities would not have disclosed them either if Danilooff had not started spinning all that yarn about his case and the conditions under which he had been kept in custody during the investigation.

"Let us be gentlemen", he had persuaded the prosecutor. "Let our conversations remain between the two of us".

There were two conflicting thoughts on his mind during that time. Either his lies will be exposed with incontrovertible evidence and his reputation of a gentleman will be badly compromised, for "gentlemen do not lie", or he will plead guilty of activities having nothing to do with journalism. He chose the latter, for he wanted to remain a gentleman. Acting of his own free will, without any coercion, he told everything to the investigating judge. While doing that, he urged the relatives and US embassy officials visiting him to accept his exposure and "not rock the boat". In other words, he asked them not to turn a banal spy case into a global scandal. He assured them that he was being kept in fair conditions and did not need anything. He even refused to accept the deliveries of food and medicines.



Careful that not a single false point enter his testimonies, he spoke of all his clandestine activities, mentioned the names and offices of CIA staff working under diplomatic cover and meticulously checked everything written in the protocols. Only then, assured of the accuracy of every little point, did he sign them.

Now, this is not something invented by us. This is taken from his own words at the press conference in the American embassy on the occasion of his release. Thanking the leaders of both countries for their personal concern in his case and wise decision not to aggravate Soviet-American relations with a spying provocation, Danilooff was complimentary about the Soviet prosecution whose members, to quote his own words, were absolutely honest as befits gentlemen.

And although many foreign participants in that press conference did not like it, his statement was attributed to the objectiveness and general decency of the gentleman from the U.S. News & World Report.

"No! Let us be gentlemen", the investigating judge told me when I tried to get a hold on at least some of the gentleman's interrogation records. "At the request of Danilooff and in response to his frankness, we promised not to disclose unnecessarily the contents of the protocols he signed."

So now we can only wait for the publication of the book. However, judging by the frenzy about the coming publication, the book has been clearly written to satisfy anti-Soviet sentiments in the US and elsewhere. It looks like Danilooff himself is eager to relieve us of our "gentlemanly agreement". Maybe he already sees a fat bank account in his mind's eye and also hopes to win the laurels of a classic of modern American emigre literature with his anti-Soviet scribbles.

Alas, he is not the first or the last one who bargains away his honour and works up such a ballyhoo. The American



Thursday, December 4, 1986

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classic Mark Twain once wrote that mere clamour did not prove anything: even a hen which has laid an egg cackles so loud as if she has given birth to a small planet.

(Izvestia, December 3. In full.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI  
TÜSTAV



WHO BENEFITS BY THE MYTH OF A "SOVIET MILITARY THREAT"

(Digest of an article by V. Tolstov and V. Katamidze  
published in International Affairs, No. 11, 1986)

From the first years of the existence of the Soviet state all aggressive anti-Soviet actions were invariably taken under the flag of struggle against a "Soviet threat" and "communist danger." The same anti-Soviet military hysteria serves as an indispensable propaganda accompaniment also for the present-day overseas strategists who nurture plans of world domination and willingly discuss a world nuclear Armageddon which will, at long last, destroy "godless communism."

The myth of a "Soviet threat" has many variants, and Washington, like a gambler, continually shuffles them to enable the US Administration to use one of them at a proper moment and thereby to launch a new campaign about "dangerous strengthening of the USSR" in some specific region or in some specific system of weapons. In this field everything depends on the part of the world in which the United States wants to fortify its positions, and on the weapon with which it wants to reinforce its war potential. When such aims take shape, the Administration accuses the USSR of hatching them and then starts attaining them under the camouflage of a "reply measure".

Despite all the ballyhoo about some or other "new" military doctrine or concept which is, as a rule, invented by each new Presidency, the aims of the US foreign-policy strategy remain unchanged, in the context of new means. The military-political thought in the United States, having made a complete circle, each time returns to the starting-point - the goals in relations with the USSR which were set right after the second world war. In its section relating to the US aims



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with regard to the USSR the directive of the US National Security Council, adopted in 1948, set the task of making and keeping the Soviet Union weak politically, militarily and psychologically compared with the United States. The myth of a "Soviet military threat" is used by Washington in a bid to weaken the USSR in these three spheres.

The Soviet Union's all-embracing peace initiatives make even more obvious the ill-intentioned character of this myth and the cynical juggling with facts by the USA in its efforts to fan the alleged "threat". Many of these initiatives, even unsupported by the USA, are already promoting peace by affirming the new approach to the issues of war or peace, and by helping the victory of new political thinking which is the only possible in the nuclear age. Silence is reigning at the Soviet testing grounds after the four-time prolongation of the USSR's unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. And the American side has "replied" to this and other peace initiatives of the Soviet Union by developing ever new systems of weapons, invariably pleading a "Soviet threat."

A new twist in the arms spiral is being launched in line with a time-tested scenario according to which a "horrific missile challenge from the Soviets" has to be countered by adequate American "defences". This time the world civilization is being threatened with a package of monstrous lies in which a myth about the "Soviet threat" will be intertwined with allegations about the defensive nature of the U.S. space program. Attempts have also been made to justify SDI by worn-out assertions that the United States "lags behind" the Soviet Union in armaments, laser systems above all, and to scare the Americans with a "Red space shield" allegedly invented by the Russians, something that makes the United States vulnerable to a Soviet nuclear missile attack.

Public opinion is being deliberately scared with a



non-existent Soviet threat, for none other but the Soviet Union has been trying for all these years to persuade Washington to prevent space militarization (Soviet memoranda of March 18, 1957, April 30, 1957, and March 15, 1958). The USSR suggested that treaties to ban weapon deployments in outer space (1981) and the use of force in space and from outer space against Earth (1983) should be concluded. The Soviet approach to the issue stems from its coherent foreign policy manifest in the recent peace initiatives advanced by its leadership.

The Soviet leadership has repeatedly declared that the USSR seeks neither unilateral advantages nor military superiority over the United States. But it will not settle for U.S. superiority over the USSR. To this end the USSR has an immense industrial and scientific potential and vast mineral resources putting it into a position to respond quickly to any U.S. attempts to tip the approximate military and strategic balance in its favour. Doomed are the hopes of those who think by involving the Soviet Union into a new spiral of the arms race they will overstrain its economy and by so doing give the United States a chance to dominate the world and arbitrarily impose its will on other nations.

