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Principal Developments in World Communist Affairs

(20 June to 18 July 1968)

1. New Apex in Czech/Soviet Bloc Tensions

a. Czech Leadership vs. Hard-Line Soviet Bloc¹

After a period of relative calm in relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Bloc during May and June, tensions suddenly escalated to the proportions of a major crisis as evidenced by the Bloc summit meeting in Warsaw 14-15 July to discuss developments in Czechoslovakia. The importance attached to the meeting was underlined by the fact that it was attended by the highest level leaders of the Bloc, including Party boss Brezhnev, Premier Kosygin, and President Podgorny from the Soviet Union, and the Party Chiefs, Premiers (or Deputy Premiers), and others from the hard-line Bloc countries. The Czechs had apparently been urged by letters from the individual Bloc countries to attend the meeting, but they refused and proposed instead that bilateral meetings be held in Prague. In the meantime, Soviet troops ominously remained in Czechoslovakia long after conclusion of the Warsaw Pact military exercises, finding one pretext after another for delaying their departure. And though some movement out of the country seems underway, their complete departure is far from assured at this point. The Soviet Bloc, especially the Soviet Union, Poland, and East Germany as the most deeply concerned of the group, have made it a point to get on record for their own public, for Czechoslovakia, and for the rest of the world, that they regard certain developments in Czechoslovakia as constituting potential counterrevolution with connections to "aggressive imperialist forces." This allegation is evoked not only to warn the Czech leaders and people of how gravely their allies view developments there, but provides the Bloc with the excuse to take whatever measures they view as necessary to restore Czechoslovakia to orthodox Communism, once more obeying Moscow's orders. As of this writing, western news sources claim that the Czechs have won their point of asking for bilateral talks with Bloc members, but have conceded the Bloc point that joint talks should follow. Rumania, Yugoslavia, and the Communist Parties of Italy and France have reacted strongly against pressure on Czechoslovakia and are acting, by official statements, propaganda, and talks with leaders, to persuade the Soviets to moderate their pressure. (Free World parties, especially, recognize that their prestige and the success of their policies within their own countries may be gravely jeopardized by Soviet actions in Czechoslovakia.) The further course of the fast-breaking situation is a matter of speculation, but a selection of what could have been the key events that so rapidly escalated the uneasy truce of recent weeks into a major confrontation may be useful in understanding the fundamental issues separating the protagonists.

¹The "Soviet Bloc" for present purposes will be considered to include the regimes of East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria, in addition to the Soviet Union, but to exclude Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

b. Steps to Crisis

The main object of Bloc propaganda hostile to Czechoslovakia has been the free-swinging, uncensored Czech press and other news media, which are more liberal and more insistent on and impatient for implementing the promises of democratization in the Czech Action Program than the Czech CP leadership is (or can be). The news media have not only subjected domestic political phenomena to critical scrutiny, but have also responded with asperity and speed to criticism of various kinds from the controlled press of East Germany, Poland, and the USSR. The Soviets seem to have been willing to adopt a "wait-and-see" attitude for a time (as during and after Kosygin's stay in Czechoslovakia for several days in May) and undoubtedly were satisfied with the repeated avowals by the Czechs that adherence to the Warsaw Pact was a key element in their Bloc relationships and that the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CzCP) would under no circumstances relinquish its leading role (and as an earnest of this intention, the Czechs took steps to eliminate the possibility of establishing independent political parties).

However, at the end of June, two events were publicized in the Czech press: the results of a devastating public opinion poll exposing the lack of popular support of the CzCP (thus exploding another carefully nurtured Communist myth) was published in no less a newspaper than Rude Pravo, official organ of the CzCP, on 26 and 27 June 1968; and a "2000-Word Manifesto," signed by 70 prominent Czechoslovaks from many fields of endeavor (both Party and non-Party) and sent to the CzCP Presidium (Politburo) was published simultaneously in four Prague newspapers on 27 June, demanding a purge of anti-Dubcek conservative forces in the CzCP, vowing resistance to any outside interference, with weapons if necessary, and urging the formation of free citizens' associations to become, in effect, pressure groups (if not political parties) to support and advance all liberalization measures. The CzCP Presidium immediately disavowed the manifesto. The East Germans, Poles, and Bulgarians denounced the "2000-Words" first, but the definitive word came in prestigious Soviet media. Waiting until 10 July, Literaturnaya Gazeta denounced it in elaborately sarcastic language, termed it a call to counterrevolution, and went to the extraordinary length of denouncing a prominent Communist leader, Frantisek Kriegel, head of the National Front, for expressing solidarity with it. More important, Pravda, on 11 July, in an article under the name of I. Aleksandrov, made reference to the action of "right-wing and actually counterrevolutionary forces" in Czechoslovakia, "evidently associated with imperialist reaction" and ominously drew a parallel between the current situation in Czechoslovakia and that preceding Soviet military intervention in Hungary in 1956. Finally Sovetskaya Rossiya, an organ of the RSFSR Party Federation, linked these counterrevolutionary forces to western intelligence services.

However the Soviets may actually have sized up the radical activity of the Czech press or individual liberals on the scene, they could hardly have been reassured by the reaction of the top Czech leadership to the "2000-Words." Though all the highest official party and government organs

had denounced the document in more or less strong terms, Dubcek and Smrkovsky, as perhaps the two most prominent Czech leaders, publicly stated (long before the Soviets had taken a stand on it) that they personally viewed the 70 signers of the document as honorable and decent citizens, but condemned the text as "irresponsible" and a piece of "political romanticism" which in its extremeness would play into the hands of conservative party elements. (They were proved even more correct than they may have intended, as the subsequent events showed: Soviet reaction found expression in the press articles referred to above and ultimately in the Warsaw summit meeting, letters to the Czech leadership, communiques, etc.) The poll, the "2000-Words," the Dubcek/Smrkovsky reaction, plus Smrkovsky's statement that the "conservatives" (i.e., Novotny & Co.) now represented the greatest danger to the Czech experiment, coupled with pushing through an amendment to the press law officially abolishing censorship, apparently brought the Soviets to a parting of the ways with the Czech leadership, convincing them that the leadership was unable or unwilling to bring under control these actually, or potentially, subversive elements on the Czech scene.

c. Long-term Considerations

Viewed in the longer term, the Soviets surveying their position in the international Communist movement and faced with a constellation of independent Communist regimes, (Yugoslavia, Communist China, Albania, Rumania) pursuing foreign policies independent of or contrary to Soviet requirements, each with its own way of running its internal affairs, finally became convinced that the Dubcek regime in turn is formulating yet another unique and independent Communist dictatorship, a dictatorship that wants to permit freedom of public expression as well as other innovations that taken together would make Czechoslovakia a new type of socialist state. If Czechoslovakia were to be permitted to develop unchallenged along its own unique lines, the popular pressure in East Germany and Poland to emulate the free spirit manifesting itself in neighboring Czechoslovakia might become well nigh unbearable, and it would undoubtedly have untold repercussions in the Soviet Union itself.

2. Another Step toward the World Communist Conference

Most other events normally of some interest on the international Communist scene were overshadowed by the drama of Czechoslovakia confronting the Soviet Bloc, but brief note may be taken of a few. It should be duly recorded that the Working Group of the World Communist Conference Preparatory Commission announced completion of its task of drafting an agenda for the full scale conference, to be held in Moscow on 25 November 1968. A brief, uninformative announcement dated 21 June, the text of which was shorter than the space needed to list the 38 participating parties (Rumania attended as an observer), offered no clue to the resolution of the fundamental difference of opinion which persists among Communists the world over: what is the role of the CPSU among the world's Communist parties? According to some news reports, the Italian Communist Party, typifying

those many parties that want a loose form of international organization and ideology, seeks international unity "around the CPSU" rather than "under the leadership of the CPSU" (this latter formulation being one way to indicate Moscow's desire to force unity). The difference was sufficiently crucial to warrant Moscow's sending a top delegation (led by Andrei Kirilenko, Secretary of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee) to Rome in late June to discuss the matter with Italian CP leaders. The current trend in Czech/Soviet relations can only highlight this conflict in international Communism.

One more preparatory meeting was scheduled for September, though the last official communique made no mention of such a meeting.

3. Cuba Rebuffs World Youth Festival

The much-beleaguered and twice-aborted 9th World Youth Festival (WYF) has sustained another setback at its 11th hour. Cuba announced its boycott of this event on Radio Havana on 28 June. The Festival is to take place in Sofia, Bulgaria, 28 July-6 August 1968 after two false starts: one in Algeria in 1965 when the toppling of the Ben Bella regime forced its postponement, and the other in Ghana in 1966 when Nkrumahs fall from power necessitated further rescheduling and relocating.

According to the 28 June Havana Radio broadcast, the Young Communist League of Cuba (YCL) had already cabled the festival organizers their decision not to attend this event and had stated that Cuban youth "following the spirit, teachings and example of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, support the principle of armed struggle" implying that this strategy was rejected by the festival's organizers (the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS), both Soviet-dominated international fronts).

The Cuban boycott constitutes an embarrassing and serious setback to the Soviet Union, the chief backer and guiding spirit of the festival, and its co-sponsoring fronts since widely distributed festival literature has announced that "a special day of solidarity with Cuba" would be part of the program of this event and since it implies Cuban-Soviet party differences, which could in turn affect future Cuban party participation in Soviet-organized international events such as the Moscow World Communist Conference in November.

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LITERARNI LISTY, Prague
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MLADA FRONTA TEXT OF '2,000 WORDS' STATEMENT

The life of our nation was first threatened by the war. Then followed another bad time with events which threatened the nation's spiritual health and character. The majority of the nation hopefully accepted the program of socialism. Its direction got into the hands of the wrong people, however. It would not have mattered so much that they did not have sufficient statesmanlike experience, practical knowledge, or philosophical education, if they had at least possessed more commonsense and decency, if they had been able to listen to the opinion of others, and if they had allowed themselves to be gradually replaced by more capable people.

The Communist Party, which after the war possessed the great trust of the people, gradually exchanged this trust for offices, until it had all offices and nothing else. We must put it this way, and those communists among us know it to be so and their disappointment over the results is as great as the disappointment of the others. The incorrect line of the leadership changed the party from a political party and an ideological alliance into a power organization which became very attractive also to egotists avid for rule, calculating cowards, and unprincipled people. Their influx into the party affected the nature and the conduct of the party. Its internal organization was not such that honest people could gain influence in it without shameful incidents, that such people could change it to bring it continuously into line with the modern world. Many communists fought this decline, but they did not succeed in preventing what happened.

The situation in the Communist Party was the pattern and cause of a similar situation in the state. The party's linking with the state led to the party's becoming accustomed to remaining aloof from the executive power. There was no criticism of the activity of the state and economic organizations. Parliament forgot how to proceed, the government forgot how to rule, and the directors how to direct. Elections had no significance and the laws lost their weight. We could not confide in our representatives in any committee, and if we could trust them we could not ask them to do anything because they could change nothing. It was still worse that we could no trust even one another. Personal and collective honor declined. Honesty lead nowhere and it was useless to speak of any appreciation for ability. Therefore, most people lost interest in public affairs; they were concerned only with themselves and with money. These bad conditions also brought the result that now one cannot even rely on the money. Relations among people were spoiled, joy in work was lost; to sum up, the country reached a point where its spiritual health and character were threatened.

