

INFORMATION
BULLETIN

Report by Gustav Husák
Resolution
Appeal.

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Prague, September 1969

CONTENTS

- Report of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the situation and further tasks of the Party, delivered by Dr. Gustáv Husák 3
- Resolution of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held from September 25 to 26, 1969 37
- Resolution of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held from September 25 to 26, 1969 on cadre and organizational matters . . . 41
- Appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on development of initiative at work to mark the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Republic by the Soviet Army 43

REPORT
OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA
ON THE SITUATION AND FURTHER TASKS OF THE PARTY,

DELIVERED BY DR GUSTÁV HUSÁK,
FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA
ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1969

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia I submit the report on the development of the situation in our Party and our society since the May session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the standpoint of the Presidium on certain fundamental political problems and its proposal for the further course of the Party.

The April session of the Central Committee decided to seek resolutely a way out of the situation of deep crisis in our Party and society. In its documents the May session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia outlined this road, the way out of the crisis as well as the methods of our work. The main aims of the Party and ways out of the situation of crisis were outlined by the May session of the Central Committee in the following points:

1. *To restore the unity of the Party on principled foundations of Marxist-Leninist teachings, on the Leninist principles of Party life and Party structure, to raise the action capacity and revolutionary militancy of the whole Party;*
2. *To restore the leading role of the Communist Party in society, particularly in social organizations and components of the National Front, in State organs, in the economic and cultural sector;*
3. *To start immediately with the implementation of effective measures designed to solve the serious economic problems in our State.*
4. *To strengthen the function of the socialist State in all its structure, bearing in mind that it is an organ of the power of the working class and the working people.*
5. *To solve in a principled way in the spirit of firm friendship our relations to the fraternal Communist parties of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries which form the basis of the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of our State.*

THE PARTY IS ACQUIRING ACTION CAPACITY AND MILITANCY

When, after four months of strenuous effort of thousands of workers of our Party and its leadership, we today evaluate the results in the spirit of the above-mentioned decisions of the May plenum of the Central Committee, it has to be said that the Party has in all spheres achieved considerable progress, successes and the first stage of consolidation. A certain calming down has set in throughout our political and public life as well as in our foreign political relations and the well-known crisis situations are being overcome. Uncontrolled development and anarchy are being gradually replaced by purposeful direction of Party life and the whole motion of society; the Party is gradually asserting its leading role in our society.

Leading bodies of our Party in the centre, in regions, districts and many local Party organizations have been strengthened, the active core supporting the principled policy which has been set by the Central Committee is growing and so is the committed attitude and devotion of a great number of Party officials and Party workers in various spheres. The Party — at least its healthy core — is again acquiring its ability to act and its militancy. Personnel changes at various levels of the structure of our Party have substantially contributed to this development. We can today say that the Party leadership can responsibly rely on a great number of its members working in the most varied fields of Party and social life. The decisions of the May plenum have been approved by all the regional and district organizations of our Party and the vast majority of local organizations. Party influence has been strengthened in the press, radio and television and these important media of educational and political work are now beginning to serve the basic aims of the Party and the needs of our people.

Communists active in mass organizations and components of the National Front are gradually intensifying their work and improving their political activity and leadership. We can observe some success in this field too.

In the economic sphere, too, certain measures aimed at stabilization are yielding their first partial results. Step by step we are strengthening the organs of the socialist State, their function and activity as an instrument of power of the working class and the working people. We have succeeded in restoring good relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries as well as between our socialist States.

It is true to say that this is the beginning of the consolidation process in all spheres and not its conclusion, and it is under no circumstances the ideal situation we want to reach. We have still very many shortcomings in every field. We could not under any circumstances have eliminated them completely in a few months. The important thing is that these four months have shown us that the realization of the implementation directive of the May plenum is yielding positive results, that the decisions of the May plenum were correct and continue to remain the concrete programme, the realistic road we shall take in order to solve our problems and fully overcome the crisis situation in this country.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-SOCIALIST AND RIGHT-WING FORCES REMAINS THE MAIN FRONT OF PARTY STRUGGLE

The results of the work of our Party and our people could have been incomparably greater if we had not had to lose much energy and strength of Party organs and members of State and social organs in the struggle against the anti-socialist and right-wing forces in this country. Since the April plenum we have called for calm, for understanding, for work and the cooperation of all honest people and we have meant it sincerely. We have indeed had no illusions that these forces, which have been conserving, creating and organizing themselves here for many years, and which, particularly in 1968 and 1969, won important positions in politics and economics, in the mass organizations and on the cultural and scientific front and other spheres, would suddenly, voluntarily abandon their positions without a struggle — simply at a word.

On the contrary. All these months have been marked by a sharp political struggle against anti-socialist and right-wing forces, supported by the frantic propaganda of imperialist and emigré centres and the forces inside our country allied with them. We remember well the flood of anti-State and anti-Party leaflets, appeals, slogans, partial provocations, attempts at strikes, at the misuse of positions in the trade unions, in the press, amongst the youth and in other spheres by which these forces tried in every possible way to upset the consolidation process started by the April and May plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, to upset the political situation here, to disturb the minds of the people by false reports, by provocative actions and the misuse of the national feeling of the people.

For months the reactionary forces at home and their foreign bourgeois allies, defenders and patrons concentrated their efforts on exciting great mass actions in August this year, for the anniversary of the entry of the allied troops onto our territory. These actions were intended to discredit the policy of our Party and State, to incite the popular masses to open struggle and to throw our State again into chaos, into a greater crisis and new tragic situations. We mobilized the healthy forces of the Party in all spheres as well as the honest citizens of our State and naturally also the organs of power of the socialist State in order to face up to these subversive attempts and incapacitate them. In August this year we again appealed for calm, we explained matters and appealed to the people.

THE PROVOCATIONS ENDED IN THE DEFEAT OF THEIR ORGANIZERS AND PARTICIPANTS

Calm and consolidation, however, are not in the plans of either the bourgeois forces beyond our frontiers or of the anti-socialist elements and right-wing forces here at home. For months they very thoroughly and organizedly prepared for this attempt. We picked up the gauntlet they threw us again. In its long history the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has more than once waged difficult class struggles, struggle against the Nazi occupation and political reaction. We accepted this struggle also in August this year. *He who will not be advised and puts his hand in the fire must reckon on getting burnt. He who provokes a political strug-*

gle must reckon on suffering blows in it. The provocations of the anti-socialist, right-wing forces, which directly took on the character of counter-revolutionary actions, ended in the defeat of their organizers and participants. We have said on various occasions that he who violates the laws of our country must count on the legal consequences of such behaviour.

In August this year it was shown clearly that our Party and our socialist State have enough forces to deal with any kind of subversive actions here, to tame the reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces and maintain law and order throughout our territory. As a consequence of a year and a half of political, ideological and organizational preparation, with the great commitment of the overwhelming part of the press, radio and television, many people here have been led astray, disappointed, disorientated and fanatized against the policy of the Party and our socialist State. *Nationalistic passions, anti-Communist hatred and propaganda against the Soviet Union were the main political means the organizers and initiators of the above-mentioned actions counted on in recent weeks.* We did not underestimate and we are not underestimating today the malignant consequences of this political action on millions of our people, particularly young people, which lasted for long months. It is not chance that a considerable number of demoralized parasitic elements in our society and déclassé criminal elements took part in these actions. It must be said that it would be a simplification to seek only such an explanation. In the events on the streets of Prague, Brno and Liberec, these forces completely showed their faces and their counter-revolutionary aims. The overwhelming majority of our people with abhorrence condemned the vandalic actions of these elements in the streets of our towns and together with them also the intentions of their home and foreign ideological originators and organizers.

THE BROAD STRATA OF THE WORKING PEOPLE PRESERVED THEIR CALM AND PRUDENCE

It was shown that the broad strata of our working people, and primarily the working class and the working people in the countryside, did not listen to the appeals and slogans of the subversive groups and forces, that they preserved calm, prudence and thus completely supported the efforts of the Party and State leadership to achieve a peaceful life in our country and its purposeful development. It is necessary to appreciate highly the political and moral consciousness of the decisive core of our working class, as the leading social class of society, and cooperative farmers, that they dissociated themselves from such actions — and it can be said that with the exception of a few places a peaceful and normal life was maintained all over the territory of our country in spite of all the appeals, propaganda and organized attempts. During the last four months and in the recent August days the strength and purposefulness of our Party organs and organizations and the results of the political work done by the Party since last April plenary meeting have become apparent.

The real way of thinking of the working class and of our working people was also shown by the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of

the Slovak National Uprising throughout the territory of our country, particularly in the large actions in Banská Bystrica, Bratislava, Prague and other places. They fully supported the policy of the Party, continuing in the principles of the national liberation struggle against fascism, the struggle against home and foreign reaction and standing firmly on the principles of our alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. These mass actions around the 25th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising — immediately after the August attempts by the counter-revolutionary forces — showed to the world the real way of thinking of our working people and were a dignified and politically-conscious approach to the coming 25th anniversary of the liberation of the whole of our country by the Soviet Army.

THE POWER BODIES OF THE STATE STAND FIRMLY ON POSITIONS OF SOCIALISM

During these months it was shown from the positive aspect how important it is that the main mass information media came under the influence of the Party and that the active working of our propaganda could to a great extent paralyze the actions of the anti-socialist and right-wing forces, in the same way as their speculations on nationalistic passions and prejudices. When we evaluate the positive results of our work, the clear success of the clash with counter-revolutionary forces in August this year, we do not forget that in the minds of the people there still remained many of the passions, illusions and hostile anti-Party propaganda which these forces could legally implement on our territory during the year and a half. It was shown that also *the organs of power of our State — the police, army and People's Militia — in spite of the malignant influences of the past period, today stand firmly on positions of the defence of the achievements of our socialist society and played a very positive role.*

NOT EVEN THE SPECULATIONS OF SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS WILL SUCCEED

Experiences from revolutionary struggles in the world and here, confirm that after defeat in an open clash anti-socialist and right-wing forces resort ever more to illegal and semi-legal methods of struggle and call for passive resistance, for sabotage, for individual terror. They try to achieve disruption, they want to keep positions in various sectors in culture, education, in the State and economic apparatus, in the trade unions, in the youth movement etc. They retreated, they want to "winter it out", to wait for a new opportunity, for our mistakes and they are speculating also with hopes of changes in the other socialist states. It is necessary to know about this and to conduct a political struggle with these forces ever more consistently, to expose their ideological and organizational centres, to break their arguments and demagogy in the political struggle and wherever laws are violated to call them to responsibility.