(APN, November 11. In full.)



AGAINST THE IDEOLOGY AND POLICY OF ANTI-COMMUNISM

SPEARHEAD OF THE CONTEMPORARY STRATEGY OF IMPERIALISM

Dimitris Sarlis

CC Political Bureau member,  
Communist Party of Greece

Imperialism is threatening the world / with a nuclear conflagration that would cause calamities infinitely more terrible than ever before. It encroaches on the freedom and independence of peoples and has launched a world-wide "crusade" against the forces of peace and progress. It is working to turn NATO into something of an anti-Comintern pact, as anti-communist statements made by high-ranking US officials of late indicate.

What is behind reaction's attempts to whip up anti-communist hysteria? Are they prompted by passing considerations or strategic plans? What is the place of anti-communism in the current global policy of imperialism? How does this policy interlock with the policy of home reaction in capitalist countries?

Bid for Revanche

In view of the military-strategic parity existing in the world today, all / attempts of imperialism to restore its world domination are hopeless. But they are extremely dangerous, for



they spell a nuclear disaster that could destroy all life on earth. And while they condition the political behaviour of US reaction, there can be no doubt that they are suicidal.

Those who have no direct experience of dealing with anti-communism often find it hard to understand why its adherents are playing with nuclear fire, why they are wedded to adventurism and the use of force. But we Greek Communists are not really surprised. Decades of life and death battles with fascism, with military dictatorships, with reaction, have shown us what our enemy stands for and what we can expect of him. We remember how both foreign and domestic anti-communists motivated by selfish interests imposed on our country a brutal police regime that savagely persecuted the people, killed National Resistance fighters and hounded anyone who held progressive views. They were prepared to go to any lengths in order to keep reaction in power. There is a logic to this and it is ultimately dictated by the class egoism of the monopoly bourgeoisie, anti-communism being, in fact, an extreme manifestation of it.

However insensate some of Washington's activities may seem, they are always prompted by the class interests of the reactionary forces in power in the USA. These forces would like to use nuclear missiles as a means of recapturing lost world positions, weakening socialism, preventing any further revolutionary changes and paving the way for the restoration of imperialist world domination, or, in other words, of taking social revenge for the setbacks suffered by the capitalist system in the twentieth century. Anti-communism is the ideological basis for



this policy intended to justify reaction's bid for global hegemony as well as the ways and means of achieving it.

The question arises: what anti-communism? For it admittedly takes diverse ideological forms even though all its varieties assail the theory and practice of socialism and oppose the revolutionary movement. Active in Greece as in many other capitalist countries are anti-communists ranging from outspoken fascists to self-styled "leftists". There is the anti-communism of rightists, monarchists, adherents of the junta and supporters of August 4.<sup>1</sup> It is a vulgar, fierce anti-communism, with "Death to Communists" as its main slogan. The anti-communism of New Democracy<sup>2</sup> is less explicit. It calls socialism an enemy of freedom, an aggressive, militarist system, and makes every effort to frighten the people into meekly accepting exploitation on the part of domestic and foreign capital. Certain social reformist leaders show a degree of refined anti-communism. Besides, there is the anti-communism of various groups of "left" and right-wing opportunists. They accuse our party of being a "tool of Moscow", an "undemocratic", "unfree" organisation. They slander the Soviet Union and other countries of existing socialism.

Needless to say, the Communist Party of Greece is taking part in the ideological struggle with due regard to the peculiarities of the various anti-communisms. This approach is particu-

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<sup>1</sup> On August 4, 1936, Gen. Ioannis Metaxas established a fascist dictatorship in Greece.--Ed.

<sup>2</sup> A right-wing party.--Ed.



larly important in the case of the anti-communism active on the world scene, where even distinctions in shading can have a noticeable impact on the global and regional alignment of ideological and political forces, as is indicated by the divergent positions of the USA and its NATO allies on a number of international problems, including East-West relations and the Middle East crisis.

We wish to specify, therefore, that we are concerned with the anti-communism of the more reactionary imperialist forces seeking a social revanche by no matter what means, one of them being the threat of recourse to nuclear arms.

Lenin pointed to the existence in imperialist countries of a "war party" adhering to the principle that "force must be used immediately, irrespective of possible consequences".<sup>3</sup> The fact that power in the USA is in the hands of such a "party" plays a decisive role in making anti-communism the pivot of imperialism's global strategy. It is "great-power anti-communism" with its ideas of the "exclusiveness" and messianic predestination of the USA, its chauvinist arrogance towards other nations and its refusal to recognise the social and political realities that have become established in the world since October 1917, primarily the reality of socialism. A reactionary, hegemonist ideology coupled with a frankly expansionist policy is the substance of the anti-communist "crusade" carried out under the <sup>leadership against</sup> US / all that is revolutionary and progres-

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<sup>3</sup> V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 27, p. 371.



sive in today's world.

Blinded by illusions about the potentialities of the US war machine, anti-communist strategists are planning "pre-emptive", "limited", "protracted" and other nuclear wars against socialism in an insane bid to win. Being out to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union, the USA is implementing a gigantic programme for the "modernisation" of strategic forces and wants to militarise <sup>outer</sup> space so as to blackmail the rest of the world from behind an "anti-missile shield". It uses anti-communism to justify this strategy of aggression under which it declares vast areas of the globe zones of US "interests", brazenly flouting standards of international law and elevating terrorism to state policy. The United States is reproducing on a nuclear missile basis the policy of arbitrariness and violence which Marx described as belonging "to the most modern period of the imperialist bourgeoisie". And he added that "the general leaning towards barbarity acquires a certain method, immorality becomes a system, lawlessness gets its lawgivers and club-law its lawbooks".<sup>4</sup>

Imperialism's strategy aimed at gaining military superiority through the arms race is adding to international tension and distrust.

Anti-communism is also poisoning the ideological and political atmosphere in capitalist countries. With the economic crisis going deeper and the hardships and privations of large sections

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<sup>4</sup> Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 16, p. 439.



of the population increasing, anti-communists substitute a fictitious "external enemy" for monopoly capital, the force that is really to blame for today's social evils. In this way they expect to partly divert popular discontent and protest into a channel suiting monopolies. In capitalist countries, ultra-rightist, neofascist movements are reviving and becoming active in an atmosphere of war hysteria. Operating openly in Greece, for one, are overt and covert fascist organisations. They include a party of the extreme right advocating the most naked anti-communism; it joined in the elections for the European Parliament and gained one seat. To distract attention from the economic crisis and back the aggressive anti-socialist plans of imperialism, fascist organisations make various chauvinist claims, such as in respect of Albania.

