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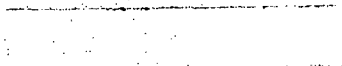
PUBLIC WARNING INDICATORS
OF THE SOVIET DECISION TO INVADE CZECHOSLOVAKIA
A RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW

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A RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW

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PUBLIC WARNING INDICATORS
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A RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The possibility that the current crisis in Poland could deteriorate to the point that the Soviet Union felt compelled to intervene prompts reconsideration of the lessons that can be learned from the Soviet action in Czechoslovakia 12 years ago. The gradual hardening of Soviet propaganda positions in 1968 in response to the liberalization drive in Czechoslovakia provides a laboratory example of Soviet public behavior in a crisis situation akin to the one that could erupt in Poland. This report presents a synopsis of this historical experience with a view to providing a frame of reference for monitoring Soviet public statements regarding Poland in the months ahead.

It should be emphasized that this report does not assume an exact or even a close parallel between the Czechoslovak events of 1968 and the Polish situation today. The Polish reform movement is a genuine workers movement that enjoys widespread support from a disciplined labor force, while the Czechoslovak reform movement was more loosely organized and spearheaded mainly by writers and intellectuals. In addition, Poland's population (more than twice the size of Czechoslovakia's), its long tradition of resistance to foreign occupiers, and the attitude of the army would be factors Moscow would have to take into account. From the Soviet viewpoint, moreover, the situation in Poland has not reached a point at which the USSR's ability to influence the course of events by a variety of political means has been foreclosed. In contrast to the situation that existed in Czechoslovakia, where Dubcek presided over a dissolving party leadership while identifying himself more and more openly with the dissidents, the Soviets have a reliable interlocutor in Stanislaw Kania, a man openly and unreservedly on the side of maintaining communist party authority in Poland, whatever concessions he may make to the demands of the workers.

The report is divided into sections, one for each of the six months preceding the Soviet bloc invasion of Czechoslovakia. Each section presents a summary of the situation that existed in Czechoslovakia during the month in question, followed by an account of the Soviet public reaction, highlighting the main statements or public actions bearing on Czechoslovak developments. An annex presents a selection of key Soviet statements.

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The overall tendency of Soviet statements in 1968 was to reflect a gradual heightening of the crisis. Major elements in this escalation of concern included:

- + Increased Soviet media attention to Czechoslovakia, including increases in the number of hours of Moscow's Czech- and Slovak-language radio programming.
- + Gradually intensified diplomatic pressure on Prague, including a series of bilateral Soviet-Czechoslovak contacts and Soviet bloc leaders' meetings, with and without Czechoslovak participation.
- + Signs of a growing lack of confidence in the Czechoslovak regime, beginning with reports of East European leaders' expressions of concern in March, and escalating to include explicit Soviet attacks on individual Czechoslovak leaders by June, the critical distinction in July between "healthy" and other forces within the leadership, followed shortly by warnings that the regime had failed to heed prior Soviet bloc admonitions.
- + Steadily growing military pressure on Prague, including the staging of Warsaw Pact maneuvers within Czechoslovakia in June and in large areas around the Czechoslovak borders on the eve of the invasion.
- + The establishment of an ideological justification for intervention, through assertions such as those in July that Moscow "cannot be indifferent" to the fate of socialism in other countries and that socialist countries have the "right and duty" to protect socialism and the use of letters by Czechoslovak workers that month to show that the Czechs would welcome the presence of Soviet troops.
- + The portrayal of an imminent Western threat to Czechoslovakia in July and August by announcing the alleged discovery of U.S.-made arms "caches" in Czechoslovakia, the revelation of alleged Western plans for subversion and military action against Prague, claims that NATO had heightened its military readiness, and, on the eve of the invasion, declarations about the need to nip imperialist plans in the bud.

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+ The portrayal of the Czechoslovak internal situation in mid-August as bordering on anarchy, with the party losing control, the emergence of an "opposition party" in the form of the liberal press, the "persecution" of "patriotic" workers, and conspiracies by domestic counterrevolutionaries and foreign reactionaries to restore the precommunist order.

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CHRONOLOGY OF 1968 EVENTS

MARCH

The tensions between Czechoslovakia and its Soviet bloc allies, which began to develop after the appointment of Alexander Dubcek as CPCZ first secretary in January 1968, were becoming increasingly apparent by March. Czechoslovak media, reflecting the tolerant mood of the Dubcek regime, began to discuss sensitive foreign policy issues, such as problems in Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and the possible establishment of diplomatic ties between Prague and Bonn. Liberal pressures against conservative Antonin Novotny, who still held a position as state president following his removal as party chief, forced his resignation from office on 22 March. The following day, Dubcek visited Dresden to meet with Soviet bloc leaders--Romania's Ceausescu was absent--about Czechoslovak developments. After the meeting, neighboring East Germany initiated polemics with Prague, when Politburo member Kurt Hager on 26 March charged liberal Czechoslovak official Josef Smrkovsky with abetting West German plans to weaken socialism.

In March, Moscow ended its silence on Czechoslovak domestic problems and began to issue increasingly authoritative warnings about the dangers implicit in the liberalization movement. Highlights of Soviet comment included:

+ PRAVDA on 22 and 23 March acknowledged the existence of the Czechoslovak controversy to the Soviet people for the first time by reporting a speech by Poland's Gomulka in which the issue was raised and by publicizing Novotny's resignation letter. PRAVDA reported Gomulka's warning about a danger to socialism in "countries neighboring Poland" and Novotny's explanation that his resignation was due in part to "the domestic situation that has taken shape recently."

+ A 24 March Glazunov Moscow radio commentary for foreign audiences warned of attempts by "imperialists" to "pull some socialist countries" back into the Western fold.

+ Moscow issued its first authoritative and direct comment on the Czechoslovak situation in a 28 March I. Aleksandrov PRAVDA article. The article dismissed Western speculation about Soviet interference in affairs

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at the Dresden meeting and charged that such reports were meant to weaken the authority of the Czechoslovak party and stir up "antisocialist elements."

+ Soviet leader Brezhnev on 29 March issued the first oblique Soviet leadership statement on the situation when he warned of attempts by "imperialism" to exploit "nationalist and revisionist elements" to weaken the "ideological and political unity" of the working people in socialist countries.

APRIL

The Czechoslovak party gave official sanction to the reform movement when it released its long-awaited Action Program on 9 April. Despite this development, liberal pressures continued to mount on Dubcek to move more rapidly against Novotny followers and allow a political "opposition." On 6 April Prague announced the start of an official probe into the circumstances surrounding the death of national hero Jan Masaryk, including allegations of Soviet culpability. Czechoslovak officials, meanwhile, maintained a steady drumbeat of assertions on delicate foreign affairs issues, such as Prague's relationship within CEMA and the possibility of its forming ties with the FRG and the EEC.

The Soviets in April continued to issue authoritative, if indirect, warnings about Western intentions toward Czechoslovakia and to hint at the need to crack down on the liberals. Moscow's comment included the following:

+ A 10 April Yuriy Zhukov PRAVDA article scored alleged Western plans to create a Central European confederation, including Czechoslovakia, which would "tear some East European countries away from the socialist community."

+ A heavily slanted 12 April PRAVDA account of a CPCZ plenum held in early April highlighted Czechoslovak warnings about threats to the party's leading role, rightist "excesses," and slogans about liberalization and democratization.

+ CPSU Politburo candidate member Grishin on 22 April warned of Western attempts to exploit "weak, morally unstable, and politically immature individuals" to try to damage the unity of the socialist countries.

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MAY

In May the liberal "Prague Spring" spirit gained momentum, and the Soviets increased diplomatic pressure on Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovak media discussed such previously taboo historical topics as the Soviet annexation of Czechoslovak lands in 1945, the impact of the Hitler-Stalin Pact on Czechoslovakia, and the role of the Soviet secret police in the Czech purge trials of the 1950's. Dubcek arrived in Moscow on 4 May and held "frank and friendly" talks with Brezhnev. Several days later, Brezhnev met with East European leaders Gomulka, Ulbricht, Zhivkov, and Kadar in Moscow to discuss Czechoslovakia. Premier Kosygin and Defense Minister Grechko arrived in Czechoslovakia on 17 May; the talks were apparently unsuccessful.

Moscow in May started to polemicize openly with Prague media and in a variety of ways to show increasing alarm about reformist tendencies. Soviet comment during this month included the following:

+ The Soviets reacted for the first time to the Masaryk probe on 7 May, when TASS scored any allegations of Soviet involvement in his death as "lies" spread by "hostile propaganda."

+ On 9 May Soviet Marshal Konev pointedly reminded Czechoslovakia about Soviet military capabilities in a liberation anniversary speech in Prague. He asserted that the "mighty forces of the Soviet Union" were standing guard over Czechoslovakia's frontiers and were "always in a state of full combat readiness."

+ Moscow increased the number of hours of its Czech- and Slovak-language radio programming to Czechoslovakia on 9 May; another increase took place in July.

+ Soviet papers TRUD and LITERARY GAZETTE in mid-May openly criticized their Czechoslovak press counterparts and some liberal Czech writers.

+ PRAVDA on 22 May reported a resolution of the conservative Czechoslovak People's Militia, which was also carried by Prague media, demanding that Czechoslovak media not be used for "antisocialist" purposes.

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JUNE

Despite Soviet pressures, the Czechoslovak leadership continued its reform program, but liberal forces demanded an even faster democratization. Dubcek bowed to liberal pressures at a party plenum, 29 May - 1 June, where the party ousted Novotny and other conservatives from the Central Committee and scheduled a special party congress for September. During the plenum, the first contingent of Soviet troops to take part in Warsaw Pact maneuvers entered Czechoslovakia, three weeks ahead of schedule. On 27 June, Czechoslovak media carried the defiantly liberal "2,000 Words" manifesto; the CPCZ Presidium denounced the statement the following day.

The Soviets in June began to speak more openly of divisions within the Czechoslovak regime, hinting that the troubles were caused by disloyal elements. Moscow's statements included:

+ The Soviet Foreign Ministry on 10 June tendered a "representation" to the Czechoslovak Embassy over the publication of an offensive Czechoslovak article.

+ A PRAVDA Konstantinov article on 14 June issued Moscow's first public criticism of a Czechoslovak leader, labeling party Secretary Cestmir Cisar a "revisionist."

+ PRAVDA on 21 June carried another hardline statement by the People's Militia, and Moscow subsequently publicized positive responses to the statement from workers throughout the Soviet Union.

JULY

The Czechoslovak leadership found it increasingly difficult to keep the lid on the liberalization movement in July, as Prague media reported widespread public support for the "2,000 Words" manifesto. The Soviets stepped up their military pressure on Prague, delaying withdrawal of the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia for the June Warsaw Pact maneuvers. On the diplomatic front, Soviet bloc leaders, with the exception of Dubcek and Romania's Ceausescu, met in Warsaw on 14-15 July and released a joint letter to the Czechoslovak regime. Two weeks later on 29 July, virtually the entire CPSU Politburo arrived in Cierna nad Tisou, Czechoslovakia, for talks with the CPCZ Presidium.

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Soviet comment in July built on previous warnings to establish a plausible rationale for intervention. Important among the Soviet statements were:

+ Brezhnev reasserted his concern over the Czechoslovak events and laid some of the ideological groundwork for intervention during Hungarian party chief Kadar's visit to Moscow on 3 July. He warned that "apologists for the bourgeois order" may pose in "pseudosocialist clothing" to "weaken the fraternal ties among socialist countries" and declared that the Soviet Union "cannot and never will be indifferent to the fate of socialist construction in other countries." Kadar, for his part, said that it is "our right and duty" to use "even instruments of power" to protect socialism.

+ Moscow issued its most direct and authoritative expression of concern about Czechoslovakia to date in a PRAVDA editorial on 7 July, which said that the Soviet people share the "anxiety and concern" of Czechoslovak communists over attacks by "antisocialist and anti-Soviet" forces and that these communists can always rely on the "full understanding and support" of the Soviet Union.

+ The "2,000 Words" manifesto was attacked as "counterrevolutionary" in a LITERARY GAZETTE article on 10 July and, more authoritatively, in an I. Aleksandrov PRAVDA article on the 11th. The Aleksandrov article for the first time drew the critical distinction between "healthy forces in the party" and "certain leading figures" who were playing into the hands of rightist, antisocialist forces.

+ The conflict between Czechoslovakia and its allies was brought into the open in the letter of the Warsaw Five leaders, released on 17 July. The letter bluntly warned Prague that the situation was becoming "unacceptable" and was no longer the affair of Czechoslovakia alone. Like the I. Aleksandrov article, it called on "healthy forces" to fight counterrevolutionary tendencies, and it warned that the signatory parties would never allow imperialism to make a breach in any socialist country.

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+ Moscow attempted to convey the impression of an imminent Western threat when PRAVDA on 19 July announced the alleged discovery of a "cache" of U.S.-made weapons in Czechoslovakia near the FRG border and revealed the alleged existence of secret CIA and Pentagon plans to undermine the Czechoslovak regime.

+ A 22 July PRAVDA editorial article charged that the CPCZ leadership had "sidestepped the questions of principle" raised in the letter of the Warsaw Five.

+ PRAVDA on 30 July carried an "open letter to the Soviet people" from a group of Czechoslovak workers saying that they would "feel safer" if the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia remained.

AUGUST

On the heels of the 29 July Soviet-Czechoslovak meeting at Cierna, leaders from all the Soviet bloc countries except Romania arrived in Bratislava on 3 August for talks with the Czechoslovak leadership. The two meetings raised hopes that a crisis had been averted, and the regime on 7 August appealed to the media to show restraint. The liberal press, however, defied this appeal by continuing its freewheeling comment. In mid-August the Soviets announced a series of new military maneuvers in East Germany and Poland, near the Czechoslovak border, and the arrival on the scene of the Soviet defense minister and Warsaw Pact commander.

