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*The International
Communist Movement:
Origins and Trends*

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*The International
Communist Movement:*

Origins and Trends

The International Communist Movement:

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by



Sergio Tasso Vásquez de Aquino
Captain, Brazilian Navy
International Senior Fellow

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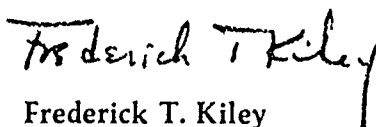
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Foreword

Although some Westerners no longer view communism as a worldwide, monolithic movement, there is no proof that leaders of the communist states have surrendered their announced goal of world domination. The Soviets continue to expand geographically even as they continue to preach "peaceful coexistence." China, focusing on internal development, has not been as outwardly aggressive as the USSR, but Chinese leaders still publicly adhere to Maoist principles calling for global revolution. Cuba has been particularly active in communist expansionism, encouraging and supporting revolutions in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean, both as its own agent and as a Soviet proxy.

In this report, Captain Sergio Tasso Vásquez de Aquino, Brazilian Navy, offers his view of the objectives, strategies, and tactics of the International Communist Movement. He focuses on Moscow, Beijing, and Havana as the centers from which communist activities spread. By describing the transfer of power within the Soviet Union and China, Captain Tasso reveals much about communist political systems. Captain Tasso also discusses the role of the Latin American military as the last line of defense against communist expansion in Latin America. His is not a detached, academic study of communist actions and motives. Rather, it is a summary of the personal observations and beliefs of a thoughtful man who hopes to preserve democracy and freedom for his nation and continent.



Frederick T. Kiley
Director, Research and Publication
National Defense University

Author's Preface

This paper contains information concerning the worldwide action of communism that I, personally, have gathered in my day-to-day work over an extended period. As an International Research Fellow, my purpose in writing this report is to present objectively to the National Defense University the result of my observations.

My intention is to analyze the action of the International Communist Movement (ICM) according to its general guidelines on all continents. As a basic orientation, ample historical consideration is given to aspects of communism and socialism throughout the world. Likewise, consideration is given to the main characteristics of communist actions in the struggle for power through "peaceful" or parliamentary means, or through armed aggression.

It is important to point out that the concepts and viewpoints expressed are highly influenced by my previous experiences. Thus, the emphasis placed on the matters being analyzed will necessarily be in accordance with the opinions and thoughts of a Navy officer, a military man, and a Brazilian citizen.

*The International
Communist Movement:*

Origins and Trends

I

Origins and Philosophical Basis of the Communist Movement

The struggle between individualism and totalitarianism has manifested itself since the beginning of human society, when the State was organized. An example of this can be found by looking at Ancient Greece and city-states such as Athens. In that "cradle of democracy," one also finds a land of tyrants. It was there and then that Plato, as far as we know, appears as the first thinker to announce the idea of a socialist society in which all wealth, women, and children would belong to the commonwealth as a whole. This expression is found in his book *The Republic*.

After a long period of history, we reach Europe in the middle of the 19th century and the development of Marxism. Marxist theory was first expressed in the 1848 edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

In order to understand the phenomenon of Marxism, one must examine the conditions out of which it emerged. In Europe, as a result of the great maritime discoveries, the mercantile idea had been implanted. According to mercantile theory, the wealth of nations would be expressed by an accumulation of precious metals or as a result of a positive balance of payments in trade. Thus, some colonial nations, such as Portugal and Spain, would only concern themselves with piling up gold and silver from the mines of the New World. Other nations, possessing no colonies with a wealth of precious metals—England, France, and the German states—began to develop early industries, the products of which were transformed into hard currency. The result was the mercantile phenomenon of a positive balance of trade payments in these nations. We are all aware of the route followed by Brazilian gold, for example, from the colony to Lisbon and from there almost directly to London. This mercantile system served as the basis of the Industrial Revolution.

Mercantilism coincided with the consolidation of the large national states. The period was also characterized by the widespread practice of interventionism. History, as we know it, is cyclical. Thus, this interventionist and mercantilist stage was followed by a classical economic period. Its initial phase was that of the physiocrats, "laissez-faire," and "laissez-passer." In this phase it was believed that the invisible hand of Divine Providence would dominate all activities and that, therefore, the state should not intervene. In other words, the sum of group and individual successes would necessarily lead to overall well-being.

During the period in which the mercantile philosophy ruled, there was a great class difference in countries that developed industrial strength. The holders of capital—emerging capitalists, landowners, and industrialists—possessed the unquestionable authority of decisionmaking. The large mass of wage earners—the emerging proletariat, who replaced the guildsmen of medieval times—had very poor living conditions. Such an environment provided for the birth of Karl Marx's socialist thinking.

Karl Marx's contribution should have been, primarily, his economic interpretation of history. In this he was a pioneer. But he also introduced the concept of class struggle. He stated that throughout the history of humanity there had been unjust social relations in terms of oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited, free men and servants, employers and employed, nobles and plebeians. He condemned society divided by classes and proposed the birth of a classless state, where the proletariat would predominate. This was the idea of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," later to be developed more completely by Lenin.

Marx tried to characterize his ideas as scientific—the product of a complicated and convoluted thought process, explaining all events, based on a reversal of Hegel's idealism. Thus, he stated that he possessed the answer of "scientific socialism" while attributing to his predecessors—Proudhon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, and others—the concept of "utopian socialism."

Marxist thinking is a cosmic or global vision, claiming to explain all phenomena of social and natural life. Thus, it is essentially dynamic: a process, which produces continuous change. A thesis—a given situation—is opposed by an antithesis, and from the interaction of these there is an outcome—a synthesis. This, in turn, will be faced by a new antithesis, and so forth successively.

According to his principles, Marx defined a socialist society as one in which each person would contribute according to his capacity and would receive according to his work. To him, this would be a necessary stage preceding the great communist society, in which each would contribute according to his capacity and would receive according to his need. Thus, following his dialectic thinking, the final great synthesis would occur.

He proposed a permanent class struggle and said that first, the proletariat of each country should struggle to destroy its country's bourgeoisie. Later, worldwide, the colonized nations would rise against the imperialist nations, reducing them to rubble.

Marx admitted that the passage to socialism and onward to the "dictatorship of the proletariat" would not take place in a gentle manner. Instead it would take the form of revolution, inasmuch as the bourgeoisie would not give up its privileges except through violence. He and his later followers were sure of the inexorability of the evolution of this historical process. It was a natural corollary of the previous stages: absolute monarchy or power of the king, followed by constitutional monarchy or power of the nobles as a force opposing the king, followed by bourgeois democracy as produced by the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789. The last and definitive stage, according to the Marxists, would be power of the simple people or proletariat.

Marx also said that his socialist revolution would take place among the most developed nations of Europe, that is, the industrialized nations and those containing the conscious "labor force." The historical facts belie him however, inasmuch as the modern, industrialized nations of our contemporary world are providing their workers with rather stable, legitimate, and dignified societies within the capitalist system. These societies are led by the Christian inspiration of the dignity of man, so aptly taught by the true social doctrine of the Church. This doctrine can be found in the "Rerum Novarum" (1891), "Imortale Dei" (1885), and "Libertas" (1888), the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, in which he proposes an understanding between capital and labor, not a class struggle. In this document, he also proposes that the social function of private property in the production of wealth is natural and necessary. The document also contains an exact concept of freedoms, principles, and norms that should prevail in the constitution of states for the just realization of man as an integral being on earth. The ideas established by "Rerum Novarum" were updated by the "Quadragesimo Anno" (Pio XI), "Mater et Magistra" (John XXIII), "Populorum Progresso" (Paul VI), and more recent Pontifical declarations. These ideas are all developed within the true concept of democracy, derived from the affirmation of the intrinsic dignity of man and the search for common well-being. This emphasis is the great contribution of Christianity to the political life of men (as exemplified by such men as Saint Paul, Saint Augustine, and Saint Thomas Aquinas).

As an example of the great contradictions of applied Marxist thinking, it was in Tzarist Russia, a country still living in the medieval era with a backward social and economic system and a weak and voiceless labor force, that the first Marxist state was established. There, as in all other examples of communist takeover, the workers were not the leaders of the revolution. Instead, the leaders were children of the bourgeoisie who, while denying their origins, became the spokesmen and protagonists of violence and radical change. The Communist Party—the "vanguard of the proletariat"—according to Marxist practice rather than

theory, takes power and then, instead of eliminating classes, creates a new class, possessing all privileges and composed of the bureaucratic cadres of the party.

2

The Principal Radiating Centers of Communism

The Action of the USSR and Sovietism

As previously noted, Russia at the end of the 19th century was still living in the Middle Ages. It had not obtained any benefits from the great events that marked the history of the rest of Europe, never experiencing, for example, the effects of the Renaissance. Russians had a historical fear of "encirclement" and an enormous distrust of Europe, resulting from past invasions from the West. First came the Vikings, then the Teutonic Knights, then the Catholic Polish, later Charles XII from Sweden, and more recently Napoleon Bonaparte. Finally, now as the USSR, the Russians were victimized by the Nazi invasion of World War II.

The Russian encirclement complex and a living memory of the "scorched land" campaigns in defense of "Mother Russia," with their heavy toll in human lives, determined Russia's isolation during a long period of its history. On the other hand, religious conditions dictated by Russia's Orthodox Church, with its Byzantine origin, added to this distrust of the West by making its people suspicious of the Latin world and Western Europe as a whole. This psychological context plus Russian fatalism, the love of the land, and subservience to the landowners, partially explain the success of the Bolshevik revolution and the introduction of Marxism in a country that Marx himself had considered "backward" and "barbaric." He believed it had not yet reached a sufficiently developed stage to absorb the ideology of "scientific socialism." Other factors contributing to the revolution were the widespread corruption among the noblemen, the mistreatment of the common people, and Lenin's leadership. Lenin, thanks to his superior party organization and lightning strikes, succeeded in pushing aside Kerensky and his Menshevist majority. The Bolsheviks' political takeover of Russia in 1917 was the first striking example of their organizational skills.

Within the Russian encirclement complex we also find the reason why the Soviets, soon after World War II, took over the Eastern European nations that today form part of their empire. We could say that their objective was to obtain a defense perimeter to the west, beyond the Soviet border. Those countries became buffer states, to act as an advanced defense of Soviet territory against eventual attacks from Western nations. In order to support this hypothesis and give authenticity to it,

one may point out what happened to the political uprisings in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. These uprisings were cruelly crushed by the Soviet Union without regard to world opinion. The Soviets did not even take into account the possibility of a breakdown of the Communist Movement, which eventually did occur during the invasion of Prague by Warsaw Pact troops.

The importance of Hungary and Czechoslovakia lies in their strategic position between Russia's most dreaded European enemy, Germany, and the borders of the Soviet Union. The Soviets' fear of the Germans is such that one of their main objectives is to prevent German reunification. Even a resulting German communist state would not be in the interest of the Soviet Union; the Soviet communists simply do not want to see a new, powerful Germany.

It is of interest to note that the guideline for action sponsored by the Soviet communists is called "massism," that is, the use of urban masses to impose through pressure and power their own viewpoints. According to this thinking, by guiding and inducting these masses the Communist Party would always be the "vanguard of the urban workers." In other words, revolution would take place through the action of urban workers in response to political brain-washing by the communists.

A major emphasis is given to political action. Propaganda, agitation, and psycho-social warfare are part of it. Faithful to Lenin's teachings, which condemned the "infantilism of the left" of those extreme revolutionary groups that had chosen the "armed route" for building socialism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) remains to this day critical of the "adventurism" of guerrilla groups. This is, however, a position of convenience, intended to provide the USSR with an international image of respectability as a state and, by so doing, facilitate its worldwide subversive action.

Soviet interference in armed subversive movements has, in fact, been fully proven. The Soviets monitor, support, and finance subversion, particularly in Latin America through Cuban proxy. Officially, however, the orthodox communist parties, obedient to Moscow, condemn guerrilla action in their own nations, trying to disengage themselves and the Soviet Union from the negative effects of these terrorist groups' misdeeds.

Another explanation for the USSR's apparent criticism of guerilla warfare is its concern with maintaining "peaceful coexistence," "detente," and cooperation among the democratic and communist social systems. This political situation, which the Soviets created, greatly benefits their

search for world domination. The USSR, through its policy of "peaceful coexistence" and "detente," instilled a pacific attitude in the Western nations, leading them to disarmament and to the erroneous conviction that a threat of confrontation with the communist bloc no longer exists, that the USSR is no longer interested in enslaving the world to its Red ideology.

In truth, however, the Soviet spokesmen themselves make it very clear that "peaceful coexistence" as they practice it will never preclude ideological struggle, which would end only when communism has taken over the whole world. Along these lines, the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said, "The Soviet Union's foreign policy has as its objective the development of favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism . . . Under the present conditions, in which the aggressive forces of imperialism incite international tension and develop warfare postures, the Communist Party will continue to raise the vigilance of the Soviet people and strengthen the defensive power of our Country, so that the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union should be always ready to firmly defend the conquests of socialism and respond thoroughly to any imperialist aggressor."* These words of yesterday are still appropriate today.