We are all responsible for the present state of affairs. The greater responsibility rests with the communists among us. The main responsibility, however, rests with those who were component parts or instruments of uncontrolled power. It was the power of an opinionated group placed, with the help of the party apparatus, everywhere from Prague to each district and community.

The apparatus decided what one might or might not do, and the apparatus directed the cooperatives for the cooperative members, the factories for the workers, and the national committees for the citizens. No organization actually belonged to its members, not even the communist organization.

The main guilt of and the greatest deception perpetrated by these rulers was that they presented their arbitrariness as the will of the workers. If we wanted to believe this deception we would now have to blame the workers for the decline of our economy, for the crimes against innocent people, for the introduction of censorship which made it impossible for all this to be written about. The workers were to blame for the mistaken investments, for the losses in trade, for the shortage of apartments. Naturally, no sensible person believes in such guilt on the part of the workers. We all know and, in particular, each worker knows that in practice the workers did not decide anything. It was someone else who controlled the workers!

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representatives' vote. While many workers thought that they ruled, the rule was executed in the ^{Approved For Release 2005/08/17 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000400030035-8} by a specially educated group of officials of the party and state apparatus. In effect, they took the place of the overthrown class and themselves became the new authority.

For the sake of justice, we will say that some of them long ago realized this bad game of history. We know them now by the fact that they are redressing wrongs, correcting mistakes, returning decision-making power to the membership and the citizens, and limiting the authority and the numbers of the apparatus of officials. They are with us against the obsolete views in the party membership. But many officials are still opposing changes and they still carry weight! They still hold instruments of power, especially in the districts and in the communities, where they may use these instruments secretly and unimpeachably.

From the beginning of the current year we have been in the revival process of democratization. It began in the Communist Party. We must say this, and the people among us outside the party also know it who, until recently, expected no good to come from us. We must add, however, that this process could not begin elsewhere. After a full 20 years only the communists could live something like a political life; only communist criticism was in a position to basically assess things; only the opposition within the Communist Party had the privilege of being in contact with the enemy. The initiative and efforts of the democratic communists therefore is only an installment in the repayment of the debt the entire party incurred with the people outside the party, whom it kept in a position in which they did not have equal rights. Therefore, no gratitude is due the Communist Party, although it should probably be acknowledged that it is honestly striving to use the last opportunity to save its own and the nation's honor.

The revival process is not bringing any very new things. It is producing ideas and suggestions many of which are older than the errors of our socialism and others of which emerged under the surface of visible events. They should have been expressed long ago however, they were suppressed. Let us not cherish the illusion that these ideas are now victorious through the force of truth. Their victory was decided rather by the weakness of the old leadership which, obviously, first had to be weakened by a rule of 20 years in which no one hampered it. Obviously, all the wrong elements hidden in the foundations and the ideology of this system had to mature until they gained their full form.

Therefore, let us not overestimate the significance of the criticism from the ranks of writers and students. The source of social change is the economy. The right word carries significance only if it is spoken under conditions which have already been duly prepared. Duly prepared conditions--in our country, unfortunately, we must understand this term to mean our general poverty and the complete disintegration of the old system of rule in which politicians of a certain type calmly and peacefully compromised themselves at our expense.

Thus, truth is not victorious; truth simply remains when everything else goes to waste! There is no cause for a national celebration of victory, there is merely cause for new hope.

We turn to you in this moment of hope, which, however, is still threatened. It took several months for many of us to believe that they could speak out, and many still do not yet believe it. Nevertheless, we have spoken up, and so many things have been revealed that somehow we must complete our aim of humanizing this regime. Otherwise, the revenge of the old forces would be cruel. We turn mainly to those who have so far only waited. The time which is coming will be decisive for many years.

The time which is coming is summer, with its vacations and holidays, when, according to old habit, we will want to leave everything. We can be certain, however, that our dear adversaries will not indulge in summer recreation, that they will mobilize those who are obliged to them, and that even now they are trying to arrange for

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calm Christmas holidays! Let us open our eyes and ears; let us try to understand it and respond to it. Let us renounce the impossible demand that someone higher up must always give us the only possible interpretation of things and one simple conclusion. Each of us will have to be responsible for drawing his own conclusions. Commonly agreed-upon conclusions can be reached only by discussion, and this requires the freedom of expression which actually is our only democratic achievement of the current year.

In the coming days we will have to display our initiative and determination.

Primarily we will oppose views, should they arise, that it is possible to conduct some sort of democratic revival without the communists or possibly against them. This would be both unjust and unreasonable. The communists have the developed organizations and we should support the progressive wing within them. They have experienced officials and, last but not least, they also have in their hands the decisive levers and buttons. Their action program has been submitted to the public; it is a program for the initial adjustment of the greatest inequality and no one else has any similarly specific program. We must demand that local action programs be submitted in each district and each community. Here, we shall have suddenly taken very ordinary and long expected correct steps. The Czechoslovak Communist Party is preparing for the congress which will elect a new Central Committee. Let us demand that it be better than the current one. If the Communist Party now says that in the future it wants to base its leading position on the citizens' confidence and not on force, let us believe this as long as we can believe in the people whom it is now sending as delegates to the district and regional conferences.

Fears have recently been expressed that the process of democratization has stopped. This feeling is partly a manifestation of fatigue caused by troubled times and it is partly due to the fact that the season of surprising revelations, resignations from high places, and intoxicating speeches of unprecedented verbal boldness is past. However, the struggle of forces has merely become less evident to a certain extent. The fight is now being waged over the content and implementation of laws, over the scope of practical steps [to be taken]. In addition, we must give the new people, the ministers, prosecutors, chairmen, and secretaries time to work. They have the right to this time so that they can either make good or prove impossible. Apart from this, one cannot presently expect more of the central political organs.

The practical quality of the future democracy depends on what becomes of the enterprises and what will happen in them. In all our discussions it is the economists who control things. One must seek out good managers and see to it that they get good positions. It is true that, compared to the mature countries, we are badly paid, and some are even worse off.

We can demand more money--it can be printed, but at the same time its value diminishes. Let us rather demand that directors and chairmen explain to us the nature and extent of expenditures they want in order to produce, to whom they want to sell their products and at what price, the profit from this, what part of it is invested in the modernization of production, and what can be distributed.

Under apparently boring headlines, a very hard struggle is going on in the press relating to democracy and the manager. As producers, the workers can intervene in this struggle through their choice of the people whom they elect to the enterprise management and enterprise councils. As employees they will do what is best for themselves when they elect as their representatives in the trade union organs their natural leaders, capable and honest people, regardless of the latter's party affiliation.

If at this time we cannot expect more from the present central political organs, we must achieve more in the districts and with regard to the communists. Let us demand the resignation of people who have misused their power, who have harmed

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public property, or who have acted dishonestly or brutally. We must find ways and means to induce them to resign, for instance, through public criticism, resolutions, demonstrations, demonstrative work brigades, collection drives for gifts to them when they withdraw, strikes, and boycotts of their doors. However, we must reject methods which are illegitimate, indecent, or gross since they might use them to influence Alexander Dubcek.

We must so generally decry the writing of insulting letters that any letter of this kind which they may yet receive could be considered a letter they had sent to themselves. Let us revive the activity of the National Front. Let us demand public meetings of the national committees. On questions which no one [official]--wants to know anything about let us set up special citizens' committees and commissions. It is simple: a few people convene, they elect a chairman, keep regular minutes, publish their finding, demand a solution, and do not let themselves be intimidated.

Let us change the district and local press, which has degenerated to a mouthpiece of official views, into a platform of all the positive political forces. Let us demand the establishment of editorial councils composed of representatives of the national front, or let us found new papers. Let us establish committees for the defense of the freedom of expression. Let us organize a special order service (poradkovou sluzbu) in our meetings. If we hear strange news let us check on it, let us send delegations to the people concerned and let us publish their replies possibly nailed to trees. Let us support the security organs when they persecute genuine criminal activity. We do not mean to cause anarchy and a state of general insecurity. Let us avoid disputes among neighbors. Let us renounce spitefulness in political affairs. Let us reveal informers.

The heavy vacation traffic throughout the republic will arouse interest in the constitutional arrangement of the Czechs and Slovaks. We consider the federation a method of solving the nationality question; aside from this, it is one of the important measures aimed at democratizing conditions. This measure alone cannot by itself insure better living conditions for the Slovaks. The problem of the regime--in the Czech regions and in Slovakia individually--is not solved by this. The rule of the party-state bureaucracy may still survive--in Slovakia even more so, because it has "insured greater freedom."

The recent great apprehension results from the possibility that foreign forces may interfere with our internal development.

Being faced with all these superior forces the only thing we can do is decently to hold our own and not to start. We can assure the government that we will back it, if necessary, even with weapons, as long as the government does what we gave it the mandate to do, and we can assure our allies that we will observe our alliance, friendship, and trade agreements. Excited reproaches and underground suspicions must necessarily make the position of our government more difficult, without being of any help. At any rate, we can insure equal relations only by improving our internal conditions and by carrying the process of revival so far that one day at elections we will elect statesmen who will have sufficient courage, honor, and political wisdom to establish and maintain such relations. This, by the way, is the problem of absolutely all governments of all small countries of the world.

This spring, like after the war, a great chance has been given us again. Again we have the possibility of taking into our hands our common cause, which for all practical purposes we call socialism, and giving it a shape which will better correspond with our once good reputation and with the relatively good opinion which we once had of ourselves. This spring has just ended and will never come back again. In the winter we will know everything.

With this we conclude our statement to the workers, farmers, officials, artists, scientists, technicians, and everybody. It was written at the suggestion of the scientists.

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The following signatures are not a complete collection of all of the people who agree with us, but merely a selection from the various groups of citizens whom we reached at home: National artist Beno Blachut, member of the National theater Opera in Prague; Dr Of Medicine and Science Jan Brod, professor and director of the Prague Institute for Diseases of the Blood Circulation; Marie Buzkova, sow breeder, Chotebuz; Academician Bohumil Bydzovsky, mathematician; Assistant Prof Dr Jiri Cvekl, philosopher; Vera Caslavská, Olympic prizewinner; Zdenek Cechrak, CKD worker; Zdenek Fiala, CKD technician; Milan Hanus, CKD worker; Engineer Jiri Hanzelka, writer; Dr of Medicine Miroslav Holub, scientific worker of the Microbiological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science; Zdenek Holec, CKD worker; Rudolf Hrusinsky, actor and state manager, Dusan Hruza, CKD worker; Jon Chocena, private farmer, Chotebuz; Jaromil Jires, film producer; Dr of Medicine and Science Vilo Jurkovic, Professor and Chief of the Second Internal Polyclinic of the Medical Faculty of Charles University in Hradec Kralove; Dr of Science Vera Kawecova, chief of the Ophthalmic Clinic of the Faculty Hospital of Charles University in Prague; Asst Prof A. Knop of the Pedagogical Institute in Ostrava; Karel Kosik, philosopher; Academician Jaromir Koutek, geologists; Otmar Krejca, stage manager; Dr of Medicine and Science Jiri Kral, professor and chief of the Prague Institute for Sports Medicine; engineer and candidate of science Miroslav Kral of the Higher Political School of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee; Karel Krautgartner, conductor of the Czechoslovak Radio Dance Orchestra; Dr of Medicine and Science Vladislav Kruta, professor and chief of the Physiological institute of J.E. Purkyne University in Brno; Academician Vilem Laufberger, chief of the Laboratory for Graphic Research Methods in Prague; Dr of Medicine Pavel Lukl, professor, chief of the Internal Clinic of Palacky University of Olomouc, chairman of the Cardiological Society, and vice president of the European Cardiological Society; Zuzana Marysova, Chotebuz state farm; Jiri Menzel, stage manager.

