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Issued by
**WORLD MARXIST
REVIEW
PUBLISHERS**

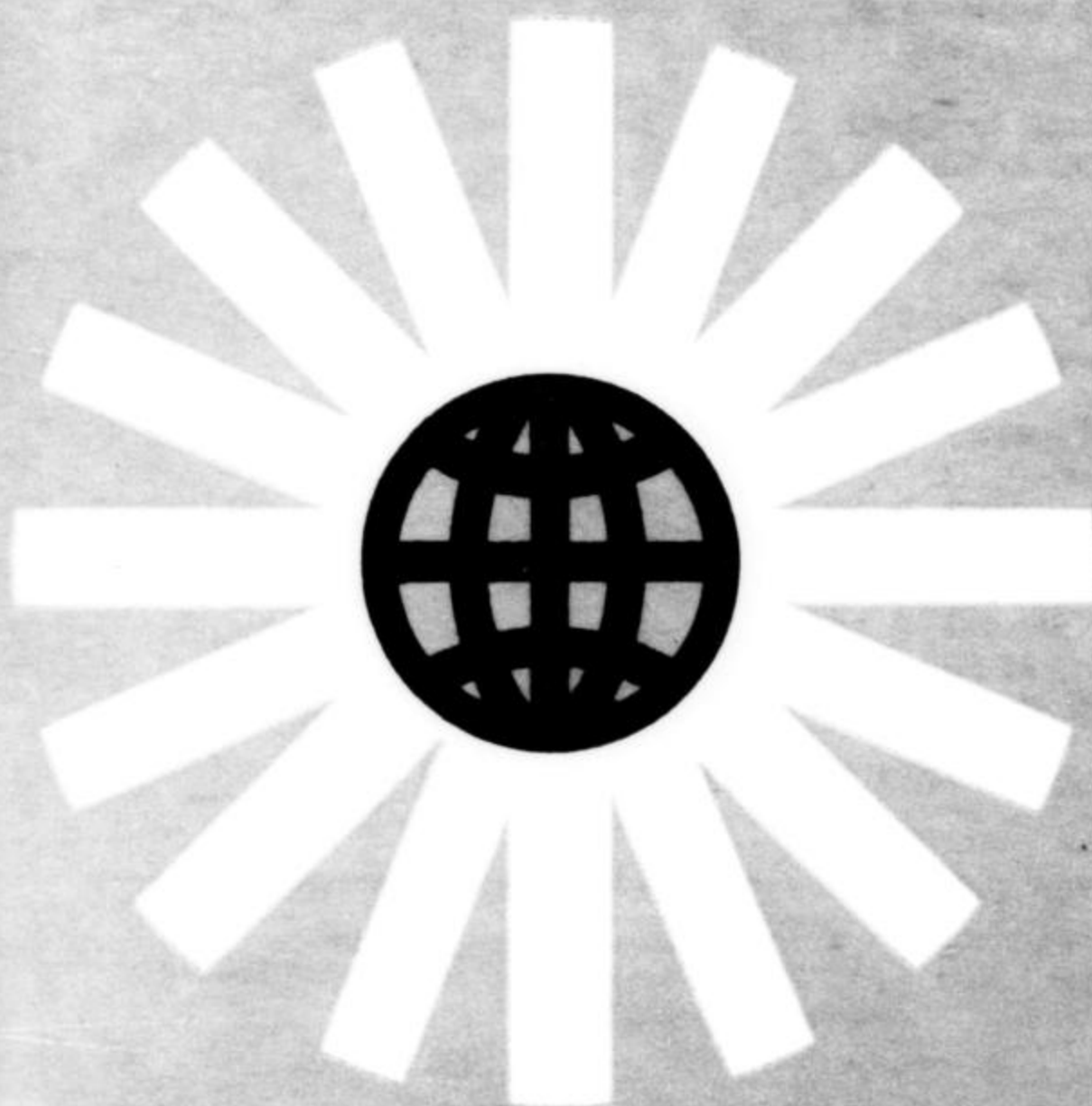
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15 - 16

(175-176) • 1970



information bulletin — 15-16 (175-176) Vol. 8

*Appears twice monthly in English, Arabic,
French, German, Greek and Spanish*

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Published as a Supplement to WORLD MARXIST REVIEW,
North American edition of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM by

PROGRESS BOOKS

487 ADELAIDE ST. WEST, TORONTO 2B, ONTARIO, CANADA

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Special Price: \$1.00 in English, \$1.50 in French
French Edition: \$1.50 in English, \$2.00 in French

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OF THE COMMISSION AND WORKERS' PARTIES

PRINTED IN CANADA

SEPTEMBER 8, 1970



STOP FASCISM IN BRAZIL!

**POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF CC, BRAZILIAN CP
APRIL, 1970**

I. THE PROCESS OF FASCISIZING THE COUNTRY GOES ON

The period since AI5* was promulgated has been marked, from the political point of view, by the continuing process of fascisizing the country. To carry forward its anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-popular program, the regime brought into being by the 1964 coup gradually restricted civil liberties and concentrated power in the hands of a military minority. It resorts to arbitrary rule and terror as a form of government to cope with growing political difficulties.

With a view to resolving the crisis that broke out in August and September 1969 as a result of the wear and tear of the dictatorship and the sharpening of its internal contradictions, the High Command of the armed forces selected and appointed to the Presidency of the Republic a new dictator, General Garrastazu Medice. The military junta introduced a new, more reactionary Constitution, preserving AI5 which established a regime of arbitrary rule and de facto government in the country. The participation of Congress and the civilian political forces backing the dictatorship in the selection of the new President was nominal. Even the majority of military leaders had no say in the designation of the President now in office.

The counter-revolutionary process initiated by overthrowing President Goulart changed the political form of class rule: a bourgeois-democratic regime was replaced by a fascist-like one. More and more, the role of Congress is reduced to that of an agency recording the acts of the dictatorship. Judicial authority is under pressure. The majority of bourgeois political forces is compelled to stay on the sidelines of legal political activity. However, the dictatorship's most repressive measures are directed against the mass movement, particularly against the working class and its organizations. The Communist Party is forced to operate in the most trying conditions of secrecy and its members are victims of the most brutal methods of repression.

*Ato Institucional (Institutional Act) No. 5 In force since December 13, 1968, vests the President with virtually unlimited powers to "maintain national security."—Ed.

II. PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The Garrastazu government uses the most violent methods to curb those who are fighting for the rights of the people and the interests of the nation. It seeks to win the sympathy and neutrality of various sections of public opinion through political maneuver. It is trying to develop institutional forms giving the regime at least some semblance of legality without affecting its arbitrary and authoritarian character. The government is at pains to fill the gaps left by certain forces that have dissociated themselves from power and to pose as a technocracy. It wants in this way to establish a new type of relations with the ruling classes so as to break out of isolation. It is certain that the dictatorship enjoys the support of economic, political and social forces commanding powerful means of domination and influence. Besides, it has instruments of economic and political pressure and coercion enabling it to control the state apparatus. So long as it can count on containing the masses and dividing the anti-dictatorial forces, it will be able to find ways and means of maneuvering to survive, and, indeed, to pursue its fascisizing offensive.

The dictatorship's economic and financial policy, which is subordinated to imperialism and adapted to the interests of the big landowners, arouses discontent among large segments of society and moves the country away from the road of rapid and independent development. It is a policy disregarding the interests of the vast majority of social classes and strata. It sacrifices the interests of the working class, which suffers from wage cuts, a steadily growing cost of living and chronic and mounting unemployment. It steps up oppression and exploitation in the countryside. This policy is detrimental to the urban middle strata because it lowers their living standard, imposes heavy taxes on them and restricts the labor market. It is prejudicial to the majority of capitalist employers, mostly the small and medium ones, whose activity is made difficult by the low purchasing power of the population and an official policy favorable to the monopolies. This antagonism between the interests of the vast majority of the nation and the economic policy of the dictatorship is the objective basis of the activity of democratic and progressive currents.

An instrument of the most barefaced and corrupt dictatorial camarilla, the Garrastazu government is in a precarious situation. It has accentuated the military, anti-popular and capitulationist character of the regime. More than the Castelo Branco and Costa e Silva governments, the new government depends on the military and is handicapped by division in the armed forces and threatened by military crises.

Growing opposition to the regime and the resulting exacerbation of internal tensions and differences in the camp of the dictatorial forces is hastening the process of its isolation and aggravating its instability. The dictatorship tries to cope with its growing political difficulties by intensifying its repressive character. In an effort to justify its existence and mislead the nation, it has recourse above all to a false policy of national security based on the farce of a non-existent revolutionary war. The dictatorial camarilla tries to consolidate the regime but is compelled to wrestle with frequent and deep crises.