One of the main lines of imperialism's anti-communist policy is the effort to keep Asian, African and Latin American countries within its sphere of influence, bring about reactionary regimes in these regions and head off progressive changes there. The invasion of Grenada, complicity in the military adventures of Israel in the Middle East, the undeclared wars being waged against Afghanistan and Nicaragua, Washington's subversion against the legitimate government of Kampuchea, and other acts of aggression are a logical outgrowth of the fact that the United States is performing the functions of a world gendarme, which it has exalted to all but a virtue. Shortly after the bandit-like attack on Grenada, US Secretary of State made the following comment: "This may be a turning point in his-



tory. We've let the world know that we are going to protect our interests whatever it costs."<sup>5</sup> Thus it was a deliberate act of aggression calculated to "teach a lesson" to the peoples of the planet.

Washington, using state terrorism as an instrument of expansion and hegemonism, grossly violates the sovereignty of other states and standards of international relations.

"Psychological warfare" has been formally declared to be part of US foreign policy. The USA has raised the coordination of its ideological propaganda activities at home and abroad to an unprecedented level. To this end it amply uses new techniques making possible prompt indoctrination of large population groups. A global information and propaganda system is being set up under the aegis of Washington, with the NATO information service holding an important place. In the USA there are hundreds of institutions, commissions, university chairs and other "brain trusts" funded by the government and private capital. They evolve programmes and tactics of ideological subversion. Similar centres are operating in other Western countries. Their activity is directed against socialism and liberation movements as well as against the democratic forces in capitalist countries.

There exist diverse anti-communist institutions and centres in Greece as well. Many of them bear the harmless names of "colleges", "foreign language schools", and so on. However, they are functioning in close collaboration with imperialist secret

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<sup>5</sup> Time, November 7, 1983, p. 30.



services and spread anti-Soviet and anti-communist lies through various channels. Besides, decades ago, the Greek government authorised the USA to set up a Voice of America station on our soil. The broadcasts of this station are aimed at undermining socialism and national liberation and progressive forces in the region. At present talks are going on about the future of the station. Large patriotic sections of the population demand that the government close it. The facts suggest, however, that this demand will not be met.

In unfolding its "psychological war", reaction is trying to tip in its favour the alignment of forces in the ideological struggle, which has long since changed very greatly to the detriment of imperialism. Lately anti-communist strategists have contrived to create a tense international atmosphere and increase the nuclear menace. This is their "asset" today. As regards their bid for revanche, it has proved futile, as so many times before, in the social, military, political and ideological spheres alike.

#### Allies or Vassals?

Imperialist rulers see a key requisite for implementing their policy of aggression in its coordinated pursuit by industrial capitalist countries. This approach is also prompted by a desire to blunt the edge of inter-imperialist contradictions and mobilise the internal resources of the world capitalist system in order to shore it up.



Internationalisation processes in various spheres of life, including that of the class struggle, induce the imperialist powers to gang up politically against the forces of peace and progress. They therefore perfect the coordination of their foreign policy moves and the mechanisms of important political, diplomatic and military activities. This is true primarily of regular meetings of the "Big Seven" (leaders of the main capitalist states of the world) and the activity of numerous NATO and Common Market agencies as well as several influential consultative forums, such as the Trilateral Commission.

International imperialist centres headed by the USA are busy evolving a global strategy against the forces of social and national liberation. It provides for the use of aggressive military political alliances; the creation of numerous international agreements and institutions strengthening the economic base of NATO and the EEC; the coordination of ideological subversion and joint efforts intended to divide and suppress working class organisations, national liberation and other democratic movements.

No matter what new forms of mutual relations are given priority or how much talk there is about "partnership" and "interdependence", Washington approaches its allies above all from the standpoint of safeguarding its hegemonist interests, as an objective analysis of its policy shows. Pax Americana recognises no equality, seeing allies as mere vassals who cannot afford to disagree with the "Big Brother". The system of



military political blocs and military bases set up by US imperialism is not merely directed against the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the national liberation movement but serves as the basis on which to maintain US leadership in the capitalist world.

Washington takes advantage of institutions coordinating inter-imperialist policies to prepare for a counter-offensive against peace-loving forces and extend the scope of confrontation with socialist countries. Using NATO mechanisms, it imposes on West European countries military political confrontation with existing socialism.

The deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe is making the NATO allies of the United States more dependent than before. US militarists, who ignore the interests of other nations and the realities of the nuclear age, are turning West Europeans into their hostages. This provocation implies a deliberate, selfish attempt of the US rulers to stave off retaliation in the event of their mounting a nuclear attack. Washington is trying to keep the political and economic relations of its allies with socialist countries under its control.

The US administration is particularly high-handed in its treatment of small NATO countries. For years it has been carrying on a campaign of pressure and blackmail against Greece in an effort to make it toe the line with regard to the hegemonist plans of the USA. This campaign, which is backed by West European reaction and has assumed much greater proportions in the wake of certain statements and initiatives of the Greek govern-



ment in favour of peace, amounts to frank interference in the affairs of Greece and is an insult to our people's national dignity. Interference is taking place with the complicity of internal anti-communist forces who betray national interests, claiming that the only alternative for Greece is to rely, like other capitalist countries, on US "guarantees" of national independence and territorial integrity.

It is primarily on forces submissively following the strategy of aggressive imperialist forces that the US administration relies for support in insisting that its allies should back its Star Wars programme. Tempting them with the promise of building up an anti-missile "shield" over Western Europe as well, Washington wants to tie them to its policy more strongly than ever.

"America first" is the main principle of this policy; as for "Atlantic" and other forms of "solidarity" in the capitalist world, they are seen as a secondary matter. Public opinion is realising more and more that the hegemonist policy of the USA tends to aggravate military political confrontation with socialism, which could result in disaster for Europe and the world. It is not by establishing closer military and political ties between Western Europe and the USA that the security of our continent can be safeguarded but through coordinated action by Western and Eastern Europe on the principles of equality, equal security and cooperation.