Following a lull in Soviet comment in the two weeks following the Cierna and Bratislava meetings, Moscow resumed polemics with Prague, reiterating and embellishing prior warnings. Soviet comment leading up to the 20-21 August invasion included:

+ A 14 August LITERARY GAZETTE attack on a Czechoslovak literary paper reopened the polemic; this was followed by an authoritative Yuriy Zhukov PRAVDA article on the 16th, which warned that the liberal Czechoslovak press had taken the form of an "opposition party."

+ IZVESTIYA on 15 August revealed an alleged plot by "Hitlerite" generals and colonels" in West Germany to attack Czechoslovakia and the GDR; other Soviet comment focused on NATO aggressiveness and alleged increases in the state of NATO's military readiness.

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+ An 18 August I. Aleksandrov PRAVDA article reflected Moscow's increased alarm over Czechoslovak internal developments and set the stage for intervention. Citing an "intensification of subversive activities by antisocialist forces," the article portrayed Czechoslovakia as being in a virtual state of anarchy, where the party could not maintain order, "reactionary forces" were persecuting "patriotic" workers, and the decisions of the Cierna and Bratislava meetings were under attack. It accused rightwing forces, egged on by imperialist reaction, of trying to "undermine the foundations of socialism, to discredit the leading role of the working class and party, and to separate Czechoslovakia from the socialist community." But it said that Czechoslovak workers, relying on the "international solidarity and support of the fraternal socialist countries," were prepared to defend their socialist achievements.

+ A PRAVDA editorial, released on the eve of the invasion on 20 August, further justified intervention by declaring that communist parties considered it their duty to "ensure that imperialist intrigues are nipped in the bud."

+ A TASS statement on 21 August, released in similar form by the other invading Warsaw Pact countries, justified the intervention, saying it had responded to a request by unspecified Czechoslovak "people and government leaders" to protect the country's socialist system against counterrevolutionary forces colluding with foreign reaction. It said the intervention was in accord with the "right of states to individual and collective self-defense" and that the troops would be removed as soon as the threat to Czechoslovakia was eliminated. TASS the same day carried the text of an appeal by unspecified Czechoslovak leaders defending the intervention and calling on citizens to rally around the "realistically thinking core of the party."

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ANNEX

KEY SOVIET STATEMENTS ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Reproduced below are the texts of some of the key Soviet statements leading up to and subsequently rationalizing the Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia.

WARNING STATEMENTS

I. Aleksandrov Article, 11 July 1968 PRAVDA

"The Attack Against the Socialist Foundation of Czechoslovakia"

The Czechoslovak Communist Party is engaged in solving intricate and crucial tasks of building socialism. It is known that at the January and subsequent plenums of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, mistakes and shortcomings in leading the development of the national economy and in the activities of party and government organs in regard to the violation of Leninist principles of socialist construction were subjected to criticism. The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee stressed the necessity of eliminating these mistakes and shortcomings in the interests of the consolidation and further development of the socialist society of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Measures designed to strengthen the economy, to develop socialist democracy, enhance the leading role of the Communist Party in the life of the society, and further develop the friendship between Czechoslovakia on one hand and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the other were adopted.

The time that has elapsed since the January plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee has shown that the solution of problems facing the party and the nation is impeded by difficulties caused primarily by the reactivization and increasing subversion of rightwing, antisocialist forces. Forces in Czechoslovakia hostile to socialism are striving to denigrate and discredit the working class and the leading force in society; to undermine the foundations of the socialist state for the ultimate purpose of turning Czechoslovakia back onto the road of the restoration of capitalism. The enemies are trying to undermine the friendship of Czechoslovakia with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. The May plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee emphasized that in present circumstances the party considers it of the greatest importance not to tolerate any threat to the socialist character of power and social order on the part of antisocialist and openly anticommunist forces. The plenum demanded that the party's political leadership of the society

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be insured and all attempts to discredit the party as a whole, to spread nonconfidence in the party and deny its moral and political right to lead society and be the decisive political factor of socialist state power be refuted.

The course of events in Czechoslovakia following the May plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee shows that the plenum's warnings were fully justified. Rightwing antisocialist forces are continuing to increase malicious, intensive attacks against the Communist Party and the socialist system. Many of the undermining actions are, moreover, being made openly through the use of the Czechoslovak press, radio, and television. Thus recently a so-called open letter was published simultaneously in four Czechoslovak newspapers--LITERANI LISTY, PRACE, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, and MLADA FRONTA--by a group of persons, entitled "2,000 Words" and addressed to workers, peasants, employees, scientists, scientific workers, to all citizens. This document constitutes a kind of platform of those forces in Czechoslovakia and outside who, under cover of talk about liberalization, democratization, and such, are trying to cancel out the entire history of Czechoslovakia since 1948, and the socialist achievements of Czechoslovak workers, to discredit the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and its leading role, to undermine the Czechoslovak people's friendship with the peoples of fraternal socialist states, to prepare the way for counterrevolution.

The authors of the document slander the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the socialist system, alleging that a mistaken line by the leadership has turned the party from a political party and ideological union into a great-power organization, that parliament is supposed to have lost its ability to debate problems, the government to rule, direct, or to manage; that allegedly not a single organization has belonged to its members, even the Communist Party, and that the Communist Party deserves no gratitude at all. The statement in effect praises bourgeois Czechoslovakia; sympathies toward the capitalist system are not concealed. Moreover, endeavoring to encourage the activity of antisocialist elements, the authors of the appeal and those behind them announce that the coming period will be the decisive one for many years to come. They demand the adoption of their own decisions; they demand the use of such means as demonstrations, strikes, and boycott to get rid of party cadres and leaders dedicated to the cause of socialism who do not suit them. They demand the institution of their own civilian committees and commissions locally, that is the seizure of power. They promise to act by force of arms to promote that leadership to which they will give their mandate.

The "2,000 Words" statement, in spite of its hypocritical phrases about the defense of the interests of the Czechoslovak people, leaves no doubt about the real aims of its authors. They speak in the name of those right-wing, antisocialist forces in the country which are waging an attack

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against the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the working class. Every day brings fresh facts confirming that these forces are by no means concerned about the correction of any mistakes, about the further development of Czechoslovakia along the road of socialism, but have embarked on the course of overthrowing the existing system, and restoring capitalist ways. They do not say this openly; most frequently they conceal their real aims with phrases about democratization and declare their dedication to socialism. But in fact they are seeking to undermine the very foundations of the socialist state.

Such tactics are not new. They were used at one time by counter-revolutionary elements in Hungary who attempted to undermine the Hungarian people's socialist achievements in 1956. Now, 12 years later, the tactics of those who would like to undermine the foundations of socialism in Czechoslovakia have become even more sophisticated and perfidious, and the Czechoslovak working people, all those who cherish the achievements of socialism, cannot but see the danger of the inciting and provocative activity urged by the document "2,000 Words."

Healthy forces in the party and the country regard this document as an open attack against the socialist system, against the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, against Czechoslovakia's friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, having discussed the statement, has reached the conclusion that this political platform opened up a path to anticommunist tendencies, that it was an attack against the present leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and of the state, which compels them to resort to the struggle against the offensive of the disorganizing antisocial forces.

On the occasion of the appearance of "2,000 Words" the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party stated: Our people do not conceal their anxiety about the fate of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. They want to have political and legal guarantees. The appeal has not found support and a social basis in Slovakia. It was described as an attack and incitement against the republic since it demanded that new organs of power be set up and illegal levers of government be used. It calls for the taking over of power by such means and such people, whose interests and aims remain unknown.

The publication of "2,000 Words" has provoked many comments in the country. The majority of party organizations of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, communists who spoke at district conferences held recently, have condemned this counterrevolutionary platform. The response to it by the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and of the National Front was negative. At the National Assembly session Deputy Kodaj

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justly said that the "2,000 Words" was a call for counterrevolution. Sharp criticism is being leveled at the statement by public organizations, collectives, enterprises, and offices.

At the time when party conferences and workers collectives, proceeding from the interests of strengthening socialism in the country and fraternal friendship of the Czechoslovak people with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, rebuff the new attack against socialist foundations in Czechoslovakia, some organs of the press and information in Czechoslovakia have assumed a special position. The newspapers PRACE, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, MLADA FRONTA, and Prague radio and television are striving to influence public opinion to support the "2,000 Words" statement. At the same time they attempt to create the impression that they are speaking on behalf of the people.

Judging by what the Czechoslovak press says, certain reactionary-minded journalists and writers are coming out in support of this position. They are the very same people who on a number of occasions have urged putting an end to the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Reverting to such a democracy in effect would have meant restoring capitalism. It is precisely these people who are coming out in defense of the statement "2,000 Words" and are trying to present it as the last word of some wondrous socialist democracy; they are in a hurry to attach a conservative label to all those who oppose this counterrevolutionary document.

Regrettably, certain leading figures in Czechoslovakia have made ambiguous statements in which they try to minimize the danger inherent in the counterrevolutionary "2,000 Words" by insisting that the fact of its publication should not be overdramatized.

The rightwing forces hostile to socialism were quick to exploit the fact that certain people deem it necessary to gloss over the inflammatory nature of the document and to blunt the edge of the criticism of it leveled by the Czechoslovak working people. Lately these forces, with the assistance of certain press organs, have mounted an offensive and extensive propaganda concerning "2,000 Words."

It is now more obvious than ever that the statement "2,000 Words" is by no means an isolated phenomenon, but evidence of the activation of the rightwing and actually counterrevolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia which are evidently associated with imperialist reaction. They have shifted to fierce attacks against the Czechoslovak Communist Party as such, against the foundations of socialist statehood. The forces hostile to the Czechoslovak people seem to be in a hurry to exploit the unstable situation which has arisen in the country in order to reach their counterrevolutionary objectives.

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No small role is played in this by the support such forces find among the imperialists in the West, and this is clearly seen in the publication of "2,000 Words."

And if there still are some people in Czechoslovakia who have any illusions about the real meaning of this statement, the utterances in the bourgeois American press, as well as in the bourgeois press of Western Europe, dispel these illusions. The enemies of socialism regard this document as yet another welcome step along the road which might lead to the softening of the socialist regime in Czechoslovakia and to the restoration of capitalism. One must say bluntly that it would be difficult to find simpletons that would believe that the New York TIMES, DIE WELT, LE FIGARO, and the DAILY TELEGRAPH are anxious over the process of liberalization in Czechoslovakia because they want its socialist system to be strengthened.

The Soviet people are bound to the Czechoslovak people by firm ties of friendship and brotherhood sealed in the blood of the joint struggle against the Hitlerite invaders. We are united by common aims in the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism, for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. It is no wonder that the letter from members of the national aktiv of the People's Militia of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic addressed to the Soviet people found such wide response in the Soviet Union. Workers of our country saw in that letter an expression of the Czechoslovak workers' serious concern for the destiny of their socialist homeland, an unshakable resolve to defend the people's achievements against all attempts, to give a firm rebuff to antisocialist and anti-Soviet intrigues, to strengthen the fraternal union of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples. Workers of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and many other cities of our country, understanding and sharing the concern of Czechoslovak communists and the working class of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, are responding to the letter of the Czechoslovak comrades with sincere friendship and proletarian solidarity.

The peoples of other socialist countries are closely following the events in Czechoslovakia. Commenting on the "2,000 Words" statement, the paper RABOTNICHESKO DELO, organ of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, states: Today in Czechoslovakia attempts to undermine the party's authority and to liquidate its leading role, to destroy the people's unity embodied in the National Front, have become fashionable and widespread. However, these attempts are in fact aimed at dealing a blow to the existing social system, driving the country onto a dangerous, reckless course. Our society cannot remain indifferent at a time when the foundations of socialism in a friendly, fraternal country are being subjected to attack; when reactionary forces are engaged in incitement; and when calls are heard for anarchy and for making short shrift of sons and daughters true to socialism.

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The paper NEPSZABADSAG, organ of the MSZMP Central Committee, says: We have also experienced in many senses similar periods, and well know from our own experience what thought and intent are concealed behind the wording of the "2,000 Words." Those who come forth against the people's rule, the socialist system, and its lawful order must be fought by the means that are most effective, which are essential in the given situation. The people of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are aware that the actions of certain antisocialist forces can seriously upset the further successful development of fraternal Czechoslovakia. They regard the "2,000 Words" statement as an open attack against the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the socialist state, against the socialist achievements of the Czechoslovak people.

They express confidence that Czechoslovak communists and all workers of Czechoslovakia, profoundly interested in strengthening the socialist foundations in the country, will know how to give a decisive rebuff to the reactionary antisocialist forces, to defend the achievements of the republic won by the great effort of millions of people, and insure the further development of their homeland along the road of socialism, friendship, and fraternal collaboration with all social states.

In the struggle to strengthen socialism in their country and for the friendship of the peoples of socialist states, the working class and all workers of Czechoslovakia can always rely on the understanding and full support of the people of the Soviet country.

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Warsaw Five Meeting Letter to the CPCZ Central Committee, 17 July 1968

Dear comrades! In the name of the central committees of the communist and workers parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and the Soviet Union we address this letter to you, a letter dictated by sincere friendship based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; concern for our common affairs and for the strengthening of the positions of socialism and the security of the socialist community of peoples.

The development of events in your country arouses deep anxiety among us. The onslaught of reaction against your party and the foundations of the social order of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, supported by imperialism, threatens--we are profoundly convinced of this--to push your country off the road to socialism, and consequently, it threatens the interests of the whole socialist system.

We expressed these apprehensions at the Dresden meeting, at numerous bilateral meetings, and in letters sent by our parties recently to the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. We recently suggested to the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee that a new, joint meeting be held on 14 July of this year to exchange information and opinions regarding the situation in our countries, including the development of events in Czechoslovakia. Unfortunately, the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee did not take part in this meeting and did not make use of the opportunity for a collective, comradely discussion of the situation which had developed. That is why we found it necessary to explain to you our common views with complete sincerity and frankness in this letter. We would like you to understand us well and assess our intentions correctly.