The USSR today—the inheritor of Tzarist Russia's expansionist vision—as a result of the correcting tendencies imposed by Stalin in opposition to Trotsky's international orientation, uses the Marxist ideology primarily as a means of affirming national power and achieving the nation's objectives as a great power. The "great Russia" is still seeking Pan-Slavism under the Russian aegis. Confirmation of the USSR's hegemonistic tendencies can be found in at least six historical events: (1) in 1922, the establishment of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, in which the Russian Federation imposed its own language, customs, ethics, and interests upon all the other fourteen Republics; (2) during and after World War II, the annexation of the Baltic Republics by the USSR and the creation of the "community of Socialist States in Eastern Europe" by the force of the Red Army; (3) in 1953, the use of Soviet forces to quell uprisings in East Germany; (4) in 1956, the use of Soviet forces to end the anti-communist revolt in Hungary; (5) in 1968, the domination of Czechoslovakia (this was later defined as "limited sovereignty" under the Brezhnev Doctrine—the license to employ the Armed Forces of the USSR in the defense of "socialist conquests"); and finally, (6) in 1980, the threat of intervention and use of national armed forces in Poland to crush "Solidarity," the Christian, democratic labor movement.

*From the Report of the CC of the CP on 8 April 1966.

The Action of the PRC and Maoism

During the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century, China was, for all practical purposes, a no-man's land. Japan and the great nations of Western Europe possessed territorial enclaves in the country. After proclaiming the Republic in 1911, Dr. Sung Yat-sen set out to unify China. His immediate lieutenant, and also a relative, was Chiang Kai-shek. Confirming its growing interest in China, the USSR invited Chiang Kai-shek to take a course in the Soviet Military Academy in 1923, where he remained for a few months. The USSR noticed China's growing antagonism toward Western powers as a result of their previous occupation of Chinese territories (the "concessions"). The USSR took advantage of this antagonism and pretended a disinterested friendship toward the Chinese.

An important event during these early years of the Chinese Republic was the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party by Mao Tse-tung in July 1921. Mao's views were later to be transformed into obligatory—and the only—reading in the schools, communities, factories, army quarters, farms, and libraries of China. In these works Mao established a new doctrine. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, as proposed in these writings, became the bible for Chinese communists and their followers throughout the world. The most famous of Mao's writing is the "Little Red Book."

In China's history there was always a latent antagonism toward Japan, periodically flaring up into confrontation. In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria, and war was formally declared in 1937. With the Japanese invasion of Chinese territory, a second United Front was established between the Nationalist Party (Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang) and the Chinese Communist Party. The first United Front had been formed in 1924 but had lasted only until 1927, followed by the first civil war between nationalists and communists. The second United Front lasted the entire period of the war with Japan, 1937-1945.

At the end of the war, the communists took advantage of the weapons and logistic support provided by the Soviets stationed in Manchuria. (The USSR had conquered Manchuria during its short participation in the war against Japan.) Using this support, Mao Tse-tung came out of isolation, started a successful offensive against the nationalist armies, and succeeded in expelling them from the continental territory. The beaten Kuomintang troops, led by Chiang Kai-shek, withdrew to the island of Formosa, or Taiwan. On 1 October 1949 the People's Republic of China (PRC) was proclaimed on the mainland by the victorious communists, and the Chinese nation was divided into two antagonistic states.

Mao Tse-tung adapted his Marxist revolution to a predominantly rural Chinese environment. Thus, contrary to the Soviet model, the Maoist revolution is characterized by its "armed route": the siege and conquest of the cities by rising peasant masses, guided by the Communist Party. Once the process of national communization was sold to the Chinese masses, the Chinese leader extended his revolutionary theory to the world, preaching the need for "armed insurgency" on the "planetary countryside." This countryside was composed of the poor masses in developing nations, as opposed to the "planetary cities"—the capitalist, rich, and industrialized countries. In harmony with these ideas, Mao developed the concept of the "Three Worlds." The first was composed of the developed capitalist nations; the second was the "Community of Socialist States"; and the third was the mass of poor, developing countries, most of which lay south of the Equator.

In early 1956 the growing Chinese antagonism toward the USSR led Mao to redefine his Three Worlds. The first was now composed of the two superpowers, the USSR and the United States, which, according to Mao, sought to divide the world between themselves to satisfy their own interests of hegemony. The second world consisted of the developed socialist and capitalist countries, and the third included poorer countries still in the development stage. China included itself among the developing countries. Thus, the Chinese wished to assume the posture of champions of the Third World by stating that they, too, were under-developed. They alleged that their foreign policy was based on two principles: "the support of the just cause of the peoples of the world in their struggle for freedom and independence" and the need "to denounce interference of great powers in the internal affairs of other nations." Such declarations are quite welcome among the nations of the Third World.

The PRC, in recruiting international support against the USSR, pledged obedience to Mao's "Five Principles." These had first been proposed in 1955, when the movement of non-aligned nations was established during the Bandung Conference. These principles are as follows:

- Respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states.
- Non-aggression.
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.
- Equality and mutual advantages in economic relations.
- Peaceful coexistence.

The events following Khrushchev's speech before the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, together with Khrushchev's support of peaceful coexistence, caused the total break between the USSR and the PRC. In his speech at the 20th Congress, Khrushchev had "demystified" Stalin and revealed the latter's heinous crimes during his long administration. After 1956, Mao Tse-tung considered the USSR as his main enemy and the probable origin of an attack against China in the very near future. War against the capitalist world would be postponed to a later stage.

Deprived of technical assistance and economic aid from the USSR and having to stress internal ideological control over the Chinese people in order to prepare them for war against "the enemy from the North," Mao Tse-tung determined China's isolation. The most critical phase of this isolation was the "Great Cultural Revolution," from 1965 to 1969, during which many excesses were committed under the aegis of doctrinal purity. Earlier, between 1958 and 1960, another frustrated movement had taken place. It was called the "Great Leap Forward," following the Soviet model of rapid industrialization and characterized in China by "backyard smelters." During this period, Maoism turned itself to developing China into a great power. This attempt by China at "walking on its own legs" led the Soviets to accuse the Chinese of being "chauvinistic" and "nationalistic."

With the excesses and terrors of the "Cultural Revolution" over, China opened up to the world after 1970. Its foreign policy focused on gaining admission to the United Nations, which finally took place in 1971, and generalized diplomatic recognition. Such recognition always took place under the condition that the other party would break its diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Today more than a hundred nations have full relations with Peking, and China is now a member of the majority of international organizations. The decisive action in this process was President Nixon's visit to China in February 1972 (which followed the initial steps taken in what became known as the "ping-pong diplomacy") and the re-establishment of dialogue between the United States and the PRC.

The Action of Cuba and Castroism

The third important center of the Communist Movement is Castroist Cuba. Many scholars who have studied international communism refuse to consider that Cuba ever may have been an independent center of the Communist Movement. I think this idea deserves to be discussed.

From its beginning in 1959, the Cuban revolution declared itself nationalistic, and it was revealed as communist only in 1961. We all remember the support given by the South American continent to Fidel Castro. He had demolished "the corrupt dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista," and he triumphantly toured the capitals of the Americas after his victory. He was received as a hero by the various governments and peoples.

But gradually, as he settled himself more firmly in power by eliminating all possible domestic opposition through a regime of terror, Castro discarded his nationalist disguise and adopted positions that were more and more in line with those of the International Communist Movement. In May 1961 Cuba was declared a Socialist Republic, and on 2 December of the same year Fidel Castro stated publicly that he was a Marxist-Leninist and had been one all his life. The Bay of Pigs incident in 1961, in which anti-communist Cubans failed in an attempt to reconquer the island, served as a pretext for Castro to draw closer to the world centers of communism, the USSR and the PRC, and to establish his policy of "exporting revolution."

Cuba occupies a strategic position in the very heart of the Americas, a few miles from the coast of the United States. Therefore, the USSR and the PRC, already in a state of open dissension, started to struggle over Fidel Castro's loyalty. Initially, the USSR had the advantage. Perhaps this was due to the influence of Castro's brother Raul, former militant of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), a pro-Soviet front. Taking advantage of the early Soviet influence, Nikita Khrushchev decided to implant offensive weapons in Cuba, directed against the United States. This was a rash decision, one he repented when he was forced to withdraw the weapons in October 1962, ending the well-known "missile crisis."

The PRC perceived that Fidel Castro was irritated at not having been considered a valid spokesman in the dispute between Washington and Moscow, even though he might be considered the main interested party. So the Chinese turned Castro's irritation with the USSR to its own advantage. The Chinese were also encouraged by the resemblance, in doctrinal terms, between the Maoist revolutionary model and the Cuban thesis of "exporting guerrilla warfare." However, Peking's influence was brief. The PRC was quite far away and had few possibilities for helping Cuba economically. Fidel Castro realigned himself progressively more under the aegis of Moscow. The economic linkage of Cuba to the USSR in 1962, considerably accelerated as of 1968 with the daily injection of millions of dollars of Soviet resources, came to determine the course of the Castro regime's foreign policy as well as its international operations.

Having chosen the "armed route" for building socialism, Castro provided an indubitably charismatic leadership for the militant Marxist groups of the Third World. The Cuban model, contrary to the Maoist emphasis on a general uprising of the peasants, stressed the effectiveness of guerrilla groups placed strategically inside target countries. These would serve as catalysts for broader revolutionary movements. This was in accordance with Regis Debray's theory of the "foci."*

The failure of "Che" Guevara in Bolivia in 1967 caused a new direction in Cuban-inspired guerrilla warfare; it began to have an urban focus. Acting within the environment of the large cities, the extremist groups easily obtained logistical facilities of all kinds. They could obtain financial resources through kidnappings and acts of "expropriation" against banks. Weapons, munitions, communications, and medical supplies could be obtained through armed action against military barracks, hospitals, and other facilities. At the same time, the actions of the security forces responsible for maintaining law and order became more difficult; the guerrillas could disappear quickly among the common citizens. The great theoretician of urban guerrilla warfare was the Brazilian Carlos Marighela, who wrote the *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*. This communist came under Castroist influence after having rebelled against the "pacifist" orientation of the Brazilian Communist Party, which had been obedient to the "detente" orientation of Moscow.

Cuba became, in fact, the third main center for the spread of communism as a result of the charismatic personality of Fidel Castro and the indubitable leadership he achieved among the subversive groups of the Third World. In spite of Cuba's suffocating economic dependence on Moscow, Castro, unlike the governmental heads of other Soviet satellites, had his own ideas concerning the export of revolution to other parts of the world. He took actions that openly contradicted Soviet ideas, particularly when the Soviet Union was emphasizing detente as the way to achieve its goals in international relations.

In any case, Cuba had become linked to a power outside the Americas. This fact, plus the proven interference by Havana in the internal affairs of the American states, seriously threatening their survival as independent states, clearly violated the principles defended by the Charter of the Organization of the American States (OAS) and by the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (IATRA). In view of this, the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Continent, held in Punta del Este in 1962, voted to exclude the

*At present, Regis Debray is a high official of the socialist government of President Mitterrand in France.

government of Cuba from the Inter-American Organization.* Venezuela formally and officially denounced Cuba for training and guiding guerrilla groups that endangered the social and political structures of the Venezuelan nation. Such sponsorship constituted clear aggression against a country of the South American continent.

Analysis of the abundant documentation concerning Cuba's disruptive action on the continent prompted the Investigating Commission named by the Permanent Council of the OAS to analyze Venezuela's denunciation of the Castro regime. On 18 February 1964 the Commission stated,

The present government of Cuba, from its installation in 1959, has been carrying out, sponsoring and directing, in various forms, a policy of intervention in the Continent, by means of propaganda, assignment of resources, training for sabotage and guerrilla operations, and supply of arms, in order to support the movements which intend to subvert national institutions by force, in order to implant Communist regimes.

In view of this, the Ninth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held in Washington from 21 to 26 July 1964, resolved to apply sanctions to Castroist Cuba in the following terms. (Only Mexico did not comply with the resolution).

- a) To condemn the government of Castro as an aggressor and interventionist in the internal affairs of other States, violating their territory and sovereignty;
- b) To agree to suspend diplomatic, consular, and trade relations with the Castro regime;
- c) To establish an economic blockade as sanction, in view of the Castroist intervention.

Continuing and increasing his nefarious and criminal actions against states that did not follow the Red creed, Fidel Castro convened the First Tricontinental Conference in Havana in January 1966. This conference resulted in the creation of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (OLAS), directed at instilling the germs of subversion and guerrilla warfare in the countries of the South American continent. However, the Cuban leader had much more ambitious dreams. He created the Solidarity Organization of the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (OSPAAAL) in order to export his revolutionary action throughout the developing world, whose nations are mainly in those three continents. This exportation started right away through "Venceremos" and "Venceremitos" brigades, the "Students for a Democratic Society" in the

*Thus, the sanction was not applied against the Cuban nation as such.

United States, and infiltration into the "Free Quebec" movement in Canada and the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The secret resolutions of the First Tricontinental were leaked to the West by brave Cuban patriots. These resolutions clearly indicate the will to promote violent destruction of democratic societies. The main target is youth, to be mobilized in accordance with the values of Marxism or destroyed through violence, pornography, and drug addiction. One document suggests that leaders should "resolutely support the campaign in favor of the drug addict, standing on the principle of respect of individual, . . . combining the promotion of fear of atomic war with pacifism and demoralizing of youth by means of stimulating them to hallucinogenic substances."*

The interest of the USSR in attempting to give credibility to detente while also weakening the OAS and neutralizing the IATRA led it to pressure Fidel Castro to moderate his verbal incontinence, his promises and acts of revolution in Latin America, and his attacks on the United States. The Soviets hoped to induce the countries of the Western Hemisphere to ease economic sanctions against Cuba. This would free the USSR from the heavy onus of sustaining Cuba's failing economy and would promote the gradual reincorporation of the Castro regime into the inter-American system. In this way, Cuba might erode the defensive unity of the American continents from the inside.

