



The Palgrave Handbook of Anti-Communist Persecutions

Edited by
Christian Gerlach · Clemens Six

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This book is a collective effort to make anti-communist persecutions and their dimensions, manifestations, and root causes in the twentieth and twenty-first century better understood. By offering numerous regional perspectives and thematic approaches and covering a time period much longer than the Cold War, it provides many facets and aspects of a global complex story.

Collaborative scholarly works owe much to exchanges with a great number of people. We, the editors, are indebted to all authors of this volume for their contributions. Some authors worked out their chapters against the background of great personal or professional difficulties, and we appreciate their commitment and energy devoted to this collection. Not all of the contributors are leftists or Marxists, but some are. A few of these suffered themselves from anti-communist persecution—being arrested or compelled to leave their country—during the time of the work on this volume. In spite of these challenges, they persistently upheld their commitment to this project and helped to finalize it. We also express our gratitude to the numerous librarians, archivists, and colleagues with whom we discussed our work.

Parts of this book are based on the international conference “Anti-communist persecutions in the 20th century,” held at the University of Bern, Switzerland, in April 2017 organized by Christian Gerlach, Wendy Goldman, and Clemens Six. We thank all participants in this event—authors of papers, panel chairs, those taking part in the discussions and particularly Wendy Goldman as co-organizer—for their valuable studies and inputs. Generous support for the funding of this conference came from the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNF contribution 171059), the Fondation Johanna Dürmüller-Bol, Bern, Switzerland, and Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, USA. We are grateful to them and also for the infrastructural support by the University of Bern and to those who helped with the conference organization: Moritz Feichtinger, Christian Hadorn, Daniela Heiniger, Elischa Rietzler, and Noemi Rui. We are also indebted to all applicants in a call for papers

preceding this conference, and to many colleagues who helped us with their hints to find authors of additional chapters.

The chapters in this collection present histories from many countries around the world. To have great diversity among the authors was also important to us. Contributors from different backgrounds offer perspectives from a variety of academic cultures. We feel deep gratitude for the efforts by Gregory Sax, as language editor, to straighten out and smoothen the use of language by those authors whose primary language is not English. Financially, his work was made possible by the University of Bern and the Nicolaas Mulerius Foundation, University of Groningen, for which we thank these institutions.

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CONTENTS

Introduction: Anti-Communist Persecutions in the Twentieth Century	1
Christian Gerlach	
Part I Policies and Practices of Persecution	
The Smith Act Trials and Systemic Violence: Anti-Communist Persecution and Prosecution in America, 1949–1957	31
Barbara J. Falk	
The Continuities and Discontinuities of Anti-Leftist State Persecution in Modern Japan	51
Frank Jacob	
Franco’s Anti-Communist Judicial System: Results and Solutions of Spanish Transitional Justice	77
Daniel Vallès Muñío	
Laboratories of the <i>Conditio Humana</i>: The Role of Communism in Greek and Argentine Torture Centers During Their Last Military Dictatorships	97
Janis Nalbadidacis	
Maoist Insurgency and the State’s Counterinsurgency in India: An Anti-Anti-Communist Historical Perspective	117
Bernard D’Mello and Gautam Navlakha	

- Getting Hold of a Universe of Conspirators: Anti-Communist Panic, Fears of Subversion, and the Routine of Repression in Senegal's Early Postcolonial Secret Police (the Sûreté), 1962–1965** 163
Alexander Keese

Part II Anti-Communism in the Context of Nation-Building, Race and Religion

- How Anti-Communism Disrupted Decolonization: South Korea's State-Building Under US Patronage** 185
Dong-Choon Kim

- Redefining the Outsider: Anti-Communist Narratives and the Student Massacre in Tlatelolco (1968)** 203
Elisa Kriza

- The Black and Red Scare in the Twentieth-Century United States** 225
Robbie Lieberman

- Christian Agency in Anti-Communist Persecution? British-Malaya and Indonesia in the 1950s and 1960s** 245
Clemens Six

Part III Anti-Communist Persecution and New Models of Capital Accumulation

- Killing Communists: Stalinist Repression and the "Great Terror" in the Soviet Union** 265
Wendy Z. Goldman

- Nation-Building as Anti-Communist Violence: The Armed Forces in Cold War Argentina** 283
James H. Shrader

Part IV The Role of Non-State Actors

- Non-state Anti-Communism and Political Violence in Argentina and Uruguay, 1958–1973** 315
Ernesto Bohoslavsky and Magdalena Broquetas
- The Religious Justification of Anti-Communist Persecutions in Greece (1920–1949)** 329
Amaryllis Logotheti
- From World War One to the Vanguard of Nazism? A Statistical Approach to the History of German Paramilitarism** 347
Jan-Philipp Pomplun
- The Persecution of Communists in Mao’s China** 363
Ning Wang
- A Short History of Anti-Communist Violence in Colombia (1930–2018): Rupture with the Past or Rebranding?** 383
Andrei Gomez-Suarez

Part V Responses of the Persecuted

- “So That They Leave the Prison Cage as Conscious Revolutionaries”: How Polish Communists Used Prison** 407
Padraic Kenney
- Women, Communism, and Repression in Interwar Poland: 1918–1939** 423
Natalia Jarska
- Indonesian Narratives of Survival in and after 1965 and Their Relation to Societal Persecution** 441
Christian Gerlach
- Remembering Anti-Communist Violence in Rural Society in Indonesia: Patronage, Agricultural Transformation, and the Legacy of Violence** 459
Grace Leksana

The Left in Turkey: Emergence, Persecutions and Left-Wing Memory Work Berna Pekesen	477
Part VI Concluding Remarks	
Anti-Communist Persecutions Between Globe-Spanning Processes and Local Peculiarities Clemens Six	499
Correction to: The Palgrave Handbook of Anti-Communist Persecutions Christian Gerlach and Clemens Six	C1
Bibliography	523
Index	585

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LIST OF FIGURES

Remembering Anti-Communist Violence in Rural Society in Indonesia: Patronage, Agricultural Transformation, and the Legacy of Violence