The Forces of Peace and Progress Are in the Lead

Despite its anti-communist campaigns, imperialism is unable to expand the area of its ideological domination. People in capitalist countries show growing appreciation for the idea of peace. The crisis of militarist ideology is deepening. The anti-war movement is an important factor in today's world politics. It has its effect on the alignment of the forces of peace and war both internationally and in individual countries, which limits imperialism's possibilities of pursuing its adventurist policy.

The contemporary world is also characterised by the growing leverage and responsibility of small nations and their increasing ability to make a constructive and specific contribution to the struggle for nuclear disarmament, for the elimination of tensions in their regions and against the imperialist policy of diktat.

However, the struggle against war is going on in difficult conditions. Repression against peace fighters in capitalist countries is coupled with markedly intensified ideological subversion. In an effort to neutralise peace movements, imperialist propaganda alleges / <sup>that</sup> they are inspired by "Reds" and "take their cue from Moscow". Along with this, it is trying to "tame" various contingents of these movements by flirting with organisations whose position it considers more acceptable and by taking advantage of the great heterogeneity of the movement.



Peace supporters are offered, among other things, the concept of "two poles" (the Soviet Union and USA) with its false thesis of "equal responsibility". Calls are made for keeping "equidistant", which means objectively serving the interests of bellicose imperialist forces. The overall purpose is to bring about a peace movement condemning "both superpowers". Ideas of this sort were upheld by certain delegates to the Conference of National Anti-War Movements of Europe (Athens, 1984).

Our party is positively against these concepts, which in the case of our country are being peddled mostly by right revisionist groups. Today one must not only champion peace but say plainly who is to blame for increased tension. What <sup>is</sup> / more, to veil the fundamental difference between the US and Soviet positions by holding them "equally responsible" for international tension is to prejudice peace. Revealingly, proponents of such views are trying to draw public opinion in their countries into the "crusade" against socialist countries. Their statements are anything but "equally" critical of Moscow and Washington, for their general tenor is anti-Soviet. They mislead fighters against the US and NATO policy of aggression, or the real and only source of the present military threat. The concept of "two poles" is designed to exonerate US imperialism. It disguises the fundamental difference between the two opposed social systems in terms of their class essence and policy.

The people have a good memory. They know and remember who crushed fascist barbarity and at what cost, who brought Europe freedom and who now insists on scrapping nuclear weapons and



reverting to detente. They owe it primarily to the consistent peace policy of existing socialism that there has been no new world war over the past four decades and that humanity has been spared the devastating effect of nuclear arms of mass destruction. We Greek Communists, guiding ourselves by the principle of proletarian internationalism, side firmly with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the chief force in the struggle against imperialism and the main bastion of peace and progress.

Mutual understanding and solidarity among fighters against war are of exceptional importance today. We believe it is very useful to discuss seriously and frankly questions which do not seem clear enough or on which differences arise. The central problem in this connection is undoubtedly that of reducing the war danger and checking the race in nuclear missiles and conventional armaments.

While considering it their duty to work for peace, Greek Communists seek no advantages for themselves; they respect the peculiarities of diverse currents and groups of the anti-war protest movement. "What makes the peace movement strong," said the Political Resolution of the 11th CPG Congress, "are its breadth and unity. Hence to defend peace, it is necessary to defeat trends towards putting the movement under the control of this or that party, as well as steps aimed at disuniting it, and to immediately further the unity of action of all the forces on the basis of a common struggle for peace. It is also



necessary to resolutely and convincingly expose theories misleading the struggle for peace."

Examining the evolution of anti-communism in our country, we may say that the downfall of the "Black Colonels'" junta in 1974 was also a sign of the crisis of the official anti-communist policy which prevailed in Greece in postwar years. The removal of the Right from power in 1981 was an even more striking indication of this crisis. All this was a result of the operation of several factors, especially the Greek people's growing realisation of the fact that anti-communism only benefits their domestic and foreign exploiters.

We do not mix up different political forces but we must note that anti-communism has paid no dividends to social reformists, either. Despite the benevolent attitude of the ruling class to the activity of the leaders of the right opportunist group, their attempts to strike the CPG a blow by means of slander borrowed from imperialist propaganda have fallen through. This also applies to the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist and anti-communist slogans advanced by the imperialists and their willing or unwilling accomplices in connection with events in Poland and Afghanistan--they did not impress the bulk of the population.

Confident of the soundness of their cause and the invincibility of the ideas of scientific socialism, Greek Communists are carrying on along with fraternal parties an uncompromising offensive against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism,



against ideological subversion. Our ideological potential has always been superior to imperialism's and will go on gaining in superiority. This is one of the major prerequisites for freeing humankind from exploitation, social inequality, national oppression, poverty and subjection and for saving it from death in a nuclear holocaust.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI  
TÜSTAV



Arab 84

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. DISCUSSION

ANTI-COMMUNISM: AN OBSTACLE TO SOCIAL PROGRESS

The WMR Commission on General Theoretical Problems has conducted a round-table discussion of anti-communist ideological slogans and policy lines in the 1980s.\*

Taking part in the discussion were Felipe Rodriguez, CC member, Communist Party of Bolivia; Orel Viciani, representative of the Communist Party of Chile on the WMR; Raul Valdés Vivó, CC member, Communist Party of Cuba; Agamemnon Stavrou, CC member, Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus; Farid Mougahed, CC member, Egyptian Communist Party; Donald Ramotar, CC Executive Committee member, People's Progressive Party of Guyana; Ibraheem Malik, CC member, Communist Party of Israel; Rupert Lewis, CC member, Workers' Party of Jamaica; Ahmed Aziz, Jordanian Communist Party representative on the WMR; Naim Ashhab, CC Political Bureau member, Palestinian Communist Party; Cesar Jiménez, Peruvian Communist Party representative on the WMR; José Lava, CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of the Philippines; Sémou Pathé Gueye, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, Senegal Party of Independence and Labour; Ahmed Salem, Sudanese Communist Party representative on the WMR; Samuel Behak, Communist Party of Uruguay representative on the WMR; and Ho Chi Bang, Communist Party of Vietnam representative on the WMR.