We did not have and have no intention of interfering in such matters that are purely internal affairs of your party and your state, of violating the principle of respect for independence and equality in relations between communist parties and socialist countries. We do not appear before you as representatives of yesterday, who would like to hamper you in rectifying mistakes and shortcomings, including violations of socialist legality which took place.

We do not interfere with the methods of planning and management of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the activity aimed at perfecting the economic structure, the development of socialist democracy. We shall welcome the settlement of relations between Czechs and Slovaks on the basis of the healthy principles of fraternal cooperation within the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

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We cannot, however, agree that enemy forces should divert your country from the path of socialism and expose Czechoslovakia to the danger of being torn from the socialist community. This is no longer your affair alone. This is the affair of all communist and workers parties and all countries which are linked by alliances, cooperation, and friendship.

It is a common cause of our countries, united in the Warsaw Pact, to safeguard their independence, European peace and security, to raise an unbreakable barrier against the schemings of imperialist, aggressive, and revanchist forces.

The peoples of our countries triumphed over Hitlerite fascism at the price of immense sacrifices and won freedom, independence, and the possibility to march on the road of progress and socialism. The frontiers of the socialist world in Europe are situated along the Elbe and the Sumava Mountains and we shall never accept that the historic achievements of socialism and the independence and security of our peoples are threatened. We shall never be resigned to imperialism making a breach in the socialist system, by peaceful or unpeaceful means, from inside or outside, and changing power relations in Europe to its own advantage.

The strength and stability of our alliance depend on the internal strength of the socialist system of all fraternal countries and on the Marxist-Leninist policy conducted by our parties, which have a leading role in the political and socialist life of our peoples and states. The undermining of the leading role of the communist party leads to the liquidation of socialist democracy and the socialist system. Through this the foundation of our alliance and the security of our countries are threatened.

As you know, our fraternal parties received with understanding the resolutions passed at the January plenum of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. We proceeded from the conviction that your party, holding the helm of power firmly in its hands, would direct the whole process in accordance with the interests of socialism and would not allow anticommunist reaction to use this process for its own purposes. We were convinced that you would guard as the apple of your eye the Leninist principles of democratic centralism.

Neglect of any side of that principle, be it democracy or centralism, inevitably leads to weakening of the party and its leading role, to the transformation of the party into a bureaucratic organization or debating club.

We have discussed all these questions on more occasions than one at our meetings and you assured us that you were aware of all the dangers and were ready to oppose them with complete resolve.

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Unfortunately, events have drifted into different channels; the forces of reaction, taking advantage of weakening in the party leadership of the country, demagogically abusing the slogan of "democratization," have launched a campaign against the Czechoslovak Communist Party and its honest, devoted cadres with the clear intention of liquidating the party's leading role, undermining the socialist system, setting Czechoslovakia against other socialist countries.

Recently, political organizations and clubs formed outside the framework of the National Front have to all intents and purposes become chiefs of staff of the reactionary forces. The social democrats stubbornly strive to form a party of their own; they organize underground committees, seek to bring about a split within the worker movement in Czechoslovakia; they want to organize the country's leadership in order to restore the bourgeois regime. The antisocialist and revisionist forces hostile to socialism have grabbed the press, radio, and television and turned these media into rostrums for attacking the Communist Party, for deceiving the working class and all workers.

They are mouthpieces of reckless demagoguery against socialism; they have used them to undermine friendly relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist countries. Many mass information media regularly apply veritable moral terror against those who stand up against the forces of reaction or express disquiet over the shaping of events.

Despite the resolution of the May plenary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, according to which the main danger is represented by the threat of rightwing and anticommunist forces, it has not repelled the mounting attacks of reaction. Thus, reaction has been enabled before the people of the country to make public its political platform under the heading "2,000 Words." It is an open appeal to battle against the Communist Party, the constitutional power, the National Front, and the socialist state, an attempt at bringing about conditions of anarchy. The declaration, to all intents and purposes, is the organizational-political program of counterrevolution. No one should be misled by the authors' claim that they do not want to overthrow the socialist system, that they do not want to act without the communists, that they do not want to break the alliance with the socialist countries. These are empty phrases with the objective of legalizing the platform of counterrevolution, lulling the vigilance of the party of the working class and of the workers.

This platform, which is being disseminated widely during the important period prior to the extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, was not only not rejected, but such antisocialist appeals even found overt defense within the party and its leadership.

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The antisocialist and revisionist forces sully the entire activity of the Communist Party, conduct a campaign of slander against the party cadres, and discredit honest communists faithful to the party.

Thus, a situation has arisen that is completely unacceptable for a socialist country. It is in such an atmosphere that charges are also leveled against the socialist foreign policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and against its alliance and friendship with the socialist countries. Voices are raised demanding revision of our joint, coordinated policy with regard to the German Federal Republic, despite the unchanged pursuit by the West German Government of a policy hostile to the interests of the security of our countries. The alluring attempts of the circles in power and the revanchists of the German Federal Republic find response in leading circles of your party.

In your country a whole series of events in recent months indicates that counterrevolutionary forces supported by imperialist centers have launched attacks on a broad front against the socialist system. On the other hand, the necessary resistance is lacking on the part of the party and the popular power. Undoubtedly international, imperialist, reactionary centers joined in the events in Czechoslovakia. They do everything to make this situation more tense and more complicated and influence the activity of the antisocialist forces in that direction. The bourgeois press, under the guise of praising the "democratization" and "liberalization" that is going on in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, is conducting a campaign of incitement against the fraternal socialist countries. Particularly great activity is being undertaken by leading circles of the German Federal Republic, which trying to make use of the events in Czechoslovakia, seek to foster conflicts between socialist countries, isolate the GDR, and realize their revanchist intentions.

Do you, comrades, fail to see these dangers? Can one remain passive in this situation, confining oneself purely to statements and assurances about loyalty to the cause of socialism and obligations of alliance? Do you fail to see that counterrevolution is taking away from you one position after another: do you fail to see that the party is losing control over the events and is tending more and more to withdraw under pressure from anticommunist forces?

Your press, radio, and television launched a campaign in connection with the Warsaw Pact staff exercises--is this perhaps not to create mistrust and a hostile atmosphere against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries? Events have reached a state where the customary staff exercises with the participation of Soviet units were used for groundless charges about violation of the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. And all this is happening in Czechoslovakia, whose people guard as sacred

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the memory of Soviet heroes who had fallen for the freedom and sovereignty of their country. At the same time near the western borders of your country the military forces of aggressive NATO, including the army of revanchist West Germany, are holding exercises--and not a word is said about that.

The instigators of this unfriendly campaign, it seems, want to mislead the workers of Czechoslovakia, to becloud the awareness of the people, and to cast doubt on the truth that Czechoslovakia can preserve its independence and sovereignty only as a socialist country and as a member of the socialist community. Only the enemies of socialism can speculate on the slogan that the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must be defended against the socialist countries, against those with whom alliance and fraternal cooperation constitutes the most secure foundation for independence and free development for our peoples.

We are convinced that a situation has arisen which endangers the foundation of socialism in Czechoslovakia and threatens the vital common interests of the other socialist countries. The peoples of our countries would never forgive us our indifference and carelessness in the face of such danger.

We live in a period when the peace of the peoples, their security and freedom more than ever demand unity of the forces of socialism. International tension is not decreasing, U.S. imperialism has not given up its policy of strength and overt interventions against peoples fighting for freedom. It continues to carry on a criminal war in Vietnam, supports the Israeli aggressors in the Middle East, and hinders the peaceful settlement of that area. The arms race has not at all lessened.

The German Federal Republic, where forces of neofascism are growing, is attacking the status quo by demanding revision of frontiers. It does not want to renounce aspirations for the annexation of the GDR and acquisition of nuclear arms. It opposes disarmament proposals. In Europe, where vast amounts of means of mass destruction have accumulated, the peace and security of peoples is due, first and foremost, to the strength, cohesion, and peace-loving policy of the socialist countries. We are all responsible for the strength and unity of the socialist countries, the fate of peace.

Our countries are bound by treaties and agreements. These important obligations of states and peoples are based on the joint endeavor to defend socialism and guarantee the collective security of the socialist countries. Historic responsibility falls on our parties and peoples for not allowing our revolutionary achievements to perish.

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Our parties bear the responsibility not only before their own working class and people, but before the entire international working class and the communist world movement, and cannot keep aloof from that obligation. Therefore, we must maintain solidarity and unity in defense of our achievement, our security, and the international positions of the entire socialist community.

We believe, therefore, that, in the face of the attacks of the anti-communist forces, resolute resistance and determined struggle for the maintenance of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia is not only your task, but ours also.

The cause of the defense of the power of the working class and of the workers, of socialist achievements in Czechoslovakia demands: resolute and courageous attacks on the rightist and antisocialist forces; the mobilization of all defensive means brought into being by the socialist state; cessation of the activity of all political organizations acting against socialism; that the party must take into its own hands the means of mass communication--the press, radio, and television--so that they should be used in the interest of the working class, the workers, and socialism; the rallying of the party ranks on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism; complete observance of the principle of democratic centralism, and a fight against those who, by their activity, help the hostile forces.

We know that forces exist in Czechoslovakia capable of defending the socialist regime and defeating antisocialist elements. The working class, working peasantry, progressive intelligentsia--the overwhelming majority of the workers of the republic--are ready to do everything for the further development of the socialist society. The task today is to provide these healthy forces with clear perspectives. Let us mobilize and lead them into battle against the counterrevolutionary forces so that they should preserve and consolidate socialism in Czechoslovakia.

In the face of the threat of counterrevolution, following the appeal of the Communist Party, the working class must make its voice heard with full force. The working class has made the greatest efforts, together with the working peasantry, for the victory of socialist revolution; it holds dearest the protection of the achievements of socialism. We are convinced that the Czechoslovak Communist Party, aware of its responsibility, will resort to the necessary measures and bar the way to reaction. In this struggle you can count on the solidarity and complete assistance of the fraternal socialist countries.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party:
Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian

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Communist Party; Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Boris Velchev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee; Pencho Kubadinski, member of the Politburo and first deputy premier.

On behalf of the PZPR: Wladyslaw Gomulka, first secretary of the Central Committee; Marian Spychalski, member of the Politburo and chairman of the State Council; Jozef Cyrankiewicz, member of the Politburo and premier; Zenon Kliszko, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

On behalf of the MSZMP: Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee; Jeno Fock, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government.

On behalf of the SED: Walter Ulbricht, first secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the State Council; Willi Stoph, member of the Politburo and premier; Hermann Axen, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

On behalf of the CPSU: Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Nikolay Podgornyy, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Supreme Soviet; Aleksey Kosygin, member of the Politburo, premier; Petr Shelest, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; and Konstantin Katushev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

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Editorial Article, 22 July 1968 PRAVDA

"The Viewpoint of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee"

CTK has issued a document entitled "The Viewpoint of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Regarding the Joint Letter of the Five Communist and Workers Parties." It is stated that this document was approved by a plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee held on 19 July in which a group of delegates chosen to attend the forthcoming extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party took part.

The document reaffirms the political line adopted by the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee at its January and subsequent plenums. It is noted that the apprehensions regarding the development of events in Czechoslovakia expressed in the letter of the participants in the Warsaw meeting--the delegations of communist and workers parties--have also been expressed by the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee in the resolutions of the May plenum. It is admitted that the present process in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is accompanied by extremist tendencies that are being exploited by remnants of antisocialist forces in our society. It is further stated that, in the opinion of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, there is a simultaneous development of the activity of dogmatic sectarian forces; that the party itself, in this difficult situation, cannot avoid internal disagreements; and that among the negative demonstrations of that process is the violation of the principles of democratic centralism in the conduct of certain communists.

The document contains an admission that not all the conclusions of the May plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee are being implemented satisfactorily and that voices and tendencies are discerned from time to time at public meetings and in the mass media which are not directed toward the positive efforts of the party, state organs, and National Front.

The document also admits that the calls contained in the "2,000 Words" article incite anarchic actions and violation of the constitutional character of the political reform. Finally, the document admits that a campaign and groundless incitement is going on in Czechoslovakia against particular workers and public figures, including members of the new leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

But what conclusions does the document draw from these admissions? Evading any thorough political analysis of the real situation in the country, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak

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Communist Party has taken a step backward with regard to the decisions of the May plenum of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, at which it was bluntly stated that the antisocialist forces acting in Czechoslovakia represent the main danger at the present stage. Evidence of a clear change of political assessments is provided by the following assertion in the document of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee: We see no real reasons that would justify calling the present situation counterrevolutionary, enable us to speak of a direct threat to the foundations of the socialist order, say that in Czechoslovakia a change is about to take place in the orientation of our socialist foreign policy, or say that there is a concrete threat of our country being torn away from the socialist community.

The document of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee sidesteps the questions of principle raised in the letter from the fraternal parties to the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and at the same time expresses disagreement with their assessment of the scale of the threat to the socialist order in Czechoslovakia.

Yet the present situation in Czechoslovakia is such that hostile forces are deflecting the country from the path of socialism and threatening to cut it off from the socialist community. Rightwing antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia, encouraged and supported by imperialist reaction, are moving toward liquidating the leading role of the Communist Party in society, undermining the socialist state and social order, and restoring capitalism. They have seized the organs of mass communications--the press, radio, and television--and are using them for antisocialist propaganda in an attempt to inflame hostility toward the USSR and other socialist countries.

The letter of the fraternal parties set out the urgent tasks whose fulfillment is essential for the cause of defending the rule of the working class and socialist achievements of the workers of Czechoslovakia. The fraternal parties stressed the urgent necessity for a resolute and bold attack against rightwing and antisocialist forces; mobilization of all means of defense created by the socialist state; an end to the activities of political organizations acting against socialism; the party's control of the means of mass information and their use in the interests of the working class, all workers, and socialism; the rallying of the ranks of the party itself on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism, absolute observance of the principle of democratic centralism, and struggle against those who are helping the hostile forces by their actions.