The mass movement of opposition to the dictatorship, which advanced considerably in 1968, did not go far enough to make possible closer cohesion and better organization of the anti-dictatorial forces. Nevertheless, there was a tendency at the time to overestimate the results achieved and to infer wrongly that a general offensive could be launched against the dictatorship.

However, events received a fresh impetus with the resistance of Congress, the electoral defeat of the dictatorship in the big cities in the November 15 contest and the release of numerous political prisoners by the courts. The dictatorship, feeling threatened and striving to stay in power, resorted to AI5, which was a telling blow to the anti-dictatorial forces.

In 1969 the fight against the fascisization process had to be waged in more difficult conditions than the year before. Repressive measures hit above all the struggle of the working people, the students and the Catholic Church. This situation had an adverse effect on the behavior of anti-dictatorial currents and made for greater discord among them. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political currents, and more particularly their top leaderships, retreated. Mass resistance and struggle ebbed. At present resistance and opposition to the dictatorship are searching for new forms and appropriate ways of expressing themselves. One of the most negative aspects of this process was the rapid growth of action by petty-bourgeois revolutionary groups, which engaged in desperate and adventurist moves. These groups' moves are indicative of a lack of confidence in the millions of Brazilians and of inability to stimulate the struggle of the masses in the difficult conditions created by the advance of the dictatorship. Indiscriminate recourse to violence, despite its presumably revolutionary character, injures the fight against the dictatorship and complicates the organization of a united front of the masses and the process of mustering forces against the dictatorial regime.

III. PROSPECTS OF THE ANTI-DICTATORIAL FRONT

The experience of political life in our country during these six

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years of dictatorship proves the correctness of the position which our Party adopted after the 1964 reactionary coup by defining the fight for democratic liberties as the principal object of the movement for national emancipation and social progress in our country in the given conditions. Democratic demands were and are the cement welding unity and the mainspring of impetus for the struggle against the rule of the capitulationist and reactionary minority that has seized political power.

We therefore say again that we are certain the fight for liberties is assuming a markedly revolutionary character in present conditions. The defeat of the police-military regime will deliver—to the extent that it results from action by the masses and the people as a whole — a crippling blow to the power of the imperialist monopolies and of home reaction and gives rise to an irreversible process of political and social advance in our country.

In the political field there are demands of a nationalist character that constitute an important factor for intensifying the fight against the dictatorship, in particular at its military base. Given definite conditions, the national factor may become the main factor in stepping up the fight against the people's oppressors. But the democratic and national factors, which are interrelated and condition each other, tend to converge because objectively they lead to the elimination of the dictatorial regime.

The introduction of the new Constitution, the continued operation of AI5 and the increased brutality of police repression make it more difficult to revive the mass movement.

But while the accentuation of its repressive character provides the regime with an immediate advantage, it isolates the regime from the people still more and creates other prerequisites of new and deeper crisis, and these are circumstances weakening the regime. Temporary factors have contributed to the process of fascisizing the country, but permanent factors operate the other way and will prevail in the country's political development sooner or later. Continuing fascisization, to the extent that it asserts itself in the structures of an authoritarian and militarist state, tends at the same time to whittle down the potentialities of the latter in view of the resistance of the masses and of bourgeois political trends and due to the division it causes in the regime's mainstay, the military.

The changes now taking place in the international situation contribute, through their repercussions in Brazil, to the rallying of forces opposed to the dictatorship. The setbacks which U.S. imperialism sustains in Vietnam coincide with significant changes in the overall international situation in a sense favorable to the policy of peaceful coexistence and to the intensity of anti-imperialist democratic and progressive struggles throughout the world.

Latin America has a share in the changes taking place in the alignment of international forces. All over the continent U.S. imperialism and its allies in the various countries suffer serious reverses. In Peru and Bolivia nationalist military governments reflecting the patriotic sentiments of the masses are trying to curb the activity of imperialism and its allies in those countries as they follow a course of independent development. The example of Cuba is daily winning recognition among the Latin American peoples as an indication that these peoples must free themselves from imperialist domination and build a socialist society.

Recent statements by the U.S. rulers reflect the difficulties which U.S. imperialism encounters in defending its interests on the continent. They amount to an admission of failure of the forms and methods of domination used so far. However, Washington is not giving up its claim to supremacy in Latin America. It tries to preserve and extend its economic and political positions so as to maintain, in each particular country, a balance of socio-political forces enabling it to retain its imperialist hold on Latin American countries.