The round table participants noted that in today's world, anti-communism was an ideological and political weapon of impe-

\* Some aspects of anti-communist theory and practice were discussed in previous WMR issues (See: Michael O'Riordan, "Anti-Communism and the Threat of War", No. 3, 1984; Hans Pirsch, "Psychological Warfare in the Strategy of Confrontation", No. 5, 1984; Ernst Wimmer, "Anti-Communism in the Field of Theory", No. 6, 1984; "Anti-Communism's Ideological Bellicosity", No. 8, 1984).



rialism turned against existing socialism, against the policies and social objectives of communist parties and against Marxism-Leninism. All this spotlights the reactionary social role played by anti-communism, as well as its political and ideological slogans.

Viewed in historical terms, anti-communism is the foremost tool of reaction in its attempts to bring social progress to a standstill. In the context of specific, everyday realities it is a special policy the bourgeoisie resorts to in order to defeat the communist movement and crush the struggle of the working masses for social equality and emancipation from capitalist exploitation. From the ideological standpoint, anti-communism draws on the entire arsenal of bourgeois ideology, primarily on the more obscurantist bourgeois social concepts.

What, then, are the more general political and ideological aspects of anti-communism currently in the foreground?

Participants in the discussion stated that the ultra-reactionary quarters of contemporary capitalism--finance oligarchy, military-industrial complexes, neoconservatives, fanatical fundamentalists, imperialist and neocolonialist interests--used anti-communism in their attempt to stem the tide of all three streams of the world revolutionary process: existing socialism, the working class struggle in capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement. Here, efforts to weaken communist and workers' parties, the vanguard of today's social movements, are among the more "radical" methods by which major problems of contemporary capitalism are supposed to be solved. This has always been the strategic course of our class opponents. However,



the speakers noted, today it takes especially flagrant forms on all fronts of the political battles.

While vigorously making use of underhand political scheming and propaganda frauds, anti-communists now obviously tend to resort to the more crude and violent methods of suppressing communist and democratic forces by reckless military and political ventures. Imperialism has chosen anti-communism to spearhead the "crusade" against these growing forces and is trying to turn it into the "pivotal principle" of the ideology and politics of the bourgeois class. Simultaneously, steps are being taken to encourage and ensure continued operation of the so-called positive version of anti-communism which opposes Marxism-Leninism by advancing the "new trends" conceptual programmes of the bourgeois social system or by advocating "third ways" between capitalism and socialism. At the international level however, this "positive" version is relegated to the background, yielding the priority role to the "shock" type of anti-communism.

The speakers held that further intensification of anti-Sovietism is another of the more significant shifts in the ideological and political structures of anti-communism in the 1980s. There is nothing new in the anti-Soviet objectives of dismissing and compromising the economic and social accomplishments of the USSR, slanderously interpreting the ideology of Marxism-Leninism as utopian, discrediting the Soviet state system as "totalitarian", Soviet foreign policy as "aggressive", and domestic policy as a Juggernaut which "dehumanises" social relations. Never before has anti-Sovietism been injected so widely into global problems, never has it pushed its way so brazenly



into international relations, into issues of war and peace. The "crusade" against the Soviet Union is the key idea permeating the global strategy pursued by the extreme right wing of imperialism, above all of US imperialism. The perverse logic inherent in this type of thinking presents Soviet "subversion" as the source of all social change anywhere in the world; the anti-communism of the 1980s proclaims its credo of "rolling back" communism and dumping it on the "ash heap of history" throughout the world, above all by means of military and political suppression.

As noted in the discussion, all these salient features of contemporary anti-communism which recent years have thrown into particularly bold relief are, in the final analysis, a reflection of the convulsive efforts of the world's reactionary forces to reverse the march of history.

Given the importance of analysing, in these circumstances, both the shifts in anti-communism as such and the changes in its social role, the speakers made a number of points assessing, from two angles, the distinctive features in the objectives, essence and methods of this ideological and political phenomenon. On the one hand, they examined the positions of anti-communism vis-a-vis the world revolutionary process in connection with the issue of peaceful coexistence of the two systems and with the development of national liberation movements. On the other hand, they offered specific descriptions of some features of anti-communism at the national level<sup>which</sup> were prompted by the growth of working class political consciousness in this or that country, by the degree to which democratic institutions were developed there, by the character of the political dictator-



ship of the ruling classes, the intensity of the social struggle, etc.

### Ideological and Political Reaction on the World Scene

Since the world revolutionary process is now inseparable from the content of international relations, the ideology and politics of anti-communism are substantive factors of these relations.

The intensification of the pragmatic function anti-communism discharges is the immediate reaction to the internationalisation of the social struggle and its increasingly close ties with the struggle for peace. Attempting to take on the role of coordinator in the anti-social and anti-socialist policy pursued by state-monopoly capitalism in international affairs, anti-communism offers a false and insidious dilemma to mankind: either the world accepts and adopts the organisational and hierarchical structures and spiritual values of "cosmopolitanism", "planetary thinking", and "Americanism" and the economic principles of transnational corporations--or humanity will inevitably face the horrors of "global terrorism", "totalitarian rule" and the "Soviet military threat".

These stereotypes not only completely distort reality; they also transplant, deliberately and without justification, the concept of ideological confrontation to the sphere of inter-governmental relations, completely misrepresent their essence and peddle false logic: since, as Marxism admits, capitalism and socialism are ideologically incompatible, physical extermination of existing socialism, not peaceful coexistence of the two socio-



political systems is the only political solution to the problem.

To substantiate this cannibalistic concept fraught with grave danger to mankind's future, ideologists of anti-communism refer to the actually existing and quite natural trends towards internationalisation of the world's economic and cultural relations and cite the emergence of truly global problems (prevention of nuclear catastrophe, preservation of the environment, etc.). But all this is presented as "proof" that socialism has no future, that the world will be inevitably dominated by the political and organisational structures a la "postindustrial" or "technotronic" transnational capitalism. This was examined thoroughly by Sémou/Gueye <sup>Pathé</sup> and other speakers.