Thus, the total dependence of the Cuban economy on the USSR eventually caused Castro's loss of autonomy. More and more he had to account for his revolutionary acts and subordinate them, in general terms, to the dictates of the Soviets. This was dramatically emphasized when an expeditionary force of approximately 40,000 Cubans was sent to Africa as an arm of Soviet imperialism, guaranteeing the conquest of so many strategically located countries—Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, the Republic of the Congo, and others—for the Soviet sphere of influence.

On the other hand, Soviet aloofness toward guerrilla warfare has been more for propaganda purposes than real ones. The Cuban Directorate General of Intelligence (DGI) and its "Department of National Liberation" are guided by Soviet specialists of the KGB and the GRU. One must not seek a sense of coherence—by Western standards—in Soviet actions. The Soviets' main objective is total political control over the world. Their actions, however contradictory they may appear at a given time, contribute to the achievement of long-term aims.

*Secret Resolution of the First Tricontinental of Havana concerning the United States.

Trotskyism and the Action of Other Extreme Left Groups

At the present time, the great centers for the export of communism are somewhat hampered in their direct subversive action. Their state interests demand that they maintain certain postures that are detrimental to the more conventional pro-Moscow and pro-Peking communist parties throughout the world in order to assist in the resurgence of the Trotskyist phenomenon.

The Fourth International, created by Trotsky after he had lost the power struggle in the USSR to Stalin, supports the theory of the international "permanent revolution." Outlawed in the USSR and without any connection to a national state, the Fourth International enjoys a freedom of doctrine and action much broader than that of communist parties that obey Moscow, Peking, or Havana. It has always suffered from acute internal divisions, which weakened it by splitting it into many varied groups, each one affirming that it is the faithful interpreter of Trotsky's thinking. On the other hand, its ranks have been increased by extremist revolutionaries who, disillusioned, deserted from the ranks of the traditional communist parties. The extremists felt that the traditional parties were "becoming bourgeois and renouncing the revolution, turning revisionist."

This growth of Trotskyist groups has been observed in Latin America, where the appeal of the idealist-romantic is very strong among the younger revolutionaries. Trotskyist influence was strong in the formation of the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP) of Argentina. The ERP became the apex of the terrorist movement in South America. This group was set up as the core of the Revolutionary Coordination Board, which includes guerrilla groups of other countries, such as the Trupamaros in Uruguay, the MIR in Chile, the ELN in Bolivia, and the ALN in Brazil. All these groups follow the orientation of the World Congress of Guerrillas, held in Colombia in April 1973, and they grow out of the close association of the Cuban DGI and the Soviet KGB through the Revolutionary Congress for Latin America (CRAL). It is clear that in spite of serious ideological differences the different communist groups unite in their common goal of destroying peace, freedom, and democracy as we understand them.

Worldwide, the Trotskyists make use of available means to achieve their goals. They manipulate the national liberation movements in the Third World, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and their innumerable factions. Although in their initial stages these

movements might have eminently nationalistic motivations, they soon find themselves involved with the Marxist groups, who go on to direct their actions. This is consistent with the Bolshevik and Menshevik conflict in the October Revolution, which provided the historical model. The same pattern applies to the anarchist ideological movements directed at the destruction of established democratic society. The "Chi-en-lit" of Cohn Benditt in France in 1968, for example, spread throughout the Western world in the form of student nihilism. All of these movements contribute to the communists' work toward their final goal of dominating the world.

All who promote disunity in society through the destruction of the family, the perversion of values, and the leading astray of youth—who are the world's future—are assisting in the downfall of the West and the establishment of the communist "new order" worldwide. Herbert Marcuse, the "New Left," and their followers are involved in this action. Destruction—that is the watchword of a madness that is sweeping the world.

3

The International Communist Movement's Goal of World Domination

The strategic actions of the communists, intended to gain political power throughout the world, follow two basic routes: the "peaceful" route and the armed route.

Peaceful methods for gaining power are those used by the so-called broad or popular fronts, wherein communism is allied to the bourgeoisie that it claims to detest. We have had examples in South America of these peaceful methods, some successful, others unsuccessful. Normally, these are long-term actions accompanied by campaigns of psychological warfare.

The armed route, which is characterized by terrorism and guerrilla warfare, exploits the so-called objective conditions for implanting communism: poverty, malnutrition, economic and social backwardness, disease, institutionalized injustice, and unemployment. These conditions promote the political ferment that is favorable to the action of communist agents, who guide popular opinion toward dissatisfaction and revolt, which the Communist Party, as an organization, would then exploit through its most representative and charismatic leaders. The communists unleash revolutionary violence to bring about radical change in political and social structures, always with the promise of earthly Messianism or the solution of all problems.

The "Armed Way"

Armed revolution exploits the deficiencies—adverse factors—of the target countries, generating antagonisms and pressures by exposing the general public and selected elites to agitation and propaganda. In its broadest and most generalized form, armed revolution normally moves through two stages. In the first stage, called nationalistic and democratic, leaders seek to exploit the authentic nationalistic sentiments of the population. The Egypt of Nasser is an example; revolution was carried out by exploiting nationalistic sentiments against the apathy and corruption that existed under King Farouk. The basis for the revolution was the Egyptian people's aspirations for development. Other examples are the national liberation movements of the African peoples, such as the nationalistic struggles in Algeria and Angola, and the movements to reject oligarchies that disregarded the basic needs of the people, including Batista's Cuba, Somoza's Nicaragua, and Trujillo's Dominican Republic.

In the second stage of armed revolution, the communists become the helmsmen of the nationalistic and democratic revolution. They infiltrate into these positions thanks to their monolithic organization and party discipline. These leaders always know what they want and struggle to obtain it by any means. Then they declare the socialist goal of the revolution that, by then, is under their command.

The classic historical example is the Cuban revolution. Fidel Castro began his climb to the international stage on 26 July 1953 with the unsuccessful attack on the Moncada Barracks. Then on 25 November 1956, with 82 followers, Castro sailed from Mexico aboard *Granma* toward the Cuban coast to start the struggle against the regime of Fulgencio Batista. Skillfully, and until he had absolute control of power, Castro masked his affiliation with International Communism. He was so successful that he obtained the support of many non-Marxists of the South American continent, who did not stint their expressions of sympathy for the then-believed romanticism of Castro's intentions and actions. On 1 January 1959, Castro was the head of the new government installed in Cuba. Not until March 1961, after he had eliminated or removed all the non-communist idealists who had participated in the revolution, did Castro declare Cuba to be a Socialist Republic.

In South America and in the history of the Latin American people, wars of insurrection—the uprisings of populations against established governments—have been common, followed by “pronouncement” of outstanding leaders or chiefs who had been in the opposition. But these have been struggles centered on the mere vying for political power, without ideological ferment. However, for some time now the situation has changed, because of the organized and permanent ideological threat—International Communism. Wars of insurrection become wars of revolution. The idealism of some, the nationalistic ardor of others, the will of still others to fight and to affirm by force or by valor their right to lead their people—these are always subject to exploitation by the hidden enemies, crafty and sinister in their designs to eliminate national powers in order to affirm the universal power of communism.

Even if circumstances do not yet favor broad or generalized revolution or preparation for it, the communists can use other forms of revolutionary warfare. These include sabotage, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism, violence intended to undermine the national will, instill fear and terror in the population, and hamper the peaceful and orderly effort of the people to attain their objectives. Random individuals and groups of people, as well as ideological opponents of the communists, are killed. Other targets for destruction include electric power plants, water treatment plants, ports that are vital for transportation of goods, and communications facilities.

The indiscriminate slaughter of innocent people causes panic in the population and makes the people doubt the effectiveness of the forces of law and order. The assassination of national leaders greatly reduces future opposition to communist actions. These leaders are capable of influencing public opinion; they stand up, by the example of their lives, words, and deeds, against the communist avalanche.

This type of warfare consists of violent action, action of doom in the rural environment and in the urban environment. Armed guerrillas seek to establish chaos or else "liberated areas" where the target nation's sovereignty and police power are not exercised. Financial and logistical resources are provided by expropriations, extortions, and kidnappings. The guerrilla actions have major propaganda repercussions.

All actions contribute to social unrest and disturbance and the gradual, continual erosion of the bases of society. In order to weaken the legitimately constituted power, the guerrillas take advantage of terror and of human beings' natural instinct for survival. Through successive episodes of violence, there is systematic preparation for the destruction of the nation state and the unfolding of generalized revolution and chaos. At the end, as a natural result, those who are strongest because they are the most effective in using violence rise to power: the communists rule.

The violence follows the Soviet, Maoist, and Cuban models, according to the sources of inspiration and support. The terrorists and guerrillas, who boast of a love of humanity while they delight in killing and mutilation, are trained in Moscow, Prague, Havana, Peking, and North Korea. Their action spreads throughout all continents and countries; it is more intensive in those countries which cannot or do not know how to defend themselves. Whether developed or developing, no country is free from the guerrilla. Terrorist fury does not respect borders and is united in a coordinated manner throughout the world: Palestinians, Castroist Latin Americans, extremist Japanese, Trotskyists, and anarchists of all latitudes and longitudes. For instance, the 1972 massacre at the Lod Airport, Israel, was carried out by Japanese guerrillas in compliance with the interests of Palestinian guerrillas.

An international awareness of terrorism and international coordination against it has become necessary. Each country must apply effective measures against armed subversion. Nations most successful in this struggle against terrorism are those that realize it requires all their security forces. Frequently, violence has generated anti-revolutionary violence. But would the extremist lunatics understand any other arguments than those of force? Is it right for democracies to do nothing and let themselves be surrounded, dominated, and destroyed by those skilled in terror and violence?

Questions like these lie at the core of the subject of human rights. Will human rights have to be unilateral? Must one condemn the highly publicized but frequently unproven excesses of the forces in charge without saying a word about revolutionary violence and its innocent victims? These are basic moral questions of our times. There is another question, the answer to which might be vital for the survival of democracy: Is the ordinary legislation of free countries sufficient and effective for confronting the challenge of universal, Marxist-inspired terror?

The "Peaceful" Methods

Let us now touch upon another important aspect of communist actions, one that is most important at present. This aspect is psychological warfare and infiltration in the psycho-social field. It is very effective and almost never completely perceived, either by the people who suffer its deleterious effects or by the people's leaders. In this field the Marxists are masters.

Psychological warfare can be defined as a body of tactical and strategic actions, predominantly psychological in nature, which may complement military operations. Its purpose is to destroy the morale of the population, weaken the people's will to fight, and achieve a spiritual imbalance among civilian and military leaders. It has to be confronted by psychological activities destined to strengthen the cultural and moral patterns of the population and mobilize public opinion in support of the government and the traditional national objectives. Vishinski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, said at the United Nations in 1954, "We shall not defeat the West by means of the atom bomb; we shall defeat it with something the West does not understand: our heads, our ideas, our doctrines." Thus, it is a war over minds, in which ideas have to be opposed to ideas.

We are living, and have been for some time, in the midst of a psychological war. It is an undeclared war, but it is at least as effective as traditional warfare. In this war the communists are conquering positions throughout the world without firing a single shot. This is due to a disarmament of the spirit, a confused and misunderstood detente caused by "Scandinavization" and "Finlandization" of the free world.

"Scandinavization" is characterized by people's preference for peace at any price. Communists, manipulating the mass media and innocent, eminent "true believers," create the non-warlike spirit in the populations of the target countries. While the disarmament campaigns opened

fissures in the West's defense, the communist states continued arming themselves. The spirit of unilateral disarmament, prefabricated by the communists and initiated in Scandinavia, spread throughout Europe and reached the United States and all other free countries.

"Finlandization" is an even more critical stage in the weakening of defenses against the Soviet threat. It is characterized by the awareness of military inferiority and attempts to survive through diplomatic docility vis-a-vis the stronger opponent. This process is given its name because of the drama lived by noble Finland. Finland's existence as an independent country practically depends on Soviet consent. Bordering the Soviet Union, it has already bravely fought and been defeated. In the aftermath, Finland had to make political concessions, having already made territorial concessions, in order to survive as an independent nation.

The actions carried out by the communists in the psychological field can be divided into two broad lines: the one followed in the countries under their domination and the one applied in the free world. Man is born with the longing for liberty, and the communists, who study psychology and sociology and apply their concepts politically, know it better than anyone else. Thus, they endeavor to keep their populations isolated from the influence of the Western World, which they consider evil. This explains the "iron curtain" and the "bamboo curtain" and the Berlin wall. It explains the efforts of the USSR to create a new branch of International Law, the so-called Law of Communications. The law the Soviets propose would authorize states to destroy communications satellites in the understanding that they are "defending their populations from evil outside influences."

Similarly, the Soviet bloc will not accept the free circulation of men and ideas, a basic demand of Western nations at the European Conference on Security and Cooperation.* The fear of the truth reaching their people made the communist states take permanent actions to control all segments of their populations. An example concerning students is the Soviet Union's "Komsomol." Komsomol appears similar to boy-scouting in the Western world, but its real function is ideological conditioning of youth. For younger children, the "Pioneers" plays the same role. Both organizations are instruments of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Thus, the children are indoctrinated almost from infancy in the dogma of socialism. Certain advantages, such as access to a university education, are offered only to those young people who belong to Komsomol. Gradually, through these organizations, the Soviet state assumes parental authority, taking it away from the family.

*This conference brings together all the countries of Europe, the United States, and Canada.

