

Anti-Communism Ultra-Reactionary Ideology of Modern Imperialism

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Anti-Communism is the active, ultra-reactionary ideology of modern imperialism. Moreover, it engenders a definite line of governmental and party policy effected through measures taken all along the line and reaching down to day-to-day life. Anti-communism is directed against communist ideas, and their dissemination, against socialism and communism as the new socio-economic formation. Anti-communism, then seeks to combat the theory and practice of communism and, above all, opposes joint action with the Communists even where no specifically communist slogans are advanced.

Anti-communism in our time comes in a multiplicity of forms. Anti-communist propaganda parasitically adapts itself to the specific interests of the various sections of the population in the capitalist countries.

In this connection I believe that it is of particular importance to take into account the following three forms of anti-communism:

1. Anti-communism as a definite act of practical politics which often takes the form of governmental policy, as, for instance, in the United States, Federal Germany and elsewhere. Here we should include also the numerous anti-communist organisations financed by the imperialist bourgeoisie.
2. Anti-communism as a form of bourgeois ideology and a "science". The attempts at "scientific" refutation of communism made by the "theorists" of anti-communism are closely linked with practical politics and serve its ends.
3. The variety of anti-communism which feeds on private property relations as a kind of "social prejudice" cultivated by the imperialist bourgeoisie among the broad masses.

Needless to say, these three basic forms of anti-communism are closely interlinked, but for all that I believe it is important to examine them separately, for this will enable us to differentiate our efforts, make them more concrete and purposeful.

Anti-communism as such, of course, is nothing new. It is no new invention; it came into being as a reaction to the ideas of communism from the moment of their birth and in the course of their subsequent development and spread among the masses. Already in the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels wrote that all the Powers of Old Europe had entered into holy alliance to exorcise the spectre of communism: Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, anti-communism became an integral component of the official policy of many capitalist countries, a policy directed against Soviet power, against the social achievements of the working people of the USSR. In our time anti-communism casts its sinister shadow on the policy of many capitalist states, and primarily of the USA, the principal bulwark of international reaction, the world gendarme who has assumed the role of "saviour" of the historically doomed capitalist system. Anti-communism has become the ideological foundation of the cold war which imperialism is waging against the socialist camp.

It must be noted that the influence of anti-communist policy and propaganda makes itself felt among rather considerable sections of the population of the capitalist countries, including the workers. This is understandable enough, for we know that the bourgeoisie in general is able to remain in the saddle because of a lack of political consciousness among the masses, because of the backwardness of many sections of the population and lack of organisation and unity among those sections which objectively stand to gain from social progress. Private property and private-property relations—however illusory they may be for one or another group of people—provide a favourable soil for anti-communist propaganda. Moreover, many people form their opinion of communism solely on the basis of the distorted, repulsive picture painted by its enemies.

Besides, a corrupting ideological influence is exerted on the masses, and in particular on the working class, by reformist illusions and the hatred of communists cultivated by the Right-wing Social Democrats.

Why has the imperialist bourgeoisie today made anti-communism its principal ideological and political weapon?

This question can be answered correctly only by taking into account the great changes which have taken place in the world and which have determined the nature and content of our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. From the socio-economic standpoint, there is a causal connection between anti-communism becoming the main ideological and political weapon of contemporary imperialism and the fact that world capitalism has entered a new—the third—stage of its general crisis.

The general crisis of capitalism is the principal law-governed process of contemporary capitalist society. Its basic symptom is the fact that capitalism is no longer a global system, that a new, socialist system has emerged and now exists side by side with it. And whereas at the early stages of the general crisis of capitalism, the socialist system, as represented by the USSR, then in a capitalist encirclement, could not directly determine the main direction of historical development, now, at the third stage of this crisis of world capitalism, "the main content, the main trend and main features of the historic development of mankind are being determined by the world socialist system, by the forces fighting against imperialism, for the socialist reorganisation of society" (*Programme of the CPSU*). This is borne out by the developments of our time, by the growing popularity of socialist ideas among the masses. Capitalism, consequently, can no longer look to the future without regard to the socialist alternative.

At the same time the laws of capitalism do not impinge on socialism. The development of socialism is determined by its own internal laws and no others. Even the danger of imperialist aggression, which exists as a factor external to socialism, does not alter the situation. Moreover, in the new conditions of today even this recourse may be denied the imperialists once and for all. For, as is correctly noted in the Programme of the CPSU—which has been recognized as the Communist Manifesto of our time by the World Communist movement as represented by the overwhelming majority of the Communist and Workers' Parties—"imperialism has forever lost its power over the majority of mankind".