In their analysis of this aspect of anti-communism, participants in the discussion singled out the following facts. First, the aggressive "planetary" ideology of imperialism, an ideology claiming to create a world order that suits imperialism, is rooted not so much in the socio-economic interests and ideological precepts of the entire capitalist class as in the requirements of the state-monopoly quarters which are vying for domination on a supranational, global scale. This is what prompts anti-communism to expand beyond national boundaries and makes it into an ideological and political factor in the exacerbation of international tensions. In actual fact, this course stems above all from the imperial ambitions of the US ruling quarters. Second, anti-communism is connected with the fears felt in the three major centres of the capitalist world (the United States, Western Europe and Japan) that revolutionary



processes will prejudice their economic survival. Third, the efforts of transnational corporations which try to consolidate their neocolonialist positions also stimulate anti-communism.

José Lava, Samuel Behak and Rupert Lewis stressed that on the other hand, the "propaganda warfare" machinery which anti-communism had launched into top gear was now an additional and, to a certain degree, even independently operating factor which enhanced the political influence of the militarist and reactionary factions of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The essence of anti-Sovietism, a major component of contemporary anti-communism, was discussed in greater detail. The role this component plays is obvious. Success in the efforts to avert the nuclear threat and in the struggle of working people for emancipation from class and national exploitation will depend to a great extent on the peace policy conducted by the USSR, on its vigorous involvement in the world-wide anti-war movement. Since it pursues objectives diametrically opposed to the goals of this policy of peace and social progress, anti-communism fights this course under the banner of anti-Sovietism. Ahmed Salem, Orel Viciani and Raul Valdés Vivó noted that today, two methods of stimulating anti-Sovietism were gaining strength.

One of these can be described as the groundless and much-publicised assertion that Soviet foreign policy is "no longer guided" by class, social interests. Anti-communist theorists offer a one-sided interpretation of international relations as purely "geopolitical" and reduce them to nothing more than "national" or regional conflicts. In this way the social content



of socialist foreign policy, ultimately aimed at ensuring the necessary conditions for the working masses' peaceful and creative life and for turning society into a humanitarian entity is dismissed summarily. The "geopolitical" approach denies the internationalisation of revolutionary processes, a distinct feature Marx noted long ago, when he said that "the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor national, but a social problem, embracing all countries".<sup>1</sup>

Today, revolutionary movements in individual countries and on the global scale are linked especially closely with the international political solidarity of the progressive forces, with Soviet support. In the words of Agamemnon Stavrou, this is precisely why negation of the role of the USSR as the mainstay of peace and national independence, as the creator of new social relations, is increasingly often becoming the ideological backbone of contemporary anti-communism. Washington persists in its attempts to sever the spiritual bonds linking the working masses and national democratic movements with the Soviet Union.

According to José Lava, Ho Chi Bang and other speakers, the disguise anti-communism uses in Asian countries includes the outwardly neutral concepts of "the two superpowers", of "equidistance" from them, as well as the tendency to interpret any event only in the "East-West", "North-South" or some such context.

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works in three volumes, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, p. 19.



Holding forth on the direct "confrontation" between capitalism and socialism in Latin America, allegedly inevitable because of the geographical contiguity of the United States and Cuba, US imperialism makes use of the Monroe Doctrine and the doctrines of Pan-Americanism and inter-Americanism. Central to these doctrines is the notion of a "Red peril", of a "Soviet military threat". On the basis of a concept claiming that there is a common "internal" and "external" enemy, the need is proclaimed for a single system of "national security" involving the United States and Latin American countries. And, under the pretext that the third world war is already on in Latin America which has allegedly become a theatre of operations, anti-communist propaganda calls for anti-Sovietism and attacks against Communists there to assume violent, "wartime" forms. Orel Viciani noted that against this background anti-communism in the Western Hemisphere was stepping up its psychological warfare against the USSR and other socialist countries.

In the opinion of Sémou/Guèye<sup>Pathé</sup>, playing on certain differences in the positions of individual communist parties with regard to this or that specific issue has always been another important means of fomenting anti-Sovietism. This method is no novelty. In his time, Lenin pointed out that anti-communists had long tried to use the "strife" of various trends within the international socialist movement, that they had sought to benefit from the struggle of socialist opportunism against international revolutionary Social Democracy.<sup>2</sup> Today this insidious policy is pursued with increasing sophistication. Accord-

<sup>2</sup> See V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 5, pp. 352-353.



ing to Donald Ramotar, anti-communism usually makes underhand and demagogic attempts to foist on the working class and democratic movement, on communist parties in capitalist countries the notion that they should demonstrate the "independence of their views and policies from the Soviet Union".

But this is not all there is to the insidious methods of anti-communism, emphasised Ho Chi Bang. In many cases it allies itself openly with right-wing and "left" revisionism, since moves by these quarters often present fertile opportunities for anti-socialist propaganda. For example, the Reagan Administration tries to discredit existing socialism and its ideals by pointing to the bloodbath the Pol Pot regime unleashed in Kampuchea. On the other hand, anti-communist theorists are ostentatiously and vociferously debating, say, whether the Soviet Union and Cuba "export" the revolutionary process or "block" it for reasons of "national security", whether this breeds contradictions among the socialist countries, etc. Ideas and facts are juggled clumsily in order to convince progressive movements in developing countries that the Soviet Union is inevitably "losing its revolutionary spirit" and acting almost in collusion with imperialism.

In other words, the speakers stated that anti-Sovietism was now the cornerstone of anti-communism and that to artificially divide the two, the way some quarters tried to do, was a fallacy dangerous to the cause of peace and social progress.

Passing to the examination of the ways in which anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda affected international public opinion, participants in the discussion noted that in



capitalist countries these activities relied to a great extent on support from government bodies and influential political quarters. Ibraheem Malik cited the example of Israel which had been turned into an integrated ideological centre of sorts in the capitalist world, its activities aimed at falsifying literature on Marxist theory, and at searching for new and sophisticated methods of implanting anti-Soviet stereotypes in people's minds.

Many speakers noted that, nevertheless, socialist counter-propaganda was effective in neutralising anti-communist subversion increasingly often. The great strength of our propaganda, Raul Valdés Vivó emphasised, is that it is truthful. Its effectiveness is considerably enhanced by the practical steps taken by ruling communist parties to realise working people's interests. Naturally, the building of a new society which aims at meeting the growing requirements of the people, the sole master of this social system, is in itself a complex task involving great difficulties. Besides, the hostile policy of imperialism and the need to allocate sizable funds to defence inevitably aggravate these difficulties, and our enemies cite them in an attempt to malign existing socialism. The relevant experience of socialist Cuba demonstrates that the masses support their revolutionary government with particular enthusiasm when the actual state of affairs is explained to them, when they realise that it is impossible to overcome all difficulties at once but that everything possible is being done to overcome them and to correct possible mistakes. These explanations help to mobilise the masses which communist parties inspire and direct in the building of socialism.



