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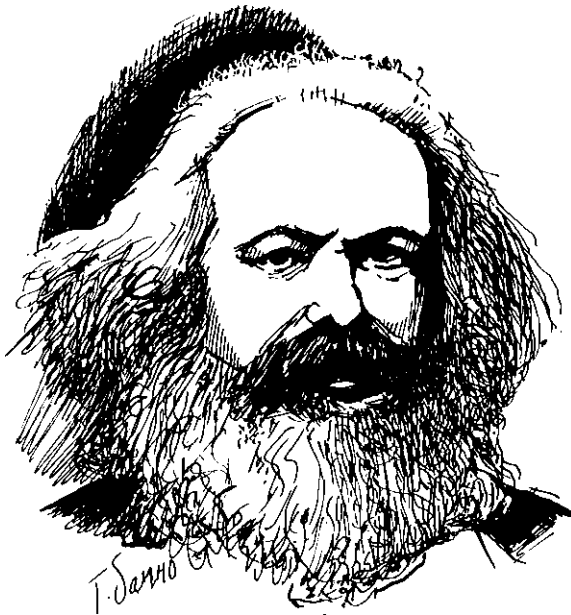
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COLD WAR OPERATIONS: THE POLITICS OF COMMUNIST CONFRONTATION



Part I — Marx and His Followers

(A series of eight lectures by Professor Lyman B. Kirkpatrick of the Political Science Department, Brown University, given at the United States Naval War College during the 1966-67 term as a part of the Electives Program. These lectures are selected from those in a course entitled *Cold War Operations* which Professor Kirkpatrick presents at Brown. This is the first lecture, and the others will be published in the next seven issues.)

It is generally acknowledged that the philosophy of Karl Marx is the glue that holds the international Communist movement together. It is also true that nowhere in the world is pure Marxism being followed today. It has been modified and changed in each country and by each leader to fit the circumstances and the time. But like religion, particularly like Christianity, there have to be certain fundamentals which Communists at least tacitly acknowledge, or their movement would collapse. Today, communism is more riven by disagreements and by different methods than ever before in its history. The former monolithic power has now fragmented to a very large degree, accentuated and underlined by the intense conflict between the Soviet Union and China.

It is important that Americans understand Marxism and what it means. It has wide attraction in the world today. This is true even though anybody who studies Marxist philosophy can spot flaws. It has many errors and misconceptions. The error most frequently noted is that Marx predicted that revolutions would take place in the heavily industrialized states: Great Britain, France, the United States, and Germany. The Communist revolution took place in Russia, which was not heavily industrialized. The successful Communist revolution in China was based almost completely on an agrarian movement.

While there are many errors which can be pointed out in Marxist philosophy and theory, this is not the point at issue. The fact is that Marx provided a logical explanation of history for many peoples of the world. We commonly accept the figure that about one-third of the present population on earth is either Marxist or Marxist sympathizers. Marx provides them a logical basis for understanding what gen-

erally is their plight or their alienation from society.

It is important that Americans should understand the appeals of Marxism — its strengths and weaknesses. Such an understanding would provide a better basis for coping with communism and preventing its spread. In the past our attitude too frequently has been based on the oversimplified explanation: communism is evil and our way is good. We have handicapped ourselves by taking this attitude and by not recognizing that communism does have appeals, and it will attract people. It will gain strength. It is almost a natural type of religion or bible for underdeveloped nations to follow and adopt. The recent history of many African and South Asian countries, and even Latin American countries, would serve to bear this out.

It is remarkable and encouraging that Notre Dame University has sponsored a Conference on Marxism. At this conference were present not only members of the clergy who are experts on Marxism, but foremost theoreticians from Communist countries. There were critical analyses of Marxism, and perhaps even more significant than the fact that one of our great Catholic universities was sponsoring this meeting was the fact that the Communist Marxists were willing to admit that there were many flaws in the basic philosophy that Marx originally advocated. However, there was general agreement that, beyond question, Marx is one of the most important philosophers whose thought affects modern society.

Marx is both fascinating and repulsive. He was a man so dogmatic that aside from Frederick Engels he had literally no friends in the world. He tolerated no difference from his viewpoints. He was ruthless and scathing, devastating to both critics and to other political philosophers, some of con-

siderable note, with whom he did not agree. His mother said of him after he started writing *Das Kapital*, it was too bad Karl didn't make some, instead of writing about it.