Capitalism long ago outlived its time as a social system capable of ensuring human progress. Knowing (or at least sensing) that capitalism is doomed, the bourgeois ideologies and politicians are doing their utmost to poison the minds of the masses, to give them a distorted picture of communism and mobilise them to resist communism and thereby retard the irresistible process of the revolutionary reorganisation of society.

Capitalism is searching for ways to postpone its downfall. In the economic sphere, it resorts to state-monopoly forms; in the political sphere, it falls back on reaction all along the line, on the reactionary policy of the knout and gingerbread, on refined violence, deception, endless promises, yielding on inconsequential issues in order to preserve that which is crucial, as Lenin pointed out time and again when speaking of imperialist policy; in the sphere of ideology, state-monopoly capitalism gives free reign to rapid anti-communism. Moreover, all these spheres are interlinked and mutually conditioned, and, what is most important, permeated with anti-communism.

The bourgeoisie is creating a whole series of myths inseparably connected with anti-communism with the aim of whitewashing capitalism, making it attractive to the masses, giving it, so to say, a more respectable look. This aim is served, for instance, by Galbraith's "affluent society" theory, Rostow's theory of social development by stages, the "technocracy" and "managerial revolution" theories developed by a number of bourgeois ideologues, etc.

I should like to stress in this connection that anti-communism is an ideology and policy directed not only against the socialist countries, not only against communism, although this is a widespread view. Therefore we must examine it carefully, since it clearly is impossible to elaborate the correct tactics without a correct understanding of the forces opposing our movement. Anti-Communism is not only a negative reaction to communism. It is the ideological and political smokescreen concealing the true ideological and political intentions of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

Anti-communism is an indirect, camouflaged admission on the part of the ideologues and political leaders of the monopoly bourgeoisie that capitalism is in a bad way. At the same time it is an attempt to persuade people that the reasons for this are not inherent in the inner laws of the development of capitalism itself, but are due to an "external factor". To exonerate the bourgeoisie of all blame for the injustices of the capitalist world and to place the responsibility at the door of the socialist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie takes cover behind anti-communist ideology.

The basic "axiom" of anti-communism is the big lie that the Soviet Communists are out to conquer the world. No proof is ever adduced, for there is no such proof. But repeated it is, endlessly. And many people come to believe it to one or another extent, not because it is true, but because it has been dinned into their heads. Lenin time and again pointed to this feature of bourgeois propaganda: "Lie, shout, raise a hue and cry repeat the lie over and over again" for "something is bound to sink in".

Slander serves as the basis for far-reaching practical conclusions justifying the armament drive, rejection of negotiations with the Communists on the ground that they are out to "conquer the world" in any case, and, above all, the persecution of all who think otherwise. Ideas become the measure of loyalty. Consequently, many prefer not to have any opinions of their own. F. Donner, an American lawyer, says in his book, *The Un-Americans*, that many US citizens would want to do something for peace, for instance, to join a committee for a sane nuclear policy, but they are afraid of being labelled "Communists" by the Rights, since this would have unpleasant consequences for them.

Anti-communism is one of the insidious means of suppressing even the limited democracy and freedom existing in capitalist society. It is the midwife of fascism and of all the abominations fascism stands for. It should be borne in mind that, as is stressed in the Programme of the CPSU, "fascism begins everywhere and always with vicious anti-communism to isolate and rout the parties of the working class, to split the forces of the proletariat and defeat them piecemeal, and then to do away with all the other democratic parties and organisations and turn the people into the blind tool of the policy of the capitalist monopolies".

Anti-communism is directly linked with militarism and the military; under its cover the most aggressive forces of the imperialist bourgeoisie, carry on their work, hatching plans for another war, "Better non-exist than coexist", "better dead than red"—these sinister invocations of the enemies of humanity occur more and more often in anti-communist propaganda. Needless to say, we are firmly convinced that the aggressive schemes of the present-day enemies of communism are bound to collapse. This conviction is based on the growing strength of the forces opposing anti-communism. And these forces are not only ideas. We are materialists, not idle dreamers divorced from life. Our enemies too know this and hence are compelled to moderate their claims so as not to court disaster.