- | | | |
|--------|---|-----|
| Fig. 1 | Torture Diorama in Sacred Pancasila Monument Complex
(<i>Photo</i> Grace Leksana, 2006) | 463 |
| Fig. 2 | The Trisula Monument in Donomulyo (<i>Photo</i> Grace Leksana, 2016) | 475 |
| Fig. 3 | A Mass Grave in Donomulyo District (<i>Photo</i> Grace Leksana, 2017) | 475 |

LIST OF TABLES

Introduction: Anti-Communist Persecutions in the Twentieth Century

Table 1	List of major anti-communist persecutions	3
---------	---	---

The Continuities and Discontinuities of Anti-Leftist State Persecution in Modern Japan

Table 1	The status of unionism in Japan, December 31, 1919	62
Table 2	The increase of strikes in Japan between 1914 and 1919	63
Table 3	<i>Tokkō</i> arrests and prosecutions of Japanese communists and communism-sympathizers, 1928–1937	68

From World War One to the Vanguard of Nazism? A Statistical Approach to the History of German Paramilitarism

Table 1	<i>Freikorps</i> members with and without war experience	354
Table 2	Generational affiliation of the <i>Freikorps</i> members	356
Table 3	<i>Freikorps</i> members in Nazi organizations	359



Introduction: Anti-Communist Persecutions in the Twentieth Century

Christian Gerlach

In his science-fiction novel *The Iron Heel* of 1908, which he framed as an account written in the twenty-seventh century, Jack London provided the fictional history of future political struggles of a shocking magnitude between a leftist workers' movement in the USA and an oligarchic regime allied with labor unions it had tamed.¹ The oligarchy rules for over 300 years and claims the lives of many hundreds of thousands of leftists, workers, and subproletarians in the US, Japan, and elsewhere before the victory of the leftist Brotherhood of Men. The novel describes a wide array of acts of oppression against the left, such as apocalyptic massacres to suppress the fictional Chicago Commune and exterminations, with machine guns and artillery, of whole towns; guerrilla uprisings, rural no-go areas, and the slaughter of farmers; conspiracies, secret services, infiltrations, *agents provocateurs*, suspicion, and terrorism by both sides; the state's techniques of restricting domestic movement used against leftist opponents; atrocity propaganda, courts-martial,

¹Jack London, *The Iron Heel* (Edinburgh: Rebel Inc., 1999 [first 1908]).

The original version of this chapter was revised: The incorrect author name Elena Kriza has been corrected to Elisa Kriza. The correction to this chapter is available at https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-54963-3_25

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incarcerations, torture, forced disappearances, and legal executions; right-wing mobs and organized paramilitaries mobilized against leftists' facilities and the mass conscription of citizens to hunt down and kill leftists hiding in the countryside; deadly infighting among workers, betrayals, ostracization of the families of political activists, the spatial segregation of social classes and famines; and armed uprisings, international revolutions, and wars between countries with different sociopolitical systems, including socialist regimes crushed by opposing powers.

London wrote *The Iron Heel* with the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907 in mind. He is credited with having anticipated fascism, the split in the labor movement, the capitalist welfare state, and the dominance of US anti-leftism in the Western Hemisphere.² His novel anticipated much of what transpired in the twentieth century, which had just begun when he wrote it. To be sure, he did not imagine that race and decolonization would be factors of class conflict, the First World War, the use of punitive camps, and many other events in the century to come. His novel was a work of art, but it can prompt today's thinking about historical developments, the path-dependency of events, and roads not taken.

THE PHENOMENON

This book is about persecutions by anti-communists. It analyzes many of the phenomena and practices described in *The Iron Heel*, including participatory violence and various forms of government repression. Table 1 enumerates anti-communist persecutions in the twentieth century whose bloodiness surpassed even London's gloomy fantasy.

As this incomplete list indicates, the magnitude of the phenomenon is enormous. In the twentieth century, several waves of mass violence against communists swept Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa, affecting capitalist and socialist societies, nation-states, colonial empires, neo-colonies, and all types of political systems from right-wing dictatorships of various kinds to bourgeois democracies to, arguably, communist-led regimes. Moreover, the repression often overlapped with changes of political regimes (indicating political instability).

Such persecutions happened before, during, and after the Cold War, decreasing but not disappearing after 2000³; in peacetime and wartime, including civil wars and guerrilla wars; and in economic boom times and times of slump, although their frequency seems to increase in the downturns

²Part of this is in Leon Trotsky, "Jack London's *The Iron Heel*" (1937/1945) in London, *Iron Heel*: v–viii.

³At present, anti-communist persecutions claim lives in Colombia, India, the Philippines and Turkey. On Colombia and India, see the contributions by Andrei Gomez-Suárez and by Bernard D'Mello and Gautam Navlakha in this volume. For one statement about the decline of anti-communist persecution, see Jean-François Fayet, "Reflections on writing the history of anti-communism", *Twentieth Century Communism*, 6 (2014): 11.

Table 1 List of major anti-communist persecutions (cases with more than 100,000 dead in bold; an asterisk marks armed foreign intervention)

1871 France (Paris Commune)*
1905–1907 Russia, suppression of revolution
1917–1921 Russia, civil war*
1918–1919 Finland, civil war*
1918–1920 Baltic region, civil war*
1919–1920 Hungary*
1919–1921 Germany, civil war
1922–1945 Italian fascism, including occupation in the Balkans*
1923 Bulgaria
1927–1949 China, civil war/Japanese occupation*
1930s USSR
1936–1940s Spain, civil war*
1933–1945 Germany
1941–1945 German occupation, esp. in the USSR, Yugoslavia, Greece*
1941–1944 Bulgarian occupation in Yugoslavia*
1942–1954 The Philippines*
1943–1949 Greece, civil war*
1945–1954 Vietnam, decolonization*
1948 Indonesia (Madiun Regency)
1948–1953 South Korea, repression, Korean War*
1948–1960 British Malaya*
1956–1959, 1962–1965, 1966–1976 Peoples' Republic of China
1960-? Congo/Zaire*
1961–1975 South Vietnam, civil war, US-American occupation*
1962–1974 Portuguese Angola*
1963 Iraq
1965–1968 Indonesia
1968–1974 Portuguese Mozambique*
1969–1996 Guatemala, civil war
since 1969 The Philippines
1971–1973 Thailand
1973–1990 Chile
1975–2002 Angola, civil war*
1976–1983 Argentina
1977–1992 Mozambique, civil war*
since 1967/77 India, Naxalite guerrilla war
1979–1993 El Salvador, civil war
repeatedly, esp. since 1984 Turkey, civil war
repeatedly, esp. 1984–1991, ongoing, Columbia, civil war
1989–1993 Peru, civil war
1996–2006 Nepal, civil war

of long economic cycles (Kondratiev cycles).⁴ Until the end of the Second World War, much of the repression occurred in Europe, but it moved to Asia after 1945 and later to Africa and Latin America as well. In the last decades, armed foreign intervention has become less common. The frequency of persecution during civil wars suggests that anti-communist repression was often part of broader political and social conflicts, with violence coming from both or multiple sides. The number of unarmed civilians killed in these persecutions varied from thousands to millions.