Vladimir Mostecky, CKD technician; Josef Neversil, CKD worker; Jaroslav Nemeč, CKD worker; Dr of Law Bozena Patkova, lawyer in Prague; Engineer Emil Petyrek, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science and director of the Mining Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science; Prof Dr of Medicine and Science Otakar Poupa, corresponding member and chief of the third department of the Physiological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science in Prague; Dr of Medicine and Science Jaroslav Prochazka, professor and chief of the surgical clinic of the faculty hospital in Hradec Kralove; Yvonna Prenosilova, singer; National Artist Alfred Radok, stage manager; Emil Radok, film producer; Jiri Raska, Olympic prizewinner; national artist Jaroslav Seifert; Dr of Medicine B. Sekla, professor and chief of the Biological Institute of Charles University in Prague; Academician and Dr of Medicine and Science Zdenek Servit, director of the Physiological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science in Prague; Assistant Prof Engineer Jiri Slama, candidate of science, Economic Research Institute of Industry and Building in Prague; Dr of Medicine and science Oldrich Stary, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science, professor and rector of Charles University in Prague; Jiri Snizek, CKD technician; Jiri Suchy, poet, Dr of Medicine Vojmir Sevcik, assistant professor and traumatologist in the North Moravian region, Ostrava; Jiri Slitr, composer;

Karel Silha, CKD worker; Vaclav Sroub, CKD worker; Jan Svankmajer, film producer; Marie Tomasova, actress; Dr of Philosophy and Science Ladislav Tondl, professor, department of Scientific Theory and Methodology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science in Prague; Josef Topol, writer; National Artist Jiri Trnka, stage manager and figurative artist; Jan Triska, actor; Ludvik Vaculik, journalist-- the author of this text; Karel Vojir, CKD worker; Dr of Medicine and Science Jan Vanysek, professor and vice rector of Purkyne University in Brno; Asst Prof Dr of Medicine Jiri Veleminsky, regional internist of the North Moravian Region, Ostrava; Dr of Medicine and Science V. Vejdvovsky, professor and chief of the Ophthalmic Clinic of Palacky University in Olomouc; Viktor Voros, CKD worker; Academician Otto Vichterle, director of the institute for Macromolecular Chemistry of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science in Prague; National Artist Jaroslav Vojta, member of the National theater; National Artist Jan Wrich; Col Emil Zatopek, Olympic prizewinner; Dana Zatopkova olympic prizewinner; and engineer Jaroslav Zeman, CKD worker.

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LITERARNI LISTY, Prague
27 June 1968

DVA TISÍCE SLOV

Nejdřív ohrozila život našeho národa válka. Pak přišly další špatné časy s údlostmi, které ohrozily jeho duševní zdraví a charakter. S nadějí přijala většina národa program socialismu. Jeho řízení se však dostalo do rukou nepravým lidem. Nevadilo by tolik, že neměli dost státnických zkušeností, věcných znalostí ani filosofického vzdělání, kdyby aspoň byli měli víc obyčejné morální a slušnosti, aby uměli vyslechnout mínění druhých a připustili své postupně vystřídaní schopnějšími.

Komunistická strana, která měla po válce velkou důvěru lidí, postupně ji vyměňovala za úřady; až je dostala všochny a nic jiného už neměla. Musíme to tak říci a vědět to i ti komunisté mezi námi, jejichž zklamání nad výsledky je tak velké jako zklamání ostatních. Chybná linie vedení změnila stranu z politické strany a ideového svazku v mocenskou organizaci, jež nabyla velké přiležitosti pro vládyčtivé sobce, vyčítavé zbabělce a lidí se špatným svědomím. Jejich příliv zapůsobil na povahu i chování strany, která nebyla uvnitř zařízena tak, aby v ní bez ostudných příhod mohli nabývat vlivu pořádní lidé, kteří by ji plynulo proměňovali, tak aby se stále hodila do moderního světa. Mnozí komunisté proti tomuto úpadku bojovali, ale nepodařilo se jim zabránit ničemu z toho, co se stalo.

Poměry v komunistické straně byly modelem i příčinou stejných poměrů ve státě. Její spojení se státem vedlo k tomu, že ztratila výhodu odstupu od výkoné moci. Činnost státu a hospodářských organizací neměla kritiku. Parlament se odnáučil rokovat, vláda vládnout a ředitelé řídit. Volby neměly význam, zákony ztratily váhu. Nemohli jsme důvěřovat svým zástupcům v žádném výboru, a když jsme mohli, nedalo se po nich zas nic chtít, protože nemohli ničeho dohodnout. Ještě horší však bylo, že jsme už téměř nemohli důvěřovat ani jeden druhému. Osobní i kolektivní čest upadla. S poctivostí se nikam nedošlo a o nějakém oceňování podle schopnosti darmo mluvit. Proto většina lidí ztratila zájem o obecné věci a starala se jen o sebe a o peníze, přičemž ke špatnosti poměrů patří i to, že ani na ty peníze není dnes spoolehnutí. Pokazily se vztahy mezi lidmi, ztratila se radost z práce, zkrátka přišly na národ časy, které ohrozily jeho duševní zdraví a charakter.

Za dnešní stav odpovídáme všichni, více však komunisté mezi ná-

mi, ale hlavní odpovědnost mají ti, kdo byli součástí či nástrojem nekontrolované moci. Byla to moc uměněné skupiny rozprostřené pomocí stranického aparátu z Prahy do každého okresu a obce. Tento aparát rozhodoval, co kdo smí a nesmí dělat, on řídl družstevníkům družstva, dělníkům závody a občanům národní výbory. Žádná organizace nepatřila ve skutečnosti svým členům, ani komunistická. Hlavní vinou a největším klamem těchto vládců je, že svou vůli vydávali za vůli dělnictva. Kdybychom tomu klamu chtěli věřit, museli bychom dnes dávat za vinu dělníkům úpadek našeho hospodářství, zločiny na nevinných lidech, zavedení cenzury, která zabránila, aby se o tom všem psalo, dělníci by byli vinní chybnými investicemi, ztrátami obchodu, nedostatkem bytů. Nikdo rozumný samozřejmě v takovou vinu dělnictva neuvěří. Všichni víme, zejména to ví každý dělník, že dělnictvo prakticky nerozhodovalo v ničem. Dělnické funkcionáře dával odhlasovat někdo jiný. Zatímco se mnozí dělníci domnívali, že vládnou, vláda jejich jménem zvláště vychovávaná vrstva funkcionářů stranického a státního aparátu. Ti fakticky zaujali místo svržené třídy a sami se stali novou vrchností. Spravedlivě však řekneme, že někteří z nich si tuto špatnou hru dějin dávno uvědomili. Poznáme je dnes podle toho, že odčihují klidy, napravují chyby, vracejí rozhodování členstvu a občanstvu, omezují pravomoc i početní stav úřednického aparátu. Jsou s námi proti zaostalým názorům v členstvu strany. Ale velká část funkcionářstva se brání změnám a má dosud váhu. Má pořád ještě v ruce mocenské prostředky, zvláště na okresech a v obcích, kde jich může užívat skrytě a nezálovatelně.

Od začátku letošního roku jsme v obrodném procesu demokratizace. Začal v komunistické straně. Musíme to říci a vědět to i ti nekomunisté mezi námi, kteří odsud už nic dobrého nečekali. Je ovšem třeba dodat, že tento proces ani nemohl jinde začít. Vždyť jenom komunisté mohli po celých dvacát let žít jakýmsi politickým životem, jen komunistická kritika byla v věci, kde se dělaly, jen opozice v komunistické straně měla tu výsadu, že byla v doteku s protivníkem. Iniciativa a úsilí demokratických komunistů je proto jen spítkou na dluh, který celá strana má u nekomunistů, jež udržovala v nerovnoprávném postavení. Komunistické straně nepatří tedy žádný dík,

**KTERÉ PATŘÍ
DĚLNÍKŮM,
ZEMĚDĚLCŮM;
ÚŘEDNÍKŮM,
VĚDCŮM,
UMĚLCŮM
A VŠEM**

patří jí snad přiznat, že se poctivě snaží využít poslední příležitosti k ochraně své i národní cti. Obrodný proces nepřichází s ničím příliš novým. Přináší myšlenky a náměty, z nichž mnohé jsou starší než omyly našeho socialismu a jiné vznikaly pod povrchem viditelného dění, měly být dávno vysloveny, byly však potlačovány. Nemějme iluzi, že tyto myšlenky vítězí teď silou pravdy. O jejich vítězství rozhodla spíše slabost starého vedení, které se zřejmě napřed muselo unavit dvacetiletým vládnutím, v němž mu nikdo nebránil. Zřejmě musely do plné formy dozrát všechny vadné prvky skryté už v základech a ideologii tohoto systému. Nepřeceňujme proto význam kritiky z řad spisovatelů a studentů. Zdrojem společenských změn je hospodářství. Správné slovo má svůj význam, jen když je řečeno za poměrů, které jsou už správně opracovány. Správně opracované poměry — tím se u nás, bohužel, musí rozumět naše celková chudoba a úplný rozpad starého systému vládnutí, kdy se v klidu a míru na náš účet zkompromitovali politické jistého typu. Pravda tedy nevítež, pravda prostě zbývá, když se všechno ostatní proustruje! Nejsi tudíž důvod k národní vítězoslávě, je pouze důvod k nové naději.

Obraťme se na vás v tomto okamžiku naděje, která je však pořád ohrožena. Trvalo několik měsíců, než mnozí z nás uvěřili, že mohou promluvit, mnozí však nevěří ani teď. Ale promluvíli jsme už tak a tolik se odkryli, že svůj úmysl zlidštit tento režim musíme jedním dokončit. Jinak by odplata starých sil byla krutá. Obracíme se hlavně na ty, kdo zatím jen čekali. Čas, který nastává, bude rozhodující pro mnoho let.