These proposals, prompted by sincere concern for the preservation and strengthening of the socialist achievements of fraternal Czechoslovakia and dictated by the experience of the struggle of the international

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communist movement against the forces of imperialism and reaction, in effect are being ignored, thereby displaying a failure to understand, or an unwillingness to understand, the whole depth of the danger engendered by the advance of the rightwing antisocialist forces on the revolutionary achievements of the working class and all workers of Czechoslovakia. Is it really necessary to wait until the counter-revolutionary forces gain the upper hand in the situation in Czechoslovakia before starting the struggle against them?

The Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution, confirmed by the half-century experience, places in the hands of communist and workers parties tested means of struggle for safeguarding and stabilizing the positions of socialism.

The success of this struggle depends on the internal strength of the socialist system in each of the fraternal socialist countries and on the Marxist-Leninist policy of our party, which play a leading role in the political and social life of their peoples and states. At the same time, an undermining of the communist party's leading role leads inevitably to liquidation of socialist democracy and the social system. Any attempt to question the leading role of the Communist Party, whatever references to peculiarities of the situation are made for its justification, inevitably creates a danger for the socialist system and threatens the common vital interests of the socialist community.

No one who has been following the development of the political situation in Czechoslovakia has failed to notice that antisocialist forces are continuing the offensive, although they sometimes resort to camouflage. Thus, the authors of the notorious "2,000 Words" explained that, as they put it, they did not have in mind undermining the foundations of socialism in Czechoslovakia. However, these and similar tactical devices are no less dangerous because they can mislead no one, for the nature of the activity of the antisocialist elements remains as before.

This, incidentally, is recalled once again by the article in PRACE on 20 July--the very day the materials of the plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee were published--containing a direct hint at the desirability of reviewing Czechoslovakia's foreign policy. This article asserts that the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party may be forced to review several fundamental aspects of foreign policy because of opposition and disagreement in the communist and workers parties. The article stresses that in Czechoslovakia, against its will, a conflict with several socialist allies is beginning.

Of course, we do not regard such papers as PRACE as party documents, but the appearance in it of such provocative notions, at a time when

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the Czechoslovak Communist Party leaders are reassuring the fraternal parties of their faith to their alliance commitments, cannot but be a cause for concern.

The document of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee states that the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party has an interest in our relations not deteriorating and that it is ready to promote a calmer situation for the sake of socialism and the unity of the socialist countries. This statement, of course, is important. However, one cannot fail to see that the most important questions of principle contained in the letter of the participants of the Warsaw meeting to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party essentially remain unresolved.

Soviet communists and all working peoples of the USSR, vitally interested in strengthening the socialist community and guaranteeing the cause of peace and security in Europe, fervently support the letter in which the participants of the Warsaw meeting appealed to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. This is affirmed by the decisions of party aktiv assemblies and numerous letters from the working people arriving at the party Central Committee and newspaper offices. The communists of the USSR and all Soviet people are convinced that the letter of the fraternal parties adopted in Warsaw will receive understanding and support among communists and people of Czechoslovakia as an expression of sincere friendly international assistance and will promote the strengthening of friendship between the people of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community.

As is known, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee on 19 July sent a letter to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party proposing that a bilateral comradely meeting be held. The letter speaks of the great importance that the CPSU Central Committee attaches to this meeting, proposing that it be held at the highest level. The letter makes specific proposals concerning the place and time that the meeting be held. Our party Central Committee has repeatedly proposed in June and the first half of July that such a bilateral meeting of the delegations of our parties be held. However, it has not taken place, since each time it has been put off by the Czechoslovak comrades indefinitely. The new proposal of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee is prompted by a desire for strengthening the positions of socialism and unity of the socialist community, and fraternal relations between the communist parties and people of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. As is justly indicated in the letter of the fraternal parties to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, each of our parties bears responsibility not only to its own working class and its own people, but also to the international working class and the world communist movement; the parties cannot avoid the

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obligations emerging from this. Therefore we must be rallied and united in the defense of the achievements of socialism, our security, and the international positions of the whole socialist community.

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I. Aleksandrov Article, 18 August 1968 PRAVDA

"The Blatant Attacks of Reaction"

Prague has recently been witnessing anew the intensification of subversive activities by antisocialist forces directed against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and against the bases of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia.

On 17 August, RUDE PRAVO, organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, published a report that the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium and the RUDE PRAVO editorial board have been receiving letters requesting details of the 13 August session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium.

The Presidium had been investigating the disgraceful tricks perpetrated in recent days by certain groups in Prague. The newspaper writes that the operations of these groups comprise a danger for the efforts of honest people to restore democracy in our society and represent a threat to society itself.

This, for example, concerns in full measure the incident which occurred on 8 August near the building of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. At 2100 hours, approximately 300 people--predominantly young people--gathered at this spot, having come there from Old Town Square. They shouted hooligan slogans and demanded that someone be sent to Old Town Square with a report: One of them declared: "If we give the word to the crowd, it will smash everything in sight." The crowd did not disperse and at 2200 hours there were shouts of "come out!" and "we'll show you!" and "come out, pigs!" A group burst through to the entrance, banged, and threw stones. Then, still shouting its slogans, the crowd set off for Old Town Square, where it again held a meeting.

RUDE PRAVO writes that the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium condemned these tricks for what they were; for certain individuals, disputes are only a pretext for outrage and hooliganism.

The slanderous campaign by reactionary elements against the People's Militia has also intensified. The armed detachments of the working class--created in 1948 at Czechoslovak enterprises for the defense of the working class' revolutionary achievements--is being subjected to vicious attacks by the enemies of socialism. Thus, small bands of provocators have appeared on the streets of Prague and have engaged in collecting signatures for a demand that the People's Militia be dissolved. Moreover, it turned out that these demands were written not only in Czech but also in two West European languages The provocative attack has given rise to outrage and alarm among the workers.

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Despite the fact that the actions of the provocators have been condemned by the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium, they have not decreased.

Reactionary forces have developed a campaign of frenzied persecution against the 99 workers of the Auto-Praga plant, whose letter was published in 30 July PRAVDA. As is known, the letter expressed both a deep patriotic concern for the fate of socialism in the country and a feeling of fraternal friendship toward the Soviet people and its armed forces. Certain newspapers have attacked the workers for this. One of them--SVOBODNE SLOVO--printed on 9 August the letter of a certain M. Jodl; he said that "those 99 people who--in the guise of Auto-Praga plant workers--wrote the treacherous letter which was published later in the Soviet PRAVDA . . . represent . . . traitors who have excluded themselves from our society; they must get to that place where they are seeking support and meeting with a response."

The workers who wrote the letter have found themselves in a situation of moral terror; at the plant, meetings were called one after the other and the workers were subjected to abusive accusations of antipatriotism. The baiting and persecution of the workers did not cease even after RUDE PRAVO published an article in their defense and after the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium--according to information published in the press--condemned the "undemocratic forms of the campaign unleashed around this letter."

The results of both the Cierna nad Tisou meeting between the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium and the Bratislava conference of the socialist countries' communist and workers party representatives met with a profound response and approval of Czechoslovak communists and working masses. The communists and workers of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic see the guarantee of their successful movement forward along the chosen path in strengthening and further developing socialism in Czechoslovakia and also in strengthening friendship and brotherhood with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

It was precisely this that provoked the fresh, vicious attempts by right-wing, reactionary forces--urged on from abroad by imperialist reaction--at undermining the foundations of socialism, at discrediting the leading role of the working class and its party, and at separating Czechoslovakia from the socialist community. Brazen reaction is allowing itself crude outbursts even against the decisions adopted at the Cierna nad Tisou meeting and the Bratislava conference; it is making use of such organs of the press as LITERARNI LISTY, PRACE, MLADA FRONTA, and others for this purpose. The enemies of socialism are dreaming of restoring the old bourgeois customs in Czechoslovakia and are directing their efforts toward this..

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But the intrigues of these enemies are doomed to failure. The workers of Czechoslovakia--relying on the international solidarity and support of the fraternal socialist countries as expressed clearly and profoundly in the Bratislava statement--are filled with the determination to repulse the intrigues of internal and external reaction and to defend and consolidate their socialist achievement.

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JUSTIFICATION FOR INTERVENTION

TASS Statement, 21 August 1968

Moscow--TASS is authorized to state that people and government leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have asked the Soviet Union and other allied states to render the fraternal Czechoslovak people urgent assistance, including assistance with armed forces. This request was brought about by the threat which has arisen to the socialist system existing in Czechoslovakia and to the statehood established by the constitution, the threat emanating from the counterrevolutionary forces which have entered into collusion with foreign forces hostile to socialism.

The events in Czechoslovakia and around here were repeatedly the subject of exchanges of views between leaders of fraternal socialist countries, including the leaders of Czechoslovakia. These countries are unanimous in that the support, consolidation, and defense of the people's socialist gains is a common internationalist duty of all the socialist states. This common stand of theirs was solemnly proclaimed in the Bratislava statement.

Further aggravation of the situation in Czechoslovakia affects the vital interests of the Soviet Union and other socialist states, the interests of the security of the states of the socialist community. The threat to the socialist system in Czechoslovakia constitutes at the same time a threat to the mainstays of European peace.

The Soviet Government and the governments of the allied countries--the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, and the Polish People's Republic--proceeding from the principles of inseparable friendship and cooperation and in accordance with the existing contractual commitments, have decided to meet the above-mentioned request for rendering necessary help to the fraternal Czechoslovak people.

This decision is fully in accord with the right of states to individual and collective self-defense provided for in treaties of alliance concluded between the fraternal socialist countries. This decision is also in line with vital interests of our countries in safeguarding European peace against forces of militarism, aggression, and revanchism which have more than once plunged the peoples of Europe into wars.

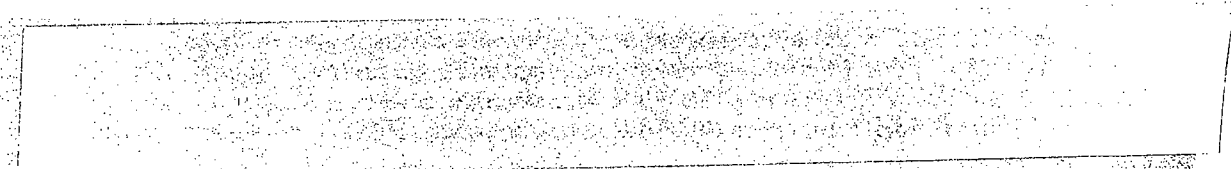
Soviet armed units together with armed units of the above-mentioned allied countries entered the territory of Czechoslovakia on 21 August. They will be immediately withdrawn from the Czechoslovak Socialist

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Republic as soon as the threat which has arisen to the gains of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the threat to the security of the socialist community countries, is eliminated and the legal authorities find that the further presence of these armed units there is no longer necessary.

The actions which are being taken are not directed against any state and in no measure infringe on anybody's state interests. They serve the purpose of peace and have been prompted by concern for its consolidation.

The fraternal countries firmly and resolutely counterpose their unbreakable solidarity to any threat from outside. Nobody will ever be allowed to wrest a single link from the community of socialist states.



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Editorial Article, 22 August 1968 PRAVDA

"The Defense of Socialism Is a Supreme International Duty"

Party officials and statesmen of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have appealed to the Soviet Union and other allied states requesting urgent assistance, including assistance by the armed forces, for the fraternal Czechoslovak people. This appeal was necessitated by the threat to the socialist order existing in Czechoslovakia, to its constitution, and to its statehood on the part of counterrevolutionary forces which entered into a conspiracy with external forces hostile to socialism.

The need to make the historic decision to appeal for help to the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries is fully substantiated in the appeal by a group of members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, the Government, and the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which is published in PRAVDA today. This was necessitated by the threat of a fratricidal struggle prepared by reaction in Czechoslovakia.

In accordance with the obligations adopted at the conference of communist and workers parties in Bratislava, proceeding from the principles of unshakable friendship and cooperation, and in accordance with existing treaty obligations, the governments of the USSR and the other allied countries decided to meet the above-mentioned request regarding rendering the required assistance to the fraternal Czechoslovak people. The fraternal socialist countries are implementing their common international duty.

Relations with Czechoslovakia and with its Communist Party have always occupied an important place in the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, and in the minds and hearts of Soviet communists and all Soviet people. And this is not accidental. For a long time now, the many centuries-old traditions of the common interests of Slavs have been added to the indissoluble ties of a common struggle for freedom, independence, and social progress of our peoples. Our parties, our peoples fought hand in hand against the danger of enslavement from the Hitlerite invaders. Over 20 million Soviet people gave their lives, locked in mortal combat with fascism, for the freedom and independence of the first country of socialism and for the liberation of other enslaved peoples. Located on the territory of Czechoslovakia are the graves of over 100,000 Soviet servicemen.

Together with heroic Czechoslovak patriots, together with the glorious corps of Ludvik Svoboda, these people fought for the liberation of Czechoslovakia from Hitlerite fascism; and precisely then, during those harsh years, the firm foundations were laid for the unity and brotherhood

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of our peoples. After the rout of the Hitlerites the Czechoslovak people elected the road to socialism. This still further strengthened the ties of friendship between our peoples. The years of common advance along the road of building socialism and communism have raised our friendship to a new level. The fraternal friendship and militant alliance between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia were strengthened by the treaty of friendship, mutual assistance, and postwar cooperation concluded in 1943 and extended in 1963.

Loyal to this treaty, our states, our parties, and our peoples, should the security of our frontiers and the cause of socialism be threatened, are obliged to come to each other's assistance. In reply to the establishment of the aggressive NATO bloc, which revanchist West Germany joined, a number of socialist countries in Europe united in the Warsaw Pact, which became an unsurmountable barrier for all those who would try to encroach upon the peace and the socialist gains of our people.