The idea for this volume originated in a panel that Wendy Goldman organized at the American Historical Association conference in New York City in January 2015, in which Goldman, Landon Storr, and I presented papers on the Great Terror in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, the Second Red Scare in the USA in the 1940s and 1950s, and the massacres in Indonesia in the 1960s, respectively. Despite the very different geographies and historic and cultural contexts, our papers showed that these cases had amazing similarities among the techniques of persecution; the social practices involved; the experience of those persecuted; the Manichean world views of the repressive regimes and their mechanisms for banning certain ideas that were not Marxist at all; the non-state persecutors; the expanding target groups; their social exclusion; the pressures involved; and the evasions, revokements, denunciations, family crises, and suicides. The commentator of that panel, Ronald Suny, recommended that we write what he called a black book of anti-communism, alluding to the well-known, controversial *Black Book of Communism*.⁵

We did something else. Above all, this volume forgoes the political furor of the *Black Book*. Instead of presenting a catalogue of state atrocities arranged country-by-country aiming at completeness, our collection concentrates on the analysis of certain interrelated aspects of the phenomena of anti-communist persecution that have not been systematically studied. Crucially, the contributors to this volume conceive of persecution and violence as at least partially based on interactions among social groups and, thus, as complex and dynamic conflicts.⁶

⁴Assuming such downturns to have taken place 1873–1892, 1914/18–1947, 1973–1992, and from 2008, 20 of the cases listed in Table 1 occurred largely in downturns (B-phases), 11 in A-phases, and 10 stretched over both. Whether such a global periodization makes sense, and thus to take economic synchronization for granted, is debatable.

⁵Stéphane Courtois et al., *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1999).

⁶This volume is based on a conference, “Anti-communist persecutions in the 20th century”, organized at the University of Bern in April 2017 by Wendy Goldman, Clemens Six and this author.

THE STATE OF RESEARCH

Although an overall history of anti-communist persecution remains to be written, some excellent research has been done. It is impossible and of little value to enumerate all of it in this introduction; we refer readers to the bibliography. But the existing scholarship has obvious limitations. Its focal point is actually anti-communism, i.e., the history of anti-communist ideas, attitudes, and propaganda.⁷ The essence of this literature's complex findings about how anti-communists either viewed or portrayed communists and what those images implied can be summed up as setting social norms, calling for action, having emotional notions, and being amorphous.⁸ Scholars have also studied anti-communist organizations and the role of the mass media, though less intensely. This kind of work is mostly about right-wing extremists, religious groups, intellectuals, labor unions, and, often, their transnational entanglements.⁹ Furthermore, there has been much scholarship on anti-communist

⁷For example, B.A. Schabad, *Die politische Philosophie des gegenwärtigen Imperialismus: Zur Kritik der antikommunistischen Grundkonzeption* (Berlin [East]: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1970); Wolfgang Wippermann, *Heilige Herzjagd: Eine Ideologiegeschichte des Antikommunismus* (Berlin: Rotbuch, 2012); *Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung* (2011): 1–194; Norbert Frei and Dominik Rigoll, eds., *Der Antikommunismus in seiner Epoche: Weltanschauung und Politik in Deutschland, Europa und den USA* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2017) (the subtitle is indicative). For the Federal Republik of Germany, see Erhard Albrecht, *Der Antikommunismus: Ideologie des Klerikalmilitarismus* (Berlin [East]: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1961); the habilitation thesis by Hans Beyer, *Wesen, Funktionieren, Differenzen und Formen des Antikommunismus in Westdeutschland* (Leipzig: Karl-Marx-Universität, 1966); Werner Hofmann, *Zur Soziologie des Antikommunismus* (Heilbronn: Distel, n.y. [1982, first published in 1967]). For France: Jean-Jacques Becker and Serge Berstein, *Histoire de l'anticommunisme en France, vol I: 1917–1940* (Paris: Olivier Orban, 1987); *Communisme*, 18, 62–63 (2000): 3–206. For Italy: Aurelio Lepre, *L'anticommunismo e l'antifascismo in Italia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997). For Belgium: Pascal Delwit and José Gotovich, eds., *La peur du rouge* (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1996). For Western Europe and the USA: *Twentieth Century Communism*, vol. 6 (2014), A Century of Anti-Communism. The literature on U.S. anti-communism is summed up in Marc Selverstone, "A literature so immense: The historiography of anticommunism", *OAH Magazine of History* (October 2010): 7–11; an early critical U.S. study is by James Bristol et al., *Anatomie des Antikommunismus* (Olten: Walter, 1970).

⁸Hofmann, *Soziologie*, 15, for West Germany. An inquiry among elites in Berlin in the 1990s seems to suggest a more differentiated, reflective, and rational kind of anti-communism: Gesine Schwan, *Antikommunismus und Antiamerikanismus in Deutschland: Kontinuität und Wandel nach 1945* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1999), 82, 93–99. But Schwan does not take into account how the situation of communication (persons being interviewed for an academic study, possibly trying to appear respectable) influenced the formers' responses.