Čas, který nastává, je léto s prázdninami a dovolenými, kdy se nám po starém zvyku bude chtít všeho nechat. Vsaďte se však, že naši milí odpůrci si nedopřejí letního oddachu, budou mobilizovat své zavazane

lidí a budou si už teď chtít zaříditi klidné svatky vanochů! Dávajme tedy pozor, co se bude dít, snažme se tomu porozumět a odpovídat. Vzdejme se nemožného požadavku, aby nám vždycky někdo vyšší podal k věcem jediný výklad a jediný prostý závěr. Každý si bude muset udělat své závěry, na svou odpovědnost. Společně shodně závěry je možno najít jen v diskusi, k níž je nutná svoboda slova, která je vlastně jedinou naší demokratickou vymožeností letošního roku.

Do příštích dnů však musíme jít také s vlastní iniciativou a vlastními rozhodnutími.

Především budeme odporovat názorům, kdyby se vyskytly, že je možné dělat nějakou demokratickou obrodu bez komunistů, případně proti nim. Bylo by to nespravedlivé, ale také nerozumné. Komunisté mají vybudované organizace, v těch je třeba podpořit pokrokové křídlo. Mají zkušené funkcionáře, mají konečně pořádek v ruce rozhodující páky a tlačítka. Před veřejností však stojí jejich Akční program, který je také programem prvního vyrovnání největší nerovnosti, a nikdo jiný nemá žádný stejně konkrétní program. Je třeba požadovat, aby se svými místními akčními programy přišli před veřejnost v každém okrese a v každé obci. Tu náhle půjde o velmi obyčejné a dávno čekané správné činy KSČ se připravuje na sjezd, který zvolí nový ústřední výbor. Žádejme, aby byl lepší než ten dnešní. Říká-li dnes komunistická strana, že své vedoucí postavení napříště chce opřít o důvěru občanů a na o násilí, věrme tomu potud, pokud můžeme věřit lidem, které už teď posílá jako delegáty na okresní a krajské konference.

V poslední době jsou lidé zneklidněni, že se postup demokratizace zastavil. Tento pocit je zčásti projeven únavy ze vzrušeného dění, zčásti odpovídá faktu: minula sezóna překvapivých odhalení, vysokých demisí a opájitých projevů nebývalé slovní smělosti. Zápas sil se však jen poněkud skryl, bojuje se o obsah a znění zákonů, o rozsah praktických opatření. Krom toho novým lidem, ministrům, prokurátorům, předsedům a tajemníkům, musíme popřát čas na práci. Mají právo na tento čas, aby se mohli buďto osvědčit, nebo zneškodnit. Krom toho v centrálních politických orgánech nelze dnes čekat víc. Stejně projevily nechtě podivuhodné čtenosti.

Praktická kvalita příští demokracie závisí na tom, co se stane s podniky a v podnicích. Při všech našich diskusích nakonec nás mají v rukou hospodáři. Dobře hospodáři je třeba hledat a prosazovat. Je pravda, že všichni jsme ve srovnání s rozvinutými zeměmi špatně placení a někteří ještě hůř. Můžeme žádat víc peněz — které lze naliskuat a tím znehodnotit. Žádejme však spíše buďtitele a předsedy, aby nám vyloužili, co a za kolik chtějí vyrábět, komu a zač prodávat, kolik se vydělá, co z toho se vloží do modernizace výroby a co je možno rozdělit. Pod zátlavě nudnými titulky běží v novinách odraz velmi tvrdého boje o demokracii nebo koryta. Do toho mohou dělníci jakožto podnikatelé zasáhnout tím, koho zvolí do podnikatelských správ a podnikových rad. Jakožto zaměstnanci mohou pro sebe udělat nejlíp, když si za své zástupce zvolí do odborových orgánů své přirozené vůdce, schopné a čestné lidi bez ohledu na stranickou příslušnost.

Jestliže nelze v této době čekat od nynějších centrálních politických orgánů víc, je třeba dosáhnout více v okresech a obcích. Žádejme odchod lidí, kteří zneužili své moci, poškodili veřejný majetek, jednali nečestně nebo krutě. Je třeba vynalézat způsoby, jak je přimět k odchodu. Například: veřejná kritika, rezoluce, demonstrace, demonstrační pracovní brigády, sbírka na dary pro ně do důchodu, stávka, bojkot jejich dveří. Odmítnat však způsoby nezákonné, neslušné a hrubé, jelikož by jich využili k ovlivňování Alexandra Dubčeka. Náš odpor k psaní hrubých dopisů musí být tak všeobecný, aby každý takový dopis, který ještě dostanou, bylo možno považovat za dopis, který si dali poslat sami. Oživujme činnost Národní fronty. Požadujme veřejná zasedání národních výborů. K otázkám, které nechce nikdo znát, ustavujme vlastní občanské výbory a komise. Je to prostě: sejde se několik lidí, zvolí předsedu, vedou řádně zápis, publikují svůj náleze, žádají řešení, nedají se zakřiknout. Okresní a místní tisk, který většinou zdegeneroval na úřední troubu, proměňujme v tribunu všech kladných politických sil, žádejme ustavení redakčních rad ze zástupců Národní fronty nebo zakládejme jiné noviny. Ustavujme výbory na obranu svobody slova. Organizujme při svých shromážděních vlastní pořádkovou službu. Uslýšíme-li divné zprávy, ověřujme si je, vyslechněme delegace na kompetentní místa, jejich odpovědi

zveřejňujme třeba na vratech. Podporujme orgány bezpečnosti, když stihají skutečnou trestnou činnost, naší snahou není způsobit bezvládní a stav všeobecné nejistoty. Vyhybejme se sousedským hádkám, neozírejme se v politických souvislostech. Prozrazujme flzy.

Oživený letní pohyb po celé republice vyvolá zájem o uspořádání státoprávního vztahu mezi Čechy a Slováků. Považujme federalizaci za způsob řešení národnostní otázky, jinak je to jen jedno z významných opatření k demokratizaci poměrů. Toto opatření samo o sobě nemusí ani Slováckům přinést lepší život. Režim — v českých zemích zvlášť a na Slovensku zvlášť — se tím ještě neřeší. Vláda stranicko-státní byrokracie může trvat, na Slovensku dokonce o to líp, že jako „vybojovala větší svobodu“.

Veliké znepokojení v poslední době pochází z možnosti, že by do našeho vývoje zasáhly zahraniční síly. Tváří v tvář všem přesilám můžeme jedině trvat slušně na svém a nezačínat si. Své vládě můžeme dát najevo, že za ní budeme stát třeba se zbraní, pokud bude dělat to, k čemu jí dáme mandát, a své spojení můžeme ujmout, že spojenecké, přátelské a obchodní smlouvy dodržíme. Naše podrážděné výtky a neargumentovaná podezření musí jen ztěžovat postavení naší vlády, aniž nám pomohou. Rovnoprávné vztahy si beztak můžeme zajistit jedině tím, že zkvalitíme své vnitřní poměry a dovedeme obrodný proces tak daleko, že jednou ve volbách si zvolíme státníky, kteří budou mít tolik statečnosti, cti i politického umu, aby takové vztahy ustavili a udrželi. To je ostatně problém naprosto všech vlád všech menších států světa!

Letošního jara vrátila se nám znovu jako po válce velká přítěžnost. Máme znovu možnost vzít do rukou naši společnou věc, která má pracovní název socialismus, a dát jí tvar, který by lépe odpovídal naší kdysi dobré pověsti i poměrně dobrému mínění, jež jsme o sobě původně měli. Toto jaro právě skončilo a už se nevrátí. V zímě se všesko dovíme. Tím končí toto naše prohlášení k dělníkům, zemědělcům, úředníkům, umělcům, vědcům, technikům a všem. Napsáno bylo z podnětu vědce.

Podpisy nejsou úplnou sbírkou souhlasu, nýbrž jen vzorkem z různých skupin občanstva podle toho, jak bylo koho možno zastihnout.

Národní umělec Beno Blachut, člen opery ND v Praze; profesor MUDr. Jan Brod DrSc., ředitel ústavu pro choroby oběhu krve v Praze; Marie Buzková, ošetrovatelka prasnic, Chotěbuz; akademik Bohumil Bydžovský, matematik, docent dr. Jiří Cvekl, filozof; Věra Čáslavská, olympijská vítězka; Zdeněk Čechrák, dělník CKD; Zdeněk Fiala, technik CKD; Milan Hanuš, dělník CKD; inženýr Jih Hanžlík, spisovatel; MUDr. Miroslav Holub, vědecký pracovník mikrobiologického ústavu ČSAV; Zdeněk Holec, dělník CKD; Rudolf Hrušínský, herec a režisér; Dušan Hráza, dělník CKD; Jan Chocena, soukromý rolník, Chotěbuz; Jaromír Jíra, filmový režisér; profesor MUDr. Václav Jurkovič DrSc., přednosta druhé interní kliniky lékařské fakulty KU v Hradci Králové; profesorka MUDr. Věra Kadlucová DrSc., přednosta oční kliniky fakultní nemocnice KU v Praze; Docent dr. A. Kušp, pedagogický institut v Ostravě; Karel Koleč, filozof; akademik Jaromír Kouřil, profesor v Praze.

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Latin America: Recent Advances
in Economic Cooperation

Recent developments indicate a modest amount of progress toward closer economic cooperation in Latin America, particularly on the sub-regional level. Modest as this progress may be, it is nevertheless encouraging in view of the many and varied problems of development confronting the Latin American countries.

Collapse of the Post-War Boom

The great growth period which Latin America experienced in the years following World War II ended after 1957. Exchange balances were exhausted, and the threat of Communism, highlighted by Castro's revolution in Cuba, marked the beginning of a heavy exodus of capital. Unemployment, excessive inflation and the decline of export earnings brought the region to a critical point between 1958 and 1960. A number of the dictatorships which had been sustained by the boom period were overthrown, and the liberal, democratic governments which replaced them were faced with almost insurmountable problems, often with little understanding of the principles of economic development or realistic economic plans to build on. Although some progress was made toward recovery and the control of inflation, and the Alliance for Progress was set in motion, the early 1960's brought a deterioration in the situation and considerable pessimism was generated regarding Latin America's economic future.

Incentives to Economic Cooperation

Since World War II, new influences in the economic field have nudged Latin America into giving more serious consideration to economic cooperation. All of the countries of the area attempted, at first separately, to diversify and industrialize their economies which brought to light numerous disadvantages and inadequacies in terms of population, natural resources and skilled manpower. Out of obvious necessity, a leaning towards economic cooperation began to develop among Latin American neighbors. This tendency has received strong stimulus from the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) which has made extensive studies of the nature and problems of the individual economies of the Latin American countries, and conducted simultaneously a campaign for closer relations among the Latin American nations with the ultimate aim of their formation into a single economic unit.

The European Common Market has also influenced the move toward greater economic unity. It has served to demonstrate that it is possible for several different nations with a tradition of conflicting interests to merge their economies. At the same time the European Common Market has given preference to the produce of former European colonies in Africa, and these products compete directly with some of the major Latin American exports. This has aroused fear among Latin American countries of being shut out

from the Western European markets and has thus served as an impetus for them to look to one another as potential markets.