For over two decades the fraternal relations between the USSR and Czechoslovakia developed successfully in all spheres--in politics, in economics, and in culture. Nothing clouded our friendship. The successes of the Czechoslovak people were our successes; the working people of Czechoslovakia regarded the gains of the Soviet people as their own. During the time when the Soviet people marked the 50th anniversary of Soviet power and reviewed the results of the path covered under the guidance of the Communist Party, the Leninist Party, the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak people joined in our happiness regarding the results of the victorious march of October. Our peoples are linked by sincere and cordial ties of brotherhood, respect, and love. The words "Czech" and "Slovak" have become for every Soviet man synonymous with the concept of "friend" and "brother." Communists of the USSR and Czechoslovakia are united by a feeling of duty, a feeling of comradeship, and a feeling of people thinking alike advancing under one banner. These are people who have chosen for themselves one path in life, the road of communism.

Soviet communists have always regarded the Czechoslovak Communist Party with deep respect as a reliable, stable, militant detachment of the world communist movement, unshakeable in its loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideas and to the noble banner of proletarian internationalism. Our party and the Soviet people are convinced that the working class, the peasantry, and the honest intelligentsia of Czechoslovakia have even now not altered their attitude to our common cause, the building of a new society; that they are loyal to their friendly feelings toward our people and the cause of socialism in Czechoslovakia. The 240 million-strong Soviet people, who are building a communist society, have not altered their attitude toward Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people. We, too, are loyal to the friendship which our parties have strengthened throughout the postwar years.

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Our party showed an understanding attitude to the decisions of the January 1968 plenum of the Czechoslovak Central Committee. At the same time, one could see even then that the situation that had arisen could lead to a weakening of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and to the growth of moods dangerous for socialism in certain circles of Czechoslovak society, circles under the influence of bourgeois views and imperialist propaganda.

In the talks which leaders of the CPSU had with the Czechoslovak leaders in January in Moscow and in February in Prague, these apprehensions were stated frankly and in a party spirit. It was, however, stated quite definitely that the choice of ways of building socialism and the choice of the forms and methods of party guidance over social process were the full and exclusive competence of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee; that our party neither had nor could have any intention of imposing any recommendations regarding these questions on the Czechoslovak Communist Party. At the same time the attention of the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee was drawn to the activity of rightwing revisionist elements which were already on the move, elements which tried to exploit the situation that had arisen in the country for purposes removed from the interests of socialism.

At that time the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party stated that they realized the tenseness of the political situation in the country and that they would undertake the measures necessary to stabilize the situation. Time went on, however, and our party, with increasing anxiety, was becoming convinced that the actual course of events was diverging more and more from the forecasts made by the Czechoslovak leaders. Events showed that within the Czechoslovak Communist Party itself an atmosphere of disarray, vacillation, and uncertainty was beginning to take shape. Reactionary, antisocialist forces were rearing their heads in the country, relying on the support of world imperialism.

All this was a cause of anxiety, for others as well as for our party. Like ourselves, the fraternal parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, and Poland were seriously alarmed by the course of events in Czechoslovakia. The necessity arose for a collective meeting and an exchange of opinions with the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Czechoslovakia. By general consensus such a meeting took place on 23 March in Dresden. At the Dresden meeting the Czechoslovak comrades did not deny that certain negative processes were developing in the country; they could not deny that the radio, television, and press were out of the party's control and were in fact in the hands of anti-socialist elements, or that the rightwing forces were consolidating.

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At the same time the Czechoslovak representatives declared that the party as a whole was in control of the situation and there were no grounds for serious alarm.

The Soviet representatives and all the delegations of the other fraternal parties pointed out with full candor that in their opinion the picture looked quite different. They pointed to the real danger latent in the situation that had arisen. From the sum total of the facts available they concluded that a development of events had occurred that could lead to a counterrevolutionary coup. The delegation of the CPSU, as well as the delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the MSZMP, the PZPR, and the SED, declared that they supported the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, that they supported the positive contents of the decisions of the January plenum, and that their entire position was aimed at helping the Czechoslovak comrades rebuff the insolent antisocialist elements and strengthen the position of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The course of events in the subsequent period confirmed the fraternal parties' conclusions and unfortunately did not justify the optimism of the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The March-April plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee was unable to stabilize the situation. Moreover, the action program of the Czechoslovak Communist Party which was adopted at this plenum, and a number of its proposals, as life has shown, were then virtually used by rightwingers as a sort of legal platform for their further attacks on the Communist Party, on the basis of socialism, and on the friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples.

Anxiety increased even further when a campaign--clearly under the influence of rightwingers and antisocialist forces--was widely started in the country to discredit all previous activity of the Czechoslovak Communist Party; anxiety increased even further when the mass replacement of party and state cadres got underway, thus shaking the stability of public order.

A clearly inspired wave of anti-Soviet propaganda surged up in the press, radio, and television, when all manner of organizations in opposition to the Communist Party started to appear in Czechoslovakia and began to have their activities legalized.

In this situation the CPSU Central Committee found it necessary to take new steps in order to reemphasize its apprehensions about the fate of socialism in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, of course, there was full understanding at the objective complexity of the situation and the complexity of the situation regarding the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party itself. That is why the CPSU Central

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Committee, continuing to refrain from any public evaluations and statements, again proposed bilateral talks. At this meeting, held in Moscow on 4 May, the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party themselves spoke of the seriousness of the situation in the country. Moreover they said that negative features in the internal political development of Czechoslovakia would no longer be a purely internal matter but would involve the fraternal countries, for example, the Soviet Union and Poland. One could not but agree with this.

The Czechoslovak leaders also said that they were ready to take the necessary measures to master the situation. They literally said the following: "The enemy is active and wants to turn events to the benefit of counterrevolution." They admitted that the enemy was primarily trying to discredit the Communist Party and to weaken its influence on the masses; they admitted that demands were growing for the creation of a legal political opposition to the Czechoslovak Communist Party, an opposition that by its very nature could only be an antisocialist (?opposition). If firm steps were not taken, this could turn into a counterrevolutionary situation. The Czechoslovak leaders said that they knew those definitely guilty and asserted that they had proof of their connections in imperialist circles. They said that they would put an end to this opposition.

At the May plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, it was admitted that the main danger to the cause of communism in Czechoslovakia came from the right. It seemed that there were grounds for hoping that the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee would not just say things but would do something. A readiness to resolutely defend socialist achievements was expressed at the conference of party committee secretaries, at a nationwide aktiv of the workers militia, and at a multitude of meetings of party organizations in plants and factories.

Unfortunately, the hopes of the healthy party forces in the country, the hopes of all friends of the Czechoslovak people, were not justified; the decisions of the May plenum were not carried out. Antisocialist forces unleashed an assault on the line of the May plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. And the assault of anti-Soviet elements became more acute then ever.

The wave of attacks by antisocialist forces rose even higher at the end of June, counterrevolutionary circles published their appeal, "2,000 Words," which contained an open call for a struggle against the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the constitutional authorities.

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Our party leadership drew Dubcek's attention to the danger of this document as a platform for a further activization of counterrevolutionary acts.

Dubcek replied that the Central Committee Presidium was examining this question and the appeal would be given a most careful assessment and the most resolute measures would be adopted. But apart from a liberal verbose condemnation, no real measures in fact followed. All this forced the CPSU and other fraternal parties to raise the question of one more meeting with the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. A proposal to this effect was addressed by the CPSU and other fraternal parties to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, but unfortunately the leaders of the Central Committee refused to take part in a conference in Warsaw. Thus in the past 7 months numerous contacts in the most varied forms took place between Soviet and Czechoslovak leaders and the leaders of other fraternal parties. In the course of these meetings the CPSU Central Committee unswervingly took a consistent and clear position.

What, briefly speaking, is the essence of this position? In the first place, from the very outset the attitude of the CPSU Central Committee was one of complete understanding for the decisions of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. These decisions were aimed at correcting mistakes and shortcomings, perfecting party leadership in all spheres of public life, and developing socialist democracy. We have considered and consider these decisions the exclusively internal affair of Czechoslovak Communists, of all working people of Czechoslovakia.

In the second place, the CPSU Central Committee has constantly stressed that guaranteeing the successful implementation of the adopted decisions could only be accomplished through the implementation of the leading role of the party and by retaining in the party's hands full control of the development of events. In this connection, attention was repeatedly drawn to the fact that a weakening of party leadership creates favorable conditions for the activization of rightwing, even openly counterrevolutionary forces. These forces aim at discrediting the Czechoslovak Communist Party and removing it from power, detaching Czechoslovakia from the socialist community, and ultimately changing the social system in Czechoslovakia.

In the third place, the CPSU Central Committee has maintained and maintains that the fate of the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people, the fate of Czechoslovakia as a socialist state linked by allied commitments with our country and other fraternal countries, is not exclusively the internal affair of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

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It is the common affair of the entire community of the countries of socialism, of the whole communist movement. That is why the CPSU Central Committee sees as its international duty promoting by all means the strengthening of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, safeguarding and stabilizing socialism in Czechoslovakia, and defending Czechoslovakia from imperialist intrigues. This is our international duty; it is the international duty of all fraternal parties and we would not be communists if we declined to fulfill it. Such is the principled position of CPSU, a position founded on Marxist-Leninist principles, on proletarian internationalism.

The first and foremost thing causing serious concern and alarm is the situation in which the Czechoslovak Communist Party finds itself. This is so primarily because without strengthening the Communist Party, without actually assuring its leading role in all spheres of public life, talk of perfecting socialism inevitably becomes a deception.

In the last few months, counterrevolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia were unswervingly engaged in a campaign of discrediting the Communist Party.

As a result the real danger of its losing its leading positions in society arose. The activization of anticommunist forces was helped by the incorrect positions adhered to by a part of the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and by its departure from Marxist-Leninist principles on a number of questions. It is precisely the repeated appeals by certain leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to put an end to the communists' monopoly of power, to separate the party from power, to establish the equality of the Czechoslovak Communist Party with other political parties--appeals to abandon party leadership of the state, economy, culture and so forth--that served as the initial impetus for the unbridled campaign against the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia that was started by the forces seeking to destroy the Czechoslovak Communist Party and to deprive it of the leading role in Society.

Attacks against the party began, as is known, under the guise of references--made also by certain leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party--to the necessity of doing away with outdated methods of working and to the necessity of adapting work to current demands. It is clear that the party is a living organism that develops together with the whole society; it is clear that forms and methods of party work and party leadership can and must be modified in accordance with the changes occurring in society. In this case, however, this was not the point.

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The point was that this talk virtually led to the undermining of the fundamental principles of the activity of the political organization--principles which these leaders were supposed to lead and strengthen. This alone can explain the fact that self-criticism, which is essential to every party, and critical appraisals of certain measures quickly developed in Czechoslovakia into an unbridled and dangerous campaign to discredit all activities of the party.

By taking advantage of the irresolute and vacillating position of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, the revisionists and rightwing forces embarked on the wholesale slandering of the entire activity of the Czechoslovak Communist Party over the past 20 years, thereby denying the party's right to the leadership of society and the state. How far things have gone is borne out by the following facts:

An article by a certain Liehm, which appeared on 13 June this year in the weekly LITERARNI LISTY, said: "The Czechoslovak Communist Party is responsible for all the mistakes of the past 20 years, from February 1948 onwards; for all ills and crimes in society." And further; "The Czechoslovak Communist Party effects its leading role although it has neither the moral nor the political right to do so."

One of the active representatives of the antiparty forces, Hanzelka alleged in MLADA FRONTA on 9 June that 1.5 million members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party had become fanatics, whom several party despots had used in the interest of personal power.

At a meeting of the "Klub Mladych" in Semily a certain Temicek howled hysterically: "The Czechoslovak Communist Party must be regarded as a criminal organization, which in fact it is, and must be removed from public life." These cries were immediately printed in LITERARNI LISTY. One could quote scores, even hundreds of pronouncements of a similar nature. And these hysterical yelps, openly inimical to communism and socialism, were daily showered on the heads of the working people.

Regrettably, certain leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party failed to draw the necessary conclusions from the fact that the country was being flooded by a fierce anticommunist campaign organized by the counter-revolutionary forces and clearly inspired by imperialist propaganda. Instead of resolutely hindering the attempts to destroy the party, they continued the course of transforming the Czechoslovak Communist Party into an amorphous organization incapable of action, a sort of debating society.

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(?Thus) the main Leninist principles on the organization of party life and the principles of democratic centralism and the ideological organizational unity of the party were virtually violated. The party found itself on the threshold of legalizing fractional groupings, and splitting into autonomous (?groups) and loosely connected organizations.

All those who have studied the history of the communist movement, who are acquainted with the theoretical bequest of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, know very well that only a Marxist party that has an organization enabling its members to consistently be guided by the principles of democratic centralism is viable. Disregarding any aspect of these principles of democracy and centralism unavoidably leads to the weakening of the party and its leading role and to the transformation of the party into a bureaucratic organization or into some sort of educational society [prosvetitel'skoe obshchestvo].

It has become evident from press reports that revisionist elements in the party were hatching within the Czechoslovak Communist Party a situation that would have transformed the party into an organization deprived of Leninist party standards, party discipline, and party responsibility--into something fragile and shapeless.

Some proposals were put forward to introduce the principle of autonomy for party organs and organizations and to grant the right for these organs and organizations, in a new situation within the party, to take their own stands regarding the decisions of the higher organs. However, it was proposed that separate elements of the party should not be bound by a common discipline. It was suggested that they be voluntarily linked by associative ties as cooperative, associated organizations formed from below. This would have meant the transformation of the party into a kind of association whose members would be free to join as they like. This thesis cannot be regarded as anything but an appeal for the collapse of the party.

Attacks on the unity of the party ranks were made in other directions. The representatives of the rightwing forces insistently sought to include within the statutes the right of minority and other groups to oppose party decisions after they were already adopted. All these aspirations are in blatant contradiction to the Leninist principles of party organization.

Let us note Lenin's position regarding party unity. This is found in a resolution which Lenin put forward to the 10th Congress of the RKP (b) and which was adopted by the Congress. The resolution said that it is essential that all conscious workers be aware of the harm and

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inadmissibility of any kind of fractional activity. This activity inevitably leads in practice to the weakening of concerted work. It leads to reinforced and repeated attempts by the enemies of the government party who attach themselves to this party. They try to aggravate divisions and use these divisions for counterrevolutionary purposes.