With regard to China, we well remember the ideological fanaticism that followed the general dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts. People believed in the miraculous powers of the "Little Red Book"; by simply owning it or knowing its concepts by heart, one could solve all daily problems, from the most commonplace to those of medicine, engineering, hydraulics, etc. One belief instilled in the Chinese masses—a belief that seems ridiculous to the West—is that Mao possessed great swimming prowess. He supposedly had crossed the Yellow River where it was many kilometers wide in an impossible time of some few minutes. The Chinese piously believe it, and each year, commemorating the anniversary of this "historic" swim, millions dive into the river to repeat the feat of their highest leader. This is ideological fanaticism, exacerbated by the cult of personality. Similar personality cults are observed in North Korea, with regard to Kim Il Sung, and in Albania, with regard to Enver Hoxa.

Another form of conditioning, almost a mass hypnosis, is achieved by Castro in his long speeches in Cuba. He addresses the people of his country for hours and hours, overwhelming them with propaganda and with dogmatic and ideological concepts.

Let us analyze, on the other hand, the action of the Communist Movement outside the areas already under communist control. Here we observe the employment of the mass media for ideological and propaganda purposes. Nikita Krushchev, when Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said, "The press, radio, literature, painting, music, cinema, theater, are powerful weapons of our Party." He forgot to mention television, the misuse of which is perverting the values, the culture, and even the moral basis of Western society and its most valuable part—youth.

The effects of the communist offensive carried out by the mass media can be ascertained mainly in the slackening of morals and customs. Drug abuse, pornography, licentiousness, violence, and the generation gap are encouraged by the mass media. The mass media themselves apparently are not communist organizations. For instance, the pornographic centers of the world are not in the Soviet Union; on the contrary, the communists wish to keep their society puritan. The centers for porno films, porno books, and porno photos are in Western Europe and the United States. But the organized interest underlying the campaign to destroy the values of the Western world is that of the communists. They exploit those criminal and irresponsible groups that, aiming only at profit, delight in eroding the basis of our society. The communists are always there to stimulate cupidity and vice, making it easier for themselves to besiege the citadel of the civilized world.

The same applies to the illegal drug trade, which is universally directed at the young in order to corrupt them, weaken them, and destroy their creative and resistant capabilities. The Soviet Union itself accused the People's Republic of China of growing and trading in opium—even among American troops in Vietnam. This drug trade was one of China's great sources of income to finance ideological dissemination. The secret documents of the First Tricontinental Conference, held in Havana in 1966, read in part as follows: "Resolutely support the campaign in favor of drug addicts, based on the principle of respect for individual rights. To maintain the cadres of the Communist Party completely separate from the channels of drug traffic, in order that this source of income may not be linked to the revolutionary action of the Communist Party, in spite of the fact that we must combine the promotion of fear of atomic war with pacifism and demoralization of youth by encouraging the consumption of hallucinogenics."

Another aspect of the weakening of Western culture is the struggle between the generations and the revolt against authority. The media, under communist manipulation, publicize and encourage the absence of dialogue and the frequent confrontation between the younger and the older, between sons and fathers, between students and teachers, between superiors and subordinates, and so forth. It is the class struggle taken into the family, the school, and all the other basic social institutions where people are prepared for life and for citizenship. Youth, by and of itself, has become a privileged and flattered social category. The immature young can be enticed and involved to serve the communists' purposes.

Music can also be an efficient vehicle for subversion. Therefore, the Communist Movement organizes annual music festivals in Havana and East Berlin at which protest songs are sung. Watchwords and slogans are repeated and promoted by "engaged" singers, musicians, radio speakers, composers, and television personalities from all countries of the world. These are appeals to unilateral pacifism and challenges to the authorities; they express dissatisfaction and popular revolt, the slackening of customs, and other trends undermining the strength of the free world.

The communist infiltration of the press, radio, television, and cinema is aimed at pointing out and exploiting negative aspects of the target country (whether real or fabricated by the communists) to generate antagonisms and pressures. This infiltration, in order to be more effective, is carried on in media that are considered democratic and whose owners may even be conservative. But in key posts, where news is selected and editorials and scripts are written, are communist agents. Taking advantage of the vanity and fashions of the brave and crazy Western world, which promotes leftism to the status of "in," the

communists take over. They give access solely to those who follow their own ideological primer, which is presented as "intelligent, progressive, and up-to-date." The democratic journalists of the mass media see their employment threatened, their access barred; they are labeled "backward, not up-to-date, and fascist." The same is true in publishing: communist authors, even if their works lack literary value, are publicized, and their work is frequently published and translated into many languages. Their success is guaranteed by the machinery of the communist party they serve.

This communist infiltration takes place in all of the countries of the free world, whose thinking has long been conditioned to believe in "Western decay." Few people among either the elites or the governments—those who are responsible for the security, well-being, and future of our peoples—perceive what is going on.

Political cinema is another weapon of inestimable value, which the International Communist Movement has used for a long time. Many renowned directors and producers in the world of cinema are communists, and their work is promoted precisely because they are communists. The publicity machinery of the Communist Movement gives them the backing lacked by directors and producers who are not engaged. Thus, films are made attacking the established powers, condemning unproven politically motivated tortures, encouraging pacifism in the Western world, and rendering homage to anti-heroes who do not possess the basic virtues of our societies. No longer a mere amusement, the cinema, like television, has become a political and propaganda weapon of great usefulness and effect.

The communists also exploit racial clashes. They gave quite a lot of support to the "Black Panthers" during the most critical phase of black-white tension in the United States. They also attempted to gain decisive influence in post-colonial Africa by sponsoring events such as the "World Days of Solidarity against Colonialism, Neocolonialism, and Imperialism." These "Days" were held under the auspices of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, a communist-front organization.

Students are yet another important target for communist action. Various student movements bind students together around ideas and goals presented by the communists. Communists infiltrate schools and universities, take power in the politicized directorates, and mobilize frustrated professors and student leaders who are intellectually capable but spiritually immature and rebellious. Schools and universities change from academic, educational centers to ghettos of agitation and social unrest. Well aware that their own leadership historically has risen from

the bourgeoisie—Marx was a bourgeois who revolted against and wished to destroy a society that offered him no opportunities—communist agents seek to catechize the student youth, the cultural elite of each nation. These agents seek to unite the students with the workers and the peasants, with the goal of seizing political power and destroying society.

The serious issue of the “progressive” religious movement remains. This is perhaps the greatest challenge that the governments of Latin America must confront. The communists have studied history, and they know that whenever religion has been confronted it has gained greater vigor. For example, many early Christians died for their faith during the persecutions by Imperial Rome, but with their generous blood they watered the roots of the triumphant Church. Therefore, the communists, rather than imprisoning, persecuting, torturing, and assassinating prelates, priests, and religious persons, have attempted to “destroy the Church from inside.” This course of action was suggested by “Li Wei Han” and was recommended by Maoists for use in Cuba. The communists aim to infiltrate fanatical followers and skillful communists among the laymen and clergy in order that—like “wolves in sheep’s clothing”—they should cause confusion among the believers. They cause doctrinal confusion, detracting from the salvationist and pastoral essence of the religious messages, and involve the Church in political and social struggles with poorly disguised Marxist ideological shadings.

The so-called “Seminfo” of the KGB prepares selected communist youth and directs them to seminaries of all religions. The communists’ actions are adapted to the characteristics of the dominant religion in an area. In Latin America, the main target for infiltration is the Catholic Church. In Northern Europe and the United States, there is infiltration in Protestant dominations through the World Council of Churches; in the Far East, Buddhism is the target.

The great cradle of International Communism during the 1970s was the Christian Peace Conference. The mentors of this conference were Protestant dignitaries of Europe who were sympathetic to the Red ideology and the most eminent leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church. The communists allowed the existence of the Russian Orthodox Church on the condition that it become an instrument of the Soviet state. Metropolitan Nikodin of Leningrad chaired the Christian Peace Conference. The Conference became notable by conducting a world campaign against the United States, urging the “pacification” of Vietnam and always trying to denigrate the Western nations.

The alliance the communists want to form between religion and Marxism is impossible and unacceptable to those who truly profess a

religion. Yet this communist effort is one of the greatest challenges to the governments of the West. It must be understood that, in addition to being extremely sensitive, the matter covers a broad spectrum: from the communist who disguises himself as a militant layman or priest to the man of good intentions who is moved by bold and true ideas of social justice but despairs at not finding political and economic support for the needy from those who bear the greatest responsibility.

How can we deal with this serious problem? I believe the solution will have to come from within the churches themselves, from both the officials and the faithful, separating the chaff from the wheat. The state cannot intervene in the working of the Church. State intervention might cause a confrontation between the Church and the state, from which the communists would have the most to gain. The Church has to be faithful to its divine mandate by drawing a dividing line. On one side of the line are followers interested in the dignity of all human beings while in communion with God through their immortal souls; on the other side are agents of the atheistic, materialistic ideology who are infiltrated among them.

One final target of communist infiltration is the military. Because the communists suffered serious setbacks in countries such as Brazil (1964), Uruguay (1970-71), and Chile (1973), where their final victory was prevented by constitutional and popularly supported military action, they took a critical look at their efforts. They concluded that they must "militarily defend the conquests of revolution." To do this they must obtain the support of part of the military establishment in each target country. Thus, the old doctrine of the revolutionary period—to fight and annihilate the bourgeois armed forces—was followed by a new one—to attempt to gain the sympathy and cooperation of a significant part of the armed forces in the target countries. Thus involved, the military would aid the revolutionary cause. Once the communists had gained power, the bourgeois officers, who had betrayed their oath by becoming useful "fellow travelers" of the communists, would be eliminated because they were not trustworthy. This strategy is consistent with actions directed at "unionizing" the military, which have so damaged the morale, the discipline, and the combat spirit of so many armies of the West.

4

A Global Panorama of the International Communist Movement

A Survey of Communist Objectives and Strategies

To begin this chapter, I will present a brief summary of the main objectives and principal strategies of the communist centers of power, as a broad indication of their action.

The USSR:

1. Main objectives
 - Achieve world hegemony by eliminating national powers and constituting a World Union of Socialist Republics under the control of the Russian Federation.
 - Destroy "bourgeois democracy" and capitalism.
 - Eradicate religion among mankind.
 - Ensure the inviolability of the socialist system by putting it once more under strict Soviet control.
2. Strategies
 - Strengthen the Soviet bloc (especially militarily) and weaken the non-communist countries at every level through propaganda and agitation, psychological warfare, economic sabotage, terrorism, guerrilla warfare, diplomatic action, and the manipulation of "detente" or "peaceful coexistence" and the Western pacifist movements.
- a. Global actions
 - Efforts to control the oceans and strategic coastal areas.
 - Infiltration in the main religions (religious movements).
 - Efforts to control the student movement, aiming at control over youth.
 - Efforts to control the labor movement (urban and rural).

-Exploitation of "pacifism" in order to weaken the West militarily.

-Infiltration in the "bourgeois" armed forces.

b. Actions in Europe -Maintenance of the territorial "status quo" (division between Western and Eastern Europe).

-Encouragement of disunity in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Economic Community (EEC).

-Support of pacifist and ecological ("green") groups.

-Hastening of the American military retreat from the continent (American neo-isolationism).

c. Actions in Asia -Establishment of a "sanitary cordon" around China to isolate its support to Vietnam.

-Influencing of oil-producing countries by supplying weaponry to the aligned Arab states.

-Step-by-step geopolitical approach to the Indian Ocean (invasion of Afghanistan and pressures against the integrity of Iran and Pakistan).

-Encouragement of a diminished American presence.

d. Actions in Africa -Influencing of the Arab countries in the north, oil producers, and countries strategically positioned regarding the Mediterranean.

-Exploitation of anti-racism, anti-colonialism, and anti-imperialism as means of removing white Western influence.

-Efforts toward political-military influence (with the help of the Cuban Expeditionary Force) over the black states that occupy

important geographical positions in the focal areas of Western maritime traffic in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and the Red Sea.

-Manipulation of the struggles for independence (Namibia, former Spanish Sahara).

e. Actions in Anglo-Saxon America

-Exploitation of the liberalism of the target societies and the pacifist and anti-nuclear movements.

-Efforts to neutralize and isolate the United States.

-Efforts to acquire supremacy in conventional weapons and parity or superiority in nuclear ones regarding the United States.

f. Actions in Latin America

-Agitation and subversion, taking advantage of the favorable conditions found in the area.

-International campaigns against the anti-communist governments.

-Psychological warfare with comprehensive use of the mass media.

-Infiltration of the armed forces.

-Economic efforts aiming at the creation of dependencies.

-Exploitation of nationalistic feelings to amplify historic international tensions and to isolate the United States.

The PRC:

1. Main objectives

-Spread the Maoist doctrine of peasant revolution.

-Maintain national independence vis-a-vis the Soviet threat; search for diplomatic links with all countries.

-Develop the nation in order to "transform the People's Republic of China into a world power by the end of the 20th century."

2. Strategies

-Oppose the USSR in all areas and in all international fora.

-Occupy an advantageous position as "pointer on a scale" in the conflict between the Western world and the USSR, moving as a pendulum in accordance with the Chinese interests.

-Acquire ever-growing influence among the Third World and non-aligned countries.

a. Actions in Europe -Strengthening of NATO and the EEC in order to keep open a "second front" against the USSR.

b. Actions in Anglo-Saxon America -Efforts to gain political, economic, technological, and military support.

c. Actions in Asia -Influencing of neighboring countries in order to prevent the achievement of an Asian Security and Cooperation Treaty sponsored by Moscow.

-Reception of economic and technological support from Japan.

-Overall opposition, including use of military force, to the Vietnamese takeover of Southeast Asia.

-Support of Chinese-oriented terrorism and guerrilla warfare in those areas of immediate interest to China.

d. Actions in Africa -Exploitation of anti-white racism and efforts toward political and economic influence.

e. Actions in the Third World, in general -Exploitation of theses dear to developing nations in order to acquire leadership over them (Mao's "Five Principles").