The United States has been another strong influence for economic co-operation. It has demonstrated its support by the original agreements establishing the Alliance for Progress in 1961 and by its participation in the Conference of Presidents in Punta del Este in April 1967. This conference was particularly noteworthy in that the idea of a cooperative, inter-dependent Latin America moved from the level of technical discussion to the level of political consideration, and from that conference emerged a new emphasis on self-help and cooperation as the ultimate, determining factor in solving the economic and social problems of the region.

Most recently, the July, 1968 meeting of the five Central American presidents at San Salvador to discuss means of strengthening the Central American Common Market (CACM) -- with President Johnson attending as another demonstration of United States support and encouragement -- hopefully served as an incentive to the leaders of these countries to renew their efforts to break through some of the many barriers that stand in the way of further cooperation and integration between their nations.

Progress on the Sub-Regional Level: The Central American Common Market

The CACM comprises a much smaller area and involves a smaller volume of trade than the larger Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA); it made notable progress between 1960 and 1966. It started by establishing free trade for all products of the member countries except where exemption was claimed on the basis of harm to producers or to government price-support programs. In this six-year period, the value of intra-regional trade increased more than five-fold and accounted for one-fifth of the total trade of member countries with all countries of the world. With the trend toward industrialization, trade in manufactured goods markedly increased. In 1967, however, there was about a 5% drop in extra-regional export earnings and the per capita GNP growth for the region was only .8 percent. Under the CACM, institutions have been set up to deal with overall regional development, but the success of these, and of future plans for the area, will depend on the long-range success of the CACM itself. A Central American bank, clearing house and various financial councils are already in existence, and future plans include a full monetary union, with consideration being given to such joint projects as a road system, an electric power grid and a telecommunications net.

The Andean Common Market

An organizational meeting of another sub-regional group was held in June 1967, following the conference of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council at Vina del Mar, Chile. At the organizational meeting, delegates from Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela constituted themselves as the Mixed Commission to set up the Andean Common Market, a sub-regional trade association within the LAFTA structure.

Bolivia became a member in August 1967. The idea of such a group had been conceived the previous August in Bogota, at a meeting of the heads of state (or their representatives) of the countries concerned. The Mixed Commission has met several times since June 1967, and has appointed and supervised technical working groups involved with planning and drafting the charter of the group, as well as with studies and preliminary agreements on various aspects of Andean integration. Such controversial issues as the removal of trade barriers within this region, the establishment of a common external tariff -- such as the CACM now has on almost all items -- relations of the Andean group with LAFTA, etc. have also been discussed. Although the initial momentum of the group has slowed somewhat because of differences arising from national interests, in February of this year the Mixed Commission adopted the charter of an Andean Development Corporation. After it is ratified by the member governments and the group is in operation, its headquarters will be located in Caracas. (Venezuela will contribute approximately 22% of the initial public capital of \$25 million.) The group has also been negotiating an agreement that would foster the development of a new petrochemical industry within the sub-region.

Other Multi-national Efforts at Cooperation

Some of the Latin American nations have made other moves toward cooperative development, although outside the framework of any formal structure. At a meeting in May in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, the foreign ministers of Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay drew up a cooperative economic plan for the development of the rich and fertile basin of the Rio de la Plata for flood control, hydroelectric and dredging projects on various tributaries of the Plata, and for modernization of port facilities in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The entire plan, originally conceived some twenty-five years ago, would require more than thirty years to complete and would need extensive financing through various international agencies. The draft treaty institutionalizing the River Plata organization is to be submitted to the governments by mid-September 1968. The foreign ministers are then scheduled to meet by mid-November 1968 to sign the agreement.

Shortly after the Santa Cruz meeting the foreign ministers of Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Paraguay met in Lima to expedite planning and work on a proposed 3,000-mile road stretching from Caracas through Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina to Buenos Aires. It would run mainly east of the Andes, the traditional barrier dividing the eastern and western regions of South America. President Belaunde of Peru has provided the major impetus for this road, and Peru, in spite of her economic problems, has made studies and started actual construction on her portion of the highway.

At about the same time, the governments of Peru and Argentina announced their agreement to promote closer cooperation on economic and other common problems through the establishment of a special commission. The announcement was made following a meeting of the Peruvian and Argentinian foreign ministers in Lima.

The foregoing are modest stirrings towards meaningful economic cooperation. However, a very positive factor which favors continued forward motion is the number of Latin American leaders who recognize the economic imperatives of her present situation. These men have been making honest efforts to build individually viable economies in her many states; the ultimate aim of many of these leaders is the eventual combining of selected segments of the individual economies into a successfully cooperating and infinitely stronger whole.

estructura formal. En una reunión celebrada en mayo en Santa Cruz, Bolivia, los Cancilleres de Argentina, Brasil, Bolivia, Paraguay y Uruguay redactaron un plan de cooperación económica para el desarrollo de la rica y fértil cuenca del Río de la Plata, obras de defensa contra inundaciones, hidroeléctricas y de dragado en varios tributarios del Plata y modernización portuaria en Buenos Aires y Montevideo. El plan global, originado por primera vez hace unos 25 años, tomaría más de 30 años para completar y extenso financiamiento a través de diversas entidades internacionales. El acuerdo para el plan de desarrollo tiene que ser incorporado en un tratado para mediados de septiembre de 1968, después de lo cual se espera que se creará un organismo internacional para poner en práctica el programa.

Poco después de la reunión de Santa Cruz los Cancilleres de Perú, Bolivia, Argentina y Paraguay se reunieron en Lima para apresurar la planificación y obra de una propuesta carretera de tres mil millas desde Caracas pasando por Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, Bolivia, Paraguay y Argentina hasta Buenos Aires. Se supone correr principalmente al este de los Andes, la barrera tradicional que divide las regiones oriental y occidental de América del Sur. El Presidente peruano, Belaúnde, ha provisto el empuje principal para la carretera y, no obstante sus problemas económicos, Perú ha llevado a cabo estudios y ha iniciado la construcción de su tramo de carretera.

Más o menos al mismo tiempo los gobiernos de Argentina y Perú dieron a conocer su acuerdo de promover una cooperación más estrecha sobre problemas económicos y de otras categorías mediante la creación de una comisión especial. La noticia se dio después de una reunión en Lima de los Cancilleres de ambas naciones.

Los aquí citados son pasos diminutos hacia la cooperación económica significativa. Sin embargo, un factor muy positivo que favorece el permanente movimiento adelante es el número de dirigentes latinoamericanos que reconocen los imperativos económicos de su actual situación. Dichos hombres han estado esforzándose honradamente por construir economías individuales viables en sus numerosos estados; la meta final de muchos de estos dirigentes es la combinación de segmentos de las economías individuales en un conjunto que coopere con éxito y sea infinitamente más vigoroso.

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7 June 1968

Taming rivers and rivalries

A South American rarely thinks of himself as one; he is a Brazilian or an Argentine or whatever. He is also not used to attacking basic problems on a regional rather than a narrow national basis. Until recently, the most notable regional activities were boundary disputes, sometimes punctuated by gunfire.

It is heartening, then, to be able to cheer on a regional development plan that: a) was worked out by the South Americans themselves, b) promises benefits to a number of countries, large and small, c) was not designed so that it could float only on a tide of American dollars.

Broad agreement to develop the sprawling basin of the River Plata has now been

reached, after 30 years of indecision, by the foreign ministers of the five countries which own portions of the tract—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. The basin is huge—five times the size of France—and potentially rich but now undeveloped.

The Plata project will include opening up the Paraguay River to afford landlocked Bolivia a deepwater port; the construction of flood control, irrigation and hydroelectric dams on the tributaries of the Plata; the modernization of the ports of Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

Washington is delighted in a muted sort of way. Some skepticism is bound to remain until it becomes clear that the project is not predicated on aid dollars alone. The men behind the development plan are aware of the budget realities in Washington. The fact that they chose to push ahead now is the best indication that they are ready to tackle their own problems.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
17 June 1968

South Americans chart joint highway, water projects

By James Nelson Goodsell
*Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor*

Quito, Ecuador

The time is not far off when a motorist will be able to drive through the tropical rain forests, east of the Andes, and cut hundreds of miles and many days from a north-south journey in South America.

That is one of the prospects opened by the signing in Lima of an agreement integrating the highway networks of Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Peru.

That agreement, the Act of Lima, is an outgrowth of hemisphere efforts to work out multinational projects to improve the economic and social well-being of millions of Latin Americans. It comes quickly after the signing of an agreement by five South American nations to work cooperatively in the economic development of the vast area drained by the River Plata.

At a meeting in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, the Foreign Ministers of Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay set in

motion the river plan—one that was advanced at least 25 years ago and given a significant boost at the Western Hemisphere presidential summit session at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in April, 1967.

Goals aligned

Both the River Plate Basin and the highway-integration projects are in line with the goals outlined by the Presidents at the meeting.

The highway-integration plan should be easier to implement than the River Plate Basin project since it involves, in part, the linking of highways already under construction or already completed. But the step is an important one in the physical integration of a continent which for centuries has remained divided politically, economically, and geographically.

In some measure, the highway-integration program is the direct result of the planning and direction of one man—Peru's Fernando Belaúnde Terry, who before becoming President of this nation was a spokesman for building a north-

south highway of the rugged and high Andean mountain chain.

Known in Spanish as the "carretera marginal de la selva" this highway on the edge of the rain forest is already under construction, opening up vast regions of Peru to colonization from the populated and often arid regions west of the Andes.

Plans reemphasized

The Act of Lima, signed by the Foreign Ministers of the four countries involved, also gives new emphasis to the plans of many Latin Americans to speed construction of a highway route through the interior of the continent from Caracas, following the eastern lowlands at the foot of the Andes through Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and terminating in Argentina.

When completed, the highway will open up vast land expanses that now are reachable only by rugged overland foot trails or by occasional air flights.

On the other side of the continent, some of the same nations, together with Brazil and Uruguay, are setting up plans to develop the vast watershed of one of the great river systems in South America.

The Rio de la Plata or as it has become generally known in English, and sometimes even in Spanish, the River Plate, is a short but wide estuary into which flow the waters of the Bermejo,

Paraguay, Parana, Pilcomayo, and Uruguay. Plans for developing the hydroelectric potential of the system date back at least 25 years. But not until the presidential summit session last year did the countries through which the rivers flow begin to seriously consider implementation of the plans.

The decision of the five nations to integrate the system focuses considerable attention on what is generally a backward region of 2 million square miles. Part of the national territory of each country is involved, ranging from 19 per cent of Bolivia to all of Paraguay.

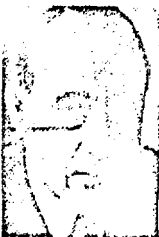
Treaty required

Known as the Act of Santa Cruz after the oil-rich eastern Bolivian city, the decision was more than a year in the making—and the hard part has just begun.

The five nations must now adopt an official treaty establishing the rules for joint development. Brazilian Foreign Minister Jose Magalhães Pinto told his colleagues at Santa Cruz: "The integration of the River Plate Basin is already a spiritual reality." But the hard task of converting this "spiritual reality" into a practical reality is ahead.

The five recommended 13 projects—seven multinational and six national—for consideration by an intergovernmental coordinating committee which is to begin work soon.