Unfortunately, even among members of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee there appeared some who in substance openly opposed the Leninist principles of party construction. We refer in particular to the public statement on these matters by member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Spacek.

It is common knowledge that world reaction continuously uses any weakening in the ranks of the communist parties to step up its attacks against communists and against socialism. To undermine the unity of the party in these conditions is tantamount to helping our class enemies.

The mass campaign being carried out in the country to crush the party cadres was also leading to an undermining of the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Criticism of individual leaders who had at one time or another made mistakes developed into sweeping demands for the mass removal of leading party executives. Both centrally and locally many experienced people devoted to the cause of the party and the working class were removed, people who courageously struggled against fascism in the years of the Hitlerite occupation, people who took an active part in building socialism in Czechoslovakia. An atmosphere of a real pogrom of the cadres was created, an atmosphere of the "moral execution" of the cadres.

A definite political line became clearly discernible: To remove from active political life those communists who were the most tempered in the ideological, political sense; to remove those who took a resolute stand against the rightwing opposition. No other interpretation, for instance, can be given to the statement made by Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Cestmir Cisar, who appealed for admitting 200,000 to 300,000 young people into the Czechoslovak Communist Party in order, as he put it, to effect a "transfusion for the old people" of the party, ignoring in the meantime the class aspect of this important question.

The line aimed at a mass routing of the leading cadres did not affect the party machinery alone. It was also extended to important links in the state machinery, to the trade unions, and to the youth league. Most members of the government were replaced. Among those removed quite a few were executives whom the leaders of the Czechoslovak

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Communist Party, even after the January plenum, regarded as trustworthy and staunch communists. It was publicly stated that the communists who were being removed from the leading party and state organs were those who in the past had committed mistakes in their work. What justification, however, was there on those grounds to raise the question of political nonconfidence in thousands of executives; or to remove people from political life for no other reason in fact than that they had fully taken part in the life of the party and the country before the January plenum? One could have hoped that the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium would have used the preparations for the 14th extraordinary party congress scheduled for 9 September in order to end to (?this whittling away) of cadres. This, however, did not happen.

On the contrary, preparations for the congress were used by the rightwing forces to step up their blows against healthy party forces, to place their own people in district and provincial party organizations, and to foist their policy on the party.

The press under the control of the rightwingers, openly interfered in the election of delegates to party conferences and to the congress, and even published recommendations as to whom should be elected to the future Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and who should not; thus, they clearly attempted to exercise inadmissible pressure on the delegates of the forthcoming congress.

Such was the state of affairs. The party is not an abstract conception. The party is people; it is the principles that guarantee unity of action by communists. And when the principles of party life are rejected, when party cadres are vilified, one has every reason to conclude that the Czechoslovak Communist Party is in danger.

No less dangerous for the cause of socialism in Czechoslovakia was the fact that along with a drastic weakening of organizational-political work, the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in effect gave the rightwing antisocialist forces control of the means of ideological influence on the masses. Many newspapers, the radio, and television of Czechoslovakia were in effect at the disposal of certain groupings pursuing overtly antisocialist aims. Facts prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that these groupings were acting to purposefully discredit the Czechoslovak Communist Party and socialism. Such publications as LITERARNI LISTY, MLADA FRONTA, PRACE, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, SVOBODNE SLOVO, ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY, STUDENT, and REPORTER were waging a most unbridled antisocialist campaign. That the means of mass propaganda were being used not in the interest of the Czechoslovak people but to their detriment

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was openly noted among Czechoslovak public circles. Thus at a national meeting of the Czechoslovak aktiv of the workers militia, its participants pointed to the fact that the party's leadership and propaganda organs were not taking measures against the acts of the reactionary elements.

The workers adopted the well-known resolution and not surprisingly deemed it necessary to take this resolution to the Soviet Embassy and to ask that it be conveyed to Moscow. Such a very considerable assembly of workers representatives, however, failed to receive due publicity in the Czechoslovak press and this meeting's appeal to the Soviet people was long kept a secret from the working people of Czechoslovakia. Many Czechoslovak comrades attempted to make their views known in the press on this question but were given no opportunity to do so. A veteran underground communist, (Jodas), after great difficulty found an opportunity to publish his protest against the actions of the rightwing, antisocialist forces trying to monopolize the means of mass information. Here are his words: At the moment certain reactionary groups inside the party, well organized and controlling all the means of information, are using the television, the radio, and the press to make the coarsest kind of attacks against the party. This group, in which various reactionary elements are active, has for 5 months been waging a campaign which must inevitably lead to the destruction of party unity. It is necessary to come out resolutely and openly against this group, to describe it, and to expose its schemes in the eyes of the public.

The situation which had arisen in the information media aroused the legitimate concern of the workers of Czechoslovakia. Workers of the Praga auto works, in a letter dated 18 July, wrote: We are categorically opposed to a jaundiced atmosphere being created in the press, on radio, and television against the USSR and the socialist countries and parties. We grow cold with apprehension for our homeland's future.

In a word, a situation had developed in Czechoslovakia in which the rightwing elements were able to make open antisocialist statements in the press. They were able to hold demonstrations and meetings under their counterrevolutionary slogans, while statements assessing the situation in the country from Marxist-Leninist positions were hushed up and their authors persecuted. Prosecuting honest communists, discrediting the party, attacking Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the fraternal friendship of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples--all this was done, it can be said, before the very eyes of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. Blackening the communist party and in particular its activities over the past 20 years, slaughtering the cadres, handing over mass information media to elements attacking the party, trampling the principles of democratic centralism--all of these

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things demoralized broad masses of communists, led to their losing perspective and confidence, and brought about confusion in party organizations. At the same time these phenomena strengthened the influence of rightwingers and the activization of activity by counter-revolutionary forces.

The attempts of reaction to destroy the Communist Party and to weaken the positions of socialism in Czechoslovakia were accompanied by a concentrated attack on Marxist-Leninist ideology. The attacks by the enemies of socialism clearly showed their methodical approach and purposes. They acted from various positions, but pursued a single aim: to undermine the ideological-theoretical basis of the communists and to replace scientific socialism with other ideological concepts. The Czechoslovak press willingly found space to publish material by direct opponents of Marxism-Leninism. It suffices to recall that many Czechoslovak papers and magazines published articles by the notorious Trotskyite Isaac Deutscher as well as excerpts from his books.

But the antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia did not even stop at this. One can recall the so-called "Memorandum to the People of Czechoslovakia" compiled by the "Founding Committee of the Czechoslovak Party of Just Socialists." That is how they described themselves. MLADA FRONTA spoke of this on 14 June. With open brazenness, the authors of this pasquinade proclaimed that they would pass a law banning any communist activity in Czechoslovakia. "We will ban activity by the Czechoslovak Communist Party and disband it." The authors called for the destruction of the classic works of Marxism-Leninism. Similar demands would willingly have been signed by the Hitlerites, who burned Marxist books in town squares in Germany. In the National Assembly, Deputy Turosek with natural anxiety asked a question about this: "When and how will the struggle begin in our country against such manifestations that slander the Communist Party and communists?"

Certain figures of the Czechoslovak Communist Party took part in the assault on Marxism-Leninism that has been waged in Czechoslovakia. The open revisionist speech by Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Cisar at a solemn meeting in Prague devoted to the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx was widely disseminated throughout the country. If one analyzes the essence of this speech, it boils down to a renunciation of Leninism, a denial of its international significance, and a denial of the fact that even under modern conditions Leninism is the guide for action.

Unfortunately certain leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party could not summon up the courage to criticize this report or to defend the ideological basis of the communist movement in Czechoslovakia.

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Moreover, there was a broad campaign in Czechoslovakia attacking the Soviet press because it raised a voice of protest against the newly appeared invalidators of Marxism-Leninism. It must also be said that the speech by Cisar was not the only attack on Leninism. Similar assertions can be found in other publications that have appeared in Czechoslovakia of late. This is not surprising, because an atmosphere had been created in Czechoslovakia in which attacks on Marxism-Leninism were fashionable and profitable, and to defend the fundamental propositions of communist teaching was dangerous.

What is the explanation? It is either the lack of theoretical discernment on the part of certain leaders or the deliberate indulgence of those who would want to deprive the party of its theoretical weapon, who would want to destroy the basis of the Czechoslovak Communist Party ideological cohesion with other detachments of the world communist movement. We are well aware of the necessity to constantly develop Marxist-Leninist theory, to generalize and to analyze the new processes and phenomena of life; Marxism-Leninism would now be dead had it not been developed in each historical epoch by the collective efforts of its theoreticians and followers. It is quite clear that the above-mentioned pronouncements are aimed not at developing Marxism, but at its revision and subversion.

However, the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party took no steps to protect the ideological positions of the Communist Party. The erosion of these positions was undoubtedly helped by such a phenomenon as the uncritical, nonclass approach to certain pages of the history of the country which was increasingly gaining currency in Czechoslovakia. It is a fact that recently the Masaryk course was being revived; he who has always been a great enemy of the communist movement and one of the instigators of the intervention against Soviet Russia.

It is odd that in Czechoslovakia even certain communists were praising a bourgeois leader on whose instruction the Czechoslovak Communist Party was persecuted and warrants signed for the arrest of its leaders, including Klement Gottwald. Benes, who led the country to Munich, was being praised to the skies. Is it for this history, for these "leaders" that the press of the socialist country, the press of the party--which has its own glorious history full of heroism, courage, and bravery displayed in the struggle for the freedom of the people and the independence of the motherhood--should have shown concern? It is hardly possible to understand why the Czechoslovak press has of late barely mentioned the outstanding leaders and organizers of the Communist Party--the internationalists, the heroes of the workers and communist movement who gave their lives in the struggle with the Hitlerite invaders, in the struggle for socialism and the strengthening of friendship between our peoples.

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On the other hand, there appeared statements, monstrous in their political cynicism, like the article by one (Mlynarek) in LITERARNI LISTY on 15 August. In this article the author attempts to blacken the entire history of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, particularly after the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia, and to slander Klement Gottwald and the whole generation of heroic fighters of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. And another circumstance: of late no small efforts have been made in Czechoslovakia to inflame in the people moods that can only be described as nationalistic.

It is precisely for this end that a noisy propaganda campaign was organized artificially at the end of July, a campaign aimed at supporting the position of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium at the talks with the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. An appeal to the Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation to the meeting, printed in the Czechoslovak press in this connection, served to fan precisely these base nationalistic passions. Certain leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee popularized this document in every way possible. It was discussed on television, its authors were pointedly given a warm reception; leading workers made deliberate appearances in the streets, where the collection of signatures to the text of the appeal was organized. Can this be regarded as a normal method of preparing for talks with a friendly fraternal party?

The most serious thing is that the mass campaign launched in Czechoslovakia by such artificial methods was aimed not against the class enemies of the working people of Czechoslovakia, not against all those who really threatened the security of the republic, and not against the imperialists; it was aimed--and this is the monstrosity of it--against the closest friends of socialist Czechoslovakia: the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of socialism. A question arises in this connection: If the leading figures of Czechoslovakia did not want to take into account the considerations of their friends, if they did not want to heed their voices or go along the same road, then whom did they intend to follow? With whom did they want to go? And where did they want to seek guarantees for the security and sovereignty of the Czechoslovak people, and their socialist gains? Where did they want to seek security from attacks by imperialism? Incidentally, in the aforementioned appeal, around which a noise campaign was launched, another fact attracts attention to which one cannot fail to attach great importance.

The fact is that the text of the appeal, which enumerates the historic stages of Czechoslovakia's development, completely ignores February 1948 when Czechoslovakia turned toward socialism. To anyone who has to any extent followed the development of events in the country over the past months it is quite clear that this omission is not accidental. It

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reflects a definite political concept. Apparently some leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party believed that by inflaming nationalist passions it was possible to assure themselves broader support for their positions from broad sections of the population, including the right-wingers and the opponents of socialism. But this is a very dangerous course, primarily because it led them further and further from those who are the natural allies and genuine friends of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the people of Czechoslovakia.

In their arguments opponents of Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship made extensive use of one other theme which one cannot fail to touch upon: In numerous articles in the press, on the radio, and on television the idea was forcibly put over alleging that all of Czechoslovakia's ills were connected with the fact that until recently, Czechoslovakia was guided in its development by the imposed Soviet model of socialism. It is hardly necessary to explain that this assertion is a complete fabrication. It is well known that the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have different state organizations. Their forms of solving national questions differ in many ways and their systems of managing the national economy are not the same; many other questions of the political, economic, and cultural life of our peoples are also solved in different ways.

The development of Czechoslovakia as a socialist state, the development of its statehood, its economy and culture, and the development of its Communist Party have taken place and take place in forms reflecting the characteristic features of the country, its traditions, and its specific nature in all respects. And talk of imposing on the Czechs and Slovaks some kind of Soviet model of socialism is nothing more than ill-intentioned, provocative lies spread by hostile elements and designed to undermine the fraternal friendship linking our countries, our parties, and our peoples.

The forces seeking to undermine the positions of the Czechoslovak Communist Party strive in every way to besmirch the economic collaboration between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. They have done everything to make it appear that the economic relations being shaped between our countries are unprofitable and, moreover, burdensome for Czechoslovakia. It is quite obvious for whom statements of this kind were designed. They all served the same aim: to prepare the ground work for a reorientation of the economic development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic toward the West. But to do this they had to convince the Czechoslovak public that in developing collaboration with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic could not solve its own problems; that this collaboration allegedly failed to meet its national interests.

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In reality the experience of socialist construction shows that economic relations between socialist countries are relations of a new type; that their development promotes the economic and social progress of each country individually and strengthens the world socialist system as a whole. On the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, socialist countries have for the first time in history achieved the transition to all-round collaboration and mutual aid, taking part in this process as fully sovereign states with equal rights. Now no one will ever succeed in putting the collar of imperialist exploitation around their necks. This is a tremendous achievement of our socialist community and is at the same time the foundation which has made possible the rapid development of the economy of the socialist states.