Marx came from a family which was originally of Jewish origin but who had adopted the Lutheran faith. Karl had no faith except in himself. He did not believe in any God and was violent in his denunciation of religion —atheism being one of the fundamental points of Marxism.

Marx originally intended to be a lawyer. He studied at the Universities of Bonn and Berlin, but he decided his interest was philosophy and wrote a doctoral dissertation on Greek materialism at the University of Jena.

His first paying job, of which he held about three in his entire lifetime, each for very short periods, was with a journal of political science called the *Rheinische Zeitung*. He attacked the German Government and system so fiercely in its one year of existence that the publication was banned, and he was asked to leave Germany. He then moved first to Paris, then to Brussels, and was successively asked to leave each of those countries mainly under pressure from the Prussian Government. He gained the reputation as a courageous newspaper man, but he moved into forefront among the political philosophers when with Engels he wrote the *Communist Manifesto* after the first meeting of the International Workingmen's Association (or First International) in Brussels.

In 1849 Marx moved permanently to London. The British were more tolerant of political renegades and less susceptible to Prussian pressure. He held his last paying job in London. Charles Dana, one of the great newspaper men of his time, hired Marx to write articles for *The New York Tribune* at \$5 per article.

For the rest of Marx's life, until he died in 1883, he lived on the donations of his collaborator and, in some respects, his ghost writer, Frederick Engels. Marx finished volume one of *Das Kapital* just before he died, and Engels finished and published volumes two and three after Marx's death. Marx launched a philosophy which has probably caused more anguish and perhaps even more human misery than any other. He came from good upper middle class origin. His brother-in-law was Minister of the Interior in the Prussian Government, and he was related through marriage to the Duke of Argyll.

BIOGRAPHIC SUMMARY



Professor Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr. was educated at Princeton University; he is presently Professor of Political Science at Brown University.

Prior to World War II, Professor Kirkpatrick worked for the U.S. News Publishing Corporation, and during the war he served in the Office of Strategic Services on the staff of Gen. Omar Bradley's 12th Army Group as intelligence briefing officer. At the end of World War II he returned briefly to the U.S. News as editor of *World Report* and then went to the Central Intelligence Agency, where he served in a variety of positions, including Division Chief, Assistant Director, Executive Assistant to the Director, Inspector General, and, from 1962 to 1965, Executive Director. In 1965 he left the Central Intelligence Agency to become Professor of Political Science at Brown University.

For his service in World War II, Professor Kirkpatrick received the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, European Theater Ribbon with five battle stars, and both the French and Belgian Croix de Guerre. In March 1960, Professor Kirkpatrick was chosen by the National Service League as one of the 10 outstanding career officers in the Federal Government.

Marx read history probably beyond the capacity of most scholars. He studied all of the political philosophers in great detail. We could almost safely say that he probably ended up knowing more about their political philosophies than they did themselves. He wrote devastating commentaries on them. Out of this evolved a Marxist philosophy which has underlined the socialist movement throughout its history. It is interesting to note that because of his aversion to hostile views he broke up the First International rather than lose control of it.

The most important part of Marx's philosophy relates to the inevitability of history: man will not be able to affect his environment or his future to any large degree because there will be an inevitable turn of events which will govern his destiny. To prove this Marx used historical or dialectical materialism. A general reaction and revulsion against working conditions was then starting to create turbulence throughout Europe. Wages were low. The number of hours in the workweek pressed the limit of human endurance. Working conditions were horrible. Child labor was prevalent. The factory owners made fortunes, but the workingman seldom was able to rise above poverty. Marx was convinced that the capitalist system would never correct its ways, and the only solution was for the worker to seize the means of production.

Marx believed man went through specific stages of evolution, starting with primitive man moving into agrarian society, followed by feudalism and then capitalism, and finally the two stages of communism — the socialist and the Communist society.

To Marx religion was a dangerous rival. It gave man a crutch to rest on. The only belief man should hold was socialism. Under socialism the state

would acquire all means of production. All men would be equal. Income for everybody would be apportioned according to their production. Classes would disappear. This eventually would result in the withering away of the state, which would no longer be required to suppress class conflict.