WASHINGTON POST
29 May 1968



Joseph R. Slevin

South Americans Strive For Own Common Market

BOGOTA—A little-noticed, South American drive for economic integration is heading toward a climactic June meeting.

Colombia is spearheading the integration push, with a strong assist from Chile. A half-dozen nations are taking part. Their goal is a thriving new common market that will stretch 4,750 miles from the Caribbean at the north, down South America's long Pacific Coast to Chile's Cape Horn at the south.

The common market countries call themselves the Andean Group. They are submerging their rivalries and

are starting their historic move toward unification partly because they are impatient with the slow progress of the bigger, seven-year-old Latin American Free Trade Association and partly because they want to be able to stand up against relatively powerful Brazil and Mexico when LAFTA finally becomes a reality.

In addition to Colombia and Chile, the Andean Group includes Venezuela to the east and Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia to the south. The six have a potential market of 60 million people, including Colombia's 20 million, and account for almost one-fourth of Latin Ameri-

lization of 250 million. They produce 26 per cent of Latin America's energy, almost one-third of its cement, more than two-fifths of its lead, half the coal, two-thirds of the iron, 86 per cent of the petroleum, and 90 per cent of the copper and zinc.

BUT THE SIX are bitterly poor. They have depended on their raw materials and now have to turn out much larger quantities of manufactured goods while they simultaneously boost their grossly neglected agricultural production.

The Andean Group's model is the Central American Common Market, that formally was established in

1960, not the more sophisticated European Economic Community of heavily industrialized nations.

"Central American exports grew from \$10 million in 1958 to \$200 million last year and this year could go up to \$250 million," Rodrigo Botero, the brilliant Economic Adviser to Colombian President Carlos Lleras Restrepo declares enthusiastically. "In ten years, they have had industrialization through integration."

The Andean Group recently agreed to establish a \$100 million development bank in Caracas that will help finance new or growing industries and that will be charged particularly with fostering large, complex industries that the six cannot support separately but can develop jointly.

COLUMBIA is the Group's industrial leader. It has a top-notch cadre of executives and a capable, widely respected labor force. SENA, its crack training or-

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ganization, graduates 20,000 another 60,000 established workers improve their skills.

Colombian manufacturers are supremely confident that they will be able to compete successfully in the new common market. They predict that their textiles, glass, and cement will do well and they are prepared to fight for steel and paper customers. Establishment of the Andean Group will lead to a steady reduction of trade barriers among the six, which means they no longer will be protected from the competition of each other's industries.

The big, immediate threat to the common market is a Venezuelan fear of Colombia's competitive ability. Venezuelan wage scales are relatively high, thanks to the country's oil riches; and Venezuelan industrialists

are urging the Government to make the common trade arrangement.

The Venezuelan answer is expected when the Andean Group holds its next meeting, in June. There are widespread fears the Venezuelans will choose to remain aloof, at least temporarily; but the other five countries are prepared to go ahead on their own.

"In 10 years, we will be able to develop industry that will be so competitive, so efficient that it will have the capacity to compete on equal terms with the Mexicans, with the Brazilians and the rest," Joaquin Vallejo, a former finance minister and key Colombian negotiator, declares. "Any delay on the part of Venezuelan industry in joining the Andean Group will be fatal for them. Without integration, it is impossible to have great industries."

NEW YORK TIMES
8 July 1968

After the Meeting Is Over

Realities of Central America Balk The Progress Its Leaders Extolled

By HENRY GINIGER
Special to The New York Times

SAN SALVADOR, July 7 — President Johnson will take leave of President Fidel Sánchez Hernández of Salvador tomorrow and, in his big Air Force jet, give lifts home to the four other Central American Presidents who have been here for the last three days.

The rally over, each chief of state will be again faced with the political and economic realities of his own country. These realities are the barriers that keep the leaders from carrying out the high-sounding pledges that have been uttered here in this first Central American leaders meeting since 1963.

Everyone on an official level was obliged to agree that the meeting had been useful and that all the trouble and expense were worthwhile. The Salvadoran First Lady had to hunt around for extra tablecloths; more cooks and food were brought in post haste from outside Salvador.

His colleagues got annoyed with President Anastasio Somoza Debayle of Nicaragua for keeping them up until 3 A.M. while he argued over words in their joint declaration and chewed a hamburger. But in the end the leaders were glad they came and thought some good might come out of it all.

Mostly Intangibles

The good was mostly intangible, with the major exception of \$65-million President Johnson brought with him for Central America. But \$35-million of that was loans that had been in the works and had been saved up so that the President's package looked a little bigger. Another tangible was settlement of a border dispute that had been poisoning relations between Honduras and Salvador.

The intangibles might be listed as follows:

Little Central America, whose five countries—Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica—contain only about 13 million people, was put on

the map and its Common Market integration effort was given the best publicity in years.

There was also Central American morale from the show of interest by the United States. Mr. Johnson's Administration has been trying to push Latin American economic integration, and this small corner of Latin America has become a working model.

The Presidents of Central America made a show of faith in their efforts despite the financial trouble they are all in. The faith was accompanied by realistic recognition of all that has to be done.

Back at home tomorrow each leader will again face a difficult situation.

COSTA RICA—President José Joaquín Trejos Fernández must continue to wrestle with serious budgetary and trade deficits that are largely the result of economic and social appetites that have outstripped income.

His country, generally considered the most socially advanced in Central America, has to find an adequate economic base to pay for the educational and health programs that the people want. The President must also struggle with a balky Congress whose majority is controlled by the opposition party.

NICARAGUA—President Somoza is anxiously awaiting the results of this year's cotton crop while trying to keep a tight rein on Government expenditure. With foreign reserves

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another year of low export levels.

The President must also contend with a political Opposition that resents three decades of economic and political control by the Somoza family and is not convinced that this current scion is sincerely interested in improving social and economic conditions.

Record at Zero

HONDURAS—President Oswaldo Lopez Arellano must deal with what is probably the most inept Administration in Central America and bring the country's growth record, largely through better performance in public works, up from the zero level where it was last year. He must also contend with political resentments that have accumulated in Honduras ever since his military coup in 1963. They were aggravated in March by widespread irregularities in the voting for municipal offices.

SALVADOR—President Sanchez must spur what had been

the most dynamic economy in Central America, but showed up perceptibly last year with drops in coffee and cotton export income.

Restlessness is evident in this overcrowded country in the striking advances scored by the Christian Democrats in legislative and municipal elections in March. Strikes have plagued the year-old Administration and there has been criticism within Mr. Sanchez's official family that he has not been aggressive enough in dealing with the economic oligarchy, which is wary of social change and reluctant to pay needed taxes.

GUATEMALA—President Julio César Méndez Montenegro must continue to wage a double war, one on a Communist-led terrorist movement, the other on an highly conservative business and landowning class that fears social change and is unwilling to pay for it.

Between these extremes, Mr. Méndez seeks to hold onto pow-

er until his term ends in 1970. This hold is best assured by avoiding alienation of the conservatives.

Youths Are Impatient

In all these countries, the youths, being educated in the high schools and universities have progressive ideas, are impatient with the slow pace of change, resent the United States' predominance and are willing to listen to various wings of the Communist movement. As President Johnson discovered, they are willing to go into the street and throw eggs and paint to make their feelings known.

The incidents on the President's arrival were not serious. What is serious is that none of the governments in Central America are capturing youthful support, firing youthful imagination or convincing young people that they are pushing for the progress all the chiefs of state have once again said they are seeking.

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

27 May 1968

ARGENTINE-PERUVIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

Lima--On 25 May the governments of Peru and Argentina agreed to create a special mixed commission to promote economic and commercial relations between the two countries and to discuss various problems of common interest. They also decided to cooperate more closely in international organizations such as the United Nations and the OAS in order to defend their legal bases, and to cooperate in the reorganization of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA). The two countries also agreed to defend the sovereignty of their 200-mile territorial waters limits, while Peru promised that all national and official publications would use the name of Malvinas in referring to the islands over which Argentina claims ownership.

These agreements appear in a joint Peruvian-Argentine communique signed by the foreign ministers of the two countries, Raul Ferrero and Nicanor Costa Mendez, following their discussions. The communique, consisting of 15 points, is accompanied by a note in which Argentina proposes the creation of the special Argentine-Peruvian commission. The points of the document are as follows:

- 1--The two foreign ministers agree that relations between the two countries reflect their fraternal and cordial friendship [words indistinct] under the ideals of San Martin.
- 2--Taking into consideration the cooperation of the two countries in the United Nations, they agree to intensify their efforts to defend the U.N. postulates for peace and to maintain permanent contact so that this cooperation will increase.
- 3--They reaffirm their adherence to the OAS charter [words indistinct] to accelerate the progress of the American organization.
- 4--They reaffirm the desire of both countries to continue regional economic integration, taking into consideration national interests and having it serve as a harmonious factor among Latin American countries.
- 5--They consider that the jungle highway and its links with national communications systems are of prime importance for the integration of the Andean region.

6--In view of the experience gained in 8 years since the Montevideo Treaty created LAFTA, they consider it advisable to reexamine that document with the aim of its eventual modification.

7--They declare that both governments intend to strengthen their economic relations by promoting trade in traditional products and by the inclusion of others. The Argentine foreign minister received with great interest Peru's expression of its wish to increase its exports to Argentina, especially industrial products.

8--To attain these objectives, the foreign ministers signed a note creating a special Argentine-Peruvian coordinating commission.

9--They declare the commission's intention to study the possibility of establishing branches of both countries' state banks in Lima and Buenos Aires, and to consider a line of credit from the Argentine Central Bank for the purchase of capital goods [words indistinct] amended by Peruvian organizations.

10--They satisfactorily confirmed the common goal of the legal positions adopted by the two countries in regard to maritime sovereignty and the protection and defense of their marine wealth. They reaffirmed as a norm of their maritime policy the principle of sovereignty over the continental shelf and the sea adjacent to their coasts up to a distance of 200 miles.

11--Within the framework of Latin American solidarity, they considered the situation of the Malvinas Islands. The Peruvian foreign minister accepted with satisfaction the request of his Argentine colleague for that name to appear in all Peruvian national publications [several words indistinct] and also in material published by the OAS.

12--Agreeing that scientific and technological advances must necessarily be taken advantage of to insure continued social and economic development, they agreed to draw up a pact on the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

13--To promote their cultural relations, they will create the mixed commission contemplated in the Peruvian-Argentine cultural agreement as soon as possible to study, in conjunction with international organizations, the validity of the diplomas [word indistinct] for the exercise of liberal professions.

14--Considering that the friendship of nations should be strengthened by a knowledge of their true values, and taking into account the fact that tourism contributes to this, they agreed to promote tourism between the two countries.

15--Finally, they resolved to continue consultations to satisfy their common interests, and pointed out that the visit of Dr Costa Mendez was a highly significant event in the fraternal friendship between the two countries.

A special note proposed by Argentina emphasized the need to create a special Peruvian-Argentine commission to promote economic relations between the two countries. This commission will also examine the development of commercial ties and analyze various peripheral problems of common interest in order to overcome them in a spirit of full cooperation. Since both parties had said this commission should begin work as soon as possible, they agreed, according to the note, to hold immediate consultations to call a meeting of representatives of both governments to create the commission and prepare the rules that will govern its functioning.

