

# The Psychological Struggle between East and West as Reflected in the Interior Review up to the European Safety and Cooperation Conference (1953–1975)

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## FOREIGN AFFAIRS AS THE EXPRESSION OF OUR LACK OF HISTORICAL EDUCATION

It seems that the learning process does not only last through the life of an individual but also through the history of humanity. The “efficiency” of the learning process of the human “civilisation” however is well illustrated for example by the series of historical tragedy, which broke out about a hundred years ago and which was then and for a while referred to as the Great War. It was an inhuman struggle, killing tens of millions of people with such “developed” ways of painful death which had never been imagined before.

It is known today what narrow-minded folly the concept of considering and thinking over everything, which was initially typical of both opposing parties, as well as the determination in both foreign and interior affairs proved to be. Because the moral for humanity, which was announced and meant for all time, was there only for two peaceful decades to be lamented about when the second worldwide catastrophe began (the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of which was celebrated this May...). All that happened was that the name “Great War”, meant as a memento forever, soon degraded to the first position of the series of world wars, which was its proper place. So much for the “advanced state” of our civilisation, the historical moral for humanity and the value of humanity that comes before everything! This “advanced state” was clearly shown in the Second World War — which, from a scientific-technological point of view was unquestionably more advanced as it ended by the use of atomic bombs. Still, the ink on the document fixing the compromises of the “everlasting peace”, wished by the residents of all countries tortured by the war did not even dry when the threatening phantom of an even more cruel third war appeared...

The alleviation period of what luckily turned out to be “only” a cold war culminated in the European Safety and Cooperation Conference, as a result of which our continent did not experience another war conflict up to the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The situation was solved at our southern border, now a similar situation has developed at our northeast neighbour.

From the contradicting news coming from the Ukrainian-Russian conflict it soon became known that the parties, parallel to the land military operations, conducted an ideological, media and psychological war as well...

## IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AT THE SERVICE OF POLITICS

The term “ideology” comes from two Greek words, “idea”, meaning notion or abstract conception and “logos”, meaning science. Today the aim of an ideology or an ideological system is to uphold, modify or overthrow an existing political system.

Following the Second World War, the main characteristic of the cold war was that the opposing systems both made efforts to conduct propaganda in each other’s country using the methods of psychological warfare in order to turn as many citizens as possible against their own political-economic system and their government and at the same time to create sympathy for themselves.

After the neutral, scientifically profound approach let me continue with a (Marxist-Leninist) ideology-based description of the ideological struggle: though the ruling classes had been trying to use ideology and propaganda to reach their foreign affairs aims but the ideological struggle became part of the international relations when the systems in power considered it essential to ideologically influence the people of other countries and when it became possible. Ideology and foreign affairs were not so closely related before. The masses of people became more and more active; their influence on foreign affairs grew stronger so their ideological-political conviction became a very important task.

Each ruling class tries to attract their masses in its scope first of all, but they use the ideological struggle to undermine the ideological unity of the enemy class, gaining ground among them with its influence as much as possible.<sup>1</sup> *“The psychological operations mean those planned psychological activities which, both in peace and war, are capable of influencing the conduct, intellectual attitude and behaviour of the enemy, the own forces and the neutral parties in order to reach political and military aims. Among the goals of psychological operations is the influencing of the enemy’s thinking, emotions and intentions, strengthening the sympathy of the own forces in order to reach the set goals and gaining the support and readiness of cooperation of the opposition or the indeterminate masses.”*<sup>2</sup>

Psychological warfare is a “war” against people’s mental and emotional atmosphere. They are what it tries to attack, soften and make use of in order to reverse the positive emotional manifestations (like the acceptance of the system and the loyalty, trust, belief and generosity) towards the existing social system and its institutions, managing organizations and leaders (for whom the emotions are also created by psychological methods — the author), which actively support the social system. People react to ideas and views with different emotions. Emotions however, make people take actions or remain passive.<sup>3</sup>

From the level of generalities our actual topic may be approached through the thoughts of Huntington: The Bolshevik revolution created a political-economical system that would have never survived in the West, however, it was based on an ideology, which originated from the West. By using this western ideology, or rather, by building their anti-westernism on it, from some point of view got closer to the West than they