Nevertheless we should not underestimate the foolhardiness of the enemies of communism. Wherever fascism raises its head we encounter the false slogans of anti-communism and chauvinism, which are designed to help the capitalists create a mass basis for the fascist movement. The reactionary circles are out to make use of the unstable, crisis situation which is developing in the various capitalist countries and in the capitalist world as a whole first to intimidate the masses and then offer them "salvation". Anti-Communism and chauvinism are the basic means of whipping up mass hysteria, the chief ideological narcotic for the people.

Thanks to the open moral and financial support of monopoly capital, primarily US monopoly capital, 100 per cent anti-communism has become the hallmark of "respectability", even a political "investment" throughout the capitalist world.

Indeed, a rather paradoxical situation has developed. On the one hand, anti-communism vows loyalty to the ideas of freedom and democracy, and, on the other hand, there is no crime against democracy and humanity which they do not consider justified in the name of combating communism. Military coups, whether in South Korea or Argentina, the ruthless dictatorship in South Vietnam, the shooting down of demonstrators in Portugal or the savage suppression of strikes in Spain, the fascist terror in Algeria, the treacherous, murderous intrigues of Tshombe, the turning of South Africa into a ghetto for the indigeneous population—everything finds its advocates in the capitalist West as long as it is done in the name of anti-communism.

Anti-communism is the enemy of the national-liberation movement, and the champion of colonialism. The imperialist bourgeoisie declare every liberation movement that undermines their domination a “communist conspiracy”. Evidently one must judge anti-communism not by the florid disquisitions of its ideologues, but by the evil deeds of its politicians. And this give us every right to brand anti-communism as the enemy of humanity.

As the general crisis of capitalism deepens, anti-communism counter-poses itself more and more not only to communism, but in general to all contemporary liberation, progressive and democratic movements. At the same time it joins forces with the most brutal police regimes and also with ultra-reactionary political organisations such as Moral Rearmament, John Birch Society, the OAS, the “Red Hand”, etc., regarding these organisations as its neutral and most reliable allies.

The inner logic of the development of anti-communism inevitably impels it onto the path of open reaction. Militant anti-communism in its extreme form represents the most rabid reaction, labelling as Communists or pro-Communists all who do not openly share its “crusades” against the socialist countries, against the national-liberation and working class movements. Through their ideologists like ex-general Walker and the columnist David Lawrence, they advocate sending all Communists and “suspicious” democrats to concentration camps, and demand the severing of diplomatic relation with the socialist countries and termination of all trade not only with the socialist camp but with any other country which refuses to fall in with their policies.

But besides these anti-communist extremists, there are a good many, so to speak, “cautious anti-communists” in the ideological and political arena. In order to delude the masses of their own countries and to win over world public opinion, they pose as noble-hearted champions of democracy and progress who are deeply disturbed by the threat of “totalitarianism” and are anxious to see justice and peace prevail. While fully sharing the aims of the extreme anti-communists, the “cautious” variety, being more careful in the choice of means, have not yet fully exposed themselves in the eyes of the people everywhere, still wield considerable power and influence over the masses, and enjoy some prestige. Hence their grave danger.

Anti-communism is an expression of the interests primarily of state-monopoly capitalism and constitutes the latter’s political and ideological weapon against the liberation movement of the masses. Consequently, the exposure of anticommunism is in

separably linked with the struggle against state-monopoly capitalism and is one of the forms of that struggle.

At the democratic stage, the liberation movement of the masses under contemporary conditions is directed against state-monopoly capitalism in the developed countries and against international imperialism in the economically backward countries. For the success of this movement, the working class must form broad democratic alliances with all working people, and also with the national and non-monopoly bourgeoisie, in order to isolate the monopoly bourgeoisie and the state machine that serves it. Exposure of anti-communism presupposes overcoming anti-communist prejudices current among some sections of the population and isolating the aggressive anti-communists.

In the struggle against anti-communism, the Communists cannot adopt sectarian positions, for, by so doing they would merely be isolating themselves. It is necessary strictly to differentiate between the various forces opposing us, to take advantage of the contradictions in the camp of the adversary. Among the capitalist ideologists there are a good many who do not go along with the aggressive anti-communists. We must bear this in mind and adapt our tactics of struggle accordingly. At the same time it would be a mistake to regard every instance of disagreement with us—unless, of course, it affects the basic principles of our ideology and policy—as anti-communism, for, this would be vulgarizing the struggle against anti-communism and would only serve to alienate many people who as yet do not agree with us.