Participants in the discussion stated that effectiveness in the revolutionary working class parties' efforts to rebuff their ideological and political enemy would depend on the degree of their proletarian internationalist unity, on the vigour of the broad anti-imperialist front fighting for peace and social progress.

### Relying on Bourgeois Nationalism

The distinctly national peculiarities of anti-communism in the capitalist world are products of the direct and open confrontation of the two principal political forces. On one side there are the communist and workers' parties which are at the head of revolutionary democratic movements; on the other side there are the reactionaries who try to decapitate the former both physically and ideologically. Reaction disguises these moves by claiming to uphold "national" interests, by labelling Communists "irresponsible spokesmen" for marginal groups and anti-national interests, by calling them "cat's-paws of Moscow" and the like. It follows that "local" anti-communism is nurtured above all by bourgeois nationalism.

Naturally, this does not mean that at the national level, anti-Sovietism or the obsession of anti-communism with military and political ventures are in any way weakened. As a rule, anything goes in fighting against Communists, although here the order of priorities is sometimes different from what it is in "supranational" anti-communism. To the latter, the most important task is to weaken world socialism and only then, individual communist parties. However, at the national level



the foremost task of the reactionaries is to eliminate local communist parties; the struggle against the world communist movement and existing socialism being an additional means of undermining national revolutionary democratic forces. Of course, this differentiation between the priorities is very relative: imperialism is trying to conduct its offensive along all inter-related lines and at all levels.

Analysing the philosophy and the political action methods of "national" anti-communism, many participants in the discussion noted that the idea of violence was becoming increasingly prominent in such of its components as bourgeois nationalism, religious fanaticism and petty-bourgeois socialism.

As Samuel Behak pointed out, counter-revolutionary wave orchestrated by US imperialism and the local oligarchies swept Latin America in the 1970s. The coups and violence against the people in Chile and Uruguay--and earlier, in Brazil and Bolivia and then in Argentina--fell back on doctrines which preached "internal security" and "internal struggle" against the people. Here, the weapons were the more reactionary elements in the army command, those trained in the Pentagon's and the CIA's schools. Distinctly different programmes and modes of action were applied in different countries. For example, in Uruguay the dictatorship openly switched to fascist terrorist methods in the mid-1970s and tried to restructure the state "vertically", along the lines of Franco's and Mussolini's regimes. It launched an offensive against the country's democratic traditions and declared that it would banish the Communist Party and all progressive political forces from public life for 50 years. Recent



events have shown that the people of Uruguay have succeeded in routing the dictatorship and have struck a blow against anti-communism.

Cesar Jiménez examined a broader range of the ideological and political forms of anti-communism in Latin America. He said that in Peru, the more reactionary, oligarchic and proimperialist political forces included truly fascist elements which advocated brutal reprisals and terrorism. There are also ultra-rightist Social Christian trends within the People's Christian Party bearing the imprint, among other things, of West German Christian Democratic ideology. In contrast to this, the influence of the so-called theology of liberation is felt in the bourgeois national reformism of Peru's Christian Democratic Party. Besides, the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance comprises a broad range of ideological and political trends--from openly proimperialist, anti-communist and profascist to bourgeois <sup>blatant</sup> reformist and even revolutionary nationalist with their less / or disguised anti-communism. On the other hand, there are those Social Christians on the country's political scene who advocate socialism and have joined the Communists in the United Left, but who nevertheless retain a certain prejudice with regard to communism and the socialist countries. Finally, there are the ultra-leftist quarters which outwardly expound extremely revolutionary views but in actual fact engage in petty-bourgeois reformism and spend more time attacking the socialist countries and the PCP than criticising US imperialism.



Participants in the discussion also described the so-called transitional ideological and political forms of anti-communism rooted in the concepts claiming that, due to certain distinctive features, Latin American capitalism was in opposition to the United States and NATO. Sometimes, within the framework of these forms, commitment to "regional" concepts is proclaimed; these deny the leading role of the working class and confer the role of the social leader on a nation's intellectuals, but they do advocate democratic and anti-imperialist transformations. Still, this type of anti-communism, too, incorporates anti-Soviet and "national reform" slogans in its policy demands. In some cases, these reflect the ideology of social reformism and in others, that of leftist trends.

Several participants in the round table described the ideological currents of anti-communism arising in the Middle East. Farid Mougahed noted that in Egypt a conservative and a liberal current could be roughly singled out. Sadat was typical of the former. This trend is trying to work out a particularly malicious theoretical rationale of anti-communism, echoing the obscurantist religious principles of the Saudi leaders and the anti-Soviet slogans of US reactionaries. Among other things, the conservatives finance scores of research projects at Cairo University, promote anti-communist features in the newspaper Al Ahram, etc. Their political base is made up of organisations of the Moslem Brothers type; since their establishment in the 1920s, they have been advocating extremely reactionary views and been active in many Moslem countries.



At the same time, the liberal bourgeois trend in anti-communism also plays a substantial ideological and political role in Egypt. Its spokesmen--for example, the journalist M. Kheikal, the leaders of the recently established New Wafd Party and renegade members of the Egyptian Communist Party--reject Marxism-Leninism and attempt to create a platform of their own which would combine ideological elements of Marxism, Islam and bourgeois liberalism. It appears that generally, these trends will be more dangerous to Egypt's Communists than virulently anti-communist conservatism because they are based on sentiments that are rather well established among Arab bourgeois nationalists.

Ahmed Aziz stated that in Jordan, anti-communism was nurtured by cultural and ideological factors. On the one hand, there is the extreme conservatism of certain Islamic figures. On the other hand, there is American culture and traditional Western bourgeois ideology which enter the country via many channels, particularly the education system.

Ibraheem Malik stressed that anti-communist tendencies were becoming increasingly aggressive in Israel. Contributing factors include the exacerbation of the economic and political crisis in the country, the advent of the state-monopoly stage of capitalist development, the fact that power has passed to representatives of the ultra-conservative wing of the bourgeoisie, as well as the militarisation of the social fabric.