The main front of the struggle of our Party remains the struggle against the anti-socialist forces in our society, against right-wing opportunism in-

side the Party, so as to prevent a repetition of similar actions and excesses, to make it impossible for a return of disruption and crisis phenomena and to create scope for solving positive tasks. This requires resolute political, organizational and cadre measures in all spheres.

THE BASIS CAUSES OF STAGNATION AND CRISIS IN THE PARTY AND SOCIETY LIES IN THE PRE-JANUARY PERIOD

Experiences of the last four to five months force us to return to our recent and earlier development and again explain to the great army of our members and millions of working people the basic developmental stages of our society and our State. The May plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia charged the Presidium with working out an analysis of development in the Party and in society both before January 1968 and after it, and with presenting it to some session of the Central Committee. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia set up a commission from the ranks of its members and work on this analysis began. It is not a simple affair. And therefore the work of the commission will take some time so that the analysis can objectively express the laws governing our social motion and be a lesson for our Party and people. It is not possible to wait, however, since questions concerning our recent and earlier development are still lively and topical amongst Party members and amongst our people while they are being especially misused by hostile propaganda of both home and foreign origin. And therefore we must return to them and arm Party members and other honest people with arguments and facts.

THE 20 YEARS' WORK OF THE PEOPLE CANNOT BE DEFILED

As regards an evaluation of the period since January 1968, we are witnesses of two extremes. On the one hand, the anti-socialist forces and right-wing opportunists vilified the whole, more than 20 years' struggle of our Party and our people to build up a socialist society, they called these years the period of darkness, oppression and injustice and wanted simply to delete it from the history of our nations. Is this a truthful view of the long years of efforts and devoted work by millions of our people and hundreds of thousands of honest Party members? Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia we have eliminated here the exploiting classes, factory owners, bankers, big-estate owners and various other parasitic strata which lived from the exploitation of the working man. The industrial potential of our country has grown several times over. The living standard of the working people, the social and health measures, have risen high and the cultural level has grown exceptionally; through the reconstruction of agriculture on cooperative bases poverty has been eliminated from our villages.

Czechoslovakia today, as an advanced country, is in every way on an incomparably higher level of development and in no case is it possible to compare it with the conditions of the bourgeois country twenty-five or more years ago. Only the enemies of the socialist system, the enemies

of the new position of the working class and working people cannot see these results, ignore and negate them. In our work in the future too we shall carry on from all the positive results of the twenty years of building a socialist society, keep continuity in the work of our Party and State in everything that was good, healthy, positive. This is one side of the matter.

The other is that during the building of the socialist society and the class struggle there also accumulated many serious errors and shortcomings which harmed the policy of the Party and the development of our society and inflicted wrongs on many of our citizens. *The gross violation of the laws in the Fifties, the constructions and repressions in the ranks of our Party members and amongst other citizens, unjustified administrative interference have been rejected and condemned by the Party, and it has begun to rectify and will rectify all the damage and errors. We have removed from public life the people responsible for such violation of socialist legality and we shall not allow its bearers or their methods to return to our public life.*

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will present to one of the next meetings of the Central Committee a comprehensive report on the results of the work of the rehabilitation commission together with proposals for discussion and the appropriate conclusions.

UNDERESTIMATION OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK OPENED THE WAY TO FOREIGN INFLUENCES

There are also many other errors from the period of Party leadership headed by A. Novotný which caused stagnation and crisis in various spheres of our society. Novotný's leadership was in principle unable to react to the new stream which grew up in the international Communist movement in 1953—1956 and which was also projected into some of the conclusions and suggestions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was unable to put itself at the head of the offensive of the healthy forces in the Party to eliminate the social deformations and the violation of legality and for a Marxist-Leninist development of socialism in our country. It did not have the courage to admit openly, to analyze in a Marxist way the shortcomings and errors that had accumulated and to solve them energetically. And therefore it became more and more involved in new compromises, half-hearted measures, inconsistencies, and political pragmatism. The consequences of this policy were seen most markedly in the economic sphere in 1961—1964, in the sudden crisis in the economy which we are still overcoming. They were also seen in the lack of conception, the impatience and altogether in the deepening stagnation inside the Party.

One of the main reasons was the freezing of the class approach to the problems, the weakening of ideological activity and active educational influence on Party members and all working people. Education to proletarian internationalism weakened, the acute problems of relations between our nations and nationality groups were not solved, and ideological and political work in the environment of the intelligentsia had a negligible influence. Thus the way was opened to outdated bourgeois and petty bour-

geois influences and ideas in our society and to aggressive foreign ideological influences from the West.

The underestimation of ideological and political-educational work had particularly negative consequences here because our Party has a mass character, because in the years following the liberation and particularly after February 1948 it was joined by many members of other political parties and people with a different world outlook, and because throughout the years of low ideological and political work the foreign ideological streams introduced into the Party on a broad scale were not overcome. We live on the border of the imperialist world and therefore it is all the more impossible to underestimate the strong ideological influence and propaganda penetrating to us from the bourgeois states. Insufficient political and ideological work of the Party always opens up a broad scope for maintaining and extending influence of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology in the minds of the people.

THE MALIGNANCY OF VOLUNTARISM AND UNREALISTIC SLOGANS

Certain factors of crisis also influenced the results of the 13th Party Congress, the aim of which was to activate the healthy forces of the Party and our society to overcome the stagnation in the economy and the political passivity of the Party, to deepen the socialist democracy and the overall development of our society. *It will be necessary to investigate in greater detail to what extent conclusions of the 13th Congress reflect subjectivist, opportunist illusions that all antagonistic class contradictions inside our society have been overcome, the voluntarist conception that the class struggle ceased to have a place in our society as a consequence of the internal rapprochement and gradual growing together of the social classes and strata into a classless State of the entire people.*

This also led to views that forces hostile to socialism had ceased to exist here and that class antagonism was valid only on international scales. This demobilized the Party in its political and ideological work, in the struggle with the remnants of the exploiting classes and other forces affected by the revolution and of hostile opposition elements, in the struggle with bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology.

Novotný's leadership replaced shortcomings in ideological and political work by a bureaucratic way of leading the Party and state and by administrative interference. On the other hand, *the unprincipled opportunism of that leadership opened up possibilities for the right-wing forces, especially in the ideological and cultural sphere, to get a hold, to organize and to shape their opportunist and revisionist tendencies and goals in the Party and outside the Party. The subjectivism of Novotný and those around him led on the one hand to the fact that ripe problems were not solved — such as in economic questions, in questions of nationality policy, rehabilitation etc. — and on the other hand to the fact that social development was idealized, unrealistic slogans were announced which factually and from the point of view of time were in advance of a whole stage of social development at a period when problems and difficulties which troubled rank-and-file Party members and other honest citizens were not being solved.* This leadership was unable to encourage, on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis, the healthy stream which formed in the Party in

1963 and afterwards so that it would be the bearer of real socialist progress and that it be not driven into petty bourgeois impatience, the using of phrases, nihilism, revisionism or even liquidationism.

This process is particularly marked in circles of the intelligentsia and formed the core of the opposition stream in the intelligentsia in the last five years just because the Party leadership was unable to orientate and encourage the healthy forces in this sphere in a militant way. Thus an opposition stream grew up in our society in the Fifties and Sixties against the Party leadership represented by Novotný in which there were both the healthy forces of our Party as well as various petty bourgeois, bourgeois and directly anti-socialist forces endeavouring to achieve a change for various reasons.

Novotný's leadership was unable to differentiate in the critical stream between the honest Communists trying to achieve a rectification of errors and deformations from Marxist-Leninist positions, and between the Party enemies or representatives of opportunist tendencies. It declared every criticism to be an attack on Party policy. The sincere desire of many Communists to overcome this critical state, which gradually grew into an internal Party crisis and a crisis of the whole of society, was not understood by the Party leadership before January 1968 in time, it did not support and place itself in the lead of such endeavours. This can also today explain the lack of preparedness of a large part of the Party for the political and ideological struggles we witnessed in the post-January period. The whole range of problems of the pre-January period will have to be dealt with by the analysis being prepared by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

WHY THE HISTORIC CHANCE AFTER JANUARY 1968 WAS WASTED

The majority of our people welcomed the changes in January 1968. The aim of the changes started by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in January 1968 was to develop all that was positive and good from the preceding years, to eliminate errors and mistakes, inhibitions and barriers, so that it would be possible to make full use of all the objective advantages of the socialist system in our country and to solve problems that had ripened. The point was to solve economic questions as well as a wide range of political and social problems, the development of socialist democracy, the solution of nationality relations, the vitalization of political work in the Party etc. *It was a great, historic chance for our Party, for our people.*

At its session in April 1968, the Central Committee tried to formulate these new goals in the action programme but this was already influenced by strong pressures of the opportunist groups. *The basic concept of post-January policy remains even today the starting point for forming the Party programme even though it must be theoretically extended, corrected slightly in many aspects, made more concrete and gradually implemented.*

In spite of the development here in the Party and society after January 1968, the given objective historic tasks remain urgently before us. It is necessary, however, to create the conditions so that we can fully implement them. Herein lies our mobilizing task despite the fact that the anti-socialist and right-wing forces after January deformed the basic concept

of the further development of socialism. *We therefore regard all the temporary measures, unavoidable for restoring order and strengthening state power, for putting a stop to economic disintegration and primarily for restoring the unity and action capacity of the Party, as an unavoidable pre-condition for being able in future to implement those positive tasks which could not be realized after January 1968 and the solution of which is historically inevitable in the interests of the further development of our State.*

We are constantly repeating the question — *why the great historic chance after January 1968 was wasted? Why this period is marked by an attempt to destroy the socialist system, to threaten its bases, and why it led to the events of August last year.* Primarily, it must be seen — and our Central Committee said this already in May — that the anti-socialist forces and right-wing opportunists in the Party did not appear only after January 1968 but already existed here and worked in a certain way already before January 1968, that their activity and organization was to a certain extent facilitated by the opportunist policy of the Novotný leadership. *It we pay attention to the political and ideological representatives of right-wing opportunism from the period after January 1968, we can see very well who provided them with political and public positions in the post-January period. The core of these forces was organized already before January 1968 and after January it followed its own aims and goals as a second centre in the Party.*

LEADERSHIP DISUNITED WITHOUT A CONCEPTION

The leadership of the Party, which was elected by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in January 1968 and changed by the April plenary meeting last year, was politically heterogeneous and disunited, it was infiltrated by the representatives of the right-wing opportunist forces, it had no clear conception, it was not based firmly on the working class and Marxist-Leninist analysis, it was not led firmly and energetically. Therefore, it was unable to stand up to the dangers of partly organized and partly uncontrolled social pressures, which began to appear markedly in our political life shortly after January 1968 and more and more became too much for the Party leadership of that time.