In our country, favorable trends on the international scene find reflection in the failure of bellicose doctrines with which the U.S. imperialists and their agents in Brazil try to justify the police role that the dictatorship assigns to the armed forces, as well as its policy of subservience to the U.S. monopolies. Along with this, the rise of movements of international solidarity with our people fighting against their oppressors already makes itself directly felt in the country.

Six years of experience in resistance show that the consolidation of the dictatorship is not a fatal development. In fact, they suggest that the regime is vulnerable and its base limited and temporary. While the balance of forces does not yet permit predicting the early downfall of the dictatorship, a realistic appraisal of the socio-political situation reveals the existence of potential socio-political forces strong enough to overthrow and eliminate the dictatorship.

IV. TACTICS AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

Our tactics of resisting and fighting against the dictatorship in present conditions, at a time when the dictatorship is reaching deeper, is based on the existence of a general sentiment of aversion to the military regime involving the most diverse social classes and strata. We bear in mind, however, that this sentiment is still diffuse and unorganized. Hence we proceed from partial, limited and elementary mass action. The object of these tactics is to ensure that this sentiment of opposition takes shape as it goes on until it becomes a vast national movement, a united front encompassing the working-class and peas-

ant movement, the student movement, the Catholics, opposition currents and leaders — a movement expressing at a high level the nation's revolt against the fascisization of the country. This is why we must now attach importance to mass action on a small scale, which should be regarded as indispensable if we are to arrive at a national revolt against the dictatorship, with the working class setting the tone.

A constant effort to reveal, organize and stimulate concrete resistance by the masses to this or that act of the regime is likewise an excellent way of avoiding passivity and revolutionary verbiage devoid of a specific objective. The task is to stimulate the rise of nuclei of mass resistance, to give adequate form and scope to it, until mounting a joint offensive against the dictatorship can be made the order of the day.

However, our tactics of resistance and struggle are not restricted to elementary action by the masses. In proportion as the political level of the struggle rises in this or that locality due to the growth of the struggle itself, it is necessary to organize and carry out more extensive and important economic and political actions. In these cases our tactics imply struggles at a higher level, such as economic and political strikes or demonstrations of resistance to the excesses and arbitrary practices of the dictatorship, always on the understanding that these actions will be decided on by the masses themselves.

The following forms of work should be used specifically by Party organizations:

—Struggle against the wage freeze, for remuneration according to skill, for a modification of the standards of fixing minimum wages, against open or disguised interference in trade union affairs, against higher taxes, in defense of the rights and guarantees of labor. Struggle for the organization and effective activity of rural trade unions and peasant associations, for the payment of minimum wages in the countryside, against the eviction of peasant families by the big landowners.

In present conditions the fundamental method of unfolding the strength of the working class is to fight for democratic liberties, in particular for the right to strike and trade union freedom, but also for freedom of the press and the right of assembly.

Trade union activity and other legal forms of action within the framework of the working-class movement are still more necessary when the bulk of the working people is not fighting for its demands. The present situation also calls for the use of leaflets in factories, for meetings and discussions in small groups, underground workers' committees to lead struggles in the factories, and so on.

—Struggle to win for the students the right to lead their organizations and freely to hold their meetings and assemblies at the places of study. Struggle for the repeal of Law Decree 477 and against the

terror reigning in universities and colleges. Solidarity with arrested or persecuted students and teachers.

Promote the nationalist struggle under the slogan of protecting the nation's riches and the resources of the Amazon area, against economic denationalization and the policy of surrender to foreign monopolies.

—Organize material and legal aid to political prisoners and their families. Step up the campaign against tortures and the assassination of political adversaries of the dictatorship. Insist on an amnesty for those held in prison or prosecuted by the dictatorship.

—Fight against cultural terror, for freedom of creative endeavor, against censorship over the mass media and over cultural activities.

Federal and state elections are to be held this year. The government is taking precautions to ensure that these elections, even on a restricted scale, do not become a challenge to the regime. Hence the elections have a twofold aspect: on the one hand, they will be held because the fascisization process has not proved strong enough to rule them out altogether; on the other hand, they are expected to help mask the dictatorship and ease certain political tensions that may become highly dangerous to the regime. We must not expect big political gains in these elections but we should not underestimate their usefulness, for they provide the masses with an opportunity to express their will, and extend the possibilities of developing new factors of resistance to the dictatorship.