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

27 May 1968

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MINISTERS IN LIMA DISCUSS JUNGLE HIGHWAY

Lima, 26 May--President Fernando Belaunde tonight opened the conference of the foreign ministers of Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Peru on the continent-spanning jungle highway.

After thanking the foreign delegations for coming, Belaunde said that the meeting did not detract from continental goals, inasmuch as it was necessary to stir regional groups toward solving their problems.

"Belaunde then explained the importance of the jungle highway, which will facilitate the exploitation of tropical oil resources, the uniting of the South American watershed with a view toward integration, and the surmounting of past disagreements among the countries of the area, since it will merge them in a struggle to conquer a zone where the surplus Andean populations could be settled. The Peruvian Chief Executive said that the highway is added to the integration projects and others being carried out by the countries in the field of hydroelectric power, the uniting of river basins, and possibly the opening of an interoceanic canal in Colombia.

"Argentine Foreign Minister Costa Mendez replied in the name of the visiting countries. He said that the jungle highway will promote the economic development of the peoples from Venezuela to Argentina and permit them to know each other better." Costa Mendez said that he was confident that resolutions of major importance would be adopted. The Argentine minister pointed to the need for these republics to make a sustained effort to attain their objectives, for the population explosion could thwart all population-absorbing programs.

"The four ministers will continue their work tomorrow, when the meeting ends, and issue a communique concerning links in the four republics road systems and the economic development projects the highway will make possible.

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

31 May 1968

FOUR FOREIGN MINISTERS SIGN ACT OF LIMA

Lima--The foreign ministers of Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Peru at dawn today signed the Act of Lima, following two days of discussion of the need to strengthen efforts to link the communications systems of the four countries. The act was signed by Argentine Foreign Minister Nicandor Costa Mendez, Bolivian Foreign Minister Tomas Guillermo Elio, Paraguayan Foreign Minister Raul Sapena Pastor, and Peruvian Premier Raul Ferrero Rebagliatti.

The first point of the document stated that the jungle highway is the link between the eastern Andean slope and the Plata Basin through its interconnections with the national communications networks. The document recommended among other things that, in order to achieve the results and as long as it is considered necessary, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) resources should be used.

During the course of the meetings of the four foreign ministers, which lasted 2 days, the formation of a quadripartite communications commission was approved to carry out financial and technical studies for the interconnection of the jungle highway through a coordinating committee. Approval was also given for financing the linking of Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina with the Plata Basin through the trans-Chaco route with IDB loans. Although the amount of the loans was not specified, unofficial figures estimated that at least 40 million dollars will be required from each country.

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There was some disagreement over Bolivian Foreign Minister Tomas Guillermo Elio's proposal to give priority not only to linking the jungle highway in each of the countries through which it passes, but also to the secondary roads that will branch off from the main highway and be under its economic influence. In this respect, Paraguayan Foreign Minister Sapena Pastor felt that to tie the issue of the jungle highway to the secondary roads would impede financing of the project. This point remained to be discussed and dealt with by the working committee set up at the meeting, which will operate from its permanent headquarters in Lima.

América Latina: Adelantos Recientes
en la Cooperación Económica

Los sucesos recientes dan indicio de cierto grado de progreso hacia una cooperación económica más estrecha en América Latina, especialmente a nivel subregional. No obstante lo poco intenso del progreso, no deja de ser alentador en vista de los numerosos y variados problemas de desarrollo que enfrentan los países de América Latina.

Caída del Apogeo Posbélico

El gran período de crecimiento que América Latina experimentó en los años subsiguientes a la II Guerra Mundial llegó a su fin en 1957. Se agotaron los balances de divisas, y la amenaza del comunismo, ejemplarizada por la revolución de Fidel Castro en Cuba, dio lugar al comienzo de un intenso éxodo de los capitales. El desempleo, la inflación excesiva y el descenso en los beneficios del comercio de exportación llevaron a la región a un punto crítico entre 1958 y 1960. Varias de las dictaduras que se habían mantenido debido al apogeo económico fueron depuestas y los gobiernos democráticos liberales que las reemplazaron se abocaron a problemas casi insalvables, a menudo con poca comprensión de los principios del desarrollo económico o planes económicos realistas sobre los cuales construir. No obstante haberse progresado algo en dirección a la recuperación y el control de la inflación y haberse puesto en movimiento la Alianza para el Progreso, el principio de la década del 60 trajo un deterioro en la situación y se produjo bastante pesimismo con respecto al futuro económico de América Latina.

Incentivos a La Cooperación Económica

Después de la II Guerra Mundial, nuevas influencias en la esfera económica han impulsado a América Latina a prestar atención más seria a la cooperación económica. Todos los países de la zona intentaron, al principio por separado, diversificar e industrializar sus economías, lo cual dio a conocer numerosas desventajas e insuficiencias en cuanto a población, recursos naturales y mano de obra idónea. Bajo el imperio de la patente necesidad comenzó a producirse entre las vecinas naciones una tendencia hacia la cooperación económica. Dicha tendencia ha recibido fuerte estímulo de la Comisión Económica para América Latina (CEPAL), la que ha hecho extensos estudios sobre la naturaleza y los problemas de las economías individuales de los países latinoamericanos y al propio tiempo ha llevado adelante una campaña por el estrechamiento de las relaciones entre las naciones de América Latina con el fin último de que se fundan en una sola unidad económica.

El Mercado Común Europeo también ha influido en la movilización hacia una más estrecha unidad económica. Ha venido a evidenciar que es posible que varias naciones diferentes con tradición de intereses en conflicto unifiquen sus economías. Al mismo tiempo el Mercado Común Europeo ha dado preferencia a los productos de las excolonias europeas en África, cuyos productos están en competencia directa con algunas de las principales exportaciones de América Latina. Ello ha suscitado el

temor entre los países latinoamericanos de que se les cerraran los mercados europeos y ha servido de ímpetu para que se busquen entre sí como mercados potenciales.

Estados Unidos también ha ejercido fuerte influjo por la cooperación económica. Ha demostrado su apoyo mediante los acuerdos originales que crearon la Alianza para el Progreso en 1961 y su participación en la Conferencia de Presidentes en Punta del Este en abril de 1967. Dicha conferencia fue especialmente notable porque en ella la idea de una América Latina cooperativa e interdependiente pasó del nivel de discusión técnica al de la consideración política, y de dicha conferencia salió un nuevo énfasis en la autoayuda y cooperación como factor definitivo y determinante en la solución de los problemas económicos y sociales de la región.

La Corporación de Fomento Andino

La asamblea de organización de otra agrupación subregional se llevó a cabo en junio de 1967, después de la Conferencia del Consejo Económico y Social Interamericano en Viña del Mar. En dicha asamblea de organización los delegados de Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú y Venezuela se constituyeron en Comisión Mixta para crear la Corporación de Fomento Andino, asociación comercial subregional dentro de la estructura de ALAIC. Bolivia ingresó en agosto de 1967. La idea de una agrupación tal había sido concebida el anterior agosto en Bogotá, en una reunión de los Presidentes de los países en cuestión (o sus representantes). La Comisión Mixta se ha reunido varias veces desde junio de 1967 y ha designado y supervisado grupos técnicos de trabajo que se ocupen de planificar y elaborar la carta fundamental de la agrupación así como estudios y acuerdos preliminares sobre varios aspectos de la integración andina. Se han tratado también cuestiones de controversia tales como la eliminación de las barreras arancelarias dentro de la región, la creación de un arancel exterior común--como el que tiene el MCC en casi todos los renglones--, relaciones del Grup Andino con ALAIC, etc.

El ímpetu inicial de la agrupación ha disminuido algo por diferencias que surgen de intereses nacionales, pero en febrero de este año la Comisión Mixta adoptó la carta, conocida como el pacto Andino. Luego de ser ratificado el acuerdo por las naciones asociadas y entrar en vigencia la agrupación, la sede de ésta se constituirá en Caracas. (Venezuela aportará como un 40 por ciento del capital público inicial de 50 millones de dólares.) En una asamblea del grupo Andino a fines de mayo en Quito se trató el tema de la creación de una nueva industria petroquímica con respaldo de ALAIC. (ALAIC estaba entonces celebrando reuniones técnicas en Montevideo.)

Otros Esfuerzos Multinacionales de Cooperación

Algunas de las naciones latinoamericanas han tomado otras medidas tendientes al desarrollo cooperativo, aunque fuera del marco de una

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CZECH '2000 WORDS' SEEN AS OPEN ANTICOMMUNISM

Aleksandrov in PRAVDA

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 reactivation 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 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, ZEMEDEL'SKE 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

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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 rightwing, antisocialist forces in the country which are waging an attack 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 counterrevolutionary elements in Hungary who attempted to undermine the Hungarian people's socialist achievements in 1956. Now, 20 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 "2000 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 justly said that the "2000 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

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the Czechoslovak people with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In Czechoslovakia, some organs of the press and information 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 "2000 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 "2000 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 "2000 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 "2000 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 activization 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.

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

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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.

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 socialist 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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АТАКА ПРОТИВ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ УСТОЕВ ЧЕХО СЛОВАКИИ

Коммунистическая партия Чехословакии работает над решением сложных и ответственных задач социалистического строительства.

Как известно, на январском и последующих пленумах ЦК КПЧ были подвергнуты критике ошибки и недостатки в руководстве развитием народного хозяйства, в деятельности партийных и государственных органов, связанные с нарушениями ленинских принципов социалистического строительства.

ЦК КПЧ подчеркнул необходимость преодоления этих ошибок и недостатков в интересах укрепления и дальнейшего развития социалистического общества в ЧССР. Были выдвинуты задачи по укреплению экономики, развитию социалистической демократии, повышению руководящей роли коммунистической партии в жизни общества, дальнейшему развитию дружбы ЧССР с Советским Союзом и другими социалистическими странами.

Период, прошедший после январского пленума ЦК КПЧ, показал, что решение проблем, возникших перед партией и страной, сопряжено с немалыми трудностями, вызванными прежде всего активизацией и возрастающей подрывной деятельностью со стороны правых, антисоциалистических сил.

Враждебные социализму силы в Чехословакии стремятся очернить и дискредитировать КПЧ, как авангард рабочего класса и руководящую силу общества, подорвать устои социалистического государства, чтобы в конечном счете повернуть Чехословакию на путь реставрации капитализма. Враги пытаются подорвать дружбу ЧССР с Советским Союзом и другими братскими странами.

Майский пленум ЦК КПЧ подчеркнул, что в современной обстановке партия считает основным — не допустить уг-

розы социалистическому характеру власти и общественному строю со стороны антисоциалистических и прямых антикоммунистических сил.

Пленум потребовал «обеспечить политическое руководство обществом со стороны коммунистической партии и эффективно отразить все попытки дискредитации партии как целого, попытки вызвать недоверие к партии и отрицать ее моральное и политическое право вести общество, быть решающей политической силой социалистической власти».