The Party leadership did not develop political initiative immediately after January, it did not ensure the results of the January plenum in the Party by organizational measures so as to orientate the Party correctly and to make it impossible for the healthy stream to be misused for anti-Party and anti-socialist goals.

In the action programme approved in April last year, *vague compromise formulations, yielding to right-wing influences, appeared due to the above pressures in addition to principled programme postulates.* This is evident, for example, in the new formulation of the leading role of the Party. In contrast to the preceding onesided absolutizing of directive and power instruments, in which the pre-January leadership often sought a way out of political powerlessness and inability, *the action programme denies the unity of political and power instruments in implementing the leading role of the Party.*

INFORMATION MEDIA HANDED OVER TO RIGHT-WING AND ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES

This was clearly shown in the assertion of influence on *the mass information media.* After the ill-considered abolition of censorship which was not prepared from an organizational and cadre point of view, the information media got into the hands and under the decisive influence of right-wing opportunist groups and partly also directly anti-socialist forces, and in this way became their decisive power instrument. In our case it was shown what a force the mass information media are in modern society; how groups which control them can determine development and tempo in decisive questions. The Party leadership was practically clearing the field in this sphere. It yielded to right-wing and anti-socialist forces in the information media and some members of the leadership directly curried favour with these forces and on this built up their personal political positions and personality cult. *With the aid and use of these media the right-wing and anti-socialist forces enforced primarily their own political conception against which not even the correct decisions of leading Party bodies could be enforced and implemented. They all remained ineffective.*

The information media for the most part became an uncontrollable power, independent of the Party, of the right-wing forces which used them to systematically discredit the past 20 years of the building of socialism in our country, people, ideas, deeds and the whole Party in its internal and foreign policy; they rehabilitated and revived petty bourgeois ideals from the bourgeois years of the Czechoslovak Republic, they whipped up a broadly based campaign against the Soviet Union and other closest allies of our country.

At the same time, the anti-socialist and right-wing forces worked in a broad organizational network in the well-known clubs K 231, KAN and other legal, semi-legal and illegal societies and organizations, they penetrated into existing organizations of the National Front and tried to control them, they tried to revive the social democracy and propagated theories of »plurality« democracy and — in other ways — the model of bourgeois democratic society.

As an example it is possible to mention last year's decision of the May plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which, although it did not analyze sufficiently the right-wing danger in the Party, pointed out the topical danger of the anti-socialist forces. This resolution remained practically ineffective because the right-wing influences in the mass information media made its realization practically impossible.

GROWING AGGRESSIVENESS OF THE REACTION BEFORE THE 14TH CONGRESS

In this situation mention should be made of the decision of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia *to speed up the convening of the 14th Party Congress.* The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia decided in April to convene the Congress, if it were prepared well as regards programme, organization and cadres, not earlier than at the end of 1968. But under the

pressure of the right-wing forces the Presidium, on the initiative of Comrade Dubček, changed its attitude and recommended convening an extraordinary Congress at the beginning of September 1968. A number of comrades from the Presidium accepted this resolution on the pre-condition that in the preparation of the Congress, which should be an exclusively internal Party affair, there would be guarantees that the mass information media would come under the influence of the Party and that the Congress would not be influenced and directed from behind the scenes by the right-wing forces. In actual fact, however, *the right-wing and anti-socialist forces used this situation to develop a great offensive for the 14th Congress, the preparation of which got practically out of the hands of the Party leadership.* By organizational means and particularly through the mass information media they influenced in a decisive way the choice of delegates to the Congress and of candidates for the new Central Committee with a clear tendency — to seize the leadership of the whole Party at the Congress. *This question of speeding up the convening of the Congress, the unpreparedness of the Party leadership and the growing aggression of the right-wing forces with the aim of securing control of the Party increased the danger for the development of socialism in our State and also deepened the features of crisis between us and the fraternal parties. A significant part of the Party leadership was ever more under the influence of representatives of right-wing opportunism who — propagating a «new model» of socialism — fought openly against the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist teaching and socialist society.*

WHAT WAS HIDDEN BEHIND THE "NEW MODEL" OF SOCIALISM

People often ask *what are anti-socialist forces, what are right-wing opportunist forces?* The anti-socialist forces, sometimes openly and sometimes under cover, came out directly against the basic achievements of our Party and the working people, which were completed after February 1948, they tried to return our society to the situation before February 1948 and to the conditions of a bourgeois democratic State. This meant therefore the liquidation of our revolutionary development. We have more than enough examples of this in various organizations and in the press and in some political organizations of the National Front.

By their propaganda, right-wing opportunists in the Party cast doubts on and pulverized such principles of our Marxist-Leninist teaching as the Leninist norms of organization and life of the Communist Party, the implementation of its leading role in society and in the political system, the internationalist character of the Party and its international relations as well as certain basic questions of the economy of the socialist State etc. From petty bourgeois, social-democratic or even anarchistic positions they criticized and condemned the theoretical and practical experiences of the world Communist movement and our own Party and through the mass information media put these views into the minds of the people and Party members under the demagogic slogans of abstract freedom, democracy, humanism etc.

Large volumes of this typical petty bourgeois revisionism and opportunism could be compiled from our press, radio, television and many spee-

ches of that time. These forces, propagating their «new model» of socialism with various advertising adjectives, condemned not only everything in the past of our Party but also used every opportunity to create disputes, conflicts, criticisms of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and nationalistic passions and incited them, they slandered fraternal parties and countries etc.

Long before August 1968, nationalism and anti-Sovietism became the most effective weapon of the right-wing opportunists inside the Party and were the basis for their factual partnership with anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces.

We were sometimes afraid to use the term counter-revolutionary forces, thinking that counter-revolution always means direct armed conflict with the revolutionary forces of the working class, shooting, murders etc.

If we regard the working class led by Marxist-Leninist principles and the Communist Party as the basic revolutionary trend of modern society, then the forces which antagonistically aim against such motion, against the basic goals of the revolutionary movement, have always been, and objectively in our case too, counter-revolutionary forces regardless of the stage their actions have reached or which were made possible for them.

A SERIOUS DANGER THREATENED THE PARTY AND SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Thus, after January 1968, political development in our Party and our State was led astray from the correct path of the development of socialist society in a spirit of Marxist-Leninist principles and grossly deformed as a result of disunity, unpreparedness and partly also incapability of the Party leadership, as a consequence of the aggressivity, purposefulness, and organization of the right-wing and anti-socialist forces which seized the media of mass propaganda and a whole series of positions in the Party, the State and in the organs of power. *A sharp internal political struggle and intra-Party struggle grew out of control of the Party leadership and its individual elements (let us recall some town, district and regional conferences), which split the Party into various camps, split our society. The point in question was to secure control of the extraordinary Party Congress convened for September 9 last year. It should be said that in this struggle the right wing and the anti socialist forces working with them gained the upper hand mainly in the Czech lands and the split Party leadership was ever less capable of its own united action, of united control.* The right-wing and anti-socialist forces pushed it towards constant compromises, concessions and, one can even say, defeats.

There was a clear danger to the unity of the Party on Marxist-Leninist principles, a danger to the development of socialist society and hence also a danger to our internationalist ties and obligations.

THE PARTY LEADERSHIP GROSSLY VIOLATED THE INTERNATIONALIST PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It was impossible for the internal political conflicts not to be reflected also in the relations of our Party to the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union and the fraternal parties of the other countries of the Warsaw Treaty and in the relations of our State and the other allied States. This chapter of the history of the post-January period was almost unknown, until recently, both to members of the Party and to the wider public. This was partly because it was concealed by the Party leadership itself or its decisive officials and partly because the press, radio and television controlled by the right-wing and anti-socialist forces, distorted and cheated when writing and reporting on mutual relations among the States of the Warsaw Treaty, confused the thinking of the people under the slogans of sovereignty and independence and developed a nationalist campaign against our allies.

Today we are putting before members and alternate members of the Central Committee important and decisive confidential documents on the mutual relations between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties, so that they may judge how our relations developed.

WHAT WAS DISCUSSED AT THE CONFERENCE IN DRESDEN

It is already a known fact that *the fraternal parties publicly welcomed the changes which occurred in Czechoslovakia after January 1968. They declared this stand publicly in the addresses of all leading representatives of the fraternal parties on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of February 1948.*

However, the development in this country took the course we have briefly outlined. Out of concern about this development in Czechoslovakia, out of concern about the danger for the whole socialist camp, a *conference of six Communist Parties* was convened in Dresden on March 23, 1968. The minutes of this conference, which members of the Central Committee have at their disposal, show how earnestly the representatives of the fraternal parties pointed out the dangers of the internal developments in Czechoslovakia how they advised and pleaded with the representatives of our Party for the leadership to prevent the disruptive actions of the right-wing and anti-socialist forces. *Not only was the Party and the general public not informed of the results of this conference, of the promises made by our Party, but neither was the whole Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia informed and no lessons or conclusions were drawn.*

TALKS IN MOSCOW

After many other partial consultations and talks, there was again a *conference of a delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Moscow on May 4, 1968, with representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.* From the minutes which are at your disposal and which were made by our representatives, you see with what urgency the representatives of our Party were once more warned of the danger which menaces the socialist development in Czechoslovakia, which menaces the whole socialist camp.