-Support of Chinese-oriented revolutionary actions.

The International Policy of the USSR

The Soviet Union, after the 1917 revolution, tried to isolate itself from the world, both for fear of attack from democratic nations and in order to strengthen itself internally. However, Lenin had to open the country to foreign capital through his "New Economic Policy." It was necessary to try to develop the Soviet Union and keep alive the aspirations of progress that the Marxist theoreticians envisaged for the revolution.

At the end of World War II, the understandings of Yalta and Potsdam divided Europe into two areas of influence. After that great conflict, the Soviet Union arose as one of the victorious powers and its policy began to have worldwide repercussions. The scene was set for the USSR's assault on the globe.

General Patton's troops would have reached Berlin before the Soviets, but he received orders to hold back to allow the Red Army to enter the German capital first. The price for that delay was great: Eastern European countries fell under communist rule following the Soviet military occupation. In the words of Sir Winston Churchill, an "Iron Curtain" had fallen over those unlucky nations. The Cold War followed, to include the 1962 Cuban missile episode, when the USSR tried to install missile launchers in Cuba that threatened the United States, but, faced with a strong reaction by President Kennedy's government, had to retreat.

After the tensions of the Cold War came the period of "peaceful coexistence" or "detente," which may have ended in December 1979 when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan. "Peaceful coexistence" took practical form in 1956 under Nikita Khrushchev, although Lenin had suggested it long before. It attained full blossom under Leonid Brezhnev, who wanted even more comprehensive cooperation—so-called—between the different social systems.

Actually, "peaceful coexistence" was nothing more than an effective strategy for further communist conquest without the risks of facing the foe directly. The communists always have made it clear that peaceful coexistence between East and West could never be considered as ideological coexistence: the revolutionary forces would continue their destructive work at every level until the final victory of communism. The goal of this new strategy was to weaken Western defenses and make communist victory easier. Peaceful coexistence fit into the pattern of "Scandinavization" and "Finlandization" of the free world, according to the following simple and efficient scheme: "external encirclement plus internal demoralization equals progressive surrender."

So the democratic states started to lower their guard, weakening themselves unilaterally, forgetting their values, and allowing their collective will to be undermined. The result was a worldwide expansion of communism, leading to the crisis of our time. But the suffering and struggle of so many nations and the ever-growing aggression of the enemies of democracy and human dignity at last awoke the West's sleepy consciences. Nowadays, we can see a reaction against the spirit of surrender. The will to live and fight for their ideals is becoming stronger and stronger among the Western nations. For the first time in many years, the Soviet Union is acting defensively; it has lost the initiative that it had owned since the end of World War II.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union maintains the following bases for its global policy:

- The inviolability of the socialist system, or the maintenance of the status quo of dependence by the nations subject to the Muscovite yoke.

- The preservation or restoration of unity within the International Communist Movement. This is to be accomplished by either the realignment of the PRC in the Soviet bloc or the expulsion of the PRC from the Communist Movement, and by crushing in its early stages any centrifugal tendency within the socialist community.

- The "peaceful coexistence" or "detente" by which the USSR aims to gain political, economic, and ideological advantages in its relationship with the free world. Through propaganda, agitation, and political-diplomatic actions, the Soviets are inducing the West to disarm and become a less fearsome foe to the ever-growing Soviet military might.

The time of Leonid Brezhnev's government, especially as the Soviets were inspired by the resolutions of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was the golden era of "detente," a masterpiece of the Soviets' indirect strategy to gain world hegemony. Pretending to have repudiated the attitudes of the Cold War, which they blamed on the Western world, the Soviet leadership started to speak of peace and friendship. As a result, many summit meetings followed; Brezhnev met with Presidents Nixon and Ford and many other Western dignitaries. From this period arose the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, the Mutual (the West wanted it to be "Balanced") Reduction of Forces in Central Europe Conference, and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. The communists exploited all these initiatives for

propaganda purposes, always portraying the Soviet Union as the champion of peace. In truth, however, the Soviet Union was merely—and is always—working to fulfill its hegemonistic designs.

Because of the true Soviet intentions, the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, a Soviet initiative, reached a stalemate. The Soviet Union received the Western concession regarding the territorial status quo in Europe, a formal acknowledgement of the division of Germany and the Soviet right of rule over the nations of Eastern Europe. After this, the Soviets refused to approve the free circulation of men and ideas demanded by the Western nations. Similarly, in the Reduction of Forces talks Moscow wants one-to-one reductions in Central Europe, perpetuating the present Soviet advantage in quantitative and qualitative terms. In the Strategic Arms talks the Soviets wished for and obtained the promise of nuclear parity with the United States. When reached, that parity will put the USSR in a position of strength regarding its only strong foe. (Russia is already superior to the United States in conventional means).

In economic terms, the USSR's actions follow well-defined principles:

-Regarding the developing countries, the Soviets promise aid that, once accepted, becomes a vehicle of ideological infiltration and subversion and allows the Soviets to control the flow of essential raw materials to the developed capitalist countries in accordance with the political interests of the USSR.

-Regarding the developed capitalist countries, the Soviets work to obtain capital and know-how, mainly from the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan, taking advantage of Westerners' blind motivations for profit to help the USSR close the gap between its military and economic power. Through encouragement of labor strikes and social agitation by means of the labor movement and communist and aligned parties, the Soviets try to ruin the Western economy and generate crisis in order to aid, in the long run, the takeover of power by the Reds. The communists herald every problem of the West as proof of the inevitable "crisis of capitalism."

-Regarding the oil-producing countries, especially those of the Arab world, the Soviets work to induce a policy of higher prices and restricted supplies to the Western world, so as to provoke major crises within the developing nations and hard times for the rich ones.

In the political-diplomatic field, the Soviet Union seeks to break the unity of Western alliances and treaties of defense; the destruction of NATO is the main objective. They also seek to neutralize US allies and establish "ballot dictatorship" within the United Nations by influencing the votes of the more recently independent nations. These nations, almost without perceiving it, follow Soviet policies in many important aspects of current international affairs. The USSR also seeks to acquire advanced bases and strategic positions in the "warm seas of the South" for Soviet naval forces.

The greatest Soviet assault on the West takes place in the psychosocial field. In their efforts to destroy the will of all free people, the Soviets use all the techniques of psychological and "indirect" warfare discussed earlier. They subvert cultural and moral values; they seek to corrupt and destroy youth; they infiltrate the church to use religion for their own purposes; they infiltrate the military so they can secure their conquests more easily; they infiltrate labor movements, peace movements, youth movements—anywhere that they can encourage conflict and disunity, the Soviets are at work.

To all those actions, the Soviet state, under the direction of the CPSU, adds comprehensive work of direct subversion and espionage, including disinformation. Among the most effective Soviet campaigns of disinformation are those intended to create a negative image worldwide of states effectively opposing the communist avalanche. They try to isolate states like Chile and stimulate a wave of international antipathy toward them, hoping to make it easier for communist and allied groups eventually to overthrow them. All of this work is always directed by GRU and KGB specialists disguised under legal titles in every diplomatic and commercial mission of the USSR abroad and carried out by the fifth columns of the local communist parties obedient to Moscow. For example, in March 1971, Mexico unveiled and denounced a plot, in which members of the Soviet Embassy took part, aimed at starting a civil war and overthrowing the Mexican government; it was proved that Mexican communist guerrillas had been trained in North Korea in accordance with Soviet principles. Besides many other, including some very recent, expulsions of Soviet "diplomats" because of actions of subversion and espionage, it's worthwhile mentioning that, also in 1971, Great Britain expelled 105 so-called Soviet diplomats because of their proved espionage activities.

Regarding the communist parties in power, the Soviet Union demands total submission. We've seen, in the cases of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, that any attempt by countries within the Muscovite empire to liberalize or search for their own brands of socialism

result in military invasion. The Soviets react in accordance with what has become known as "Brezhnev's Doctrine of Limited Sovereignty." Thus, nations that fall to Soviet imperialism no longer have any right to assume their own identities.

Nevertheless, some notable attempts at independence have been made within the Soviet world. The first was in Marshal Tito's Yugoslavia, beginning in 1948, still in the time of the Kominform. Tito built his own model of socialism, breaking away from the Draconian Soviet control and independently establishing links between Yugoslavia and the rest of the world. The separation of Albania from Soviet domination followed in 1962. Albania benefited from the Sino-Soviet schism and rid itself of Soviet control by forming ties with Peking. In recent years, when the PRC moved toward better relations with the Western world, Enver Hoxa, the all-powerful ruler of Tirana, split with his former allies. So Albania nowadays boasts of being a unique example of non-revisionist, pure communism. Ceausescu's Romania exercises a great deal of autonomy on foreign matters, although it has kept Stalinian control over its internal affairs. Of the tragic attempts at independence, one can cite heroic Poland, brave fighter against Russian domination throughout history and still struggling for freedom against the oppressive foreign regime and its internal followers.

The Sino-Soviet Conflict

The most significant schism in the Communist Movement, as already mentioned, came about after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956. In a famous speech at the 20th Congress, Nikita Khrushchev revealed Stalin's atrocities against the Soviet people during his rule from 1925 to 1953. This revelation led to the end of "personality worship" in the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Soviet leadership adopted "peaceful coexistence" as a means of promoting communist advances in the international arena. The PRC rejected this new Soviet strategy. Red China stood by the thesis that armed action was absolutely necessary to achieve power. They began to call the Soviets revisionists and social-imperialists.

The division between the USSR and the PRC was essentially an ideological difference, but it soon widened enough to put the two communist giants in opposition, each backing different and conflicting national objectives. Adding to the ideological difference was a dispute over territories dating back to the time of the Tzars. Since 1969, there have been reports of armed incidents on the USSR-China border, especially in the region of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers and between Soviet Kazakhstan and Chinese Sinkiang. According to Mao Tse-tung, China and the USSR will still be enemies after 10,000 years.

The International Policy of the PRC

China has shifted its international policy since the early 1970s, placing more emphasis on the "Five Principles": respect of sovereignty and national integrity; non-aggression; non-intervention in internal affairs of other nations; equality and mutual benefits in economic relations; and peaceful coexistence in the relations between states. These principles seem to represent a framework of moderation compared with former times when China preached armed revolution throughout the world.

The cause of such a specious change in orientation is found in the PRC's belief that it needed to obtain international backing and support against an eventual attack from the USSR. And the Chinese believed they could obtain that support only by creating for themselves an image of "international responsibility and respectability." Acting under the new strategy, China began to court the nations of the Third World by supporting theses dear to the developing nations, such as the territorial sea limit of 200 miles, the establishment of a new and fairer international economic order, and equality among states. In addition, China declares itself to be a developing country of the Third World. China has actively and continuously approached nations in an effort to establish better international relations, inviting and receiving official visits from African, Asian, and American heads of state.

Notwithstanding the new direction in China's international policy, Chinese-inspired guerrillas are still active, mainly in Asian regions of vital interest to Peking, such as Thailand and the Philippines, but also in Latin America. The Chinese-oriented communist parties, independent of and opposed to those following the Soviet pattern, continue to foster subversion and agitation all over the world.

Peking is also engaged in seeking decisive influence over the Chinese communities abroad. Members of these communities are normally wealthy persons more aligned with the Republic of China (Taiwan) and the Confucianist principles that have always ruled Chinese society than with the PRC and Maoist principles. The PRC continues to support the right of blood (*Jus Sanguinis*), by which every Chinese child born abroad is a Chinese citizen. But the PRC encourages those Chinese living abroad not to come back to the homeland, urging them instead to become good citizens of the countries in which they have settled. This action can be explained by Peking's wish to gain international respectability. And there is always the possibility of establishing "fifth columns" among the Chinese abroad, especially in such Asian regions as Singapore and Hong Kong where the Chinese are the overwhelming majority of the population.

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5

The Expansion of Soviet Naval Power and Its Implications

The Historical Importance of the Mastery of the Sea

During the recorded history of mankind, the great powers of each period have been those nations that mastered the seas. Their merchant marines navigated to every corner of the known world, and their naval power was sufficient to protect their international trade, the well-being of their citizens, and their national independence. These were the nations of Crete and Phoenicia in the earliest times and of Greece, Carthage, and Rome in the classical era. The great navigators of the Middle Ages were first the Vikings, followed by the sailors and merchantmen of Genoa, Amalfi, and Venice; the Germans of the Hanseatic League; the Flemish of Bruges; and the English.

The Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453 blocked the prosperous medieval trade route to the Orient. Until then, traders had passed through the Mediterranean Sea to carry on the valuable commerce in the spices of the East. With the Mediterranean route blocked, trade moved to the oceans. Portugal and Spain then asserted themselves as maritime powers and masters of the world. The kingdom of Castilla emerged as the greatest sea power, although the British, French, and Flemish also went to sea, seeking other lands to conquer. Then, after the destruction of the "Invincible Armada" of Philip II in 1588, England arose as the leading maritime and naval power under Elizabeth I.

The English rule of the seas lasted nearly three-and-a-half centuries, into the 1930s. During that period, Great Britain was the world's leading nation. There were challenges from the Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries, and from the French in the 19th century, but always without success. The maritime powers, particularly Great Britain, built their great colonial empires largely to obtain the raw materials that made possible the Industrial Revolution; this in turn produced their national wealth and economic development.