⁹Typical of this literature is J.B. Kaschlew et al., eds., *Antikommunismus: ideologische Hauptwaffe des Imperialismus* (Berlin [East]: Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1974) with a longer first part „Doktrinen“ (doctrines) and a shorter second part „Apparat“ (apparatus). The relatively best communist depiction in terms of covering organizations, practices, geographical breadth and depth of analysis is the collection *Antikommunismus – Feind der Menschheit* (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1963). For anti-communist organizations, see also Georges Lodygensky, *Face au communisme: Quand*

governments' policies, secret services, and covert actions.¹⁰ This literature has shown that anti-communism is a “polymorphous notion,” heterogeneous, hard to delineate, “multi-faceted,” and its agents diverse to the point that a bibliography of anti-communism has been called “impossible.”¹¹ There is a debate over whether “anti-communism” denotes one ideology or several different ideologies. Anti-communists preached unity, but their organizations were often faction-ridden and short-lived.

Many volumes about anti-communism, like those already mentioned in the footnotes, focus on industrialized nations in Europe and North America but claim to cover the entire phenomenon.¹² To be sure, there is scholarship on manifestations in nonindustrialized countries.¹³ And, in fact, it was in nonindustrialized and just industrializing countries that anti-leftist persecutions were most lethal.

Some words about the genesis of this state of research are appropriate. Communist leaders tended to portray persecution and bloody waves of repression against their movement as inevitable but as defeats only strengthening their movement, as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht did just before they were assassinated. “And whether we will then still be alive [or not], when it [the triumph of the worker’s movement] is reached, what will live is our program,” wrote Liebknecht in an article published on the day he died.¹⁴ This sentiment was in the tradition of Marx and Engels, who held that the persecution of communists was a futile and passing phenomenon.¹⁵ The South African Communist Party, illegal and suppressed during the struggle against Apartheid, printed a leaflet in July 1961 that said, referring to Marxism, “You

Genève était le centre du mouvement anticommuniste international (Geneva: Éditions Slatkine, 2009); Klaus Körner, „Die rote Gefahr“: *Antikommunistische Propaganda in der Bundesrepublik 1950–2000* (Hamburg: Konkret Literatur Verlag, 2003); Giles Scott-Smith, *Western Anti-Communism and the Interdoc Network: Cold War Internationale* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Luc van Dongen, Stéphane Roulin, and Giles Scott-Smith, eds., *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War: Agents, Activities and Networks* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

¹⁰One example is Becker and Berstein, *Histoire*: 203–234.

¹¹Fayet, “Reflections”: 8–21, quotes on 8 and 15 (twice), respectively.

¹²This is also true for the recent—despite its subtitle quite conventional—literature survey by Johannes Grossmann, „Die ‚Grundtorheit unserer Epoche‘? Neue Forschungen und Zugänge zur Geschichte des Antikommunismus“, *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 56 (2016): 549–590.

¹³To mention just two volumes about Indonesia: Katharine McGregor, Jess Melvin, and Annie Pohlman, eds., *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Robert Cribb, ed., *The Indonesian Killings of 1965–1966* (Clayton: Monash University, 1990). See the bibliography of our volume.

¹⁴Rosa Luxemburg, „Die Ordnung herrscht in Berlin“, 14 January 1919, in: idem, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 4 (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1983): 534–535; Karl Liebknecht, „Trotz alledem!“, 15 January 1919, www.mlwerke.de/kl/kl004.htm (accessed 30 January 2019). Both articles were published in the communist daily *Die Rote Fahne* (Red Flag).

¹⁵Wolfgang Adolphi, „Kommunistenverfolgung“, in: *Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus*, vol. 7/II (Berlin: Argument, 2010), 1336.

can kill people, but you cannot kill ideas.”¹⁶ More or less the same thought was expressed by one of history’s fiercest anti-communists, Adolf Hitler.¹⁷ Communists’ disregard for individual suffering and emphasis on promoting ideas and maintaining their organization has led to blind spots in historical analysis.¹⁸

If it is correct that communists were the first to study the subject,¹⁹ the noncommunists who have taken over part of it have followed their lead and kept some of their bad habits. The main tradition, which this volume breaks with, is that scholars have shown little interest in practices. Anti-communist violence (which communist authors, by and large, noted and denounced but did not analyze, perhaps because they thought that it was dysfunctionally demoralizing to do so) has been studied in depth with regard to some countries and periods²⁰ but much less in regard to others. That persecutors used violence has been either explained in terms of their interests or their ideas or both.²¹ Popular participation and the social environment on the ground have also received comparatively little attention. The same goes for responses of people persecuted as—or *as if*—leftists, except when their response was heroic, organized struggle. This volume addresses these shortcomings, which means to complement the prevailing history of anti-communism (a history of ideas and high politics) with a history of anti-communist persecution (a history of practices).

Also missing is systematic, transnational, and internationally comparative research on anti-communist violence and persecution. Again, transnational studies in the field concentrate on ideas, propaganda, and organizations but less on violent action.²² Operation Condor, the collaboration between

¹⁶“The Story of the Communist Party”, July 1961, https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rcrt=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKewjK4Ja_ic_gAhXllySKHdC-CskQFjACegQIBxAB&url=http%3A%2F%2Fpsimg.jstor.org%2Ffsi%2Fimg%2Fpdf%2Ft0%2F10.5555%2Fal.sff.document.pam19610700.043.049_final.pdf&usg=AOvVaw3J8ERnA-hJENp_pf_8Gb-o (accessed 22 February 2019).

¹⁷Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999 [first 1925–1927]), 170–171.

¹⁸The deficiencies in communist writings about anti-communist repression may also have had to do with the tendency toward secrecy within the communist movement, always threatened by repression, in an effort not to give away strategies of survival and evasion.

¹⁹As suggested by Fayet, “Reflections”: 16.

²⁰This includes research on Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, Indonesia, Argentina, Greece and the Peoples Republic of China during the ‘Cultural Revolution’. For brief remarks about violence against leftists, see J. Pankow et al., *Antikommunismus heute* (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1981), 93–96.

²¹For a discussion of interests versus ideas, see David Pion-Berlin, *The Ideology of State Terror: Economic Doctrine and Political Repression in Argentina and Peru* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 1989), esp. 12, 17–18.