This conference was followed by an attempt at the May Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to make a partial rectification. However, they stopped short at empty declarations — on the contrary, the right-wing and anti-socialist forces went fully into counter-attack in June 1968. There can be no dispute on the fact that *our Party, the working class, had adequate strength to prevent the onslaught of the right-wing and anti-socialist forces which were disrupting the Party, the society, the State and the economy, paralysing the bodies of socialist power and threatening the foundations of the socialist system. There was enough strength to prevent the anti-Soviet slander campaign* (for instance, around the manoeuvres of the allied armies within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, and the like), *of course, under the sole condition that the Presidium would draw conclusions from its own experience and from the consultations with fraternal parties, if it assessed the situation unitedly and worked energetically.* This was manifest also around the double-dealing and inconsistent reaction of certain members of the leadership to the provocative rightist appeal of the "2000 words" in the resignation displayed by the leadership towards the mass information media, in the overall weak procedure of the leading bodies of the Party, in which the aggressiveness of the representatives of the right-wing elements was growing. *This conduct of the leadership could not but influence the whole Party, its more than one million six hundred thousand members, a great part of whom gradually succumbed to disorientation and internal conflicts.*

WHAT PRECEDED THE WARSAW CONFERENCE

In this situation, Comrade Brezhnev, with the knowledge of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, again approached Comrade Dubček with a letter on June 6, 1968, pointing out to this development, proposing a meeting, a conference and a consultation with a Czechoslovak delegation at any place. Comrade Dubček turned down this meeting under various pretexts concerning work. Developments in Czechoslovakia as well as such an unstatesmanlike attitude to the allies, with whom the fate of our Party and our peoples had been bound for decades, increased the tension between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the fraternal Communist parties.

At the beginning of July, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the four other fraternal parties proposed to us a meeting in Warsaw.

On July 8 and July 12, 1968, the leadership of our Party rejected a joint meeting of the six parties under the pretext that bilateral talks would be necessary first. It was avoiding this meeting for fear of criticism of shortcomings in our development as well as from megalomania and under pressure of nationalist propaganda in the information media, controlled by the right-wing forces.

On July 12, Comrade Dubček was informed by the Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia about the convening of a conference of the six parties in Warsaw on July 14. He did not even inform the members of the leadership of this fact.

On July 13, Comrade Dubček met Comrade Kádár in Komárno where he was again informed of the convention of a conference and was

earnestly requested that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia should attend the Warsaw conference. Even so, the delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did not attend the conference of Communist parties in Warsaw on July 14 and 15.

In this way, the leadership of our Party demonstrated before the whole world the open split with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the four other fraternal parties, and thus intensified its isolation from its closest allies. By this decision, the leadership encouraged nationalist and anti-Soviet moods which were spread en masse among the people by the right-wing and anti-socialist forces. In this way, it ranked itself with the false "nation-wide unity" which was created by the right-wing and anti-socialist forces as their ideological basis on the platform of nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

REFUSAL TO TAKE PART AT WARSAW WAS AT VARIANCE WITH THE BASIC INTERESTS OF SOCIALISM

The participants in the Warsaw meeting of the five parties, which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did not attend, sent a joint letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which, following the experience with concealing the contents of previous talks, they made public. They stress in this letter, as during the previous consultations with the leadership of our Party, their support for the positive aims of the post-January period. The letter says: "We do not approach you as the representatives of yesterday who would like to prevent you from rectifying mistakes and shortcomings and thus also violations of the socialist legality which occurred. We are not interfering with the methods of planning and managing the socialist national economy of Czechoslovakia, with your measures aimed at improving the structure of the economy, at developing the socialist democracy. We welcome the settlement of relations between Czechs and Slovaks on the sound foundations of fraternal cooperation in the framework of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic."

This letter at the same time expresses grave concern over the activation of hostile anti-socialist forces which were trying to draw our country away from the Marxist-Leninist road of socialist construction and separate it from the socialist community. There were more than enough reasons for such criticism of our development, as we know. The fraternal parties drew attention to the unavoidability of cementing the Party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the need to observe the principles of democratic centralism and to struggle against those who are assisting the hostile forces. The fraternal parties recommended the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to stop the activity of political organizations which were openly coming out against socialism. They further considered it essential for our Party to secure control of the media of mass propaganda — the press, radio and television — and to influence them in the interest of the working class, all the working people and socialism. The fraternal parties offer support to the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia so that it might comply with its obligations towards the interests of socialism, which are identical with the vital interests of the peoples of the Czechoslovak Socialist

Republic and which cannot be separated from the common internationalist interests of the socialist camp. They say in conclusion that the defence of all the socialist achievements requires primarily a decisive and forthright onslaught against the right-wing and anti-socialist forces, the mobilization of all means of defence which the socialist State has at its disposal.

We cannot take these warnings and advice otherwise than as comradely aid to the leadership of our Party at that time. If the leadership of the Party had been ready and able to rely at that time on the sound forces in our Party, the working class, and the other working people, on the help of the fraternal parties, then developments in our country would have taken even at that time rather a different course. The leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, however, replied to the Warsaw letter of the five parties with a rejection of their entire assessment of the gravity of the danger which existed in our country. At that time, the right-wing forces had already taken the direction of preparations for the extraordinary 14th Congress into their hands to a considerable degree.

The leadership of our Party refused to use power means against the anti-socialist forces with the explanation that this would mean a return to "the directive methods of Party management" of the Novotný era. Further measures aimed at strengthening the leading role of the Party would, according to the reply of the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, "on the contrary give rise to a situation in which power conflicts would really occur".

In a report to the session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on July 19, 1968, in which Comrade Dubček gave the reasons for the negative reply of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to the letter of the five parties, he observed that the anti-socialist forces did not represent a grave danger in the given situation as the fraternal parties presumed, but that the danger was threatening from the left. He said: "In today's complicated situation, we cannot even exclude that the conservative, sectarian forces would attempt to misuse the letter of the five parties in order to induce conflict in the Party and to thwart the adopted tactics and the political aims set out in the Resolution of the May Plenum." Unfortunately, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in its Resolution of July 19, 1968, approved the procedure of the Presidium and confirmed the split and the open demonstration against the five fraternal parties. Thus the internationalist principles of the policy of our Party were infringed and the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia came onto the positions that were determined by the right-wing elements.

We consider decision taken by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in connection with the Warsaw conference and its approval by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to be one of the gravest mistakes in our internal and particularly our international relations, for which the leadership of the Party at that time and especially Comrade Dubček as the then First Secretary of the Party, is responsible. The Presidium of the Central Committee therefore proposes to today's session that the Central Committee rescind its decision taken on July 19 under increasing psychic,

moral and public right-wing pressure, in its full extent. It is essential that we declare unequivocally that the refusal to attend the Warsaw conference was a grave mistake, that it was a deed at variance with the basic interests of socialism in our country and the internationalist traditions of our country.

INSTEAD OF RECTIFICATION AND CHANGE, MOVING TOWARDS CATASTROPHIC DEVELOPMENT

After this split, our internal political development moved further in the dangerous direction, influenced by the nationalist wave organized by the right-wing and anti-socialist forces. Preparations for the Congress which was to meet shortly, continued in this atmosphere. *There was still an attempt to settle the open international conflict at bilateral negotiations of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia at Čierna nad Tisou between July 29 and August 1 last year.* The leading officials of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — as is stated in the documents submitted to members of the Central Committee — tried once more to move our leadership to rectification and a change to take action against the right-wing and anti-socialist forces. *The meeting of the six parties in Bratislava on August 3, 1968, and the joint statement presented a possibility of settling the conflict with the fraternal parties and preventing further catastrophic development. The leadership of our Party solemnly confirmed in Bratislava its internationalist obligations towards the socialist community. However, in practice, it did not take a single step after this declaration towards realization of the obligations undertaken for the defence of the threatened interests of socialism in this country and the interests of the socialist camp.*

EVER NEW WARNINGS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU MET WITH NO RESPONSE

There were still more attempts to warn the leadership of our Party about its responsibility for the non-fulfilment of obligations undertaken as well as about the danger from developments in this country. *On August 13, 1968, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union once more drew the attention of our leadership to the non-fulfilment of the agreements from Čierna. On the same day, Comrade Brezhnev wrote to Comrade Dubček on the same subject and gravely pointed out the danger of developments in this country, recalling our obligation to fulfil the adopted undertakings.*

Not even members of the leadership of the Party were informed about these documents.

On August 17, an official letter was sent by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, addressed to Comrade Dubček, requesting him to inform all members of the Presidium of the Communist Party Central Committee about it without delay. In the letter, the Polit-

buro of the CPSU Central Committee expresses grave concern and apprehension over developments in Czechoslovakia.

This letter, which Comrade Dubček received on August 19, remained unanswered and Comrade Dubček informed the Central Committee Presidium about it on August 20, only after the report of the entry of the allied armies onto our territory, although the Presidium began its proceedings at 2 p.m.

On August 17, Comrade Dubček met Comrade Kádár in Komárno — at the suggestion of Comrade Kádár — where Comrade Kádár again earnestly pointed out the development of events in Czechoslovakia and the need for energetic measures to be taken in this country. This talk, lasting several hours, was also withheld from the Party leadership and Comrade Dubček did not give the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia a report on it until the second half of September 1968.

WITH RESPONSIBLE DIRECTION OF OUR POLICY, AUGUST 1968 NEED NOT HAVE OCCURRED

These are a few facts from the collection of documents which have been submitted today to you — members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — for information and for your judgement. From them, such a conclusion can be drawn that *the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and Comrade Dubček in particular, neglected in the course of these numerous negotiations with fraternal parties the basic duties ensuing from the internationalist teaching and from the relationships of the Communist Party, from bonds of alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. However the basic duties of a responsible statesman to see to the security of his country and the peaceful life of its peoples were also neglected.*

It can be said that *with some degree of responsible direction of our Party policy, there need have been no entry of the armies onto our territory, no August 1968, with its political, psychological domestic and foreign political complications and consequences. It is the duty of Marxists to strive always for the maintenance of internationalist relations with the fraternal Communist parties. It is the duty of a responsible politician to maintain sincere relations with the socialist States, on whose assistance the security of our peoples, the defence of our State independence depend. Unfortunately, our Party did not have such a leadership at that time.*

THE RESOLUTION OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUGUST 21, 1968, IS NON-CLASS, UNMARXIST AND INCORRECT FROM THE OUTSET

After these negotiations, after the constant promises and their non-fulfilment, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties lost political confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and particularly in its First

Secretary. It lost confidence in their being ready — or able — to stop the dangerous developments in Czechoslovakia.

Out of concern for developments and the upholding of socialism in Czechoslovakia, in view of the danger of power-political reversal which the right-wing forces were striving for at the approaching extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, out of concern for the consequences of such developments for the security of the socialist camp and the possible danger to the results of the Second World War in Europe, paid for with rivers of blood, the allied States decided to send their armies onto our territory.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE CARE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY?