1 K. BOGNÁR (Ed.), *Világpolitikai kislexikon*, Budapest 1978, p. 195.

2 Z. HAIH — I. VÁRHEGYI, *Hadviselés az információs hadszíntéren*, Budapest 2005, p. 209.

3 I. BEKŐ, *Az USA lélektani hadviseléséről*, in: *Belügyi Szemle*, Vol. 5, 1963, p. 16.

had ever been throughout their history. Though the ideology of liberal democracy considerably differs from that of communism, both sides spoke the same language after all. The revolution helped Russia to overtake the West and it does not differ from it because — as the Slavophiles say — “we will not be like that” but because “in time you will be like us” — at least that is what the Communist International said. But while Communism helped the Soviet leaders to differentiate themselves from the West, it also created a strong link between the West and the Soviet society.<sup>4</sup>

Fortunately for humanity and us as well, the cold war, following the second worldwide catastrophe, was not turned into a “hot” war by any of the parties, despite their occasional “best” intentions. So far the rational half of humanity has dominated. But both “hot” wars, the periods before and after the peacemaking, was prepared and matured by the cruel wars of ideologies. From this point of view the then threatening third world war was no exception...

In Hungary the political system created after World War II was loud of the ideological struggle during the period of the cold war, similarly to the countries of the Eastern block. Resulting from the characteristics of the system, the contemporary determinant theoretical journal of the police and then the Ministry of Interior named the Police Review and from 1963 the Internal Review (created largely from the Police Review).<sup>5</sup>

In the East-West confrontation, passing through the history of the countries of Europe and even the world, the ideological and psychological struggle (also) revived. The aim and content were unchanged, the methods only slightly changed however, the technical-technological conditions developed, but they without doubt changed radically. How did the ideological war reflect on the pages of the Review following the breakout, development and “raging” of the cold war up to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, closing the alleviation period? Without being exhaustive, by some typical cases taken at random, we can discover morals still valid today.

During the studied period, the leaders of the Ministry of Interior paid special attention to keeping level of the effective interior propaganda high. This is shown by the ministerial orders, commands and the actions taken by the subdepartment heads in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.<sup>6</sup>

## WORLD POLITICS OVERVIEW FROM THE DEATH OF STALIN TO HELSINKI

The sharp ideological struggle, cold and psychological war (the struggle between the classes is sharpening, a third world war is inevitable — the witch “hunt” of US senator McCarthy, the execution of the Rosenberg couple with the charge of atomic espi-

4 S. P. HUNTINGTON, *A civilizációk összecsapása és a világtrend átalakulása*, Budapest 2014, pp. 226–228.

5 No. 0023 Command of the Interior Minister of the Hungarian Peoples’ Republic, Budapest, July 18, 1962, [http://www.abparancsok.hu/sites/default/files/parancsok/10\\_21\\_23\\_1962.pdf](http://www.abparancsok.hu/sites/default/files/parancsok/10_21_23_1962.pdf), [cit. 2014–10–30].

6 J. DEÁK, *Az állambiztonsági propaganda, annak kialakulása és fejlődése — nemzetbiztonság és civil kapcsolatok*, in: *Társadalom és honvédelem*, No. 3/4, 2014, p. 411.

onage) in the 1950s lead to the emergence of long-lasting, deep images of the enemy. The rivalling between the US and the Soviet Union polarized the international politics to the extremes but it also polarized the domestic politics of the socialist countries as well. In the bipolar world the undifferentiated way of looking at things as back-white, imperialism-socialism, free-slave, friend-enemy was usual, the alternative, compromise-based possibilities narrowed down.