In participating in the election campaign, we must expose to the masses the crimes and abuses of the dictatorship, demand respect for their fundamental freedoms and for the repeal of AI5, insist on an amnesty for political prisoners and restoration of the right of habeas corpus and freedom of association, as well as fight against the system of indirect elections and voting by districts. The platform adopted by the Brazilian democratic movement, a factor uniting the opposition forces, must be applied and upheld. We must use our possibilities of influence and action together with various political trends to insist on fulfilling the election schedule and prepare at the same time candidacies enabling our Party to put its election tactics into effect.

The success of our tactics against the dictatorship will depend on the ability of Party organizations and members to foster unity of action with other forces fighting against the regime. The situation makes it imperative for Communists to find adequate forms of organizing unity of the anti-dictatorial forces.

Of especial importance is united action with the Catholics, both priests and laymen. The Catholic Church is increasingly adopting positions favorable to the fundamental interests of the Brazilian people. As we achieve unity with the Catholics it will be easier for the masses to win their battles.

In the armed forces as well, where there is a growing patriotic senti-

ment against the dictatorship's policy of surrender in spite of the support the dictatorial camarilla enjoys there, favorable conditions are developing for an opposition alliance with servicemen dissatisfied with the policy of surrender. In striving for unity with servicemen, we must fight against the ideas spread among them by the High Military School and against using the Army as a police force to suppress the people and to torture patriots.

Unity with the most advanced political currents of the nationalist and democratic front, particularly those in the Left-wing movement, is an essential factor in the Communists' fight for unity and fully retains its importance for the fight against the dictatorship. We must steadfastly carry on explanatory work as we try to win them for the positions of unity upheld by the Party, well remembering, however, that this work can be successful only if the mass movement is intensified.

Since our immediate task in the effort for alliance is the quest for unity in specific actions of the masses for their demands, we must remember that our objective in this field is to build up the broadest possible political unity of all anti-dictatorial forces so as to overthrow the dictatorship and win democratic liberties.

The building up of a broad political front that would eliminate the dictatorship and embark the development of Brazil on a democratic course hinges on progress in the mass movement. This is why work on the basis of our tactical program is important even in the form of contacts that we will establish in favor of unity around definite actions in the mass movement, including those of minor scope.

Our policy is broad enough in this sense. It enables us to work with all forces opposed to the dictatorship and striving to win liberties, makes it possible to unify these forces and stimulates their activity. The struggle to overthrow the dictatorship and bring about a government of anti-dictatorial forces that would guarantee liberties, convene a freely elected Constituent Assembly, ensure freedom of association and decree an amnesty for those held in prison or prosecuted for political reasons is the watchword that must be constantly publicized with the aim of winning new currents opposed to the dictatorship, and become a great factor in uniting the majority of the Brazilian people.

The Communists' key task is to encourage initiative in the Party and to organize popular resistance to the process of fascisizing the country. This task should be carried out with due regard to the guidelines set out here and in accordance with the revolutionary orientation formulated by our Sixth Congress.

FOURTH CONGRESS OF GUATEMALAN PARTY OF LABOR

The struggle and intensive activity carried on by the Guatemalan Party of Labor (GPL) in 1969 culminated in its Fourth Congress, convened in strict secrecy.

The convocation of the Fourth Congress was an event of vast importance to the revolutionary struggle of our people and to the serious effort which the Party of Communists has been exerting to foster the revolutionary struggle and to increase its role and influence as vanguard of the Guatemalan working class.

In making this known to the workers, peasants, students and other sections of the people of Guatemala, the Central Committee of the GPL notes with satisfaction that the new Congress proved the vitality of our Party, and its ability to accomplish with a full sense of responsibility what the people expect of a genuine revolutionary organization: giving them proper guidance in their struggle, maintaining constant links with the masses, and displaying an unshakable resolve to fight to victory.

The Fourth Congress discussed fundamental problems of our country and of the development of the revolutionary struggle. Concluding a stage of recovery, it laid the ideological foundations of cohesion of its ranks and fully reaffirmed armed struggle as the road of the Guatemalan revolution.

The year 1970 initiates a new decade that will undoubtedly be a period of strenuous battles and decisive advances and victories for the peoples. Nothing will prevent great revolutionary changes that will end the exploitation of man by man all over the world. Socialism, which is now being built and is already laying the foundations of communist society for one-third of the world's population, will triumph everywhere. Imperialism is bound to fall. The struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation and social revolution will be difficult as in the past but will lead to victory. The heroic fight of the Vietnamese people is a case in point. History is demonstrating that ours is the epoch of triumph for socialism and defeat for capitalism.