How did the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which was in session on August 20, 1968, from 2 p.m., react to this step? The accounts of individual participants published in our press have already partly clarified the attitudes of the individual Presidium members, the dramatic scenes where Comrade Dubček resigned his post as the First Secretary and where Comrade Mlynář and others later formulated the well-known statement of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of August 21, 1968, adopted by the majority of votes. With what kind of responsibility did the then existing leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia approach the situation, the future of our people in this serious hour? In the statement, which is known to the public, there is, apart from realistic features — such as the call to the Party and the people to maintain calm and prudence, the call to the armed forces not to offer resistance to the armies of the five Warsaw Treaty countries — in this statement the entry of the armies is judged from non-class and nationalist positions, in contradiction to international responsibility and in contradiction to the Bratislava Declaration.

Instead of seeking, in the given situation, a realistic solution for the Party and the State and taking immediate active steps, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia adopted a demonstrative standpoint which characterizes the entry of the armies of the allied countries onto our territory as an act which is in contradiction to international law and to the principles of relations between the socialist countries. This standpoint was immediately published by the Presidium. This practically meant that this step — the entry of the armies of the allied countries onto our territory — was qualified as an act of occupation, as an attack against the sovereignty of our State and the freedom of our people; although these expressions were used derivatively after the decision of the Central Committee Presidium, only in the statements of other Party organs, of the Party, the State and of social organizations. *Not a word was said by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and by Comrade Dubček to explain the preceding negotiations with the fraternal parties, the accepted and unfulfilled obligations or the motives for the step which was taken by the allied countries with a heavy heart because they did*

not see any other solution for the development of socialism in Czechoslovakia and for preventing a threat to the socialist camp.

In this situation, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Comrade Dubček did not take any steps — just as in the preceding decisive days — to settle controversies, to clarify the situation, or towards vigorous internal measures which could have prevented this extraordinary step of the allied Parties and countries. After adopting the statement of the Central Committee Presidium they passively awaited the further course of events.

The members of the Party, the masses of our working people, who were politically unprepared and uninformed as regards the development of relations, the conferences, pledges and obligations on our side, were after this statement and the chauvinistic wave in the mass information media, completely disorientated, misled, they could not understand the situation and adopt an objective standpoint. *By its decision and by its entire former stand when it obscured the real state of relations, Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia caused the political disorientation of the Party and of the people in the whole State.* All the more so, since the arrival of the allied armies was not, and essentially could not be, a surprise to the narrower informed circle. The Bratislava Declaration of August 3, 1968, which was signed by leading officials of our Party, says literally:

"The support, protection and the strengthening of the achievements won by the nations through their heroic efforts and selfless work of the people of every country are the joint internationalist duty of all the socialist countries. This is the unanimous opinion of all participants at the consultative meeting, who expressed unflinching determination to develop and protect the achievements of socialism in their countries, to achieve new successes in the building of socialism."

We have already recalled what conclusions were — or were not — drawn from this solemn declaration by the leadership of our Party.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE FATEFUL STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In the mentioned statement, especially in the part dealing with the violation of international law, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia played into the hands of the right-wing and anti-socialist forces, which had taken over the control of the press, radio and television, to unleash a hostile campaign "against the occupants", to incite resistance and to conduct chauvinistic propaganda against the allied armies. *It was a campaign aimed at political struggle and a split with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, of scandalizing the USSR and the other countries internationally, which was also fully exploited by the bourgeois countries against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.*

By this statement, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia also gave a directive for the work

of lower Party organs and local Party organizations, which saw in the statement a binding instruction for their own conclusions. Organs of the National Assembly, mass social organizations and various other organizations of our life also took up their stand according to this line.

Considering the monopoly held at that time in the mass information media by the right-wing and anti-socialist forces and considering the disorientation of the entire Party and of the people one cannot wonder that many honest Party members, organizations and organs, many honest citizens of our State were misled, disorientated and that they adopted an incorrect stand. In such a situation it is difficult to reproach them. A chauvinistic and anti-Soviet wave was created in our country, posing itself as supreme patriotism and condemning all different standpoints as treason or collaboration. The campaign, filled with hatred, which was waged in those days by the mass information media and which had begun already a long time before, reached its climax. A group of people abroad, like Ota Šik and Co., abused this occasion for actions in foreign countries and in the U.N. Security Council. This disorientation, and bourgeois propaganda in the Western countries harmfully influenced the known standpoints of some fraternal parties which were exposed in the capitalist countries to a furious onslaught of anti-Soviet hysteria.

THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES FULFILLED THEIR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION

What standpoint should we adopt towards these issues today, when a period of time has elapsed and when we have the knowledge of some documents. At the May Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia we said that *our Party wants to deal honourably with these events, before its people and before the International Communist Movement*. We are preparing an analysis of the entire post-January development which will also clarify this period in greater detail. However, with the onslaught of the right-wing and anti-socialist forces during the past months, it was necessary to adopt some standpoints on the basis of already known facts. This I did at the International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow last June, at the State-wide meeting on August 19th of this year, and at the celebrations of the Slovak National Uprising on August 29th of this year. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has endorsed my statements. With full responsibility we can today say:

1. *If the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, especially the decisive officials and Comrade Dubček personally, had firmly led the Party in the post-January development in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, if they had taken care of its internal unity, observance of democratic centralism, the assertion of the leading role of the Party, if they had relied on the working class and the working people and had waged a vigorous struggle with the anti-socialist and right-wing forces, there would not have arisen such an intra-Party and internal political*

struggle, such a profound crisis situation, which threatened the unity and the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the socialist power of the working class and of the working people and our ties of alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

2. *If in the negotiations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the other fraternal parties, caused by our internal development, they had proceeded from internationalist positions, with a political and statesmanlike responsibility, the allied troops would not have entered our territory.*
3. *In the mentioned situation, the entry of the allied troops was motivated by the interests of the defence of socialism in Czechoslovakia against anti-socialist, right-wing and counter-revolutionary forces, by the common interests and security of the socialist camp, by the class interests of the Communist and workers movement. Under no circumstances was it an act of aggression against the Czechoslovak State and the Czechoslovak people, it was not a matter of the occupation of Czechoslovak territory and of suppressing the freedom and the socialist system in our country.*

We therefore consider the statement of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of August 21, 1968, in its essential part as devoid of class character, non-Marxist and fundamentally incorrect and, in its political consequences as harmful to our Party, our nations and our State. The lower Party, social and other organs in our country which last August derived their incorrect standpoints from the statement of the Central Committee Presidium of August 21, have annulled, rescinded or amended their standpoints from that time.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia proposes that the present session of the Central Committee annul for the said reasons the statement of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of August 21, 1968, because of its fundamental incorrectness, even though it contains parts which have a more realistic content. By the proposed decision of the Central Committee we intend to redress, before the Party, the people and the International Communist Movement, one of the basic errors of the post-January leadership of our Party and make it possible for a great number of honest Party members and citizens of our State to correct, after being acquainted with facts, their incorrect standpoints from August of last year. By this we also wish to contribute, in accordance with truth and checked facts, to the clarification of the so-called Czechoslovak issue in the international Communist movement and to the broadening of our relations with the USSR and the allied socialist countries.

Since the years of the Second World War, the freedom of our nations, the independence of the Czechoslovak State and the protection of its socialist development has been based on the alliance and fraternal cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries. The clarification and explanation of the events of August 1968 makes it possible to continue successfully in this line. The proposed decision and the correction of the incorrect and erroneous step of our Party leadership of August 21, 1968, is our duty as Communist and Czechoslovak patriots.

THE MOSCOW PROCEEDS FROM THE BRATISLAVA DECLARATION

A realistic way out of the exceptionally complex situation after August 20th was sought by the President of the Republic, Comrade Ludvík Svoboda, who took steps for clarifying and normalizing our relations with the USSR and the allied countries. This step of Comrade Svoboda and of the delegation which he headed at the Moscow talks resulted in the Moscow Protocol concluded on August 26, 1968. *This Moscow Protocol links up with the Bratislava Declaration of August 3, 1968. It provided a basis for the resumption of normal life at home, for the resumption of the work of our Party, the State organs and the entire social life. It linked up with the traditional and friendly ties of alliance between our Parties, nations and States. It was from this that the further work of the Party and the further development in our State proceeded, or to be more exact, should have proceeded.*

THE SO-CALLED VYSOČANY CONGRESS WAS AN ILLEGAL ACTION OF RIGHTIST GROUPS IN CONTRADICTION TO PARTY CONSTITUTION

On this occasion, it is necessary to mention a third event which for a long time had been misleading members of the Party and our society (some of them are being misled by it up to the present) — the so-called extraordinary 14th Party Congress in Vysočany on August 22, 1968. It is known that *long before August, the leadership of the City Party Organization in Prague was seized by a right-wing group which aspired to become the second centre in the Party.* It declared its city conference as permanent in order to exert consistent pressure on the Party leadership, and organized actions for seizing the Party leadership at the extraordinary congress convened for September 9th in Prague. *This right-wing group around the City Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Prague convened, after the statement of the Central Committee Presidium of August 21, by means of the radio and through other channels, the delegates to the extraordinary 14th Congress to a conference which in the course of the session of the delegates it declared to be the extraordinary 14th Party Congress.*

It must be stated that the group around the Prague City Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — former City Committee secretaries J. Litera, J. Kolář, former Director of the Radio Z. Hejzlar, as well as Šabata, Pelikán, Miloš Hájek, Šilhán, Pacovský and others, had usurped for themselves, without authority of any kind and from any Party organs, the right to convene a congress to determine its programme, to adopt documents on behalf of the entire Party and even to elect a new Central Committee and its Presidium. This represents a gross violation of the Party Constitution. It was evidently insignificant for these right-wing representatives that when the congress was opened only 5 out of the 292 normally elected delegates from Slovakia were present. A majority of delegates from other sectors were equally missing. *It was thus that these branded "progressives" implemented the idea of*

intra-Party democracy and democracy in society about which they had been shouting off their mouths for months.