The cold war confrontation led to the tragedy of nations, to the unnatural, forceful division of countries (Korea, Vietnam, China-Taiwan, Germany), coupled by the tragedy of some classes of the society or large groups of people in the Eastern block (like the kulaks, the middle class, minorities, churches) as a result of the domestic political psychological war. The iron curtain politics of the beginning of the 50s almost entirely separated the countries of the Eastern block from the rest of the world and very few people had the privilege of gaining personal experience of the Western world.<sup>7</sup>

The 1960s, which in retrospect, can be regarded as the cradle of alleviation, also shows some “hectic”, controversial elements. There were extreme threats and sporadic armed conflicts as well as a series of honest and less honest gestures.<sup>8</sup> The Western radio propaganda — mostly by the multilingual programs of the Free Europe Radio, the Sound of America and the Freedom Radio — had an important role in the ideological struggle of the parties.<sup>9</sup>

Approaching the end of the studied period, the issue of the future of the CIA-operated radio station pair — symbolizing the savage ideological struggle of the two world systems — was more and more often on the agenda. The “private” American stations, often called as “cold war relics” operating in Munich were the Free Europe Radio — broadcasting in five languages and 46 wave-lengths, broadcast 20 hours of programs for Czechoslovakia, 19 hours for Poland and Hungary etc. —, and the Freedom Radio, broadcasting for the people of the Soviet Union in 36 wave lengths.<sup>10</sup>

The everyday propaganda of the Eastern block depicted the darkest picture of the life of Western societies (“rottening, parasitic capitalism”) in order to make the depressing and bleak Eastern reality look brighter (“socialist realism”). The control was extraordinarily strict near the iron curtain, the state borders, to prevent defection. There were “vigilance campaigns”, self-praise and self-deception. It was the era of intellectual breathlessness for the majority of the intellectuals, intimidated by show trials and informer networks. In the spirit of personality cult, the praising of Stalin, the Generalissimus was excessive. The great Soviet Union, the Soviet man, the Soviet science became “the salt of the world”, the “cradle of civilization”. In all the socialist countries Stalin, the Soviet Union and the local party leaders were praised to astonishing extents. The Polish saying from before the outbreak of World War II seemed to be proven; “*we are afraid that the Germans will take our freedom and that the Russians will take our souls*”.

The members of the Western block never had to be really afraid of the ideological challenges of the other party (unlike the military threat), but the antidemocratic

7 F. FISCHER, *A kétpólusú világ 1945–1989*, Budapest/Pécs, 2014, pp. 130–131.

8 M. M. SZABÓ, *A Zrínyi Miklós katonai Akadémia története 1961–1969*, Budapest 2008, p. 9.

9 FISCHER, pp. 130–131.

10 J. DEÁK, *A Belügyi Szemle Tájékoztatójában a médiával kapcsolatban megjelent anyagok (1963–1972)*, in: *Magyar Rendészet*, Vol. 2, 2014, p. 136.

proletariat dictatorships, struggling with the lack of legitimacy (among other things), felt that their pure existence is threatened by the other party's ideological challenges. As a reaction, there was strict frontier closure, radio jamming, censorship, strict passport regulations, correspondence control etc. The West did not have to be afraid of the intensive Eastern-Western cooperation while the effects of Western lifestyle, the consumer model, the constitutionality, the freedom of thought were potentially able to undermine and threaten the party-states in the East.

The Eastern block countries did not join the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations because for example the "interpretation of law" applied during the show trials based on Vishinsky's ideas was in full contrast with the human rights, that is: *"Article 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. Article 10: Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him. Article 11.1: Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence."*<sup>11</sup>

In the retrospect of six decades we now know what the other "interpretation of law" meant in practice: *"The ruling of the court (the sentence in a civil or criminal procedure) being convincing means — states the academic Andrey Vishinsky, who was of Polish origin and one of the main figures in Stalin's purging politics, the attorney general of the Soviet Union and the owner of major governmental positions, member of the Academy of Science from 1939 — means the raise of trust from the point of view that the court exhaustively analysed all the circumstances of the case and that by making a decisions it took into consideration all the circumstances that could at all have been established and discovered."*<sup>12</sup>

Undoubtedly both block-creating powers created dependencies with the countries in their camp. But while the leading role of the United States meant only limited hegemony within the scope of Pax Americana, and contributed for example to the settlement of firm parliamentary democracy in the ex-fascist countries (Germany, Italy and Japan), in the zone of Pax Sovietica, hermetically closed by an iron curtain, the leading role of Moscow meant unconfined reign.