Pathé  
Sémou/Gueye spoke about the distinct forms of the "moderate" type of anti-communism (moderate in terms of recourse to violence)



taking its nourishment from the ideas of "traditionalist socialism" and religion in Black Africa. Underlying this trend is the unscientific concept which presents African social relations as "unique" and dismisses Marxist ideology as "foreign", "imported" and alien to the "African spirit". Addressed to the indigenous intellectuals, this kind of demagoguery is aimed at isolating the masses from socialism and Marxism which allegedly advocate "violence" and "totalitarian rule".

Analysing the ratio of "cannibalistic" and "moderate" forms of anti-communist ideology and policies, participants in the discussion noted that the ruling quarters of a given country might use the two forms either alternately or simultaneously. For example, in the opinion of Orel Viciani, the Pinochet regime is about to exhaust its potential for survival by violence. For this reason the more reactionary financial interests are moving to effect a political reorganisation in a bid to preserve, with the fascist dictatorship clearly facing the prospect of a fall, their domination by different methods. Even US imperialism, while still supporting Pinochet, is aware that this card may be played.

As the discussion of the distinctive features of anti-communism operating at the national and regional levels concluded, it was noted that the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and of the national liberation movements was growing increasingly active amid the fierce struggle of Marxism-Leninism against the ideology which played on the extremism of bourgeois nationalism. This is a pitched battle. First, reactionary forces are often quite successful in feeding on the growth of the masses' national self-awareness. Second, the particular vulnerability of



the masses' spontaneous consciousness to bourgeois ideology is explained, as Lenin wrote, by the fact that this ideology "is far older in origin than socialist ideology, that it is more fully developed, and that it has at its disposal immeasurably more means of dissemination"; he said that "the younger the socialist movement in any given country, the more vigorously it must struggle against all attempts to entrench non-socialist ideology".<sup>3</sup>

At the same time, participants in the <sup>discussion</sup> / stressed that the historical prospects of bourgeois nationalism were limited because neither its theory nor its political practice was capable of ensuring social progress in today's world. Inevitably, nationalism is suppressed by transnational capital and by the imperialism of the leading capitalist powers. And so, without cooperation with the international working class movement and with the socialist community it is virtually impossible to ensure durable peace or economic, scientific, technological and social progress of developing countries. Therefore, the enhancement of international consciousness in the masses, a process promoted above all by communist parties, is indispensable for working people to gain a class awareness and grasp the social nature of all relations permeating bourgeois society.

The discussion concerning the distinctive features of national anti-communism, particularly those emerging in the Third World, also touched upon the question of religion. Donald Ramotar, Sékou Pathé Gueye and others pointed out that obscurantist

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 386.



religious dogma often became an additional argument of anti-communist ideology and was a factor contributing to its extremist social manifestations.

Naim Ashhab stressed in this connection that the objective of our enemies was to play on the contradictions between communist ideology and religious dogma; this could be seen easily from the way reactionary regimes operated in the Middle East.

In the view of Rupert Lewis and Ahmed Salem, the fact that anti-communists use the current "neoconservative upsurge" in capitalist countries and the religious sentiments of the masses to combat communism is a development typical of recent years. In this context, Reagan's "Christian" pulpit-pounding is no accident.

Naturally, there can be no uniform approach to the problem of Communists and religion. It is now common knowledge that in the struggle for peace, some ecclesiastical quarters advocate views which coincide in part with the policy of the socialist countries. Communists and believers share common ground with regard to many issues of the social struggle. Felipe Rodriguez noted that for this reason it was becoming increasingly difficult for anti-communism to use the Catholic Church--for example, in Latin America--against revolutionary movements. The inability of imperialism to turn the religious feelings of Nicaragua's rural population against the revolution is a case in point. Farid Mougahed added that in Egypt, too, there was now an ideological and political current of Islam which incorporated democratic



elements, relied on the Islamic precepts proclaiming ideas of equality, opposed anti-Sovietism, etc.

Nevertheless, participants in the round table also emphasised that anti-communism drew its energy from the fundamental difference between Marxist-Leninist ideology and religious philosophy and made vigorous use of the support it received from reactionary clericalists. True, thanks to resistance by Communists and all democratic forces, this support is far from always effective. Such shifts are occurring in spite of the fact that the leaders of several Arab countries, above all of Saudi Arabia, are supported by Moslem fanatics who proclaim the objective of "halting the advance of Communism".

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Summing up the analysis of the distinct socio-ideological features, forms and political methods of contemporary anti-communism, round table participants stated that its reliance on the postulates of bourgeois nationalism and on religious dogma was capable of producing merely eclectic and retrograde ideological programmes in which the principle of political violence, anti-Sovietism and historical nihilism increasingly moved to form the core. It is equally obvious that, despite the certain differences in the order of priorities concerning the objectives, arguments and action of anti-communism at the international and national levels, it performs one and the same social function bourgeois reaction and imperialism have charged it with. Finally, the record shows that anti-communism is trying to take "social revenge" on the communist movement by stepping up psychological warfare.



In the opinion of the speakers, all these salient features of contemporary anti-communism are by no means of abstract concern to the revolutionary democratic forces in all countries. The international situation is now so tense and the class struggle so acute that the future of the world and of social progress depend to a great extent on the ability of communist parties to apply original, creative propaganda and conduct vigorous political work in order to capture the masses' consciousness and use the subjective historical factor in the interests of the working class movement. This makes it incumbent on Marxist research centres and all elements of the party apparatus connected with the mass media to have a thorough knowledge of the strong and weak points of anti-communism. Only this knowledge will make it possible to spot and expose the fraudulent theoretical tricks of anti-communism and to rebuff its policies and propaganda by marshalling convincing arguments and well-balanced scientific reasons.

If the working class in different countries is clearly aware that anti-communism is trying to consolidate a system of class exploitation, if the national liberation movements realise with greater clarity the sinister connection between anti-communist obscurantism and neocolonialism, if the growing front of peace and anti-imperialist forces places an insurmountable obstacle in the path of militarisation and nuclear catastrophe, anti-communism shall not pass.

The round-table consensus is that the analytical research, aimed at securing these objectives and conducted by the fraternal parties, into effective methods of countering anti-communism by ideological, political and propaganda means is developing, bearing fruit and contributing to the successful struggle of the working masses for peace and social progress.