It was evidently a group of people who in a crisis and critical situation of the Party abused the disorientation of the majority of honest delegates for brutal chauvinistic and anti-Soviet attacks and for the illegal election of a new Central Committee and its Presidium. From the addresses made at this "Vysočany Congress" and from the documents adopted at this congress it is evident that it was a matter of non-class and anti-Marxist standpoints of a group of stage-managers and organizers, of illegal and usurpatory seizing of the rights and powers of the Central Committee, of an attempt to seize the leadership of the whole Party. This "Vysočany Congress" is a typical and characteristic example of how the right-wing forces in our Party manipulated well-meaning Party members and delegates to the Congress. At the same time it demonstrates where the right-wing forces wanted to lead our Party and the State, when they were in fact striving, under the slogans of sovereignty and independence, for the separation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from the Socialist Community and from the States of the Warsaw Treaty. It is sufficiently known how this so-called Vysočany Congress complicated the situation of the Party, especially in the Czech lands and in the international Communist movement. And it also demonstrates how the right-wing opportunist forces in the Party were preparing for the extraordinary 14th Congress which was to have convened on September 9 and with what intentions they approached it.

The Moscow Protocol, signed on August 26 by the leadership of our Party, contained a stipulation on the non-validity of the so-called Vysočany Congress. It is known with what embarrassment and "considerateness" some members of the then Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia were bringing this stipulation into life, how they strove for a compromise in the co-optation of new members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia at the end of August, 1968. Although the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia which opened in Bratislava at the end of August was at the beginning also under the influence of the statement of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of August 21, and of nationalist and anti-Soviet hysteria, it adopted a principled standpoint towards the "Vysočany Congress", rejected it as illegal and the Slovak members of the so-called Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its new Presidium renounced their functions. This course of the Communist Party of Slovakia was for many months the subject of a campaign of right-wing forces filled with hatred.

Since the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has not, so far, directly adopted a standpoint on the so-called Vysočany Congress, the Central Presidium recommends to the present session of the Central Committee to univocally and openly dissociate itself from the Vysočany Congress, to declare this action of the right-wing groups illegal and in contradiction to the Party Constitution and to declare, before the entire Party, the documents and results of this congress null and void.

DEVELOPMENTS AFTER AUGUST PROVE THAT IT WAS A RIGHT-WING AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ONSLAUGHT

After the heavy shock of August 1968 and the lessons which the leading officials of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia could and should have learned from it, it was possible to expect that order would be vigorously made in our Party and State, as regards the anti-socialist and right-wing forces, that the Party would fully assert its influence and leading role, that it would take the mass information media firmly in its hand and would ensure, in accordance with its teaching and its obligations from the Moscow Protocol, steps towards the restoration of socialist order in our Party and in our State. Unfortunately, *the months from August 1968 to April 1969 are crammed with confusion, periods of crisis, through which our whole Party, our society, its policy and economy and the thinking of the Party members and of the broad masses of our populations continued to pass.*

What is the reason that conclusions were not drawn from the experience acquired before August and in August, that no correction was made, that the Party and the society did not continue in consolidating the situation in our country? The anti-socialist and right-wing forces which had kept practically all their positions won in the pre-August period had a simple explanation which they proclaimed by means of all mass information media to the people at home and to the world: the cause lies in the "occupants", in the entry of the allied troops. The deterioration of the economic and political situation was being explained by this simplified, primitive and false argument. However, the real cause lay in the fact that *the Party leadership continued to pursue its disunited, contradictory, hesitant and opportunist policy in the same way as before August, some of its members as well as the then First Secretary did not find courage for effective actions against right-wing and opportunist forces in the Party and anti-Soviet forces in the society, they did not find courage and energy to influence and secure control of the mass information media, to crush the anti-socialist and right-wing centres in the Party and the State and their exceptionally strong positions.* The same forces continued to exert their disruptive influence on internal as well as on international relations. On the contrary, they carried on the nationalist, anti-Soviet wave, they acquired courage under the benevolent patronage of the right-wing forces in the Party leadership and in the Central Committee and in other Party, State and economic positions, they were seizing whole sectors of the economic and State life, of social organizations — of entire sectors in the Trade Unions, in youth, in the apparatus of the State power etc. These questions were repeatedly the subject of strong criticism by part of the members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of the later established Executive Committee of the Central Committee Presidium. *Several times good and correct resolutions were also adopted but their implementation was in fact always made impossible by the opportunist stand of the representatives of the right wing in the Party leadership using at the same time power positions in the Party, State and mass information media.*

THE NOVEMBER RESOLUTION TORPEDOED AGAIN

In November 1968, there was an attempt to make of the November Resolution a basis of the unification of the Party, for assertion of its leading role and for a start towards consolidating conditions in the Party and the State. As many times before, this Resolution was again torpedoed and paralyzed by the offensive onslaught of the anti-socialist and right-wing forces, as we had known them from the culminating phases around the student strike in November 1968, during the campaign around Josef Smrkovský and at the Trade Union Congresses in December 1968, then again in January, February and especially late March 1969. These forces and hesitant as well as incapable members of the Party leadership were bringing the whole Party, our society and the State to the verge of tragic situations. It will be necessary to analyze in detail the actions of these forces, of their centres at home and abroad, the impact of inter-connections between individual groups of the right-wing and anti-socialist forces, foreign bourgeois intelligence services and purposive subversion in Czechoslovakia, in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in our policy, economy, etc.

These eight months from August 1968 to April 1969 are in this respect unprecedented in the socialist camp. If there could be talk of naivety, illusions, "seeking a new model" in the case of many political and public officials before August 1968, there can be no doubt after August 1968 that there was in Czechoslovakia an organized right-wing and counter-revolutionary campaign, attempts to disrupt conditions in our Party and in our State. In this respect, too, a detailed analysis of these eight months will show the responsibility of political and other officials for the tragic situations in our Party and society.

THE OFFENSIVE OF THE PARTY AFTER THE APRIL PLENARY SESSION

A fundamental turn in this situation was brought about only by the April session of the Central Committee of our Party. At the beginning of this report we spoke of some successes in the work of the Party and our society, of progress in the consolidation. It is true that we are also aware of the weak spots, of what was left unsaid and also of the fact that in this respect the work of our Party is practically in the first stage. We know how many shortcomings there are in our work — from the centre to regional and district organizations, and especially in the local organizations of the Party. We know how many shortcomings there are in the sphere of State bodies and especially in our economy.

A critical look at our past development, clarification of important problems and key points in our recent history speeds up the process of cognition, the overcoming of incorrect views in the minds of our people, differentiation. It is an important contribution to the political consolidation in our Party and society. All the measures taken in the field of Party and public life are aimed at creating in this country a normal peaceful conditions for solving problems, and especially for concentrating all the attention of the Party and our people on economic problems. The purpose of the work of the Communist Party lies in solving the problems

of life and livelihood of the working man. If we are compelled to deal with eliminating obstacles on this path, in the transitional period, this is the heritage the new leadership of the Party has taken over in a situation which was not easy, with which it must cope, so that we may relatively quickly reach a situation in which all our Party and social organizations, State and economic bodies and other spheres will carry out their functions normally, as is presumed in a consolidated and civilized State.

After five months following the April plenary session and after partial successes and good results we have conditions today for speeding up the pace of consolidation measures in the political and economic field. This means at the same time to place greater demands on the work of our people, especially the Communists, in every field.

PURIFICATION OF THE PARTY — PRECONDITION FOR A HIGHER LEVEL OF POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL UNITY

In order to restore the unity of our Party on the principled foundations of the Marxist-Leninist teaching it is necessary, in keeping with the Implementation Directives, to continue in the everyday struggle against right-wing opportunist forces and views within our Party. To use matter-of-fact arguments in order to win and persuade wavering and disorientated honest members and rid the Party of those people who obstinately persist in incorrect political and ideological positions or, while even holding a Party membership card, struggle actively against its programme and political aims. We are submitting today to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia a number of proposals for the expulsion from the Central Committee of those of its members who abandoned the positions of Marxism-Leninism, discredited the Party in important periods and who for a longer time made no efforts to rid themselves of serious errors or to help the Party in a difficult situation. In this way, the Central Committee is to be an example for the Regional, City and District Committees of the Party to take a similar principled attitude to the workers in their sphere, to rid Party bodies of right-wing opportunists and to achieve a higher degree of political and ideological unity of these bodies. It is necessary to review the Party apparatus from the central bodies to the lowest so that the exponents of right-wing opportunism should not find refuge in this important sector of Party work. The same line should be adopted in social organizations, in the State and economic apparatus, in the fields of science and culture.

ALL HELP TO LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

It must be said that serious shortcomings in our activity are in the work with local organizations of our Party. There are cases that organizations have not met for quite a long time. There are enough cases in which a considerable number of members do not take part in Party life, even in membership meetings of the local organizations of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. There are many cases of political passivity. Generally, much greater attention must be paid — especially by District Committees of the Party—to organizations, to keeping them informed,

to local activation and correct orientation according to the resolutions of the Central Committee. The main front-line of the struggle against the influence of right-wing opportunist forces is now in local organizations. This is an intense process of differentiation, and it is therefore necessary to help in this struggle by all means to the sound core of the Party in local organizations. After all, the final defeat of the right-wing forces in the Party can be completed exactly in the local organizations. We again emphasize the specific importance of local organizations of the Party in factories and places of work. This has its political aspect, but at the same time it is one of the preconditions for improving our economy. After this session of the Central Committee, the Regional and District Committees should work out detailed plans of work with the local Party organizations and set themselves highly demanding tasks in activating all honest Communists for Party work.

THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARD CAN BE CARRIED ONLY BY PEOPLE FAITHFUL TO ITS PROGRAMME

We have repeatedly stated that some members of the Party have so far abandoned Marxist-Leninist teaching that their continued membership in the Party is not a contribution for it, but directly harms it. Such cases must be solved. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia prepares for the session of the Central Committee to be held later this year proposals for measures to replace membership cards, which were to be carried out already last year. We do not expect the replacement of membership cards to be a formal act. The membership card of our Party should be carried by people who are faithful to its programme, who commit themselves for it and help the Party. We do not intend to give a new Party membership card to dishonest, discredited people or to those who are unable to get rid of views hostile to our teaching. It will therefore be necessary to assess in the case of every member of the Party whether he deserves to be a Party member in view of his political attitude, work and character.

Extraordinary importance is in this period held by correct personnel policy. The policy of the Party will be implemented according to the kind of people the Party will place in responsible posts in the whole sphere of our life. In our work we should rely on people who are politically mature and firm, professionally capable, on people with good character so that they be able to master assigned tasks and to win authority and respect in their environments. Every organization must pay special attention to this problem.