²²See van Dongen et al., *Transnational Anti-Communism*; Michael Radu, ed., *The New Insurgencies: Anti-Communist Guerrillas in the Third World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017 [first 1990]), esp. Radu’s “Introduction”, *ibid.*: 1–93.

several Latin American regimes and the US-American government to repress Latin American leftist movements in the 1970s, is one exception,²³ one that promotes the contested narrative of US leadership in the anti-communist struggle during the Cold War.²⁴ Studies of bilateral imperialist action, such as Nazi Germany's in the occupied Soviet territories and the USA's in Vietnam, are another exception. But scholarship on anti-communism usually confines itself to national histories, whether it focuses on right-wing regimes or leftist movements. Following existing approaches, most of the contributions in this volume also deal with only one country; just a few compare two countries.²⁵ Read together, however, the book allows for identifying overarching patterns, transnational influences, and temporal clusters.

The authors of this volume have a wide spectrum of political persuasions. They would not all agree with Ning Wang on what he calls the "savage nature of modern Communism."²⁶ Scholars of anti-communist persecution also approach their topic from different angles. Some are historians of leftist movements or political parties. Others research right-wing movements or regimes. And then there are scholars of violence among them, while others are social historians, sociologists, political scientists, historians of religion, and historians of law more generally. All of these approaches and disciplines are represented in this volume. This prompts the question of what the study of the persecution of communists can add to the understanding of each of these focal points. For example, what characterized anti-communist violence as opposed to violence against other groups, and what did they have in common? What did its persecutions of communists mean, and do, to the often diverse political right? Did the right tend to unify, or were its coalitions short-term, as in Indonesia and during the Russian Civil War? What effects did persecution have on leftists, collectively and individually, and, given the wide range of possible effects, from revolution to destruction, are there any patterns? Most often, the outcome was leftist defeat (this is being given much prominence in this volume), so what mechanisms were at play and what consequences did it entail?

²³For example, see J. Patrice McSherry, "Tracing the origins of a state terror network: Operation Condor", *Latin American Perspectives* 29, 1 (2002): 38–60 and numerous other works by the same author; David Mares, "The national security state", in: Thomas Holloway, ed., *A Companion to Latin American History* (London: Blackwell, 2011), 386–405.

²⁴A publication of this kind is Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism: The Political Economy of Human Rights, vol. I* (Montréal: Black Rose, 1979). U.S. dominance is discussed and disputed in Luc van Dongen, Stéphane Roulin, and Giles Scott-Smith, "Introduction", in their *Transnational Anticommunism*: 1–19.

²⁵See the chapter by Clemens Six on British Malaya and Indonesia; the chapter by Janis Nalbadidacis on Greece and Argentina; and the chapter by Ernesto Bohoslavsky and Magdalena Broquetas on Argentina and Uruguay.

²⁶See Wang's contribution in this volume (p. 363).

SOME BASIC OBSERVATIONS

In this section, I discuss a number of crucial, intertwined issues pertaining to the subject of our volume. It links the frequent widening of violent anti-communist repression to other groups to broader social conflicts, which, in turn, led to popular participation in acts of persecution. Then this section considers the active and passive roles that leftists played in these conflicts and the scope of their actions. Finally, I offer some reflections on international and transnational influences on these persecutions enmeshed with social conflicts.

It is essential to realize that many of the targets of anti-communist persecutions were not communists. Why were noncommunists always among the victims? In part, the spread of violence and repression had to do with the enormous, and dangerous, political influence that nearly everybody ascribed to communists—whether proponents of capitalism or communists repressing communists. This belief led to rampant, vague suspicions and the notions of the crypto-communist, fellow traveler, or sympathizer. One could become a victim by association with communists, by being suspected of being under their influence, and by having acquaintances that were sympathetic to communism. No one's privacy was respected and immune from suspicion.²⁷ Organizations were often labeled “crypto-communist” or “communist fronts.” Conspiracy theories were frequent, like those within the Senegalese police apparatus described by Alexander Keese. This could lead to fiction of invisible communists. In August 1973, Indonesia's military regime blamed an anti-Chinese pogrom in Bandung on communists; lacking any evidence for this dubious claim, Admiral Sudomo argued that the communists had used an “organization without form.”²⁸

To its enemies, communism seemed contagious; treatments ranged from isolation and re-education to elimination of those infected. This attitude sometimes led to the targeting of the family members of communists from Indonesia to Greece to the Soviet Union. In particular, children with a wrong family background could face lifelong discrimination.²⁹ The ultimate symbol for this expansion of targets was the state- and Church-organized mass abduction of infants from families considered leftist, as in Argentina, Spain, and Greece. In Spain, babies of socially marginalized mothers were stolen *en masse*

²⁷For one example, Executive Order 9835 of 1947 in the USA, see Wippermann, *Hetzjagd*: 58. For guilt by association with *certain* communists in der Soviet Union during the 1930s, see the contribution by Wendy Goldman in this volume.

²⁸Quoted in Julie Southwood and Patrick Flanagan, *Indonesia: Law, Propaganda and Terror* (London: Zed, 1983), 182. And see Alexander Keese's chapter in this volume.

²⁹See Eric Weitz, *A Century of Genocide* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 73; Wendy Goldman's chapter in this volume; Gerlach, *Extremely Violent Societies: Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century World* (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 41; Andreas Stergiou, „Der Antikommunismus in Griechenland“, *Jahrbuch für Historische Kommunismusforschung* (2011): 108. For the assassination of a son forcing his leftist father out of his home country Argentina, see Pion-Berlin, *Ideology*: 88.

as late as 1990.³⁰ After all, Francoist psychologists during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and afterward tried to prove that communism was either inheritable or at least a quasi-medical predisposition of certain social groups, including mentally disabled people, and a female psycho-pathology.³¹ To be sure, communists themselves were often repressed for their convictions, rather than their deeds, which was declared lawful in some countries,³² for it was the personality, the (alleged) thoughts, the attitude, not necessarily the actions, that counted.