In the beginning, the sea, was viewed only as a means of communication between the continents and a route of trade between distant lands. But as national antagonisms erupted, two conflicting theories arose regarding sovereignty and the sea. The Dutchman Grotius, in the book *Mare Liberium*, argued for the "freedom of seas." His theory is still evoked in our days by the leading sea powers, even in the

United Nations International Conference on Sea Law. Opposed to that point of view was the Briton John Selden. In his book *Mare Clausum*, he proclaimed the rule of the King over the seas around the island (of Britain). This position is adopted nowadays by those countries of lesser maritime and naval power, which declare their rights over more or less broad strips (from 12 to 200 miles wide) of territorial sea.

In 1702, the Dutchman Bynkershoek, in his book *Dominio Maris*, declared that "no kind of navigation is sufficient to assure the possession (of the sea), as well as no possession is sufficient to grant sovereignty." He concluded that "the control of the land over the seas ends where the power of weapons ends." At that time, the range of guns was restricted to three miles, so the first limit to territorial sea, and the only one to have been unanimously acknowledged up to now, was established: a strip 3 miles wide along the coast. Recently, the United Nations Conference on Sea Law tended toward a new agreement on the matter: 12 miles of territorial sea plus 188 miles of exclusive exploitation by the coastal state.

Heirs of the British naval tradition, the United States began to assert itself as a great maritime power and build its own empire near the end of the 19th century with the victory over Spain in the war of 1898. The most powerful influence behind the building of the US empire was the concept of "manifest destiny." Originally applied to US expansion on the North American continent, some Americans began to extend the concept to envision worldwide expansion to fulfill the nation's "yearning for greatness." The former isolationist tendency of America was overcome, contributing to US involvement in the two major wars of the 20th century. The rejection of isolationism also made possible ever-growing economic, political, and military objectives worldwide. As a consequence, the United States rose to the highest place among the nations of the globe and to the position of the dominant naval and maritime power in the world.

Until recently, the USSR, and Tzarist Russia in earlier days, played a secondary role as far as global naval power is concerned. The country's strategy always had been land-based and its navy merely supported the army as a means of transportation and local defense. The unfavorable geography of the country, surrounded by great expanses of icy seas, forced the USSR to divide its naval forces into a European fleet, comprising the flotillas of the Barents, Baltic, and Black Seas, and an Asiatic Fleet, stationed in the Far East and the Pacific Ocean. But the genius of Peter the Great led him to perceive, even in those early times, that the greatness he wished for his country would have to be attained through the world's oceans. Therefore, he introduced the goal of reaching the "warm seas to the South," which was passed on to the USSR.

In addition to inheriting a desire for warm-water ports, Moscow's strategists must have learned a lesson from the Russian naval disaster of Tsushima in 1905. In that battle, the Russian imperial fleet, after sailing half-way around the world—from the Baltic Sea through the sealanes around Europe, Africa, and most of Asia—was crushed by the Japanese fleet. More recently, during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the USSR had to retreat because it lacked adequate naval forces. This last event must have strongly influenced the USSR's decision to create the powerful Soviet Navy of today, which is able to challenge the American mastery of the seas.

The Dependence of the Western World on the Sea

Unlike the communist nations, which, with the exception of Cuba, form a continuous continental mass, the countries of the free world live from and because of the oceans. Someone very properly compared the Western bloc to an archipelago, with the constituting parts linked by the sea. The raw materials essential to Western industry flow essentially by sea. The same is true of the finished products so necessary for the development of the "Third World." More than 90 percent (by volume) of overall international trade moves by ship.

The petroleum trade illustrates the dependence of the Western world on maritime traffic. The main producers of oil are the United States, the USSR, the countries of the Near and Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, Libya, and Iraq), Venezuela, and Nigeria. Mexico and the PRC are close to entering this group). Notwithstanding its high level of production, the United States has to import large quantities of crude oil, not only because of its huge domestic consumption, but also to maintain its strategic reserves. Western Europe imports about 80 percent of its oil needs in spite of the deposits in the North Sea, and Japan imports 100 percent of its needs. On the other hand, the communist bloc, including China, is self-sufficient as far as oil is concerned. There are reports, however, that because of ever-growing domestic consumption the USSR will have to obtain new oil supply sources. This could explain the Soviet advance into Afghanistan, toward the Persian Gulf.

The main oil exporting countries are in the Middle East, especially around the Persian Gulf, and the exported oil is carried by sea, along vital routes of maritime traffic. The first route follows the African coast through the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic, via the Cape of Good Hope, then divides into two lanes, one running west to the coast of South America and the other running through the North Atlantic to North America and Europe. The second major route leads through the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Malacca, and the China Sea to Japan.

Since the time of Lenin, the Soviets have clearly perceived the importance of raw materials for the Western world. They know that a break in the flow of raw materials will cause economic chaos and social crisis in the industrialized countries. This is why they have stimulated Arab countries to make oil a political weapon. The Soviets seek to break down the will of the West and thus further their own goal of world domination. As an example of how the Soviets' strategy succeeds, Japan—economically powerful but fundamentally dependent on imported raw materials such as iron ore and oil—has had to surrender to the Soviet-inspired political demands of the Arabs in order to avoid the risk of economic stagnation. Japan is not the only nation to feel such pressures. Almost all of the developed capitalist nations of the world suffered from economic recession during the critical 1973-1977 period, almost exclusively because of "energy blackmail." On the other hand, the non-oil-producing developing countries fell behind in their loan repayments mainly because of major increases in oil prices in 1973 and 1979, leading to higher rates of interest in the international market, which in turn increased indebtedness.

The Threat Posed by Growing Soviet Naval Power

The growth of Soviet maritime and naval power can be traced back to 1956 and the inspiration of Nikita Khrushchev, who understood from history that the great powers of the world were those that dominated the sea. In modern days, of course, the concept is not absolute. But it is necessary to assure a degree of maritime control compatible with national interests, denying any foe the control of maritime areas considered essential for national security.

The architect of the renaissance of the Soviet Navy has been Admiral Sergei Gorshkov, naval commandant for 27 years now. His are the following statements: "The red banner navigates in every sea of the world," and "the Soviet naval forces are ready to beat any enemy anywhere." This "Soviet Mahan" sought to change the Soviet Navy's mission from that of strategic defense to a more offensive role in every theater of operations, according to Soviet needs. With his talent, prestige, and power of persuasion he won the debate within the highest echelon in the Kremlin over whether to increase Soviet naval power, and he has directed the building of a Soviet Navy capable of performing the broader mission he argued for.

According to Gorshkov's philosophy, nuclear and conventional submarines continue to be the backbone of the Soviet fleet but modern surface vessels, built using the most refined techniques of naval architecture and shipbuilding, gain importance. Among these new ships

are guided missile cruisers and destroyers, helicopter-carriers of the *MOSKVA* class, patrol boats of the *KOMAR* and *OSA* classes, and more recently, the aircraft carriers *KIEV* and *MINSK*. The incorporation of these carriers into the fleet marked a notable turning point in the Soviet concepts of employing naval forces. *Jane's Fighting Ships* and the International Institute for Strategic Studies (a British defense journal and a British institution, respectively, both devoted to analyzing the strategic environment and military-naval issues) have long considered the Soviet Union as the leading naval power of our day in number of warships and number of sea-launched strategic and tactical missiles. Thank God the current US administration is giving attention to the recently neglected US Navy and striving to allocate resources needed to assure its strength and its effectiveness as guarantor of the freedom of the democratic world.

The mobility of the Soviet Navy still is restrained by the geography of the country, since three of the main areas of naval operations—the Barents, Baltic, and Black Seas—are rather isolated from the open ocean. Another restraint on mobility is the lack of adequate and sufficient means of mobile logistics support. For these reasons, the Kremlin has launched political-diplomatic efforts intended to minimize such restraints.

The most remarkable consequence of the "Six-Day War" between the Arabs and Israelis in 1967 was the establishment of the Soviet fleet's access to the Mediterranean Sea. Until then, the Mediterranean had been the *mare nostrum* of NATO and the US 6th Fleet. In succeeding steps, Soviet naval forces reached the Indian Ocean in 1968, the Caribbean Sea and the western coast of Africa in 1969, and Southeast Asia in 1970. They have arrived with the intention of staying, filling up the void of power caused by the reduced mission of the Royal Navy and its withdrawal from East of Suez, and by the diminishing American presence in those areas.

The search for advanced bases in Africa and Asia proceeds in parallel with actions that favor the take-over of government by Moscow-oriented factions in strategically positioned countries. The courtship of African and Asian friendships has won the Soviets facilities allowing their Navy to operate in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

Within its indirect strategic framework, the USSR is inciting actions among the populations of the important islands of Madagascar, the Seychelles, and the Comoros, as well as in other locations on the African continent. Soviet success would make it difficult for Western navies to operate in the important sealanes to and from the Middle East. The Soviets already dominate the Strait of Bab el Mandeb and the sea routes to and from the Red Sea through their association with Ethiopia and South Yemen. After the reopening of the Suez Canal, it was possible for

Soviet naval units to pass from the Mediterranean, where they count a fleet of 90 vessels, to the Indian Ocean whenever needed.

The Lessons for the Future

The dependence of the Western world on maritime traffic is a vulnerability that the Soviets are expected to exploit in case of East-West conflict. In accordance with Admiral Gorshkov's teaching, the USSR has been steadily preparing its forces and the necessary bases and support infrastructure.

Soviet maritime and naval power come to be an unquestionable and threatening reality. The Soviets engage in oceanographic research worldwide, their merchant marine is among the largest in the world and growing continuously, and they have the largest fishing fleet in the world. As a result, the USSR enjoys the prestige typical for a great maritime power, as demonstrated during the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. In that forum, the USSR supports the free navigation of the seas, the internationalization of the ocean floor and resources of the seas, the restriction of territorial waters to 12 miles, and much to her convenience, the unrestricted right of passage through international straits.

In its search for advanced bases, the USSR already is occupying privileged positions in Antarctica and around the Arctic and Pacific Oceans. By means of intensive political-ideological campaigns, it is gaining sympathy and support in Asia and Africa. And it has gained influence in America by establishing the satellites of Cuba and Nicaragua.

One can foresee in the escalation of the Soviet assault on Africa that the Soviets may establish permanent bases in the territories of those African countries that favor Moscow. As far as Asia is concerned, the Soviets will probably continue to insist that India provide some bases in its territory, and if the US military presence on Taiwan is reduced, the Soviets will seek bases there in the framework of a common action against the PRC. Additionally, the Soviets will continue to strive for the internationalization of the Strait of Malacca. In Europe, they will periodically exert pressure to gain some degree of control over strategic maritime areas such as those under the jurisdiction of Norway, Iceland, Malta, Cyprus, and Portugal.

Under Admiral Sergei Gorshkov, the dream of Peter The Great has come true: the Soviet Navy has reached "the warm seas to the South." Even more than that, Soviet ships navigate routinely in the

Mediterranean, the Caribbean, the China Sea, the Sea of Japan, the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, the icy-cold seas of the Arctic and Antarctic—in all seas of the world. They display precise planning and operation in command, control, and communication exercises involving hundreds of units separated by thousands of miles. The Soviet Navy is a skilled and powerful combat force, serving the political-ideological designs of the Kremlin.

Admiral Gorshkov declared to *Pravda* on 29 July 1974 that “the Soviet Armed Forces don’t have an aggressive intention, neither intend to crush the fair interests of other people.” Later he said the “Soviet Navy strictly respects the dispositions of International Maritime Law: its mission is limited to guarantee the Soviet interests and defend their coast.” Nevertheless, the leadership of the free world knows that the Soviet goal is expansion toward global hegemony. That has been the essence of communism, as proved by history.

The naval commandants in the West know that it is absolutely vital to keep open the sealanes and maintain the logistic flow essential for the survival and progress of the democratic world. They also know that their task demands skilled and materially capable naval forces, within the principle of collective security, adopted in a free and sovereign way by the Western nations.

6

The Transfer of Power in the USSR and the PRC

Power and Succession in the Totalitarian States

In the totalitarian states, power is never transferred in the natural, smooth way that it is in democracies. On the contrary, the transfer of power comes to be the climax of an often long process of palace struggles and machinations and is commonly the cause of bloody dispute. Political promotion normally is made within the party apparatus, rewarding patient obedience and fidelity to the party's dogma and faithful dedication to its chief or secretary-general, who is in control of the political decisionmaking mechanism. In this way, the communist party establishes a line of succession as in monarchies, with the heirs chosen by the holder of power from among those he himself trusts.

I believe the reference to monarchic systems is appropriate because the chief of the political apparatus in a communist regime is almighty and can be put aside only by death (as occurs in the majority of cases) or by a struggle among internal factions of the party. Besides, the "new class," composed of the bureaucrats of the political apparatus from which the rulers of the communist states are chosen, enjoy the same privileges and special treatment as the noblemen of royal systems, keeping themselves as a caste apart from the people and exploiting the people to support an existence of joy and riches.

Another characteristic of the communist-controlled societies is that the armed forces normally play a secondary role in the political mechanism. This role of the military conforms to the principle stated by Mao Tse-tung, which is part of the dogma of the Chinese-oriented communists: "the party commands the rifles." Although specifically stated by Mao, this principle also applies in the USSR. Since the early days of the Soviet Red Army, the "political commissars" have been the decisionmakers and have been in a position superior to that of the senior military officers. Being educated within the ideology of the communist party, the military soon learn the golden rule of fidelity to the party. The military leaders are viewed with suspicion and placed under careful observation to avoid the possibility of a political take-over by the military. It's interesting to note how the USSR ostracized its great military heroes of World War II as soon as possible. The higher ranks of the armed forces have had marginal participation in the main decisionmaking political

echelons. The services have not been represented in a way proportionate to their strength and their importance for the expansion of Soviet power.