CONCRETE PARTY WORK AMONG PEOPLE IS MOST IMPORTANT

It is necessary to return again to the problem of responsibility of the Party organization for conditions at its place of work, in the factory, the office, at every place. We must orientate Party members and Party orga-

nizations towards concrete work — especially in the economic field, towards concrete care for people, for their problems and everyday worries. This field of Party work was highly neglected over the recent period and must be therefore emphasized again and again. We have many times stated that the following principle is valid:

We shall succeed in solving all other problems of our society as rapidly as we shall have the Party in order, unified on principled foundations and capable to take action. We shall therefore pay increased and extraordinary attention to the restoration of the unity of the Party in all organizations.

Speaking of the unity of the Party, it should be said that old sectarian tendencies, which hinder our path forward and weaken our consistent struggle against right-wing opportunism as against the main danger, have appeared in some places. These are old problems in our movement. Lenin, too, spoke about them in 1929 in the draft resolution on the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia on party unity:

“Criticism of the Party’s shortcomings, which is absolutely necessary, must be conducted in such a way that every practical proposal shall be submitted immediately, without any delay, in the most precise form possible, for consideration and decision to the leading, local and central bodies of the Party. Moreover, everyone who criticizes must see to it that the form of his criticism takes into account the position of the Party, surrounded as it is by a ring of enemies, and that the content of his criticism is such that by directly participating in Soviet and Party work, he can test the rectification of the errors of the Party or of the individual Party members in practice.”

I recall these words of Lenin because also the above-mentioned non-Leninist methods and forms of work, which impair the unity of the Party and also impair unified discipline, which is equally binding for all members, have survived from the preceding period of the internal division of the Party up to the present. In our party work it is necessary to struggle also against these harmful phenomena, just as against signs of impatience, petty-bourgeois radicalism, although they are sometimes motivated by good intentions; quite frequently however, they hide personal ambitions and motives. *At the present level of development of our Party we must enforce more resolutely the internal unity of the Party, led from one centre, just as increased discipline of Party members.*

We consider consulting the Central Committee later this year on starting work on preparations for our 14th Congress. The precondition for it to be held is internal consolidation of the Party and its ideological unity.

EXTRAORDINARY IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

In the interest of Communist education and of overcoming incorrect views in the minds of people and of winning them over for committed support for the policy of the Party it is necessary *to intensify ideological activity in the Party and in society:*

— it is necessary to concentrate Party propaganda and education on explaining the present tasks of the Party in individual fields of socialist construction;

— it is necessary to use the lesson from the exposure of the causes and the overcoming of the consequences of the activity of right-wing opportunist and counter-revolutionary forces in order to prevent the repetition of similar phenomena in future and to efficiently resist the influence of Western bourgeois propaganda;

— we must pay extraordinary attention and care to restoring an efficient system of internal party education, especially to the study of works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and of the present policy of the Party. Abandonment of this in the past period helped to cast doubts on the key values of the Communist revolutionary movement and contributed to weakening the class approach of Communists to solving the most various issues;

— special attention must be paid to the education of the basic Party aktiv, especially functionaries from Party committees in big industrial plants, in order to give them effective political-ideological preparation and help even before the forthcoming annual membership meetings.

TO FREE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, TOO, OF THE INFLUENCE OF RIGHT-WING FORCES

We recalled a certain improvement of the work of Communists in social and other organizations of the National Front. It is true, however, that we are still facing the main stage of work in this direction. Quite a number of bodies and organizations of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, youth, women, sports and other organizations, are still under the influence of incorrect views and directly under the influence of right-wing opportunist forces. *The political struggle for the purification of mass organizations from opportunist influences, especially of the trade union movement and youth, must be intensified at all levels and personnel policy in these big and influential organizations must be given extraordinary attention.* The trade union movement has over the period given little assistance in carrying out the tasks in the field of economy and production. It is necessary to turn to active effective work from idle dabbling in politics and especially from organizing various protest actions, frequently of an opposition character. All our Party bodies will devote extraordinary attention to organizations of the National Front, especially to the trade unions and youth.

We face complicated work on the cultural front, in the field of education, science and art. These fields have been strongly infiltrated by opportunist tendencies. However, the Party cannot give up its influence on such delicate spheres of our society. We want to solve problems which have cropped up and ripened in this field very sensitively, but also with great consistency. We sincerely wish to win over the overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia of all specializations for cooperation. Party and Government bodies will shortly discuss more thoroughly the problems of scientific and technological development and a whole complex of problems — how the results of science and technology could be applied in production to help our economy. After profound analysis and elaboration of these problems we consider submitting this subject for all-round assessment to some of the sessions of the Central Committee.

WE CALL FOR THE CO-OPERATION OF ALL, WHO ARE NOT INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF OUR NATIONS

At the latest plenary session of the Central Committee we were also discussing the situation in our national economy, certain principles and measures for improving it. Our enemies abroad and anti-socialist and opportunist forces at home are misusing some of our economic difficulties against the Party and our socialist system, while it is a well-known fact that features of crisis appeared strongly in our economy as early as 1961-1964 and that they have not been practically overcome since that time. *During the past year groups of right-wing opportunists misused also economic problems to paralyze the whole system of economic management, to weaken the leading role of the Party in economy. Under the title of a reform they replaced planned management of the economy by anarchy and arbitrariness. Today, they want to demagogically put the blame for the losses they caused to our economy during the last one year and a half on the new Party leadership.* It will be necessary to inform the Party of these problems on another occasion in greater detail.

I shall give only one example: Comrade Borůvka as Minister of Agriculture visited various official and other places last year with panicky reports that we are threatened with an "explosion of meat", that we shall not know what to do with it. Concrete policy was made according to these theories. The number of cattle and pigs dropped by hundreds of thousands in a short period. And today, we have serious problems with supplying the population with meat, we are buying it on all world markets and must take energetic measures to improve the situation at least next year. And the new leadership of the Party is being blamed for the difficulties in meat supply.

We could actually list similar irresponsible approaches to solving economic problems in the past period from every section of our economy.

TO SOLVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS MORE ENERGETICALLY

The stabilization measures adopted last May have brought certain better economic results over the past three months. However, the fundamental negative trend and disproportions in the national economy have not been completely overcome. The Presidium of the Central Committee discusses economic problems continuously practically at each of its sessions. We have come to the conclusion that *it is necessary to carry out substantial personnel changes both in the Federal Government and in the National Governments so that new people in responsible posts in economic junctions could solve our economic problems much more consistently, energetically and responsibly.* The respective proposals for changes in the Federal Government and in the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic have been submitted to the Central Committee.

We expect these changes to help rapidly complete a systematic concept of the planned management of our economy, of the whole structure of economic management in our State, a rapid completion of the plan for the year 1970, preparation of the Five-Year Plan and, above all,

energetic elimination of shortcomings in production, in distribution, activation of all resources, which condemnably are not utilized in many places. We shall enforce that the position of leading economic executives, from the Government and Ministries down to management in factories and places of work be strengthened. However, we shall also require full responsibility from comrades in individual economic fields.

We shall consistently and on a full scale restore the leading role of the Party in the sphere of the national economy, strengthen Party and State discipline, give all-round support to the initiative of working people. It will be necessary to strengthen the influence of Federal economic bodies on the development of the unified Czechoslovak economy, to complete the solution of competence relations with individual bodies of State and economic management, to specify their powers and responsibilities. As we have already recalled simultaneously with problems of political consolidation, the situation is equally urgent in the field of economic problems, to which we want to gradually give substantial attention of our whole Party and the public. We are preparing an analysis of our economy, a concept of our economic policy, the system of management and prospects of the consolidation and development of our national economy. *We assume that the Presidium of the Central Committee will be able to present the whole complex of the above-mentioned problems for debate to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia before the end of this year.* This is why we are now touching on these problems only briefly.

We started the jubilee year of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of our nations by the Soviet Army and the restoration of the Czechoslovak State by celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. We want our people to spend the celebrations of the liberation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in a calm atmosphere, in a consolidated State of Czechs and Slovaks and our nationalities. We have all preconditions in this country to overcome political and economic difficulties, ensure a realistic perspective of development of our socialist State, its economic and cultural prosperity as well as the development of our socialist democracy. The roads towards this quite close perspective have been shown by the Implementation Directive of the May Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

We have travelled along this path for four months and today we again emphasize and specify it. It is necessary that as a leading force in our society, as a party of the working class the Party should give an example by its work to all the working people to rapidly overcome difficulties and problems. We are calling workers, farmers and intelligentsia, grown-up and young people, Communists and other citizens, all, who are not indifferent to the fate of our nations, to the life of our people for cooperation in this great work of consolidation and prosperity of our society and our State.

RESOLUTION
OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA
HELD FROM SEPTEMBER 25 TO 26

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia debated at its plenary session on September 25 and 26, 1969, the report of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the present situation and further tasks of the Party, delivered by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Gustáv Husák.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

1. states, that

— in the period after the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in May 1969, thanks to the strenuous work of thousands of functionaries and members of our Party and its leadership, the Party has achieved in all spheres of society considerable progress, success and the first stage of consolidation;

— In our political and public life as well as in our foreign political relations a certain calming down has set in and the well-known crisis situations are being overcome. Uncontrolled development and anarchy are giving way to purposeful direction of Party life and society. The Party — at least its healthy core — is again acquiring its ability to act and its militancy and is gradually asserting its leading role in our society;

— The positive results of implementing the directive of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of May 1969 prove their correctness. This directive remains the concrete programme for the complete solution of problems, for fully overcoming the crisis situations in this country;

2. Approves

the activity of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia since the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in May 1969, and its report on the present situation and further tasks of the Party, as the directive for further work of Party organizations, organs and Communists in all spheres of our life;

3. Annuls

in full its decision of July 1968 on the refusal of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to attend the conference of the five Communist parties in Warsaw, approved under roused-up psychological, moral and public pressure of the right wing. This was a grave political mistake, it

was an act which is at variance with the interests of socialism in our country, and with internationalist traditions;

4. Annuls

the resolution of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of August 21, 1968, because it is non-class, non-Marxist and fundamentally incorrect. The entry of the allied troops, under the situation which arose in summer 1968, was motivated by the interests of the defence of socialism in Czechoslovakia against right-wing anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces, by common interests in the security of the socialist camp, by the class interests of the workers and Communist movement. Under no circumstances was it an act of aggression against the people, a matter of occupation of the Czechoslovak territory and of suppression of freedom and socialist order in our State;

5. Rejects

the so-called Vysočany Congress, and declares its documents and results null and void. The illegal so-called Vysočany Congress is the result of impermissible faction activity of some members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the City Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Prague and other right-wing opportunist forces, in the organization of which, at variance with the Party Constitution, delegates to the extraordinary 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia were misused.