Another explanation for the broad range of people that were caught up in anti-communist persecutions, aside from the uncertainty who might be a communist, or “infected” by communist thinking, was of course the intention to spread intimidation and terror. Under the cover of anti-communism, the organizers of persecutions were also targeting even moderately progressive political and social movements, for example, workers, women’s, youth, peace, civil rights’, ethno-racial emancipation, and decolonization movements, all of which had the greatest importance in twentieth-century history. For example, the South African Suppression of Communism Act of 26 May 1950 outlawed any organization, “doctrine or scheme [...] which aims at any political, industrial, social or economic change in the Union by the promotion of disturbances or disorder, by unlawful acts or omissions or by the threat of such acts and omissions, or by means which include the promotion of disturbance or disorder, or such acts or omissions or threat.”³³ This law made it possible to target almost any undesirable group. As Friedrich Engels had already asked in 1872, in a new introduction to the *Communist Manifesto*, “Is there any opposition that has not been accused of communism by its opponents in power?”³⁴ Nominally anti-communist persecution, then, as several authors in this volume argue, also served to outlaw or ostracize certain practices, ideas, and entire

³⁰Ute Müller, „Über 300 000 gestohlene Babys: Erster Prozess zu organisiertem Kinderraub in Spanien“, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (27 June 2018): 6; Stefanie Schüler-Springorum, „Antikommunismus in Spanien“, Frei and Rigoll, eds., *Antikommunismus*: 181. See the chapters by Janis Nalbadidacis and Amaryllis Logotheti in this volume.

³¹Michael Richards, “Morality and biology in the Spanish Civil War: Psychiatrists, revolution and women prisoners in Málaga”, *Contemporary European History* 10, 3 (2001): 395–421; Javier Bandrés and Rafael Lavona, “Psychology in Franco’s concentration camps”, *Psychology in Spain* 1 (1997): 3–9.

³²Minas Samatas, “A brief history of the anticommunist surveillance in Greece and its lasting impact”, in: Kees Boersma et al., eds., *Histories of State Surveillance in Europe and Beyond* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 50–55; for Iraq in 1938, see Tareq Ismael, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Iraq* (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 26.

³³South African History Online, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/suppression-of-communism-act%2C-act-no-44-of-1950> (accessed 26 April 2019). For similar language in the Japanese Public Safety Maintenance Law of 1925, see the chapter by Kim Dong-Choon in this volume.

³⁴Quoted in Fayet, “Reflections”: 10.

fields of thought through a combination of laws, violence, threats, and propagandistic persuasion. This had enormous implications for politics and societies, and it still has. Anti-communist persecution narrowed the permitted political and social options, ideas, and social practices, thereby cementing existing power structures and social hierarchies. That is, anti-communism worked for extended periods against the plurality of ideas, identities, and groups.

One should not forget that authorities were never in full control. Persecution was a participatory process, and this social dimension also made violence and discrimination spread. This was true in both capitalism and socialism. Anti-communism was not limited to specific, clearly delineated groups; it permeated large segments of society, as critics saw and one influential Soviet analyst conceded as well.³⁵ Many of those with anti-communist attitudes also supported violence. According to an opinion survey in the USA in 1963, 77 percent advocated stripping communists of their US citizenship, 68 percent wanted to deny them the right to speak in public, and 61 percent wanted them imprisoned.³⁶ Anti-communist persecution got some of its thrust from such widespread social participation. In 1970, five years after the peak of the mass murders in Indonesia, the exiled Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) noted, “the masses of the people do not support the PKI, even on the contrary [...]”³⁷

One central mechanism of public participation was denunciation, written or spoken, including during public meetings.³⁸ In the course of anti-communist persecution, private feuds, arguments about unrelated issues, greed, peer pressure, and ethno-religious prejudice could lead to denunciation. They could also lead to private acts of exclusion, violence, and killing, which, in turn, could have effects that regimes had not intended or at least did not control.³⁹ And such popular participation could have devastating effects on leftists. As one author pointed out about Italian communists who returned after having been banished by the fascists, not only did the police harass them, but they carried

³⁵See Bristol et al., *Anatomic*: 54 and A. Rumjanzew, „Statt eines Vorworts“, in: *Antikommunismus – Feind der Menschheit*: 5.

³⁶Bristol, *Anatomic*: 98.

³⁷„Bericht des Auslandskomitees der KPI zum 50. Jahrestag der Gründung der KPI“ (23 May 1970), German Federal Archives, DY 30 IVA2/20/1052, page 24 of the document.

³⁸See the chapter by Wendy Goldman in this volume; furthermore, Wendy Goldman, *Inventing the Enemy: Denunciations and Terror in Stalin’s Russia* (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 81–139; Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, „Antikommunismus im italienischen Faschismus“, in: Frei and Rigoll, *Antikommunismus*: 172.

³⁹See, for example, on the Cultural Revolution in China Jean-Louis Margolin, “China: A Long March into Night”, in: Courteois et al., *Black Book*: 513–538; for Indonesia 1965–1966, see Christian Gerlach, *Extremely*: 56–66.

a stigma and had difficulties finding employment and establishing social relationships.⁴⁰ Though it tended to be broad, popular participation was usually not total so that some citizens did support the persecuted.

But did communists not bring violence upon themselves? After all, many of them were not shy about conflict, and communist parties that did not turn to reformism sought eventually armed revolution, many through rural (and sometimes urban) guerrilla insurgency. Certainly, this fact was not lost on anti-communist agitators, who often cited it to legitimize harsh persecution.

However, instead of normative chicken-and-egg-discussions about what was violence and what was “only” counterviolence, it is more fruitful to conceive both communists and anti-communists as participants in larger social conflicts. This understanding also sheds light on why such a wide variety of groups and individuals only vaguely associated with communists became targets of anti-communist violence and why others became targets of communist violence. In Marxist theory, violence was permissible in some situations of self-defense and otherwise in revolutionary situations that promised victory for workers and peasants. From another perspective, a revolutionary situation marked a crisis of society (usually more than just a political crisis), a time of instability, and a state of flux. Such periods might involve complex phenomena like mass hunger and inflation; during such a crisis the social role of some groups was drawn into question, and some were degraded, for example, ethnic, racial, or religious minorities viewed as being in some association with the left, or women and marginal peasants, partially in situations when they tried—or seemed to try—to improve their lot.

According to this understanding, the social conflicts here investigated were more complicated than the opposition of two clearly defined classes (such as workers and bourgeoisie). It is not accidental that Table 1 includes so many civil and guerrilla wars. Many of these civil wars had more than two sides and illustrate social fragmentation. They were struggles but not simple binary ones. For example, Kim Dong-Choon describes the situation in South Korea from 1948 to 1953 as a civil war, which included aspects of what is called the Korean War.⁴¹ Likewise, China’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s, which has often been interpreted as a conflict in the Communist Party,⁴² can also be regarded as a conflict within the intelligentsia and as a broader social conflict that has occasionally been called a civil war.⁴³

⁴⁰Osti Guerrazzi, „Antikommunismus“: 171.