Ход событий в ЧССР после майского пленума ЦК КПЧ показывает, что предупреждение пленума было совершенно обоснованным: правые, антисоциалистические силы продолжают наращивать злобные, ожесточенные атаки против коммунистической партии, социалистического строя. При этом многие из подрывных акций предпринимаются открыто, с использованием страниц чехословацкой печати, радио и телевидения.

Так, недавно одновременно в четырех чехословацких газетах — «Литературные листы», «Прага», «Земельские новости» и «Млада фронта» — было опубликовано так называемое открытое письмо группы лиц, озаглавленное «Две тысячи слов, обращенных к рабочим, крестьянам, служащим, ученым, деятелям искусства, ко всем гражданам».

Этот документ представляет собой своего рода платформу тех сил в Чехословакии и за ее пределами, которые под прикрытием разговоров о «либерализации», «демократизации» и т. п. пытаются перечеркнуть всю историю Чехословакии после 1948 года, социалистические завоевания чехословацких трудящихся, дискредитировать Коммунистическую партию Чехословакии, ее руководящую роль, подорвать дружбу чехословацкого народа с народами братских социалистических госу-

дарств, проложить путь контрреволюции.

Авторы документа клеветают на КПЧ и социалистический строй, утверждая, что якобы «ошибочная линия руководства превратила партию из политической партии и идейного союза в великодержавную организацию»; что будто «парламент разучился обсуждать проблемы, правительство — править, директора — руководить»; что-де «ни одна организация по существу не принадлежала ее членам, даже коммунистическая организация» и что «коммунистическая партия не заслуживает никакой благодарности». В заявлении по существу восхваляется буржуазная Чехословакия, не скрываются симпатии к капиталистическому строю.

Более того, пытаются активизировать антисоциалистические элементы, авторы обращения и те, кто стоит за ними, объявляют, что «настоящий период будет решающим на многие годы», требуют выступать «с собственными решениями». Они призывают использовать такие средства, как демонстрации, забастовки, бойкот, для того, чтобы избавляться от негодных им партийных кадров и деятелей, преданных делу социализма. Они требуют «учреждать собственные гражданские комитеты и комиссии» на местах, то есть захватывать власть. Они обещают действовать «с оружием в руках» в пользу того руководства, которому они дадут «мандат».

Заявление «Две тысячи слов», несмотря на лицемерные фразы о «защите» интересов чехословацкого народа, не оставляет сомнений в подлинных целях его авторов. Они выступают от имени тех правых, антисоциалистических сил в стране, которые ведут атаку против КПЧ и рабочего класса. Каждый день приносят новые факты, подтверждающие, что эти силы отнюдь не некутся об исправлении тех или иных ошибок, о дальнейшем развитии Чехословакии на пути социализма, а взяли курс на свержение существующего строя, на ре-

За событиями в Чехослова-

ставрацию капиталистических порядков. Они не говорят об этом прямо, чаще всего прикрывают свои подлинные цели фразами о «демократизации», заявляют о своей приверженности социализму. Но на деле они добиваются подрыва самих основ социалистического государства.

Такая тактика не нова. К ней прибегали в свое время контрреволюционные элементы в Венгрии, пытавшиеся подорвать социалистические завоевания венгерского народа в 1956 году. Теперь, двенадцать лет спустя, тактика тех, кто хотел бы подорвать устои социализма в Чехословакии, стала еще более изощренной и коварной. И чехословацкие трудящиеся, все, кому дороги завоевания социализма, не могут не видеть, какая опасность кроется в подрывательской, провокационной деятельности, к которой призывает документ «Две тысячи слов».

Здоровые силы в партии и стране рассматривают этот документ как откровенную атаку против социалистического строя, против руководящей роли КПЧ, против дружбы Чехословакии с Советским Союзом и другими социалистическими странами.

Президиум ЦК КПЧ, обдумав заявление, пришел к выводу, что эта политическая платформа открывает путь к антикоммунистическим тенденциям, что это выпад против высшего руководства КПЧ и государства, который заставляет прибегнуть к борьбе против наступления перерождающихся, антисоциалистических сил.

В связи с появлением «Двух тысяч слов» ЦК КПЧ Словакии заявил: «Наш народ не скрывает свои опасения за судьбу Чехословацкой Социалистической Республики. Он хочет иметь политические и юридические гарантии. Обращение не нашло поддержки и социальной базы в Словакии. Оно было охарактеризовано как подрывательство к выступлению против республики, так как оно требует создать новые органы власти и использовать незаконные рычаги управления. Оно призывает к взятию власти таким способом и теми людьми, чьи интересы и цели остаются неизвестными».

Обсуждение «Двух тысяч слов» вызвало много откликов в стране. Большинство партийных организаций КПЧ, коммунисты, выступавшие на районных конференциях, которые состоялись в последнее время, осудили эту контрреволюционную платформу. Отрицательно высказались о ней также высшие органы ЧССР. Национальный фронт.

На сессии Национального собрания депутат С. Кодай справедливо назвал «Две тысячи слов» «призывом к контрреволюции». С резкой критикой заявления выступают общественные организации, коллективы предприятий и учреждений.

В то время как партийные конференции, коллективы трудящихся, исходя из интересов укрепления социализма в стране и укрепления братской дружбы чехословацкого народа с народами Советского Союза и других социалистических стран, дают отпор новой атаке против социалистических устоев Чехословакии, некоторые органы печати и информации ЧССР заняли «особую» позицию. Газеты «Прага», «Земедельске новины», «Млада фронта», Пражское радио и телевидение стремятся воздействовать на общественное мнение с целью поддержки заявления «Две тысячи слов». При этом они пытаются создать видимость, будто говорят от имени народа.

В поддержку этой позиции, судя по страницам чехословацкой печати, выступают некоторые реакционно настроенные журналисты и писатели. Это те самые люди, которые уже не раз призывали покончить с руководящей ролью Коммунистической партии Чехословакии, вернуться к такой «демократии», которая на деле означала бы реставрацию капитализма. Именно эти люди берут под защиту заявление «Две тысячи слов», стремятся выдать его за последнее слово некоей невиданной еще «социалистической демократии», стремят приклеить тем, кто выступает против контрреволюционного документа, ярлык «консерваторов».

К сожалению, отдельные руководящие деятели ЧССР выступили с двусмысленными заявлениями, в которых пытаются преуменьшить опасность контрреволюционного заявления «Две тысячи слов», утверждая, что факт его обозначения дескать, «не следует драматизировать».

Правые, враждебные социализму силы не замедлили воспользоваться тем, что кое-кто считает необходимым затушевать подрывательскую суть документа, смазать критику его чехословацкими трудящимися. В последние дни эти силы с помощью определенных органов печати пошли в наступление, занялись широкой пропагандой «Двух тысяч слов».

Сейчас очевиднее, чем когда бы то ни было, что появление «Двух тысяч слов» — это отнюдь не изолированное явление, а сигнал к началу широкой контрреволюционной атаки.

прямо контрреволюционных сил в Чехословакии, которые очевидно связаны и с империалистической реакцией. Они перешли к ожесточенным атакам против КПЧ в целом, против основ социалистической государственности. Враждебные чехословацкому народу силы, видимо, стремят воспользоваться неустойчивой обстановкой, сложившейся в стране, для осуществления их контрреволюционных целей. Немалую роль при этом играет поддержка, которую находят подобные силы у империалистов Запада, что отчетливо прослеживается и в связи с опубликованием «Двух тысяч слов».

Если в Чехословакии, быть может, кто-то еще питает иллюзии относительно подлинного смысла этого заявления, то выступления буржуазной американской печати, как и буржуазной печати Западной Европы, кладут конец этим иллюзиям. Враги социализма рассматривают этот документ как еще один желанный шаг на пути, который может привести к «размягчению» социалистического строя в Чехословакии к капиталистической реставрации. И надо сказать прямо, вряд ли найдутся простаки, которые поверят в то, что «Нью-Йорк таймс», «Ди вельт», «Фигаро» или «Дейли телеграф» так тревожатся за успех «либерализации» в Чехословакии потому, что мечтают об укреплении там социалистического строя.

Советский народ связан с чехословацким народом тесными узами дружбы и братства, скрепленными кровью в совместной борьбе против гитлеровских захватчиков. Нас объединяют общие цели в борьбе за торжество социализма и коммунизма, за укрепление мира и безопасности в Европе и во всем мире.

Не случайно в Советском Союзе нашло такой широкий отклик письмо участников общегосударственного актива народной милиции ЧССР, обращенное к советскому народу. Трудящиеся нашей страны увидели в этом письме выражение серьезной ответственности чехословацких трудящихся за судьбу социалистической родины, непоколебимую решимость защищать народы завоевания от любых понов людей завоевания республику, дать твердый отпор антисоциалистическим и антисоветским пронкам, кристи социализма, дружбы и пить братское единение советского и чехословацкого народов всеми социалистическими силами.

В борьбе за укрепление союгих городов нашей Родины, цинализма в своей стране, за понимание и разделая озабочен- дружбу народов социалистического чехословацких государств рабочий и крестьянский классы ЧССР и трудящиеся Чехословакии могут всегда рассчитывать на понимание и дружбой и пролетарской соли- полную поддержку народа

материально следят народы других социалистических стран. Комментируя заявление «Две тысячи слов», газета «Работническо дело», орган ЦК Болгарской коммунистической партии, констатирует: «Сейчас в Чехословакии попытки подорвать авторитет и ликвидировать руководящую роль партии, разрушить народное единство, олицетворяемое Национальным фронтом, стали модным, широко распространенным явлением. А попытки эти по сути дела направлены на то, чтобы нанести удар по существующему общественному строю, толкнуть страну на опасный, авантюристический путь... Наша общественность не может оставаться безразличной, когда подвергается атаке основы социализма в дружественной братской стране, когда реакционные силы занимают подрывательством в слышатся призывы к анархии и расправе с верными социализму сынами и дочерьми».

Газета «Неспабадшаг», орган ЦК Венгерской социалистической рабочей партии, пишет: «Мы также пережили во многих смыслах сходные периоды и из своего опыта хорошо знаем, какие мысли и намерения скрываются за формулировкой «Двух тысяч слов»... С теми, кто выступает против народной власти, социалистической системы, ее законного порядка, нужно бороться теми средствами, которые наиболее эффективны, в которых есть необходимость в данном положении».

Народы Советского Союза, других социалистических стран отдают себе отчет в том, что действия определенных антисоциалистических сил могут нанести серьезный урон дальнейшему успешному развитию братской Чехословакии. Они рассматривают заявление «Две тысячи слов» как открытый выпад против КПЧ и социалистического государства, против социалистических завоеваний чехословацкого народа. Они выражают уверенность, что чехословацкие коммунисты, все трудящиеся ЧССР, глубоко заинтересованные в укреплении социалистических устоев страны, сумеют дать решительный отпор реакционным антисоциалистическим силам, защитить добытые большим трудом миллионы завоевания от любых понов людей завоевания республику, дать твердый отпор антисоциалистическим и антисоветским пронкам, кристи социализма, дружбы и пить братское единение советского и чехословацкого народов всеми социалистическими силами.

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