The Party Central Committee assesses the activity of the initiators and organizers of the so-called Vysočany Congress as an illegal and usurpatory seizure of the rights and competence of the Central Committee and as an attempt to seize the leadership of the whole Party.

In view of the extraordinary atmosphere of pressure by the right-wing forces, in which the delegates to the 14th Congress were elected, the Central Committee of the Party annuls their mandate. Delegates to the planned regular 14th Congress will be elected in a way to be determined by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, according to the Party Constitution within the framework of the pre-Congress campaign. The Central Control and Auditing Commission will complete the check on the activity of the "second centre" in the Party of the initiators and organizers of the Vysočany gathering and will subject them to disciplinary proceedings;

6. Enjoins

the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in the interests of consistent realization of Party and State policy, to decide, in indispensable cases, on personnel changes in organs of the Party, in State organs and organs of social organizations, where decision-making is within the powers of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is obliged to report to the nearest plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the reasons for the changes made.

7. Approves

the appeal on the development of initiative at work to mark the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Republic by the Soviet Army.

8. Approves

the accounts report of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for 1968 and the draft budget for 1969, including proposed measures.

RESOLUTION
OF THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA
HELD FROM SEPTEMBER 25 TO 26, 1969

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia expels from membership in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia comrades Josef Smrkovský, Marie Miková, Milan Hübl, Dr. Zbyněk Vokrouhlický, Zdeněk Mlynář, Dr. Jiří Hájek and, from the ranks of alternate members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Dr. František Vlasák.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia charges the Communist deputies of the Federal Assembly and of the House of the People to recall comrades Josef Smrkovský and Marie Miková from their functions as deputies for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia expels Václav Prchlík, Václav Slavík and Dr. Alfréd Černý from both the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia releases from their functions of members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at their own request, comrades Jiří Judl, Vladimír Kabrna, Josef Hauer, Antonín Hrotek, Zdeněk Smolík, Jāroslav Belaj, Miluše Fischerová, Libuše Hrdinová, Ludmila Jankovcová, Bedřich Králík, Academician Ivan Málek, Academician František Šorm, Dr. Jiřina Zelenková, Josef Zuda, Josef Borůvka, Josef Svoboda, Dr. Josef Špaček, Bohumil Šimon and Martin Vaculík.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia recalls comrade Alexander Dubček from his function of member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and charges Communist deputies of the Federal Assembly to recall him from the functions held as deputy for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia sets comrade Štefan Gašparík the Party punishment of a reprimand with warning.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia releases from their functions of members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for Directing Party Work in the Czech Lands comrades Oldřich Černík, Dr. Čestmír Cisar, Jāroslav Karhan, Vojtěch Matějček, Karel Šimek; it releases comrade Václav Hůla from his function of secretary of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in connection with his being assigned other functions.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia agreed, on the basis of secret vote, to transfer from the ranks of al-

ternate members to the ranks of members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia comrades Dr. Pavel Auersperg, Dr. Jan Fojtík, Hana Humhalová, Bohuslav Chřoupek, Václav Košar and Indra Lábuřová.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia adopted, on the basis of the results of secret vote, comrades Dr. Dalibor Hanes, František Hamouz, Václav Hůla, Josef Kempný, Dr. Jan Marko, Miroslav Moc and Dr. Soňa Pennigerová, as members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia approved, on the basis of the results of secret vote, comrade Josef Kempný as member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and at the same time released him from his function of member of the Secretariat and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Chairman of the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in connection with his being assigned other functions.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia approved, on the basis of the results of secret vote, as members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, comrades Josef Kempný, Josef Korčák, Drahomír Kolder, Oldřich Švestka, and Antonín Kapek who was simultaneously approved for the function of Secretary of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Central Committee also approved a number of changes in the assignment of functionaries of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to State and Government functions.

APPEAL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON DEVELOPMENT OF INITIATIVE AT WORK TO MARK THE 25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE REPUBLIC BY THE SOVIET ARMY

Comrades, dear fellow-citizens,

Our socialist republic is entering the jubilee year of its twenty-five years of existence. It is drawing a lesson from the evident and predominating successes, as well as from the shortcomings and mistakes of its course to date, so as to be able to go ahead more quickly.

After the complicated developments of last year, accompanied by repeated crises and upheavals, conditions are being created for a peaceful life and creative work. The consolidation and recuperation of our society is continuing successfully step by step. The situation allows, but at the same time requires, the attention to be turned to the pressing problems of the economic life of the country.

We all know that the present difficulties have accumulated over many years and that they were contributed to by incorrect decisions of managing organs, and also by the fact that central planned management was last year disproportionately weakened and that intolerable lack of control infiltrated into the economy. Our economic life was affected by growing lack of discipline, slackness, irresponsibility, poor-quality work and even sad abuses as speculation by individuals and enterprises, corruption and pilfering of socialist property are spreading. Economic shortcomings have reached a point at which there can be no further delay in solving them energetically.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Government have already adopted certain indispensable measures to rectify the situation, to ensure stability of the market, supplies for the population and the currency. These first steps, sometimes even unpopular, are already yielding partial results.

Another step in this direction will be drafting of the plan for next year, which reckons with yet another relatively fast growth in industrial, building and agricultural production, with a marked improvement in the ratio between the growth of earnings and productivity of labour, with a lessening of the present shortcomings in supplies for the population, with a restriction of the hitherto disproportionately high rate of growth in production investments, and, in contrast to this, with preference to be given to housing construction. Work continues laying down the further course of the intensive economic reforms in order to ensure qualified and effective management of the economy, to strengthen uniformity of its planned development and to provide scope for initiative of enterprises. In this context we want to learn from our own positive and negative experiences and to use also proved experiences of other socialist countries. Work is in progress on drafting the Five-Year Plan, which will give our economy perspective, a programme of necessary structural

changes, of modernization and technical progress. All of these questions will be dealt with by the Party Central Committee at a special session which is now being prepared with the participation of many experts.

However, we already now say quite openly: complicated and exacting work is awaiting us. It will not be possible to solve the problems which have accumulated over the years at once or easily. Our economy has now great reserves in its existing capacities, in its teams of workers and technicians, in their experience, diligence and qualifications; the use of these reserves in creative, disciplined and well organized work will yield not only the resources required for bridging the present temporary difficulties, but will also promote new economic advancement in our country. The solution depends on the activity of all components of the economy: in central organs, in enterprises, in agricultural cooperatives and State farms, and on building sites. It is necessary to begin at once and with whatever is possible at every place of work.

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A concrete example of how to proceed is given by the initiative of the workers of the May First Mine at Karviná, which adopted and is successfully fulfilling a pledge to extract 50,000 tons of coal in excess of plan and has challenged others to compete in honour of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the Republic by the Soviet Army. Similar initiative was shown by the Horehronské Závody works, the Municipal National Committee of Kroměříž, and by railwaymen from Bohumín. Many factories and enterprises, for example Bytostav Ostrava, the Ostrava-Karviná power works, the Central Bohemian Breweries at Velké Popovice, the young workers of the Czechoslovak Army Mine in Karviná and of the Klement Gottwald Vítkovice Iron and Steel Works in Ostrava have already taken up the challenge; others, such as MEZ Náchod, SONP Kladno, Svit Gottwaldov, Civil Engineering and Industrial Building, Prague, and State Farms at Lovosice, Hradec Králové, Dražkovice, Hlučín, have responded to the programme of concrete deeds proclaimed by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia after the May plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The movement in the factories has already the support of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and of the national governments.

The Central Committee highly appreciates this initiative at work and appeals to all working people, workers and technicians, organizers of production and economic executives, to all who cherish the prosperity and progress of our economy, to use their initiative at every place of work and take measures which will be a specific contribution to improving the economy. This is not a matter of formal pledges and solemn declarations. There have already been enough words. Today, more than ever before, the economy needs order, *discipline, quality, thrift, full exploitation of working hours*. This is the way to obtain greater value from the resources we have. We need more coal, metals, power, we need to raise the production of meat and animal products, artificial fertilizers and other requirements of agriculture, harvest on time, a higher production of consumer goods, of building and other material, completion of new flats and other capital constructions on time, precise and high-standard

fulfilment of export deliveries, better public services and improved operation in transport.

At every place of work it is necessary to consider most concretely and carefully ways and means of making the most effective contribution to improving the economic situation. The results of this effort serve our economy and the satisfaction of the needs of our people.

We welcome and support the proposals of some enterprises that, following the example of the miners, national shifts be organized on some Saturdays in other branches, too, where needed by the national economy. Each of these shifts, which must of course be well prepared, will yield additional millions, in the production of goods for the population, more coal, flats, faster circulation of railway trucks and so on. We therefore call upon the workers to organize extraordinary national shifts for the benefit of all of us.

We appeal to Communists, trade unionists, members of organizations of the National Front and National Committees, workers, cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, women, members of the older generation and to the young people, to give the country, by their attitude and work, what it needs most today: peace and honest work.

We ask all responsible economic executives, from ministers through managers to foremen to take over the management of their sections responsibly, with the knowledge that in their activity they are fully supported by the society, to show resoluteness in combatting disorder and waste and to place greater demands on the standard of organization of production and work.

The Central Committee asks all Communists to place themselves at the head of the initiative nation-wide efforts. Discuss, in local organizations, how you will act at your places of work and how you can best and most effectively contribute towards satisfying the requirements of our society better. As at the time of post-war reconstruction of our national economy, as in the first years of socialist construction, it falls to you to take the lead, to give a personal example, to overcome hostile views, lack of faith and scepticism, to give a clear reply through to the anti-socialist and right-wing forces which are guided by the slogan "The worse the better". Just as in the past, we shall also today win the understanding and support of all honest working people, who want to contribute with their deeds to the prosperity of our country and in this way make a dignified contribution to the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the liberation by the Soviet Army.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia firmly believes that in this jubilee year of the Republic, every citizen will demonstrate his attitude to the values of socialism, real socialist patriotism.

Translated from Rudé právo of September 29, 1969.