The state in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries not only has not withered away, but has prospered and become bigger and healthier and fatter and more inefficient. The Communist Party has become the ruling elite. More and more Communists now recognize the accuracy of Djilas' thesis of a dozen years ago that there has been the development of a new class which has taken over the dictatorship rather than the proletariat. The 23rd Party Congress of the Soviet Union in March 1966 in Moscow brought this out very clearly. The meeting of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party on 1 July 1966 reemphasized that the Party had become out of control even in Yugoslavia. (Second probably only to the secret police, which apparently had become even more out of control.)

And so we find the Communists moving back. It is interesting to note that at the last three Party Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union it was acknowledged that they do not have communism. They have socialism. They say they are moving towards communism. This is the drum that they must keep beating in order to keep the faithful toeing the ideological line.

Marx's labor theories are important to note in passing. Marx reasoned that all production was based upon the value of the labor put into it, ignoring the other factors that are involved in production. To that he attached his surplus value of labor which was the key to his attack on capitalism. Rather than

to each according to his needs and to his ability, the capitalist got the benefit of the surplus production. This made the capitalist rich and made the workman poor.

Marx was a philosopher of violence. Violence was endemic to his cult. But Marx was not quite as violent as the man we turn to next: Lenin, the tactician of communism today and probably the most revered of the Communist theoreticians. One cannot help but speculate what would have happened had Lenin lived beyond 1924. Here was a man of as great intellectual brilliance as Karl Marx and one of the great revolutionaries of all time.

Lenin died at the age of 54. It is generally assumed that he died from overwork, in trying to make the Bolshevik Revolution succeed and in being what was, in effect, the absolute dictator of Russia.

Lenin became a revolutionary at the age of 17, in 1887, when his brother was executed for plotting against the Czar. He was a law student but was expelled from the Universities of Kazan and St. Petersburg because of revolutionary activities. He was exiled shortly thereafter and spent most of the years until 1917 in exile. Lenin forced the split in the Russian Social Democratic Party at its meeting in London in 1903 — between those who advocated revolution and those who believed there would be an evolution in society for the better. From that time until his death Lenin was the epitome of the Bolshevik or the majority movement in the revolution. During his long exile in which he got back to Russia only twice, he, like Marx, spent the bulk of his time in studies. The Communist "bible," *The Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*, is probably 70 percent taken from Lenin's collective works.

Lenin returned to the Soviet Union at the time of the February revolution

and then participated in the overthrow of the Kerenski Government in November 1917. He proposed acceptance of the armistice with Germany despite its harsh terms, abolished private ownership of land, nationalized the banks, gave the workers control of factory production, introduced atheism, tried to suppress religion, and organized the Cheka, the first of the Soviet secret police under Dzerzhinsky, which became the instrument for control.

Lenin was the firm believer in world revolution. One of the more important aspects of his work was the creation of the 3rd International in 1919, a body which actually continued to exist until Stalin abolished it as a sop to the Western allies in 1943. The Comintern was a worldwide organization ignored by Stalin to a very large degree after Lenin's death in 1924. During its early years the Comintern ordered the disastrous German revolts which were unsuccessful and premature, sponsored an unsuccessful revolt in Hungary, and was unable to realize its goal of world revolution.

The Comintern developed a formidable organization with an international bureaucracy in Moscow and a network of skilled and trusted operatives all over the world. The non-Russian Communist Parties could belong to the 3rd International only if they accepted as binding the 21 conditions which Lenin prescribed at its 2nd World Congress in 1920. These required that all parties follow the orders of the Comintern and support the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The basic philosophy of the Comintern was Lenin's: that revolutionary conditions could be created only by small, highly disciplined parties.

Stalin did not immediately obtain tight control over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or over the system, but he moved in with great skill and

adroitness. By the end of the 1920's, Stalin was in control. Following the purges of the 1930's, he was the unquestioned dictator. Stalin did not have either the fascination of Marx or the intellectual qualities of Lenin. He was a cold individual, a clever and calculating revolutionary.