In the 17 years from 1950 to 1967 the total volume of industrial production in CEMA countries rose 5.4 times and reached almost one-third of the world's volume of industrial production. Just in the past 7 years the growth of industrial production in CEMA countries amounted to 76 percent, while in developed capitalist countries it did not exceed 45 percent. The broad development of economic collaboration and the deepening of the international division of labor within the world socialist system are conditioned not only by the economic requirements of individual socialist countries but also by the nature of the international situation and the conditions of the struggle of the two world systems.

Meanwhile of late a number of Czechoslovakia's statesmen, including Deputy Premier Sik and a number of others, have criticized the development of Czechoslovakia's economy and its cooperation with other socialist countries. Criticism is, of course, necessary. However, it should satisfy two criteria: It must be scientific and objective and it must correspond to the interests of the working masses and to the interests of socialism. Meanwhile, Sik criticized Czechoslovakia's economy, saying it represented a backward economy experiencing a crisis. The entire road of economic development in Czechoslovakia in the period of socialism was crossed out and painted black.

At the same time the Czechoslovak press was trying to suggest to the working class and the entire population of Czechoslovakia that the incorrect economic policy carried out by the Czechoslovak Communist Party was allegedly making it impossible to raise the well-being of the people, that life was better in capitalist countries.

However, it is known that in the production of electric power, steel, cement, textiles, and footwear, meat, and meat products, Czechoslovakia is ahead of the developed capitalist countries of Europe, including

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Britain, West Germany, and others. Czechoslovakia has a developed machine-building industry and in per capita machinery output occupies one of the leading places in the world.

In the press the exaggerated shortcomings in the development of Czechoslovakia's economy were made dependent, indirectly and sometimes directly, on Czechoslovakia's economic relations with the Soviet Union. Trade between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union was presented in an unfavorable light.

Let us consider some data concerning the Soviet Union's foreign trade with Czechoslovakia during the period 1956-1968, that is, during a period of 12 years. During this time the Soviet Union delivered to Czechoslovakia: 17 million tons of grain, almost 700,000 tons of cotton, about 70,000 tons of wool, 51 million tons of oil, 80 million tons of ore, about 2 million tons of pig iron, about 2.5 million tons of rolled metal, 280,000 tons of copper, over 200,000 tons of aluminum, over 200,000 tons of lead, almost 3.5 million tons of apatite concentrate, 170,000 tons of zinc, over 200,000 tons of asbestos, almost 5 million cubic meters of wood, and almost 1.2 billion rubles' worth of machinery and equipment. If Czechoslovakia had had to buy all these commodities with hard currency it would have had to spend about 3.5 billion dollars.

At the same time Czechoslovakia is a large supplier of machinery and consumer goods, such as footwear, textiles, ready-made clothes, haberdashery, and other goods to the Soviet Union. Of course, if in its trade with Czechoslovakia the Soviet Union switched over to a purely commercial basis, which incidentally Sik was pushing for, this would obviously not be beneficial to the economy of Czechoslovakia and would create many difficulties for the national economy.

Criticism was launched in Czechoslovakia of the entire international experience of building socialism as derived from the half-century practice of the Soviet Union as well as from the prolonged practice of the socialist states. They tried to counterpose to this experience a new model of socialism which exists only in theory. Some leaders who created a great deal of hue and cry about sovereignty and non-interference would, by the way, have liked to present this model as an example for general imitation.

Our party cannot ignore the campaign to discredit the socialist national economy of the Soviet Union which was carried out in the Czechoslovak press. The development of the socialist economy is one of the most important tasks which are constantly at the center of attention of both our party and other fraternal parties. Being closely linked with the

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economy of other socialist countries, the Soviet Union is taking the necessary measures so that the economic development of the Soviet Union can simultaneously insure the national economic needs of our friends and allies and the possibility of their economic development with less dependence on capitalist countries and without all kinds of dangers originating from imperialism.

It is an historical development that the Soviet Union is carrying great responsibility for the security of the socialist camp. Therefore, it is natural that while developing our economy we are forced to constantly make enormous investments in the defense industry which is needed not only by the Soviet Union, but also by all the socialist countries. This presently insured the possibility of rebuffing the imperialist aggression against Vietnam and the Arab states.

We know that other fraternal countries too are making their contribution to the defense of the socialist achievements of the peoples. In this we all see our international duty. Our party is constantly perfecting both the forms and methods of party and state building. This work is also being carried out in other socialist countries. It is being done quietly, proceeding from the bases of the socialist system. Unfortunately, discussion of the economic reforms in Czechoslovakia was held on another basis. The center of this discussion was characterized on the one hand by indiscriminate criticism of the entire preceding development of the socialist economy, and on the other hand by the proposal to replace the planning principle with market spontaneity affording wide scope for activities by private capital. The economic discussion in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was exploited by revisionists and counter-revolutionary elements with the clear aim of returning the country's economy to a capitalist course.

Certain leading figures in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic started to review a number of important positions in the field of foreign policy, and the commitments of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic undertaken according to the Warsaw Pact and the bilateral treaty with the Soviet Union. According to the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty, our countries agreed to join efforts and closely cooperate to insure their security and the security of the states of the socialist community. These obligations, together with the obligations of other socialist countries made in both bilateral treaties and in the Warsaw Pact, are a stable basis reliably insuring the security of each member of the pact. The countries of the Warsaw Pact together undertook solemn agreements to staunchly defend the achievements of socialism, defend its borders, and defend peace in Europe. The Soviet Union has stood and still stands by the contention that all members of the pact must religiously carry out these obligations. Only in this way can the security of each of them be guaranteed.

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The Soviet Union has up to now felt that Czechoslovakia had a similar attitude to its obligations under this pact. However, certain tendencies have appeared in recent months in Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, especially concerning European affairs, which arouse serious apprehensions. These tendencies are not only manifested in the writings of the Czechoslovak press, and in radio and television broadcasts, but also in the speeches of certain officials. Among other things they were quite definitely demonstrated by the statement of Foreign Minister Hajek. We have in mind the appeals for a review of Czechoslovakia's foreign policies which have become frequent.

There were also certain attempts to strike at the Warsaw Pact and to shake this pact. A responsible representative of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, Prchlik, made a public statement in Prague to journalists in which he attacked the Warsaw Pact and spoke of a need for a review of its structure. He went further and vilified the activities of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries, which as is well known, are conducted at the level of party and government heads.

It was to be expected that such actions would be condemned by the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee; but this did not happen. This is our common concern--a concern on the part of members of the Warsaw Pact organization. It is impossible to allow this organization to be breached. This line is contrary to the vital interests of all Warsaw Pact member-countries, including the vital interests of the Soviet Union.

The obligations of socialist states, undertaken in treaties between themselves, require that the members insure an active defense of their borders. What are Czechoslovakia's borders with the West like in this respect? These borders, from the Czechoslovak side, are virtually open. A situation has been created in which saboteurs and spies, sent by imperialist intelligence services, have flowed into Czechoslovakia from western countries. Imperialist agents had the opportunity to secretly bring weapons into Czechoslovakia. Serious anxiety was caused by speeches made in the course of recent events by certain Czechoslovak figures concerning its relations with West Germany.

The Czechoslovak leaders knew that West Germany has not recognized and has no intention of recognizing the frontiers established in Europe, including those between the GDR and the German Federal Republic; that it has continued to demand recognition of the right to speak on behalf of all Germans; that now as before it stakes claims to West Berlin and organizes various provocations there; that the Government of the German Federal Republic has not as yet declared its full renunciation of access

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to nuclear weapons and has not declared that the Munich agreement was null and void from the outset. Nonetheless, statements appeared in Czechoslovakia aimed at rapprochement with West Germany, at strengthening links with it. Matters had gone so far that it was officially stated on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government that the policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in European affairs was to be determined in many ways by the fact that Czechoslovakia is situated between the Soviet Union and West Germany. Such an approach, however, is completely devoid of class content, is contrary to all historical experience, and is not in keeping with the interests of security of the socialist countries and Czechoslovakia itself. Certain Czechoslovak leaders called for turning its foreign policy toward the West and for making it more independent concerning the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is not difficult to see that the word independence hides the desire to divorce Czechoslovakia's foreign policy from the single policy of the countries of the socialist community. Regrettably, no deserved rebuff was given to pronouncements of this kind in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Our common interests, including the interests of fraternal Czechoslovakia, are served not by weakening but by strengthening cooperation among the members of the Warsaw Pact concerning the questions of European security, and international politics in general. This makes it incumbent upon the members of the pact to give a resolute rebuff to all provocative attempts which demand the breaking-up of the Warsaw Pact.

Attention is drawn to the facts of an intolerable attitude as concerns Czechoslovakia's obligations under the Warsaw Pact and in connection with the military staff exercises of the Warsaw Pact countries recently held on Czechoslovak territory: An unfriendly campaign was launched against the presence on Czechoslovak territory of the military units of the socialist countries which were brought there for the duration of military staff exercises.

The presence of Soviet military contingents was depicted by the anti-socialist and rightwing forces as occupation of Czechoslovak territory. Does this look like respect for the allied obligations within the framework of the Warsaw Pact? No, this is more like a desire to make the functioning of military mechanisms of the Warsaw Pact organization, in practice, more difficult. This is not the way a country which honors the allied obligations it had assumed should behave. Only a country which ignores these obligations can act in this manner. Members of the Warsaw Pact could not fail to draw corresponding conclusions. Facts from the recent past show that an obvious growth of anti-Soviet propaganda and anti-Soviet rallies was taking place in Czechoslovakia.

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One could be reminded of the provocative rally of 2 May held in Starmestke Square where some speakers made anti-Soviet statements. One could be reminded of the insulting speeches by Prochazka, Hanzelka, and other such officials. One could be reminded of the numerous pronouncements in the press, radio, and on television--whose authors did their best to blacken friendly relations between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples. Such attacks and insults as have emanated from Czechoslovakia had in recent years become a rarity--even in the capitalist states. The enemies used every pretext, be it the Sejna affair, or the speculations concerning the circumstances of Jan Masaryk's death, or the army maneuvers of the Warsaw Pact, to add fuel to the bonfire of anti-Soviet feelings. There have been cases in which leaflets of an anti-Soviet content were distributed in towns; there have been cases of insults to the Soviet flag. Such facts, naturally, could not contribute to the improvement of our relations.

In whose interests was it to sow the seeds of enmity toward the Soviet Union: It was only in the interests of those who wish to eradicate from the memory of the Czechoslovak people our joint struggle against Hitlerism; those to whom the socialist gains of the Czech and Slovak peoples mean nothing; and those who would like to liquidate the achievements of world socialism. Anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, as always, are merged and have the same purpose.

The leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have made more than one statement concerning the inviolability of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. At the May plenum of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, sincere voices of alarm concerning the state of our relations were heard. Nevertheless, Czechoslovakia failed to undertake effective measures of struggle against the bourgeois nationalist wave and anti-Soviet demonstrations. It is of course possible to use beautiful words about friendship and solidarity, about loyalty to the duty of allies; however, words are not important, but what stands behind them. It is important that concrete actions follow declarations. There can be no doubt that the inspirers of the unfriendly anti-Soviet campaign will not succeed in erasing the truth that Czechoslovakia is able to maintain its independence and sovereignty only as a socialist country, as a member of the socialist community. The reactionary forces which are striving to undermine the relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have been preparing, for the Czechoslovak people, a state of bondage under the yoke of imperialism.

Lately, antirevolutionary and antisocialist organizations with specific social basis, backed by foreign countries and making increasingly open claims to power have been formed in Czechoslovakia and become increasingly active. In essence, a political opposition has developed in the country

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which is called upon to carry out the restoration of the capitalist order of Czechoslovakia.

For 20 years noncommunist parties existed in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which belonged to the National Front. The leadership of these parties followed a course aimed at the construction of socialism, and promoted through their activities the introduction of certain noncommunist forces in the country into creative work. In the last 7 months, however, radical changes occurred in the line of these parties. The leadership of the People's and Socialist Parties sharply changed their course, and though still hiding behind the slogan of cooperation with the Czechoslovak Party within the framework of the National Front, in actual fact steered the matter toward the setting up of a legal opposition. In their provisional programs and documents, the leadership of both noncommunist parties expressed their claims to equal participation with the Communist Party in the execution of power. This, however, was in the spring. In July no one pretended any longer that the matter in question was anything else than the exclusion of the Communist Party from power and the creation of a new, noncommunist administration in the country. The role of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party in the past is sufficiently well known. By splitting up the ranks of the working class, the rightwing leadership of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party offered most active support to the reaction in its struggle against the communists--acting as a reliable fulcrum of the bourgeois regime.

In 1948 when honest revolutionary elements of the Social Democratic Party united themselves with the communists, the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party ceased to exist. But this year, in spite of the fact that a decision by the National Front and of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee had been taken forbidding the setting up of the Social Democratic Party, this party was in fact being recreated. On 12 June in Prague, a document was widely circulated under the title of "Positions of the city preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party in connection with the present political situation." Attention was drawn in the document to the fact that after a 20-year interruption, the Social Democratic Party was returning to political life, that it had allegedly never ceased to exist from either the legal point of view, or as the expression of a definite concrete political concept. The union with the Czechoslovak Communist Party in June 1947 was declared void.

On 21 June this year, a meeting of the preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party took place in Prague, in which representatives of the Social Democratic Party from various districts of Bohemia and Moravia participated. Later on rayon committees (raykom), district committees (obkom), and hundreds of primary organizations of [words indistinct] against the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Over the last 7 months, numerous groups and organizations with an antisocialist

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orientation have appeared in Czechoslovakia. These organizations claimed the role of the center of the opposition, revealing, with increased frankness their aim which was to do away with the socialist system.

The Club 231 represented a candid counterrevolutionary organization. People like former fascist (Brodsky), former bourgeois General Palecek, Ramboisek, Czech and others who in their time have been convicted as agents of the imperialist intelligence headed this club. All these people are experienced and malicious enemies of socialism.