In spite of the dominant position of the United States, the history of the NATO was the history of compromises. The federal system of the Kremlin, on the other hand, was based on fear and unquestionable sub- and superordination, which made the member states develop in a "dead end" way, destroyed the weaker-stronger institutional system of the civil democracy, creating a homogeneous sovietised block.<sup>13</sup>

Because of the political and economic power relations and due to the mutual efforts of the sober political leaders of both parties, from the 1970s the atmosphere allowed the possibility of developing the economic, commercial, cultural, scientific and interstate cooperation between the European countries.<sup>14</sup>

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11 FISCHER, pp. 130–131.

12 G. FÜSTÖS, *A kihágási bírászkodás szerepe és feladatai népi demokráciánkban*, in: *Rendőrségi Szemle*, Vol. 3, 1953, p. 271.

13 FISCHER, pp. 130–131.

14 L. DANKÓ, *A fellazítási politika kialakulása, ideológiai háttere, szakaszai (I.)*, in: *Belügyi Szemle*, Vol. 12, 1980, p. 37.

The practice of peaceful coexistence in the field of European relations was developing at an accelerating rate up to the mid 1970s, and it led to the closing document of the European Safety and Cooperation Conference on 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1975. The first initiative was made by the member states of the Warsaw Treaty in July 1966. The actual preparation for the conference started with the appeal of the Political Consultative Body of the Warsaw Treaty, issued in Budapest. Then, the preparatory consultations started in Helsinki and a three-year work finally resulted in the signing of the closing document on 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1975.<sup>15</sup>

## THE REVIEW AND THE INTERIOR PROPAGANDA

Let me show some examples of the typical ideological approach and content aimed by the Interior Review — because of its internal publication — mostly at the readers with Interior Ministry background about the heroic era, in the description of which the propaganda shamelessly dominated the publications even decades later.

- The Red Army, liberating the towns and villages, immediately helped the starting of life. The Soviet town and village commanders introduced order and organization in the liberated areas.
- They supported the communist organizations, reviving from illegality. The first units of the reorganized Ministry of Interior secured public order behind the front with the weapons given by the Red Army so that nothing prevented the complete elimination of the fascist forces and the emerging of the new world. These initiatives were welcomed and fully supported by the commanders and fighters of the Red Army. The established Hungarian National Independence Front declared in its programme the guarantee of democratic rights for freedom, the abolition of the antidemocratic organizations and the purging of the administration and the armed bodies of the fascist elements as early as 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 1944.
- The national committees were the major organizers of the democratic administration, they initiated the establishment of screening committees for the old state officials. The reorganized state power and administration bodies were coalition-based. There were contradictory, even hostile forces too, so the Communist Party had to fight for the consistent realization of the democratic aims. Our party, as an important factor in the national rebirth, attached great importance to the establishment and organization of an Interior Ministry body, which is loyal to the people, from the first moment and it spent considerable efforts on it. The party sent numerous comrades, who were trained in illegal fights, to the police, thus providing constant support for the everyday tasks. The Central Management of the MKP (Hungarian Communist Party) delegated Dr. Sándor Zöld as secretary of state. Dr. Endre Szebenyi became the leader of the Police Department of the Interior Ministry. They were the central figures of the initial organization period. In the new leadership the merit was of the MKP, the communist of the Interior Ministry, and comrades Zöld and Szebenyi, who later martyred, had an important role in it.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> DANKÓ, p. 38.

<sup>16</sup> *To the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Liberation of Our Country*, in: Belügyi Szemle, Vol. 4, pp. 6–7.

Let us continue with some publications from the first issues of the *Police Review*, which was published by the Public Order Protection Department of the Interior Ministry at the beginning of the 50s as the central journal of the Police. The publications recall the atmosphere of the domestic and Soviet show trials.