⁴¹See Dong-Choon Kim, “Forgotten war, forgotten massacres—The Korean War (1950–1953) as licensed mass killing”, *Journal of Genocide Research* 6, 4 (2004): 523–544.

⁴²See the chapter by Ning Wang in this volume, who also points to violent factionalism within the CPCh before it took power in 1949.

⁴³Margolin, “China”: 532. Members of the intelligentsia (including Communist Party functionaries and civil servants) were prominent among those targeted; on the other hand, for people belonging to the intelligentsia among the Red Guards, see Anita Chan, Stanley Rosen, and Jonathan Unger, “Students and class warfare: The social roots of Red Guard

In capitalist countries, communists did not usually create such social crises, although they did make use of, and sometimes exacerbated, them. Like others, they were active, and some were violent, participants. Frequently, their opponents were not only governments but also non-state groups, who were very often mobilized by baseless or hugely exaggerated atrocity propaganda. In reality, when both sides engaged in terror, the “red” terror usually paled in comparison with the “white” (as was the case in the Paris Commune in 1871; the civil wars in Russia, Germany, and Hungary from 1918 to 1921; the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939; and Indonesia in 1965–1966).⁴⁴ Such social crises, and the frequent participation of non-state agents in the persecution and targeting of noncommunists, make the perspective of social history so important.

What was it like to be persecuted under the banner of anti-communism? In certain respects, our knowledge is limited. Scholarship has focused on the experiences of prominent communists and other leftists, rather than on ordinary people caught up in the process. In many countries, it was primarily highly educated people who were interviewed at length or left other sources. Illiterate peasants and workers without school degree had less opportunity to have their memories read or heard. What one can say is that there was a tendency for people exposed to mechanisms of exclusion and isolation under anti-communist repression to struggle in various ways for re-inclusion.

Because of its focus on the history of its own political organization, Marxist scholarship on the persecution of communists has contributed little to a social-historical analysis. One often learns from official party histories that there were hard struggles; notably, the concept of struggle made persecution seem inevitable, even a matter of honor. In his memoirs (written during his imprisonment in 1974 under Pinochet’s regime), Luis Corvalán, the former chairman of the Communist Party of Chile, described his earlier disagreement with a high party official who argued, “our main concern should be to fight, but without this causing more victims,” Corvalán holding “there is no struggle without victims, without a certain number of fighters who fall under the assault of the enemy.”⁴⁵ Even if these were not exactly the words used, Corvalán’s portrayal represents a well-established way of thinking, related to organized struggle, which marginalized other responses to repression.

Did the individual matter to a communist party, or was preserving the organization the only important issue? Asking this question puts the occasionally criticized instructions that the Communist Party of Indonesia issued in 1965, a party with a rich experience in being violently repressed, in a different light:

Conflict in Guangzhou (Canton)”, *China Quarterly* 83 (1980): 434. Thanks to Mirjam Wiedemar for pointing me to this publication.

⁴⁴Concerning Paris, see John Merriman, *Massacre: The Life and Death of the Paris Commune* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

⁴⁵Luis Corvalán, *Aus meinem Leben* (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1978), 107 (my translation from German, C.G.).

“find your own escape, say you know nothing, you don’t know each other and have no connection to each other.”⁴⁶ This led to factual dissolution, but can be read as an example of a communist party protecting its members for their own sake. Though rare, protecting its members was not unique to Indonesia; in May 1950, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa dissolved the party, assuming, *inter alia*, that “the rank-and-file of the party would not be ready or in a position to bear the dangers and difficulties of illegal activity.” However, according to the same communist author who reported this, most members carried on with the collective struggle anyway, founding the South African Communist Party in 1953.⁴⁷

Illegality and persecution were common experiences. A brief history of communist parties in 33 African and Asian countries notes that only three (those in India, Ceylon/Sri Lanka, and Cyprus) were never banned before 1980.⁴⁸ And the history of the Iraqi Communist Party has been portrayed as a long series of mass arrests, mass torture, and executions in 1948–1949, 1958–1960, 1963, 1965–1966, 1970, and 1983.⁴⁹ On a personal level, this could result in life stories of hardship in many, and twisted, ways. For example, after some years in Sweden, also during the first years of Nazi rule, the German-born communist Eva Siao lived through the Soviet terror of the 1930s and the Cultural Revolution in China, where she spent seven years in solitary confinement.⁵⁰ Ariel Dorfman fled from anti-leftist regimes four times: Peron’s Argentina in 1945, the McCarthyist USA in 1954 (as a child), Pinochet’s Chile in 1973, and Argentina in the same year after Peron had again taken over and leftists became targets of paramilitary violence.⁵¹ It is no accident that such examples need to be taken from autobiographies. Writers of fiction also described the experiences of persecuted communists while party histories said little. Less speculative than Jack London, the Japanese novelist Takiji Kobayashi wrote a nuanced fictionalized account of arrest and torture based on the actual anti-communist mass arrest of 1600 people on 15 March 1928 (when the Japanese Communist Party had only about 400 members). The book also depicted the many ways in which affected people reacted. Kobayashi

⁴⁶Quoted in Ibu Marni, “I am a Leaf in the Storm”, *Indonesia* 47 (1989): 56.

⁴⁷A. Lerumo [i.e. Michael Harmel], *Fünfzig Jahre Kampf der Südafrikanischen Kommunistischen Partei 1921–1971* (Berlin [East]: Dietz: 1973), 160 (quote, retranslated from German, C.G.), 169.

⁴⁸Emil Langer et al., *Entwicklung und Kampf der kommunistischen Bewegung in Asien und Afrika* (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1980), 122. But see the contribution by Bernard D’Mello and Gautam Navlakha about India in this volume.

⁴⁹Ismael, *Rise and Fall*, ix, 40, 79, 98, 102, 107–108, 112, 142, 201, 225–226. On the other hand, see *ibid.*, 87 and 91 for mass killings supported and possibly committed by communists in Kirkuk in July 1959.