The PRC and the Succession of Mao Tse-tung

Frequently, the people that occupy the lower levels act better than the leadership. The leaders are not so good as the simple workers because they are separated from the masses and lack political experience. (Mao Tse-tung, 29 May 1976)

The Chinese people have confidence in the teaching of President Mao and in the future. After his death there will be many zig-zags but we are sure that 90% of the people want to build socialism. There could be a 'coup d' etat' in China, but it won't last long because we shall fight it to the very end. (Chinese Textile Laborer, June 1976)

The two thoughts above reveal important aspects of the Chinese communist society. The first is the Maoist concept of permanent revolution, with the elites learning from the masses. The second is the people's concern about the existence of a segment of the population—even within the party—opposed to the "construction of socialism." These are the so-called "revisionists, capitalists, and bourgeoisie." Many Chinese also feared that there would be a struggle over succession of the "Old Helmsman."

From the foundation of the Communist Party of China (CPC) until the mid-1970s, communism in China had had but one leader, Mao Tse-tung. Two factions formed around the old leader after the series of events that included the Sino-Soviet conflict, the opening of China to the world after the Great Cultural Revolution, China's admittance to the United Nations, and reconciliation with the United States. The first faction was commanded by Chou En-lai, the architect of the opening of China to the world and the supporter of the Five Principles at the Conference of Bandung in 1955, which gave rise to the movement of non-aligned countries. He was also responsible for the reconciliation of China with the countries of the developing world in order to lead them against the "hegemony of the two superpowers." Being a pragmatist, Chou, who wanted to transform China into a great power before the end of the century, knew that China needed capital and technology from the West. Those members of the Chinese leadership that followed Chou's ideas came to be known as the moderates.

The second faction believed that China should "walk on her own legs," keeping itself closed to foreign ideas and thus immune to the "corruption of revolutionary purity." These were the radicals, followers of the doctrine of Permanent Revolution and supporters of periodic purges to expel "revisionism and bourgeois capitalist deviation" from the state and party apparatus. The radical group, whose headquarters was in Shanghai, had the personal support of Mao.

These two groups—the moderates and radicals—and the powerful People's Liberation Army were the conflicting parties in the fight over Mao's succession. During Mao's lifetime, two heirs had been nominated: Lui Chao-chi and Lin Piao. Lui Chao-chi was a veteran of the foundation of the Communist Party of China and was President of the Republic. But he fell in disgrace during the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, leaving vacant the position of Chief of State. This position was abolished later by the Constitution of January 1975 and was only recently re-established. Lin Piao was an army marshal, a creator of the People's Liberation Army, and an "intimate fellow of arms" of Mao. But after disagreeing with Mao and planning a *coup d'état*, Lin Piao died under mysterious circumstances in September 1971. The plane in which he had allegedly tried to flee to the USSR was shot down over Manchuria, according to the official Chinese report.

As a consequence of the disease that would kill him on 8 January 1976, Chou En-lai had to be hospitalized for over a year and relieved of his functions as Premier. Chou chose as his substitute Teng Hsiao-ping, a leader of the CPC who had risen to a high level within the party but had been ostracized during the Cultural Revolution for "bourgeois-capitalist deviation." An interesting feature of Chinese communism is the belief in the "recovery" of those people who deviate from the communist ideals. Those who deviate are not executed but are sent to "re-education programs," contrary to the Soviet practice of communism. Thus, Teng Hsiao-ping eventually came back to the first level of power in China. Teng's return followed the acceptance of Chou En-lai's thesis that China must reconcile with the Western world to assure progress toward becoming a world power in competition with the hegemonistic intentions of the USSR. Chou outlined the theory of the "Four Modernizations"—in agriculture, industry, the armed forces, and science and technology—as a basis for the program to achieve Chinese national goals. The movement toward reconciliation with the West and the rise in status of teachers and students, who no longer were forced to stay on the farms for certain periods in order "to learn from the peasants," deeply disgusted the radicals. In response, the radicals started campaigns against Teng, without actually naming him, through the universities' wall papers, the *dazibao*. These campaigns were backed by Mao himself.

When Chou En-lai died, Teng Hsiao-ping lost his great protector. Teng then gradually lost all his power and position as a result of a nationwide campaign by critics that labeled him as a "traitor and follower of capitalism." Thus, one more ideological campaign arose in the Chinese society. This one was connected with those against Lin Piao and against Confucius, whose teaching is still deeply rooted in the Chinese collective soul in spite of almost half a century of communist rule.

As a somewhat surprising solution to the moderate-radical conflict, Hua Kuo-feng was raised to the position of Prime Minister. Hua was unknown to the Western world. He seemed to enjoy Mao's confidence even though his actions in office had, from the very beginning, a flavor of moderation. In the long run he proved to be a compromise solution, between moderate and radical, until the final solution of the Chinese power problem could be reached.

Another factor in the conflict over power was the People's Liberation Army, whose role would be decisive in the event of any open struggle. The army had had the burden of reestablishing order after the chaos of the Cultural Revolution and after other laborers' upheavals in China. It's worthwhile to restate that Mao Tse-tung had always wanted to subordinate the army to the party because he knew the importance of armed forces. In Mao's own words, "power comes from the barrel of rifles," but "the party should command the rifles." Such a subordination had been affirmed by the Constitution approved by the Fourth People's National Congress held in January 1975 after a broad national campaign.

The focus of the moderates' opposition was the group known as the "radicals of Shanghai." They were commanded by Madame Chiang Ching, Mao's wife and leader of the Cultural Revolution in culture and arts. Madame Chiang also directed Wang Hung-wen and Chang Chun-chiao in their campaign against Lin Chao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping. Wang Hung-wen was a former textile laborer and the youngest of the Chinese leaders, then around 40 years old. The radicals had prepared themselves with determination to succeed Mao.

On 6 April 1976 there was violence in Celestial Peace Square (Tien An Men) in Peking between the moderates and the radicals. The commotion then spread to the provinces, prompting oaths of solidarity and loyalty to President Mao from all military chiefs. The scene was set for the eruption of violent struggles after Mao's death, which was expected at any moment. The national television network had been showing Mao's precarious state of health more and more often, and the personality cult surrounding Mao had been discouraged. Thus, the Chinese people were prepared for the death of the "Old Helmsman."

Finally, when Mao died on 9 September 1976, serious questions remained to be answered about the future of China. The official mourning vigil lasted 8 days, with the remains of the old leader kept in a mourning chamber. The length of the vigil may have been to allow the situation to stabilize, or to permit a transitional period in which Mao's heirs could strengthen their position.

Once the hierarchic list of the new political apparatus was published, the partition of power between moderates and radicals was evident:

-Hua Kuo-feng, First Deputy Chairman of the Party and Prime Minister (moderate).

-Wang Hung-wen, Second Deputy Chairman of the Party and Commandant of the People's Militia (radical).

-Yeh Chien-ying, Marshal, Defense Minister, and representative of the People's Liberation Army in the top hierarchy (sympathetic to the moderates).

-Chang Chin-chiao, member of the Politburo, First Deputy Prime Minister and Political Commissar of the armed forces (radical).

As time went by, however, the power of Teng Hsiao-ping, one of the chosen Deputy Prime Ministers, steadily increased. At the same time, the struggle between moderates and radicals escalated. Finally, the support of the moderates by the People's Liberation Army was decisive, causing the Shanghai radicals to be ousted from their public positions and subsequently tried and ostracized. Teng Hsiao-ping then ascended to the leadership of China. Hua Kuo-peng, deprived of his tasks in government one by one, had fulfilled his role as a transitional leader.

The years of rule by Teng and the moderates have witnessed the ever-growing reconciliation of China with the Western world. This has been accomplished despite periodical freezing of relations with the United States because of the special position conceded by Washington to Taiwan, and despite China's continuing mistrust and antagonism vis-a-vis the USSR. China and the USSR have occasionally taken actions tending toward Sino-Soviet reconciliation. The credibility of these actions seems to have increased with Andropov's rise to power in the USSR. China has moderated its revolutionary action abroad, except in those areas of immediate strategic interest, such as Southeast Asia. This moderation has also promoted Sino-US reconciliation.

Teng Hsiao-ping is committed to obtaining from abroad, especially from the capitalist world, the means with which to transform China into a global power within the principles of the Four Modernizations. He has not changed his position even though he was ostracised from the Party twice, indicted as opportunist and revisionist by his enemies—"it doesn't matter the color of the cat, as long as it chases the rats."

Although the radicals have been defeated, one cannot say with certainty that the power struggle in China has come to an end. And if someday the "Shanghai group" returns to prominence on the domestic front, China's positions regarding the world would change, perhaps returning to isolationism and ideological-revolutionary fervor. The power struggle could begin anew on the occasion of Teng's death. And we must not forget that he is an old man.

The USSR and the Succession of Leonid Brezhnev

The process of succession in the USSR has been characterized by dramatic episodes and intense struggles. When Lenin died, Stalin came to power after having eliminated his most powerful rivals. Among these rivals we can count Bukharin, executed in 1938 after being accused of "rightist deviation," and Trotsky, accused by Stalin of "leftist deviation," who was to be reached by the murderous Muscovite arm in 1940 while in exile in Mexico.

The new and implacable Red Tzar assumed complete power over the USSR through a regime of terror. He directed a series of purges that eliminated not only his possible competitors but millions of Soviet citizens. The Soviets despaired of opposing his iron rule. Thus, Stalin consolidated his domain and ruled for 28 years, leaving his personal mark on the history of the USSR and the world.

When Stalin died in 1953, the Soviets stood in amazement at the power gap left by the disappearance of the almighty lord of their destiny. Georgi Malenkov emerged at the top of the political apparatus. He was a very small figure, however, when compared to his predecessor. Soon he was overthrown by Nikita Khrushchev, one of his chosen aids but a man whose ambition demanded complete power for himself.

Khrushchev was later the victim of a treason similar to his own against Malenkov. One of his favored followers, Leonid Brezhnev, whom he had promoted within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), finally overthrew Khrushchev. Brezhnev took advantage of Khrushchev's fall in disgrace following the Cuban missile crisis and the

enormous domestic dissatisfaction with his disastrous agricultural policy, which had led the Soviet people to famine.

In the beginning of his rule, Brezhnev had to pay allegiance to those groups that had helped him reach power. To do so, the "Troika" was established. Brezhnev had political control as Secretary-General of the CPSU but had to share power with Aleksei Kosygin, Premier and head of the administrative apparatus, and Nikolai Podgorny, Chief of State.

In the USSR, however, he who controls the CPSU has the real power. As time went by, Brezhnev ousted Podgorny from office and became President of the USSR. In addition, Kosygin was progressively forced to subordinate his actions to Brezhnev's will. By these methods, a new Red Tzar had taken over the Soviet Union, bringing about the return of the worship of personality and an overwhelming government presence in the life of the Soviet people. Brezhnev also took remarkable actions in the international arena, always striving to affirm and fulfill the objectives of communism and Soviet expansionism.

The death of such an impressive figure, who totally dominated Soviet life, seemed likely to provoke a very serious crisis. Brezhnev had kept the scheme of succession indefinite, perhaps fearing that an heir chosen in advance would have no patience to wait, as he had not had patience under Khrushchev. Ill and almost disabled during his last years, Brezhnev never designated his heir, leaving international analysts and observers to speculate about who would be the next Soviet leader. The hypotheses followed, one by one: Pelshe? Kirilenko? Ustinov? Chernenko? Suslov? Some of the heirs apparent were to die even before Brezhnev, and the mystery continued. The scene was set for another tremendous struggle for power after Brezhnev's death, in accordance with the Soviet tradition.

Brezhnev finally died on 10 November 1982, and much to the surprise of the whole world, Yuri Andropov was nominated as Secretary-General of the CPSU on 13 November in a smooth, almost normal process. The one to nominate Andropov was Konstantin Kirilenko, until then his strongest rival. Some time afterwards, following in the steps of Brezhnev, Andropov also assumed the Presidency of the USSR.

How could the smooth and surprising transition be explained? Many conflicting analyses have been offered, so I can risk presenting my personal opinion. I believe that the selection of Andropov represented a compromise solution in which the security apparatus—namely, the KGB and the armed forces—had the last word. Andropov's selection and the speed with which he was chosen and acclaimed lord of all the USSR can be

explained by the Soviet leadership's fear of a prolonged void of power. The Soviets wanted to prevent the wounds of internal struggles at a time when they felt threatened by US initiative in the international field.

I believe that Andropov's personal record was also decisive for his nomination. Going back to 1956, he was the Soviet Ambassador in Budapest when the Red Army crushed the Hungarian revolution that, with the support of the national armed forces, fought to return that country to the world of free societies. Andropov's participation in that event was active and efficient for Soviet interests. Afterwards, he was head of the KGB and the entire Soviet state system of security for a very long period. He left that post only to substitute for the late Mikhail Suslov as the ideologue of the CPSU.

Because of his past work, Andropov had been in touch with Western society and the foreign world. He spoke several languages and was considered to have a better cultural background than his predecessors. So, better than his predecessors and rivals, he would be able to follow, understand, and influence international events, always according to the Soviet objectives. At the same time, he was a functionary dedicated to the party and a specialist on intelligence, thoroughly acquainted with the methods and processes of Soviet action and every secret of the gigantic Soviet state security apparatus. An additional factor that carries great weight in a closed and controlled society such as the Soviet Union is that Andropov, as former head of the KGB, possessed the complete biographical records of the principal Soviet citizens, including all his eventual competitors for power. These personal characteristics and the international circumstances at the moment prompted the choice of Andropov to succeed Leonid Brezhnev.