Lenin was the great tactician of Marxism and the great revolutionary. Lenin was willing to compromise; to him theory was a vehicle, and not an iron discipline. He insisted on the discipline within the Party, and he insisted on a small, tight Party of completely disciplined individuals to be the spearhead of the revolution. In his new economic policy Lenin restored the concept of private property in order to obtain cooperation from the farmers. Without the help of the farmers Lenin feared the revolution would fail during the period when the Soviet Union was practically totally isolated from the rest of the world.

Stalin, too, did not concern himself with following all of the philosophy of Marxism. He was a coldblooded, ruthless ruler who would use whatever was needed to maintain controls both over the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Russian people thereby, and over the Communist Parties of the other countries. But it was Lenin who decided to split the revolutionary movements of the other countries when the Comintern insisted that all of the Communist Parties of the world would have to follow without deviation the dictates and orders of the Soviet Union. This split the Communist Parties of the world.

Stalin was denounced by Khrushchev at the 20th Party Congress in 1956 in a secret 6-hour speech to the Party. The speech was circulated among the Eastern European Communist Parties and in this way reached the non-Communist world.

Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin was, in effect, the start of the fragmentation of communism and the breakdown of the monolithic unity which perhaps was far more dangerous than what we have today. It occurred in the same year as the Hungarian and Polish revolts. It split the Communist Parties of the world as badly as the 21 conditions of the Comintern had in 1920. At various times since 1956 the theoreticians and the leaders of the world Communist movement have tried to close the split; they have attempted to resurrect the image of Stalin and to get the word across that he was not as bad as Khrushchev had painted him; that while he had engaged in excesses, purges occasionally were necessary. This has not succeeded.

The last of the four men most important from the ideological point of view of communism is Mao Tse-tung. Mao is the agrarian Communist. The basis of his movement is the peasant. He ignores to a certain degree the workers in the cities. He based his strength and developed his following primarily in the agricultural areas of China, although the Communist Party prior to Chiang Kai-shek's purge of 1927 was fairly strong in some of the cities. Mao at one point worked with Chiang when the orders from Moscow were to cooperate with the Nationalist movement; to benefit from its strength, to infiltrate it, penetrate it, and then take it over. The Kuomintang itself probably sowed more seeds of its own dissolution than the Communists were able to do. The speed of the success of communism in China in 1949 came to a large degree because of the willingness of the Russians to let Mao and his forces get arms surrendered by the Japanese. This made a tremendous difference in the final battles by the Communists against what were then pretty badly disorganized Kuomintang forces.

Recent publicity out of China is indicative of the tremendous and overwhelming idolation of Mao as the father image to the Chinese Communists. How much he actually controls the decisions of the Central Committee today is unknown. The very fact that he still has sufficient strength to order a purge of the basic elements of the Party and to name his successor is indicative of the influence that this man has on China today and the influence he probably will have over all of Asian Communists. Mao has tried to cast the Chinese form of communism as a model for the underdeveloped nations of Southeast Asia and Africa to follow. He has attacked with considerable skill and with complete viciousness the Russians and the Russian form of communism. The attacks allege the Russians are racist, that Russia has built a tremendous industrial society but has lost all touch with the reality of the workingman and the peasant, and that it is Communist China that is the true father of revolution today.

The Indonesian revolt was indicative of tactical error on the part of the Chinese. While this was a massive failure, it is not something from which we can take any long-range comfort. The Communists will gradually rebuild their strength in Indonesia over the years. It probably will be more Russian-inclined communism than Chinese-inclined after the debacle of 1965. The fact that some 300,000 people were killed during this revolt does not lessen the potency and the danger of communism in Indonesia. Conditions in that country for the foreseeable future will provide a breeding ground for communism. The influence of China will be great in Indonesia and in all of the South Asian countries even though the Russians will obviously concentrate their major efforts toward

gaining influence where China has lost it.

Marxism as practiced today is an important key to cold war operations. The 23rd Party Congress of the Soviet Union held in March 1966 was labeled by some as a "do-nothing Congress." It was not a "do-nothing Congress." It was an important Congress when it is recognized that a Party Congress is not an action body but a ratification body. The Central Committee makes the decisions in advance; the Politburo (or the Presidium) is the main drafting body together with the various Secretariats. When the 23rd Party Congress met in March 1966 we can be quite sure that the organization and the advance work had all been done with meticulous care. The Communists are good on organization, on planning, and on details. It is only occasionally when they either go by whim, such as Khrushchev putting missiles in Cuba, that they are apt to make a mistake. When they prepare for something as important as the Party Congress, and particularly one where there are going to be some 90 foreign Communist Parties present, nothing is left to chance or to somebody's personal whim. It is all prepared very carefully in advance.