At the same time, the Communists naturally cannot share the views of the revisionists and opportunists who recognise only the more virulent and extreme forms of anti-communism, such as the John Birch Society, etc. Such views lead to anti-communism being dismissed as “harmless”, would demobilize the masses and in the end bring grist to the enemy’s mill. Hence for the communist parties and the liberation movement of the working people it is as dangerous to underestimate the strength and influence of anti-communism as to overestimate them.

The fight against anti-communism cannot be conducted under the slogan: “He who is not with us is against us!” In our days only he who is openly and blatantly against us is not with us. Our task is to persuade the masses in the course of the daily economic, political and ideological struggle that in the modern world it is impossible to fight for just demands, for peace, democracy and progress, while persecuting the communists, who always and everywhere are to be found in the front ranks of the fighters against imperialism, against the domination of the monopolies, against imperialist wars, for national liberation, for a better life for the working people, and for genuine freedom.

Our propaganda aimed at broadening the mass democratic struggle should proceed from the premise that the struggle against anti-communism does not yet mean fighting for communism or even its recognition in any way. This was the case with the anti-fascist movement in which the Communists were in the van, and it is the same with the peace movement today. What is in question is the fight for democracy and progress, for all that which is being trampled by the imperialist bourgeoisie on the pretext of

combating communism. The important thing here is to stress that anti-communism means a reactionary offensive all along the line.

The Programme of the CPSU states: "Under cover of anti-communism, imperialist reaction persecutes and hounds all that is progressive and revolutionary; it seeks to split the ranks of the working people and to paralyze the proletarians' will to fight. Rallied to this black banner today are all the enemies of social progress: the finance oligarchy and the military, the fascists and reactionary clericals, the colonialists and landlords, and all the ideological and political vehicles of imperialist reaction."

Anti-communism by its very nature cannot be anything but a system of lies and deception, slander of socialism, falsification of the policies and objectives of the communist parties, of Marxism-Leninism. As Lenin wrote, "Whenever the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie on the workers is diminished, undermined or weakened, the bourgeoisie has invariably resorted and will always resort to the most desperate lies and calumny."

In this sense anti-communism is the logical consummation of the inner development of bourgeois ideology and politics in the present epoch. "Anti-communism", the Programme of the CPSU stresses, "is a reflection of the extreme decadence of bourgeois ideology."

The imperialist bourgeoisie in our day with Jesuitical fanaticism scorns no means however foul for the attainment of its mercenary aims. Moreover, the monstrous lies and calumny employed in anti-communist propaganda only show to what depths of moral degradation the contemporary reactionary ideologues have sunk. Hence, anti-communism, apart from everything else, must be condemned on moral grounds as well, as a fraudulent occupation unworthy of any honest person.

It goes without saying that moral indignation alone, important though it is, is not enough. The Communists are waging an active fight—both ideological and political—to expose anti-communist fabrications and this fight is yielding tangible results. More and more working people in the capitalist countries are ceasing to pay heed to the hysterical cries of the anti-communists, their vile slander of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, slander of their policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition, of the aims of the Communist Parties, of Marxism-Leninism. Life itself is rejecting one by one all the figments of the anti-Communist imagination.

Symptomatic in this connection is the fact that today, after the epoch-making technical and scientific achievements of the socialist countries, and primarily of the USSR, the indisputable superiority of socialism in economic and scientific development has forced the anti-Communists to shift their propaganda sights over to the sphere of ideology. In his pamphlet on *"What Communism Means to Americans"*, Nixon states frankly that in his opinion the outcome of the contest between the two systems will most likely be decided not in the military, economic or scientific fields, although they too are important. It is mainly a contest of ideas, he declares.

Of course, it would be a fine thing if not only in propaganda but in politics as well the opponents of communism were to abandon all forms of struggle other than the struggle

of ideas. This would correspond to our understanding of peaceful coexistence of States with differing social systems. The outcome of the struggle is clear. The forces of communism are inexhaustible and its ideas are invincible inasmuch as they scientifically delineate the future of mankind.

The fact that the capitalist system has no future inevitably defeats any ideological and political apologia, any active, defence of capitalism. The successes of socialism and communism are constantly refuting the "arguments" of the anti-communists, proving their utter groundlessness.

The objective socio-historical process is accelerated by subjective factors, and particularly by the active ideological and political offensive against anti-communism.