- It must be ensured that the service of our comrades — our people — be passionate with loyalty and utmost devotion to our party and people. To reach this, the ideas of patriotism and the proletarian internationality must be brought to the surface and taken care of. These allow our policemen, realising the invincibility of the case of socialism, to want to fight and win in all their activities.<sup>17</sup>
- According to the intention to observe the socialist lawfulness: *“Only that criminal or civilian sentence reaches its aim and serves its purpose which does not allow the questioning of its rightness.”*<sup>18</sup>

As known, the “court decision being convincing” and the “rightness” in this era typically rose from the “realization” of the “invincibility of the case of the socialism” and less from the respect of above quoted fundamental human rights of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations...<sup>19</sup>

By today it has turned out that the sentences, aligned to the “aims” or rather, the political orders, were based on the same paranoid craziness: *“The international and domestic political events all show that both the exterior and interior enemy is using increasingly sinister methods to attack the world peace and the building efforts of the countries in the peace camp. Seeing the uninterrupted strengthening of the Soviet Union and the people’s democracies, they more and more often use the means of terror and diversion. The aim of the terrorist doctors’ group (sic!), uncovered by the state security organizations of the Soviet Union, was to mistreat and murder the leading persons of the Soviet state. These monsters, who called themselves doctors, murdered two outstanding figures of the Soviet people and the entire progressive world, comrades Zhdanov and Shcherbakov.”*<sup>20</sup>

Fortunately the above detailed cold war was over with the Helsinki conference, marking the first phase of the alleviation period. Even if the alleviation is not the victory of the sober forces of the two world system, but: *“[...] as a result of the realization efforts and successes of the peace program, accepted at the XXIVth congress of the Soviet Communist Party [...] the alleviation became the fundamental trend in the international politics.”*<sup>21</sup> So the ideological battle — as we can see, only — changed its form and the next stage began...

17 S. RENDŐRSÉGI, *A rendőrség központi folyóirata, kiadja a Belügyminisztérium Közrendészeti Főosztálya*, Vol. 1, Budapest 1953, pp. 3–5.

18 G. FÜSTÖS, *A kihágási bíráskodás szerepe és feladatai népi demokráciánkban*, in: *Rendőrségi Szemle*, Vol. 3, 1953, p. 269.

19 Cf. footnote 12.

20 L. TAMÁSKA, *A terrorista orvos csoport leleplezésének tanulsága*, in: *Rendőrségi Szemle*, Vol. 2, 1953, p. 99.

21 A. POLGÁR, *A nemzetközi enyhülés és az imperialista titkosszolgálatok*, in: *Belügyi Szemle*, Vol. 6, 1977, p. 66.

## OUR MILESTONES FROM THE PERSONALITY CULT TO THE GOULASH COMMUNISM

In the following paragraphs, aligning mainly to the previous Interior Ministry (in fact party-) propaganda chapter, we will look at some gloriously publicised events of the Hungarian and the world history in the light of the findings of today's researches — together with their first lines to help remember them better.

*“The Red Army, liberating the towns and villages, immediately helped the starting of life. The Soviet town and village commanders introduced order and organization in the liberated areas...”*

- The Soviet occupation brought severe atrocities. There was violence, robbery and the Soviets completely ignored the military law when they took about 170–180 thousand civilians to the Soviet Union to do forced labour. Also, they deported tens of thousands of German-speaking citizens. Some estimate the number of Hungarians, who died in the Soviet Gulags, 50–70 thousand, others 150 thousand, but some researchers speak about “hundreds of thousands”.<sup>22</sup>

*“The national committees were the major organizers of the democratic administration, they initiated the establishment of screening committees for the old state officials...”*

- After the front passed, new organisations of power were established, at most places by the national committees. These had an important role in organising the services supplying the Soviet army and the public works as well.<sup>23</sup>

*“There were contradictory, even hostile forces too, so the Communist Party had to fight for the consistent realization of the democratic aims. Our party, as an important factor in the national rebirth, attached great importance to the establishment and organization of an Interior Ministry body, which is loyal to the people, from the first moment and it spent considerable efforts on it...”*

- As a result of the pressure of the Hungarian Communist Party, the “reconstruction of the government” took place as early as the spring of 1945; the left side had the majority by the summer.<sup>24</sup>

*“It must be ensured that the service of our comrades — our people — be passionate with loyalty and utmost devotion to our party and people...”*

- What proves the existence of the police state is the fact that between 1951 and 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1953 650 thousand people were prosecuted, their cases were heard and 387 thousand people were convicted.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> J. GERGELY — L. IZSÁK, *A huszadik század története*, Szekszárd 2000, p. 225.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 226.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, p. 228.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, p. 330.