Another clearly antisocialist organization which was particularly active and was seeking to attract intellectual workers and service people into its ranks is the Club of Nonparty Activists.

(?Ivan Svitak), who had in the past been expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party, became the of this organization. In his extensive declaration published in the journal REPORTER, (?Svitak) drew the full picture of a step-by-step removal of communists from power and the advent to power of anticommunists by means of extraordinary parliamentary elections.

The Club 231 and Club of Nonparty Activists are far from being the only organizations with antisocialistic tendencies, and they have all been working actively.

The antisocialist organizations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic had the closest relations with foreign centers of the counterrevolutionary emigration, with foreign bourgeois parties and circles. The leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic had announced that legal measures would be taken against the opposition organizations. However, nothing was undertaken.

The seriousness of the situation in the country, the necessity of urgent measures to curb the activities of enemy forces was particularly clearly illustrated by the public and the large propaganda of an openly counter-revolutionary platform, the "2,000 Words" manifesto.

This document, aimed directly against the Czechoslovak Communist Party, contains an open call for a struggle against the constitutional authorities. It was widely used to unite all those dissatisfied with the socialist order, and served as a program of action for them. One's attention cannot but be drawn to the fact that the authors of this platform threatened the use of weapons to defend their positions. The open statement of these forces, the "2,000 Words" manifesto provided a complete justification for resolute action against them, with the support of the party and the working

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class. But nothing followed that could be described as a rebuff of the counterrevolutionary forces.

This opened the gates for other similar demonstrations, and they were not slow in coming. Facts show that in the past weeks and days, reactionary and antisocialist organizations intensified their subversive activity against the Communist Party and the people's authorities. The persecution (travlya) of honest communists devoted to the cause of socialism took on a more open and unbridled character. Under the slogan of doing away with the conservatives from the organs of state authority, demands for pre-schedule National Assembly elections became more and more active. The representatives of rightwing organizations brought things to a state in which they were striving for an electoral defeat of the Communist Party. In other words, this was a question of an open attempt to stage a counter-revolutionary coup.

The counterrevolution strove to come to power quietly, without an armed conflict, but it also foresaw other possibilities. The well-known facts of the discovery of hidden arms show that the reaction did not exclude the possibility of armed clashes with the supporters of socialism. A union of officers of the former Benes army was set up, as was a union of servicemen abroad. Outside Czechoslovakia, in its immediate vicinity, large groups of counterrevolutionaries were bracing themselves and joining together. Some of them had penetrated Czechoslovakia, taking weapons with them. At a soiree at Prague University, (?Svitak) openly stated that the cause of a civil war was possible in the interests of introducing the principle of "democratization," of achieving "absolute freedom."

As a result of the activities of rightwing antisocialist and counter-revolutionary forces a real threat had arisen in Czechoslovakia of a counterrevolutionary coup and a loss of the achievements of socialism.

It is this that was the main cause of the anxiety of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties over the political processes under way in Czechoslovakia and the direction of their development. It is known that the central committees of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the MSZMP, the SED, the PZPR, and the CPSU did, for their part, everything possible, as is the right of friends, to help the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak peoples to overcome the dangerous crisis and to defeat by political means the forces mounting the counterrevolution. After the May meetings of representatives of the CPSU and the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Moscow, the CPSU Central Committee repeatedly proposed new bilateral meetings with the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in order to discuss the situation that had arisen. However, the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee each time backed out, referring to various motives.

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True to the principles of internationalism and moved by feelings of solidarity with fraternal Czechoslovakia and responsibility for the fate of socialism on our continent, the leaders of a number of fraternal countries, members of the Warsaw Pact, decided to meet the leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to discuss in a comradely way the situation that had arisen, to outline a way out of it, and to offer them their help. Unfortunately, the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee leaders declined the proposal and did not want to meet in Warsaw. However, the situation was such that the fraternal parties had every political and moral justification for holding such a meeting.

The meeting in Warsaw showed the complete unity of the five communist and workers parties, their unshakable cohesion, their determination to insure a rebuff to the intrigues of the counterrevolutionaries. An analysis of the antisocialist demonstrations that took place in Czechoslovakia shows convincingly that they bore not a spontaneous but an extremely organized character. The purpose of these demonstrations, the directions and objects of the attacks by the antisocialist forces were to be seen perfectly clearly in them, as was the definite consistency of their speeches, the coordination of action of all forces, rightwing, revisionist elements inside the Czechoslovak Communist Party, antisocialist and openly counterrevolutionary forces within the country, and the support they had from without.

All this shows that events were controlled by organized counterrevolutionary forces which had wide contacts within the country, that they directed the actions of antisocialist forces in the mass information media, and supported communications with various clubs and other parties. The counterrevolutionary forces struck at the most important organs for the defense of the state. The people who implemented counterrevolutionary aims were connected with foreign intelligence services, with foreign imperialist circles, and certain organizers of the counterrevolutionary forces tried, up until recently, to remain in the shadows. The rightwing forces infiltrated their people into leading organs of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and were well informed about their activities. This intensified the danger of the events taking place.

A resolute struggle by the whole party against the counterrevolution and primarily active steps by the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium and by each member of it, as well as by the members of the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, were needed. At the same time, it was frequently observed that individual members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium and leading figures in the government spoke contrary to the line laid down by the Presidium on questions of principle.

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Thus, member of the Presidium Kriegel not only did not rebuff the anti-socialist elements but in effect aligned himself with the authors of directly counterrevolutionary speeches. This was the case, for example, in his TV interview with the authors of the "2,000 Words."

The CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries have repeatedly brought this to the attention of the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Our experience and the experience of the political struggle of the fraternal parties from the other socialist countries teaches us that one must not turn aside from the danger of counterrevolution, that one must never close one's eyes to it. The compromising approach (soglashatelskiy podkhod), the conscious belittling (umaleniye) of the danger, and even more, the making of advances (zaigryvaniya) toward the forces of counterrevolution give reaction an opportunity to bring about the destruction of socialism.

On the basis of the analysis of the facts and phenomena taking place in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the fraternal parties stressed that in Czechoslovakia a wide-scale assault on socialism was being staged in which the most active role was being played by the forces of counter-Foreign imperialist forces, forces of the counterrevolution, and rightwing elements in the Czechoslovak Communist Party had actively closed their ranks in the implementation of this antisocialist assault.

The communist and workers parties of the socialist countries, in their desire to support their fraternal communists and all working people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and to forestall a dangerous course of events in Czechoslovakia, did all they could to this end. This purpose was served by the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium in Cierna nad Tisou, and later the conference of representatives of six communist and workers parties of the socialist countries in Bratislava. At these meetings the representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee declared that they would undertake current, concrete measures to stabilize the situation in the country, to consolidate and protect the socialist gains.

However, since the meeting in Cierna and the conference in Bratislava, the leading organs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have done nothing to rebuff the counterrevolution, while the rightwing antisocialist forces have bolstered their activities even more. These forces set quite definite aims for themselves: To deprive the Czechoslovak Communist Party of its leading role in the development of the socialist society. For this purpose, they developed an extensive offensive against the party's authority, unleashing a vicious campaign of slander and lies to demoralize the Communist Party and the socialist society of Czechoslovakia and to push it off the ideological platform of scientific communism onto the

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road of reformism and social democracy. They therefore embarked on attacks against Marxism-Leninism as an integrated creative doctrine, as well as against Leninism, and set for themselves the aim of changing the political substance of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in order to transfer it from the socialist platform over the rails of social democratism to a bourgeois republic. The realization of these aims would fully meet the interests of imperialism. It is for this and no other reason, not because of a sudden flare-up of love for socialism, democracy, and the working people of Czechoslovakia, that the alarming development of events in Czechoslovakia was so actively supported by the imperialists and their propaganda.

After the meeting in Cierna and the conference in Bratislava, the rightwing counterrevolutionary forces activated their operations even more. Antisocialist elements organized campaigns for the collection of signatures on a petition for the dissolution of the People's Militia. These campaigns were accompanied by meetings and demonstrations of an antisocialist nature. Communists who spoke at these meetings were rudely silenced. Even physical force was used against them. A frantic antisocialist hysteria once more flared up in the press. The savage persecution of the 99 workers of the Praga auto works, unleashed by reactionaries only because they boldly stood up in defense of the socialist gains of the working class and for the leadership of the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, is well known.

In recent days the organized subversion reached its culmination. An open attack was made on the building of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Prague. In the course of the meeting at Cierna nad Tisou, there was a division of forces inside the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. While a minority of the Presidium members, with Dubcek at their head, took up frankly rightwing opportunist positions, the majority argued a principled line and spoke of the need for a resolute struggle against reactionary antisocialist forces and against conniving at reaction. The rightwing revisionist elements in the leadership of the Communist Party and Government of Czechoslovakia frustrated the fulfillment of the agreement on the defense of the positions of socialism in Czechoslovakia and the struggle against antisocialist forces and the intrigues of imperialism, which was reached at Cierna nad Tisou and Bratislava. While paying lip-service to their desire to protect socialism, these people were in fact playing for time while conniving at counterrevolution. As a result of their perfidious, treacherous activities, there arose a real threat to the socialist achievements of Czechoslovakia. Doubledyed reaction appeared in the arena of political life in Czechoslovakia.

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The extremist forces, as is emphasized in the appeal by a group of members of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Government and National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, did not heed the party's appeal, but further stepped up their subversive activities, trying at any cost to bring about a conflict in their country. Everything the working people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic had created during the past 20 years was at stake, all the achievements of socialism. What was threatened was not only the road to socialist democracy on which the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic had set foot in January, but also the very basis of socialism and the republic itself.

An atmosphere that was quite unacceptable for the socialist countries had been created. In this situation it was necessary to act and to act purposefully and decisively, without losing time. That is why the Soviet Union and the other socialist states decided to satisfy the demand of the party and state figures of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and to render the fraternal Czechoslovak people urgent aid, including the aid of armed forces.

The fate of socialist Czechoslovakia is dear and close to the peoples of all socialist countries. They cannot agree to allow our common enemies to turn Czechoslovakia from the course of socialism and to create the threat of its breaking away from the socialist community. The people of our countries have borne too many sacrifices, spilled too much blood in the cruel battles of the past war, in the battle for social and national liberation, to allow counterrevolution to tear Czechoslovakia away from the family of socialist states.

The defense of socialism in Czechoslovakia is not only the internal affair of the people of that country but also a problem of defending the positions of world socialism.

That is why we are giving support to the people of Czechoslovakia in defense of the achievements of socialism. In giving this fraternal, international support to our Czechoslovak comrade communists, to all the Czechoslovak people, we are doing our international duty before them and before the international communist, workers, and national liberation movements. To us this duty is the highest of all.

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BREZHNEV DOCTRINE

Excerpts From Sergey Kovalev Article, 26 September 1968 PRAVDA

"The Sovereignty and International Obligations of the Socialist Countries"

One cannot ignore assertions heard here and there that the action of the five socialist countries seemed to contradict the Marxist-Leninist principles of the sovereignty and the right of nations to self-determination. The untenability of such judgments consists primarily in the fact that they are based on an abstract nonclass approach to the question of sovereignty and the right of nations to self-determination.

The people of the socialist countries and the communist parties undoubtedly have and must have freedom for determining the path of development of their own countries. However, none of the decisions should damage either socialism in their country or the vital interests of the other socialist countries or the whole world workers movement which is leading the struggle for socialism. This means that every communist party is responsible not only to its own people but to every socialist country and to the whole communist movement also. Those who forget this and stress only the self-dependence and independence of communist parties falls into the trap of one-sidedness by shirking their international duties In fulfilling their international duty to the fraternal people of Czechoslovakia and defending their own socialist achievements, the Soviet Union and the other socialist states had to act, and did act, decisively against the anti-socialist forces in Czechoslovakia.

Excerpts From Brezhnev Speech to the Fifth PZPR Congress, 12 November 1968

The socialist states stand for strict respect for the sovereignty of all countries. We emphatically oppose interference into the affairs of any states, violations of their sovereignty.

At the same time the establishment and defense of the sovereignty of states, which have embarked upon the road of building socialism, is of particular significance for us, communists. The forces of imperialism and reaction seek to deprive the people now of this, now of that socialist country of their sovereign right they have gained to insure the prosperity of their country, the well-being and happiness of the broad mass of the working people through building of a society, free from any oppression and exploitation. And when encroachments of this right encounter a concerted rebuff by the socialist camp, bourgeois propagandists raise a clamor around "defense of sovereignty" and "non-intervention." It is clear that this is utter fraud and demagoguery on their part. In reality these shouters do not care for the maintenance of socialist sovereignty but for its destruction.

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It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has done much for the real strengthening of the sovereignty and independence of the socialist countries. The CPSU has always advocated that each socialist country determine the specific forms of its development along the road of socialism with consideration for its specific national conditions.

However, it is known, comrades, that there also are common laws governing socialist construction, a deviation from which might lead to a deviation from socialism as such. And when the internal and external forces hostile to socialism seek to revert the development of any socialist country toward the restoration of the capitalist order, when a threat to the cause of socialism in that country, a threat to the security of the socialist community as a whole, emerges, this is no longer only a problem of the people of that country but also a common problem, concern for all socialist states.

It goes without saying that such an action as military aid to a fraternal country to cut short the threat to the socialist order is an extraordinary enforced step; it can be sparked off only by direct actions of the enemies of socialism inside the country and beyond its boundaries, actions of the enemies of socialism inside the country and beyond its boundaries, actions creating a threat to the common interests of the camp of socialism.

Experience shows that in present conditions the victory of the socialist order in this or that country can be regarded as final and the restoration of capitalism can be regarded as excluded only if the communist party, as the guiding force of society, firmly carries through a Marxist-Leninist policy in the development of all spheres of public life; only if the party indefatigably strengthens the defense of the country, the defense of its revolutionary gains, if it maintains itself and propagates amidst the people vigilance with regard to the class enemy, irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology; only if the principle of socialist internationalism is being sacredly observed, the unity and fraternal solidarity with other socialist countries is being strengthened.