What this Party Congress indicated was, first and foremost, that the Russians at that time did not want to exacerbate the split with Communist China. The Russians did everything they could within the realm of national dignity to persuade the Chinese to attend. They used the North Vietnamese as intermediaries. The Russians restrained what must have been a tremendous urge to respond to the criticisms of Peking. The Chinese insulted not only the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but Russia as a country. The Russians, in return, held out the olive branch.

The 23rd Party Congress also indicated that the Russians were adopting a much more lenient position toward national communism or the individual roads to socialism that had been adopted in many other countries. This was important for Russian relations in Eastern Europe where Yugoslavia acts with independence. The Yugoslavs have twice directly defied the Soviet Union — literally invited military intervention. Tito, a graduate of the Comintern as well as the Spanish Civil War, is idolized in his own country. He clearly indicated to the Russians that their system of communism was not the Yugoslav system of communism. This was brought out even more graphically in the purge in the Yugoslav Party in the summer of 1966. Yugoslav reforms included the return of a greater degree of production control to the factories, decentralization, and the insistence of deemphasizing Party interference with both State and economy. The Yugoslavs are an example of independence, but the Soviets have been careful not to alienate them.

Ceausescu, the leader of the Rumanian Party, has not openly withdrawn from the Warsaw Pact, but he has indicated he no longer considered it a necessity. He has bluntly refused to fully participate in Comecon, the economic community that the Russians have been trying to introduce in Eastern Europe.

The Italian Communist Party is one of the most powerful in the free world, able to poll some 25 percent of the votes in any national election. This is a Party respected not just in Europe but throughout the world. Palmiro Togliatti, the late leader of the Italian Party, was considered one of the great Communists of his time. The Italian Party has sought an understanding with the Church. There has been an exchange of views, an exchange of pa-

pers, and the Russians not only have tolerated this, but have passively given it some degree of acceptance. All of these are factors that underline the significance of the 23rd Party Congress.

Marxism in the Soviet Union has changed. The Soviets have recognized that the profit motive is important even in communism. They have decentralized more and more in order to get efficient and economic production. The Soviets have created a private company in the motion picture industry in which there will be a profit sharing among the producers and salaries based upon the income that the company earns. Is this the communism or the socialism that Karl Marx was preaching?

The 23rd Party Congress of the Soviet Union also produced some rather temperate remarks about United States intervention in Vietnam: temperate considering the conditions and the fact that the Soviets could not say publicly that they would like the war ended even if it meant a withdrawal of the North Vietnamese forces and stabilization of South Vietnam under an International Control Commission. The fact that within the realm of their commitment to world socialism they have been as moderate is important.

There are all types and brands of so-called Marxism. Some of it is purely political opportunism on the part of the individual or the country, adopted because Marx offered an historically and philosophically cogent explanation of historical development. Marxism is often adopted because it provides an alternative.

To return to our opening premise, Marxism is the glue that holds the world Communist movement together, and without it the world Communist movement would disintegrate even more rapidly and to a greater degree than it appears to be doing at the present time. This is not to say that

the dangers of communism are any less. It still offers a way with which many of the underdeveloped countries will experiment at one time or another, as Guinea did, as Ghana did, and as Indonesia did. Perhaps the best example of the distortion of Marx comes from a Cabinet Minister in an African country who has stated that while he is a Marxist, he does not believe in atheism because religion is very important to his people; he does not believe in state ownership of production because his country needs Western cap-

ital; that he does not believe in collectivization because the ownership of land is basic to Africans and that they must have this if they wish to have progress. But he still says he is a Marxist.

This politician is typical of more and more of the type of Marxists that we have in the world today. There are still hard-core Marxists in every country of the world. But the Marxist of today is probably more of an opportunist than a true follower of the original philosopher.

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I have just returned from visiting the Marines at the front, and there is not a finer fighting organization in the world.

Douglas MacArthur: In the outskirts of Seoul, 21 September 1950