*“Only that criminal or civilian sentence reaches its aim and serves its purpose, which does not allow the questioning of its rightness...”*

— With the help of Soviet advisors, a new series of show trials were launched from 1949.<sup>26</sup>

*“To reach this, the idea of patriotism must be brought to the surface and taken care of...”*

— The government of Rákosi, copying the Soviet model, did not want national sovereignty, what is more, they wanted to eliminate even the national feelings from the awareness of the Hungarian society.

*“The international and domestic political events all show that both the exterior and interior enemy is using increasingly sinister methods to attack the world peace and the building efforts of the countries in the peace camp...”*

— Vadim Rogovin, Russian historian called the show trials of Stalin such amalgam, which is built on 10% of truth and 90% of lies.<sup>27</sup>

*“[...] as a result of the realization efforts and successes of the peace program (sic!), accepted at the XXIVth congress of the Soviet Communist Party [...] the alleviation became the fundamental trend in the international politics...”* The radical foreign affairs turn of the Kremlin, which really undermined the alleviation and shocked the Western countries, took place after the signing of the closing document of the Helsinki conference, in the early autumn of 1975.<sup>28</sup>

The alleviation got in an open crisis by the autumn of 1975, the cause of which can be found in the offensive-expansive third-world politics of Brezhnev: besides respecting the European status quo, the Soviets more and more sharply forced a change in the status quo in the third world.

In the second part of the 1970s the Soviet Union, as the “challenger” world power, seeing the significant economic problems caused by the oil price boom, did not show “self-control”, it tried to obtain advantageous positions in the distant, geopolitically valuable countries. This offensive behaviour, the systematic use of the policy of force, potentially foretold the status quo of a new world, which contradicted the basic principles of the Soviet-American bilateral relations, as described in the SALT-I agreement.<sup>29</sup>

## CONCLUSION

As the study shows, during the examined period of the ideological struggle, which ended with the summit meeting of alleviation, the Hungarian People’s Republic, as part

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<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, p. 326.

<sup>27</sup> A. KOLONTÁRI, *A forradalom felfalja gyermekeit*, in: Rubicon, Vol. 12, 2012, p. 23.

<sup>28</sup> FISCHER, p. 297.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, p. 293.

of the so-called socialist world system (today: the Eastern block), with the help of its press assisted the systematic awareness-psychological war, initiated and mostly carried out by the power central of Moscow in order to reach moral instability in the West.

Accordingly, the central journal of the Interior Ministry, the major power organization of the Hungarian proletarian dictatorship, called first *Police* and then *Interior Review*, also joined the ideological struggle by using consciously constructed demoralizing elements. But as an internally distributed journal, its systematic Internal Ministry (and party) propaganda rather tried to raise sympathy for the existing political-economic system in as many colleagues as possible. In a smaller extent, it tried to throw light on the aims, means and methods of the Western decentralization politics with the help of its publications of general political, state security and Secret War column articles in order to lessen the effects of the Western propaganda among the Interior Ministry colleagues.

Through the examples of the last paragraph, comparing the presentations of events, the ideological content is well outlined. If the reflected image also shows elements of ideology, it is, as they say, only coincidental! But at the same time it confirms the timelessness of some statements about the ideological struggle... Because “*people kill for money and power but the most cruel murderers are the ones who kill for their own thoughts*”.<sup>30</sup>

With the alleviation period, the propaganda means and methods of the psychological-ideological war became only refined at both parties. They are clearly shown in the articles of the *Internal Review*, as can be seen in our examples. The European Committee Conference was a substitute for Brezhnev for the German peace treaty which he was unable to force with his Berlin ultimatum — together with the general acknowledgement of the status quo after the war.<sup>31</sup>

The world had to wait for the real alleviation until Gorbachev came to power. Gorbachev radically changed the foreign policy conception of the Soviet Union, rejecting the confrontation with the West and discontinuing the ideologization of the international relations. Practically he rejected the “red expansion” of the Bolsheviks, which was degenerated to “proletarian internationalism” under Brezhnev.<sup>32</sup>

But the communist system was not able to take reforms any more. According to Timothy Garton Ash, a British historian-publicist, its fall “took ten years in Poland, ten months in Hungary, ten weeks in Eastern-Germany and ten days in Czechoslovakia.”<sup>33</sup>