It would, however, be wrong to conclude that it will decline in step with the decline of capitalism and eventually give up the ghost. Even the achievement of Communist abundance by the socialist countries will not lead to the automatic collapse of anti-communism; to defeat it ideologically and politically, it is necessary to act, to fight the poison of anti-communist ideas and the anti-communist actions engineered by the reactionaries.

We are naturally confident that we shall win in this struggle, that the ideas of communism will triumph. But I believe we will all agree that the struggle is not an easy one. We will have to exert much effort to develop that struggle and to make our influence among the masses increasingly effective. For anti-communism today, although it does not eschew the crudest forms, is nevertheless becoming more and more ingenious and flexible, more and more "scientific". Moreover, it seizes upon our slightest short-comings and mistakes to discredit the theory and practice of the Communist movement, as for instance, in the case of the personality cult.

Hence the achievement of complete and final victory over anti-communism, its removal once and for all from the arsenal of ideological and political weapons with which the imperialist bourgeoisie continues to bamboozle the masses in the capitalist countries, depends first and foremost on how consistently we ourselves, in theory and practice, pursue the Leninist line, which was developed and elaborated at the Twentieth and Twenty second Congresses and in the Programme of the CPSU. The more exacting we are of ourselves, the more jealously we guard the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionist and dogmatist distortions, and the more solid the indestructible unity of our ranks, the more successful will be our struggle against anti-communism and the closer will be final victory over it.

In combating anti-communism, we should not limit ourselves to mere repetition of truths already known. Of course, this, too, must be done in order to uphold these truths against anti-Communist distortion and falsification. However, our struggle must be based on the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, we must be able to make timely and profound appraisals of the new facts and developments in this dynamic world of ours.

Anti-communism can be overcome by the coordinated efforts of the various detachments of the international communist movement –taking into account the concrete situation in each country and the responsibility each detachment bears for the

future of the cause of revolutionary transformation of society—through political and ideological work and dissemination of the truth about communism.

It is clear to us that joint responsibility of the Communists and their concerted action on an international scale derive from the character of the working class movement, the position of the proletariat in capitalist society, the liberating mission of the working class, and the need for joint struggle against the international front of capital. Life itself dictated the great and ever vital call for unity: “Workers of all lands, unite!”

In our time, the joint responsibility of the Communists and the need for agreed actions led to the adoption of joint documents continuing and developing the ideas of the *Communist Manifesto* in the light of the changed balance of forces, on both the international and national scale.

Such documents are the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of the 1960 meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties. The message of these documents is that the success of the agreed actions of the Communists aimed at the reorganisation of society depends on the unity of the international Communist movement. We are in duty bound to cherish and strengthen that unity in every way.

The documents of the international conference of Communists are for us a guide to action—creative action conforming to the concrete conditions and always directed towards the grand common goal—communism.

These documents are a guide for us also in solving questions of principle, including the question we have been discussing here—the defeat of anti-communism. The 1960 Statement says: “Effectively to defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realise the socialist ideals of the working class, a resolute struggle must be waged against anti-communism—that poison weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism.”

By cementing the unity of our ranks we shall achieve further successes in this struggle.

The achievements of the socialist world system (economic, political and cultural) give the lie to anti-communism. Socialist reality is stronger than all the bourgeois myths about communism. Extensive ideological work is an important means of combating anti-communism. But it is not enough. Practical political actions by the Communists in the various countries of the capitalist world are imperative. The triumph of the ideas of communism on all continents and in all countries depends, in the final analysis, on the efficacy of each and every aspect of this work.

The fight against anti-communism is a struggle for peace for democracy, for the freedom of peoples and individual freedom, for conditions of life truly worthy of man. It is to this that the Communists dedicate all their efforts.

One more point in this connection. In combating anti-communism, it is highly important to take due note of its specific features. It is a purely negative phenomenon, a mere negation of communism. It has no programme of *its own* which differs from the programme of the aggressive imperialists. Hence the anti-communist lies cannot be successfully refuted unless the fight against them is linked with the democratic struggle generally. There can be no separate fight against anti-communism unrelated to the

broad antimonopoly actions of the masses, and actions aimed at the reorganisation of society.... The very nature of anti-communism and its link with state-monopoly capitalism make it clear that the fight against it is only part—true, a very important part—of the general democratic anti-imperialist struggle. Anti-communism can be eradicated only if the struggle against it is closely bound up with the struggle against the monopoly oligarchy.