Yuri Andropov, however, wasn't young or in good health. He was a practical choice because of his former experiences, fidelity to the party, and ruthlessness in defending the Soviet ideals; but he was a transitional solution. Nevertheless, having been raised under Soviet communism, of which he made himself a faithful follower and guardian, Yuri Andropov would work tirelessly with all his talents to achieve the goal of universal domination that has been Moscow's dream ever since 1917. He appeared to be an intellectualized bureaucrat, as have most of the recent party leaders, but his mind and his heart were directed toward revolution.

After assuming power, Andropov had to face the challenge of America's decision to rearm and defend the free world whenever it is menaced. At the same time, he had to deal with the demands of Soviet citizens outside the cadres of the Party—the overwhelming majority of the population—for a better standard of living. Having perceived the

important role played by China in international affairs, Andropov tried to approach Peking utilizing clever and persuasive language. He also maintained the constant build-up of the impressive Soviet arsenal, and showed his intransigence in discussions regarding intermediate range missiles in Europe.

More than an individual, Yuri Andropov was a representative of a system that deliberately opposes the West's efforts, with all the imperfections of democracy, toward improving life in society and affirming the dignity of the human being. And so it will be, as long as the communist regime rules in the USSR or elsewhere. Any new leader will be the product of a world view that admits but one solution to all problems. Very little, if anything, will substantially change.

Closing Observations

The World We Live In

The situation in today's world is one of crisis—broad, generalized, and multifaceted. Political crisis is caused by the clash between democratic and totalitarian philosophies as the free world tries to hinder the USSR in its search for global political control.

Economic crisis, caused by the unequal distribution of wealth, opportunities, and property within and among nations, divides those who have too much from those who have nothing. Of this crisis, the most crucial aspect is the developing nations' struggle for a "New International Economic Order," more equal and fairer to all. While these nations work to improve their condition, powerful and important sectors of the industrialized and developed countries try every possible way to maintain the status quo. Another important part of the economic crisis is the energy problem, pitting the oil-producing countries against oil-importing countries that have been terribly wounded by the pricing policies of OPEC.

Psycho-social crisis, which in philosophical terms could be considered moral crisis, is manifested in the steady erosion of the values and basic foundations of human society. It affects the relations between men and their Creator and between men and their neighbors. The family and other fundamental social institutions, such as Church and school, are attacked and forced to change, mostly in a negative way, by the powerful mass media. The media are manipulated either by ideological interests or by the search for profit without social responsibility.

These crises provoke violence and appeals to military solutions. Thus, we live in a world of conflict within nations and international wars of a regional nature that always threaten to spread. There is a marked ideological division between the opposing democratic-capitalist and totalitarian-socialist systems. There is an ever-growing economic division between the rich, developed nations and the poor, developing ones. Conflicts of interest among nations within one or the other group provoke additional divisions.

In short, when we look at the whole world we can identify the East-West conflict, the developed world-developing world conflict, and the misunderstandings within all these groups of nations. In addition, the ever-present energy crisis challenges the majority of nations. But even in

such a disturbed panorama, one can recognize the positive actions of men of good will. They state again and again their pursuit of harmony and peace, not through submission and subjugation but by affirming respect for the dignity of human beings and for the sovereignty of national states.

The Role of the Armed Forces in the Free World

The mission of the armed forces in defending the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each nation is well known. I would like, however, to refer to some other features of military action in Latin America, Brazil in particular, in order to demonstrate better what the military are actually doing. I do so because large numbers of people in the developed countries, under the effect of well orchestrated propaganda campaigns supported by the communists, believe that all Latin American military are reactionary, isolated from their people, and only interested in enjoying power as a source of personal and general privileges.

In Latin America, communist action has taken many forms. These include exploitation of historical antagonisms that divide nations; psychological warfare focused on unavoidable social deficiencies of developing economies; and armed movements, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism in the urban and rural environments. The armed movements aim at the violent seizure of power or the formation of "broad" or "popular" fronts with the bourgeois parties in order to guarantee communist victory through parliamentary or "peaceful" means. Each one of us has had the chance to diagnose the existence of communist action in our own countries. And we have suffered from its evil consequences in one way or another. We are definitely fighting an undeclared war against the international communist avalanche.

In such a context, the role to be played by the national armed forces, as legitimate heirs of the brave men who established and maintained our freedom and national sovereignty, is increased in importance. From generation to generation, in the military schools, in the barracks, on the bases and ships, the values and beliefs are transmitted: the belief in the future; the spirit of sacrifice and renunciation of oneself for the benefit of the country; the spirit of austerity; the values of morality and sound companionship; the need for hierarchy and discipline. As a consequence, in recent Latin American events, the armed forces often have acted as the last stronghold for the defense of democratic principles against the communist assault; and they have succeeded. If the armed forces had not responded to the call of their threatened peoples and come to their rescue, many countries would have fallen to communism. This is why the communists, knowing well the commitment and organization of their

foe, are always engaged in slanderous campaigns against the Latin American armed forces. At the same time, the communists strive to infiltrate their agents into the very core of the military institution to foster division and disharmony.

The basic constitutional mission of a nation's military is to guarantee national security. The actuation of the armed forces, however, goes beyond the mere concern for security. The military are also decisively committed to the process of national development, complementing the actions of government and private enterprises. Thus, the uniformed services are pioneers in the areas of teaching and instruction; of technology and research; of industrialization; of construction of strategic railways and roads; of taming and occupying the hinterland by establishing the military colonies that will give birth to regular settlements, villages, and small towns; of transporting people and goods to the distant regions where private enterprise has not yet reached. The armed forces deliver medical, dental, and hospital services. They provide the notions of adequate hygiene and nutrition, and the means to fulfill them. They also deliver education for the illiterate, agricultural and livestock-raising techniques, and simple industrial procedures compatible with the various regions where they accomplish their mission. The armed services are the presence of the Fatherland among all the people, in every part of each of our countries. By performing all these tasks, they take the banners from the hands of the communists. Through example and presence, the military are struggling to win the war in which the enemies of democracy are engaged—that is, the war to conquer the hearts and minds of the people.

One must never forget the long tradition of military importance in the life of the Iberian peoples, and the decisive action of Portuguese and Spanish sailors and soldiers in the great cycles of discovery, conquest, and colonization of the New World. Later, throughout the history of the free nations of Latin America, the military have had remarkable political influence. The majority of liberators were military, and as a natural process, they came to be the first heads of state in the newly sovereign countries. In this way, a tradition of military participation in politics was created. As institutions based on hierarchy and discipline, thoroughly committed to national sovereignty and integrity, the armed forces were in the ideal position to play the role of "moderating power." They looked after order and progress and intervened in political disturbances when it was necessary to assure that internal divisions and chaos would not persist.

The American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789 had great influence on Latin America, expressing the republican ideals

and calling for liberty, equality, and fraternity. The Latin Americans embraced these ideas, and one by one, civilian governments began to be installed, supported by idealistic and liberal constitutions. However, the contradictory and wary character of the people soon provoked a succession of struggles and divisions. Originally used only as a means to defeat chaos and assure union, military intervention in politics became more and more frequent. It's true that, in many cases, power corrupts; and many military chiefs transformed themselves into caudillos, usurping the rights of the people and seeking power only for personal gain.

The Latin American people's arduous search for development and fairer, more participative forms of government continued in spite of the many obstacles and setbacks. More recently, communist action—efficient and effective—began to conquer land and the spirits of men in Latin America. Taking advantage of young political institutions, still in the formative stage, the agents of revolution started to succeed in their ominous action. Everywhere, they sought to instill mistrust and subversion. In some places, they infiltrated the government; in other places, they gained total power.

In order to accomplish their basic mission and respond to the appeal of their threatened peoples, the armed forces once more had to intervene. They took over political control of nations that would otherwise have fallen under communist rule. With time, the military return to their normal activities, giving management of the public affairs back to politicians. But it is a somewhat slow process, because the existing communist threat has to be controlled and the new political leadership has to be prepared. If the military retreat too soon, conflict returns, with more bloodshed and suffering than before.

The people lost their faith in the traditional political oligarchies, identifying them as mere profiteers of power who were not concerned about the majority of the nation. The people transferred their trust and confidence to the idealistic military. Well-prepared culturally and dynamic in their actions, the military were capable of planning and executing the steps necessary for development. So far, however, those have been intermediate steps toward the more adequate social roles of good politicians forming a good government, with the military dedicated to defense of the country.

The great challenge of today is to prepare the youth, especially those studying in the universities, to cope with the great questions of our times. They must dedicate themselves to the task of resolving the questions within certain basic principles, such as patriotism, sensitivity for justice,

love for the people, and dedication to public affairs. From such a conscious and well formed elite, one can hope that political leaders capable of effectively governing nations will emerge. These will be the legitimate heirs of the great men who have made our history.

Democracy: A Conscious Option and Its Implications

The followers of Marxism-Leninism have adopted a vision of the world according to which they must destroy the prevailing order and erect in its place a new political-economic-social order. This new order begins with the worldwide takeover of power by the proletariat. Although positive that such an event would complete the historical progression from absolute to constitutional monarchies and then to "bourgeois" democracies, these followers admit that the passage to the "dictatorship of the proletariat" will not take place in a smooth manner, but through revolution.

When the first Marxist-Leninist state in the world, the U`SR, applied the communist ideology, instead of abolishing the state and the distinction of classes it institutionalized the all-present and almighty state apparatus. Following the style of Hobbes' *Leviathan*, the "new class" of party bureaucrats established its supremacy. Man and his yearning for liberty has thus been crushed by the machine of the sole party.

The Russian fears of encirclement and invasion have, since the Stalin regime, encouraged a resurgence of Russian imperialism and expansionism. That is why, instead of pursuing the ideal of peace and harmony announced by the first romantic revolutionaries, the USSR has created the most formidable machine of war now known. The USSR has been at war with the democratic world ever since the final moments of World War II. The Soviets use indirect strategy most of the time because it's less risky and very effective. They issue a call to arms every time they feel threatened. This is how we can explain the shooting down of the Korean commercial airliner, with 269 innocent people on board, in September 1983. That action, which seems cruel and absurd to the West, seems very natural and necessary to those, like the Soviet leadership, who are always at war.

Democracy is a conscious option of people who desire the affirmation of liberty and the intrinsic dignity of man as they were granted by the Divine Creator. To live and to practice democracy must be our response to the challenge of current times. To win the battles, the campaigns, or the war against the enemies of men's dignity, it is not sufficient to be anti-communist. It is also necessary to work for democracy.

Democracy is a complex form of government and demands a continuous process of perfecting the societies in which it is to be applied. It is not characterized only by procedures such as periodic elections, separation of powers, universal voting rights, party pluralism, and the regular replacement of those in the government. It is also characterized by respect for the dignity of the human being, "made according to the image and resemblance of the Creator," in a social environment that assures all possibilities of self-realization.

There is not one definite and final form of democracy, applicable to all people throughout history. On the contrary, it is necessary to take into account the historical-cultural process of each nation to understand what democracy can accomplish and how to take the steps to achieve it. The national elites, those persons that have received special gifts from God, must interpret the national interests and yearnings in order to help identify national objectives. They also must orient, educate, and elevate the poorer segments of the nation. In this way, everyone can be integrated in the work for the Common Good.

The Common Good is the ultimate goal or *raison d'être* of the political organization of human society, as stated by Aristotle and emphasized by Saint Thomas Aquinas. It must be understood as an ideal that, besides comprising individual well-being, inspires a model of society. This model is favorable to the fulfillment of all human potential and to the comprehensive understanding and maintenance of spiritual values. Or, as defined by Pope Paul IV in the Encyclical *Mater et Magistra*,

The Common Good consists in the existence of all conditions in social life which allow and favor the integral development of the human personality.

The great challenges of our times lead us to visualize the mission of mankind on two levels: perfecting the quality of life and guaranteeing that such life exists in liberty. As a consequence, we have the definitions, from a national point of view, of development—"the process of perfecting and strengthening national power, to conquer the Common Good"—and security—"warranty that, in variable degree, is proportionated to the nation, mainly under the aegis of the state, through political, economic, psycho-social and military actions, to assure the conquest and maintenance of the permanent national objectives, in spite of existing or potential antagonisms and pressures."*

In a democratic system, in which all are equal under the law, each citizen has rights and duties. In the democratic pursuit of the Common Good, one must recognize the concept of participation. This necessary

**Fundamentos da Doutrina*, Escola Superior de Guerra, Brazil, 1981.

participation can be achieved through a comprehensive national discussion of the main questions of the time and through the conscious efforts of all citizens to resolve these questions in ways that more effectively affirm the dignity of human beings.

The society of free nations, the "free world" as we know it, maintains certain principles, applicable to each nation in the international arena. The free nations respect important concepts such as judicial equality among states, self-determination, non-intervention in other countries' internal affairs, and peaceful solution of controversies. These concepts and values of the democratic or "Western" world are derived from various influences and heritages:

- the philosophy of Ancient Greece

- the law of Rome

- the political events of England in 1688, the United States in 1776, and France in 1789

- the Judeo-Christian tradition

We live in a world in which we must struggle to affirm the true destiny of men within the postulates of democracy. But for democracy to survive, we must defend it and fight for its deepest beliefs, since the foe is implacable, astute, and active. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance. To succeed in resolving the problems of current times, we, the democratic world, must join hand-in-hand. We must integrate our efforts in a common and planned action in order to assure our people a better standard of living and, at the same time, face our enemies with faith, deep belief in our values, and obstinacy superior to theirs. After all, truth is on our side, so we need to know how to fight the good fight.

The Author

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