Today we know that the mostly economic but also ideological war of the West, the decentralization politics, based on the actual situation and power relations, setting reasonable aims, was not in vain. The rest of the independent Western Europe and America — which were united in the aims of stopping Soviet-Russia and shared similar political and economic systems and thus ideology — became the geopolitical

30 A. De MELLO, *Abszurd egypercesek*, Kecskemét 2005, p. 17.

31 H. KISSINGER, *Diplomácia*, Budapest 1996, pp. 757–758.

32 E. V. ANISZIMOV, *Isztorija Rosszii ot Rjurika do Putyina, Ljugyi szobútvija datü*, Szentpétervár 2010, p. 519.

33 J. HORVÁTH — B. PARAGI — L. CSICSMANN, *Nemzetközi Kapcsolatok története 1941–1991*, Budapest 2013, p. 281.

center of the newly formed Atlantic world, occupied first of all by the its existence against the trans-Eurasian Chinese-Soviet block.<sup>34</sup>

*“The American foreign affairs can only have one aim, to destroy the power of communism. The possibility of triumph over the communism without a total war ultimately depends on whether the Soviet Union crumbles up because of revolutions of some kind, or the political restlessness — regardless of who and why break them out — causes at least one crack on the firmly built power of pressure [...] The internal transformation of the Soviet regime depends on the development of an internal opposition.”*<sup>35</sup>

The struggle against the decentralization propaganda was foredoomed to failure, which is easy to deduce today from the publications encouraging the fight against the imperialist propaganda. Because *“its starting point is the improvement of our socialist work and the increase of its efficiency. The imperialist propaganda originates basically on the grounds of the conflicts of our social development and the insufficiencies of our institutional system so it is important to use the symptoms occurring in the different layers of our society and the elements of the imperialist propaganda to correct our faults and improve our results”*.<sup>36</sup>

It is easy to forget today how threatening the cold war was for four and a half decades. The real war could have broken out any minute with a blow that would have destroyed the American command within minutes and would have burnt most parts of the United States and the Soviet Union to ashes. The “cold” war meant stability only in a sense that its fragile, mutual self-control depended on the sober judgement of some fallible people.<sup>37</sup>

#### **THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AS REFLECTED IN THE INTERIOR REVIEW UP TO THE EUROPEAN SAFETY AND COOPERATION CONFERENCE (1953–1975)**

##### **ABSTRACT**

Following the political systems’ changes in the East- and Central-European countries and most of these countries’ joining the NATO and the EU, for a short while it seemed that the ideological-psychological war, determining the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and describing the struggle between the capitalist and the socialist world order, would disappear and its notion would be driven back to the pages of scientific historical publications, lexicons and lately, the Wikipedia. But from the situation of a nation on the cultural path of both Eastern and Western Christianity, Ukraine, trying to embrace its freedom, a new conflict broke out. The Ukrainian-Russian conflict of today shows that a bloody, armed fight may break out between countries and people who were once said, thought and believed to be fraternal. A part of this struggle now is psychological warfare, manipulation. To be able to better understand the events of the conflicts of the modern era it is worth studying the ideological-psychological struggle of the ideological systems in the recent past because the essentials and the rules of this struggle has not changed with the years and the rearrangements of power. How

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<sup>34</sup> Z. BRZEZINSKI, *Stratégiai vízió, Amerika és a globális hatalom válsága*, Budapest 2013, pp. 28–29.

<sup>35</sup> A. HRIVNÁK, *A fellazítási politika, az antikommunista ideológiai diverzió néhány sajátossága az 1980-as években*, in: *Belügyi Szemle*, Vol. 3, 1989, p. 24.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>37</sup> BRZEZINSKI, p. 99.

much harm did it cause among the once allied neighbouring countries? Or was it rather useful? Can we withdraw ourselves from its demoralizing effect which damages the peace between peoples? We try to find answers by analyzing some articles highlighted by their ideological content, looking over the period from the birth of the Review, marking the peak of the cold war, to the conference, regarded as an important event in the alleviation period.

**KEYWORDS**

Psychological war; Ideological struggle; Foreign affairs; World war; Interior propaganda

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