⁵⁰Eva Siao, *China – mein Traum, mein Leben* (Bergisch Gladbach: Gustav Lübbe, 1990), 57–64, 301–364.

⁵¹See Ariel Dorfman, *Kurs nach Süden, Blick nach Norden: Leben zwischen zwei Welten* (Munich and Vienna: Europa, 1999).

was a fast worker, and his short novel was published, heavily censored, in late 1928. In April 1932, Kobayashi went into hiding, and four months later he finished his short novel *Life of a Party Member* about living underground. It portrays strategies of illegal life, intense police espionage, and how the pressures during illegal life limits and deforms human relationships for an activist (who, for example, ruthlessly exploits a woman who hides him). When the novel came out in the spring of 1933, Kobayashi was no longer alive, having been tortured to death by the Special Higher Police.⁵² His analysis of persecution is incisive. The organization of proletarian-revolutionary Japanese writers to which Kobayashi had belonged fell apart in 1933, after fierce repression led about 500 members to recant their allegiance to communism.⁵³

Because of our understanding of anti-communist persecution as occurring within social conflicts, this volume places less weight on foreign involvement than some others do. Intercessions that it does discuss include US-American influence on Mexico's repression of leftists 1968, German paramilitaries' murders of communists in the Baltic countries in 1919, British colonial violence in Malaya from 1948 to 1960, and the USA's neocolonial intervention in Korea between 1945 and 1953.⁵⁴ A case not discussed here is British and US-American support of the coup in Iraq in 1963, in which Saddam Hussein played a major role, which involved massacres of communists. US-American authorities provided lists of communists to be targeted, as they did in support of Indonesia's massacres in 1965.⁵⁵

Multilateral efforts to combat communism are also not prominent in this book for they weren't very important.⁵⁶ Except for the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936–1945, there were extensive anti-leftist networks but no real anti-communist Internationale as an interstate organization.⁵⁷ Even with some

⁵²See Takiji Kobayashi, "March 15, 1928", in: Heather Bowen-Struyk and Norma Field, eds., *For Dignity, Justice and Revolution: An Anthology of Japanese Proletarian Literature* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 103–158; Takiji Kobayashi, "Life of a party member", in: idem, *The Crab Cannery Ship and Other Novels of Struggle* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2013), 221–293. For the context see Yoichi Komori, "Introduction", in: Kobayashi, *Crab Cannery Ship*: 6 and 13, and Bowen-Struyk and Field, *Dignity*: 47, 103 and 329.

⁵³See *ibid.*: 331 and 364.

⁵⁴See the chapters by Elisa Kriza, Jan-Philipp Pomplun, Clemens Six, and Kim Dong-Choon in this volume.

⁵⁵See Mark Curtis, "The massacres in Iraq, 1963", 12 February 2007, available on Curtis' website, <http://markcurtis.info/2007/02/12/the-massacres-in-iraq-1963/> and Gerlach, *Extremely*: 77–87.

⁵⁶For such efforts, see Iris Schröder and Christian Methfessel, „Antikommunismus und Internationalismus“, in: Frei and Rigoll, *Antikommunismus*: 139–155.

⁵⁷This becomes also clear from Giles Scott-Smith, *Western Anti-Communism and the Interdoc Network: Cold War Internationale* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), despite the book's subtitle. NATO did not play this role, see van Dongen et al., "Introduction": 5. The Anti-Comintern Pact has yet to become subject to in-depth research. It was an aggressive alliance, but a loose one, and almost half of its

willingness to exaggerate, communist authors claimed little more than the existence of a private international secret society.⁵⁸ According to one analysis of the largest transnational nongovernmental anti-communist organization, its impact was very limited.⁵⁹ The plea of the Hungarian regent Miklós Horthy in October 1932 to 21 heads of state to outlaw all communist parties worldwide and wipe the Soviet Union from the map, because the global economic crisis could not otherwise be resolved, is exceptional.⁶⁰ The persecution of communists was almost a worldwide phenomenon for a long time, but without a centralized organizational structure.

This volume shows that it belongs to the standard repertoire of the opponents of communism to smear communists, and radical leftists in general, as traitors, the agents or stooges of foreign governments. This was so in both capitalist and socialist countries, and not just during the Cold War but also in the Soviet Great Terror of 1937 and already in the Paris Commune. And former exiles and foreigners in general fell often under suspicion of being communists as well. In 1917, Lenin was accused of being a German spy, and a year later, German revolutionaries were accused as Russian agents. Italian socialists in the 1910s were derisively called first “Turks” and then “Austrians” and “Germans.”⁶¹

As Robbie Lieberman shows in her chapter that happened in the USA, the revocation of passports could deprive leftists of international contacts and support. In any case, there is plenty of evidence that communists regarded themselves as part of their own society, related to its tradition, and were often ardent nationalists. On the one hand, mechanisms of exclusion moved leftists to accentuate their national identity; on the other hand, they harmed and degraded them. That said, exiles played important roles in communist (and anti-communist⁶²) movements. And governmental armed forces and unofficial paramilitaries often operated across borders, hunting for communists and other targets.

members did not declare war on the Soviet Union during the pact's existence (Bulgaria, Denmark, Japan, Manchukuo, Nanking China and Spain), although they pursued strongly anti-communist policies domestically.

⁵⁸Ernst Henry, „Antikomintern Nr. 2“, in: *Antikommunismus – Feind der Menschheit*: 237–257. Henry referred to the Comité International d'Information et d'Action Sociale in Luxemburg, likening it to Jack London's Iron Heel (237–238).

⁵⁹Pierre Abramovici, “The world anti-communist league: Origins, structures and activities”, in: van Dongen et al., *Transnational Anticommunism*: 126–127.

⁶⁰See Attila Pók, „Zur Genese des Antikommunismus in Ungarn“, in: Frei and Rigoll, *Antikommunismus*, 83.

⁶¹Giovanni Germanetto, *Genosse Kupferbart: Erinnerungen eines Friseurs* (Berlin [East]: Dietz, 1982 [first 1930]), 48. See also the chapters by Barbara Falk, Frank Jacob, and Elisa Kriza in this volume.

⁶²See Radu, “Introduction”.