We Guatemalan Communists are convinced of this as we carry on our struggle. Hence it is indispensable to promote the anti-imperialist solidarity of the peoples and the unity of the international working class so as to speed the world revolutionary process. The Fourth Congress rated highly the solidarity shown by brother peoples, the revolutionary movement and, above all, the Communist and Workers'

*Communique of the CC GPL. *Verdad*, January 1970.

parties. It hailed the efforts being made for the unity of the latter, and assessed the 1969 Meeting in Moscow as a big advance in this direction.

We in Guatemala are engaged in continuous struggle and our people come up against numerous difficulties as they follow the road of the revolution. To resist imperialism and the oligarchy, we chose the only path that is possible and necessary, by taking up arms against the enemies of the people so as to defeat them. Along with gains, the early stage of this fight saw telling losses and setbacks that call for a keen awareness of the historical responsibility resting with us revolutionaries, primarily Communists, in this struggle.

Congress analyzed the national situation, the growth of the nation's crisis in breadth and depth, the form in which U.S. imperialism today exercises its neo-colonialist domination and the real nature of the RP (Revolutionary Party.—Ed.), government, which is reactionary, counter-revolutionary and repressive as well as demagogical and reformist. Thereupon Congress examined the recent period in which revolutionary violence by the people has been pitted against the systematic criminal violence of imperialism and the oligarchy. It reaffirmed the Party's general orientation — extending the people's war and removing errors in conception and tactics that prejudice its progress. Although various groups belonging to the revolutionary forces take an active part in the armed struggle, the GPL and its Revolutionary Armed Forces propose firmly to follow their own political line, so that revolutionary practice itself and the decision of the masses may reveal the wrong tendencies, concepts and actions of other organizations.

The Fourth Congress emphasized the popular and revolutionary character of our struggle, which must lean on the masses for support, mobilize the people and unite them ever more closely. This is why it declared against reformism and spontaneous evolution of the struggle as well as against adventurist revolutionism, all of which fetters and compromises genuine revolutionary war by the people.

By approving the new Party Program, Congress called the people's attention to the need to fight in united and organized fashion for their immediate economic, political and social demands and at the same time for power, so as to effect fundamental changes designed to end the backwardness and dependence of Guatemala.

The Party stands for furthering the concrete demands of various sections of the people — workers in town and country, peasants, students, intellectuals, handicraftsmen and small proprietors. Accordingly, the Program adopted by Congress includes a series of immediate demands. The struggle for these is regarded as a permanent effort that will increasingly unite, organize and mobilize the people for advance to higher objectives.

The extension and deepening of the content of our revolution,

which requires a revolutionary patriotic front capable of rallying all forces — workers, peasants, urban middle strata — is assured by a firm alliance of the working class and the bulk of the peasantry.

The Guatemalan revolution, agrarian, anti-imperialist and popular at its early stage, must bring about deep changes that will lead to the second stage, that of building socialism in our country, and in the end to the future communist society, the goal of the working class.

It is safe to predict that the revolutionary war of our people will not be waged against the oligarchy alone but will also be carried on directly against U.S. imperialism. But imperialism is fighting against all peoples of the world, including the American people. We are certain, therefore, to triumph in this case as well.

For twenty years, including fifteen years spent in the difficult conditions of secrecy, the GPL has been demonstrating its ability to survive every enemy blow and its firmness in fighting together with and at the head of the masses as vanguard of the working class. It will make its Fourth Congress the beginning of a new stage in the development and strengthening of the Party. Congress provided guidelines for the Party's organizing work and approved new Rules.

Congress elected a new Central Committee. In addition to leaders tested over long years of struggle, it promoted young people of firm revolutionary convictions so as to have a leadership that can cope with the serious tasks facing the revolutionary movement.

The GPL has given the people an historic undertaking and many an aspiration, effort and action of the masses was prompted by our Party. Many comrades in town and country, including innumerable cadres and ordinary members of the Party reaffirmed their faith in our goals and our path by heroically shedding their blood.

In giving the news about the Fourth Congress, which approved the main report and the Party's Program and Rules and elected its Central Committee, the CC GPL believes that effective adherence to the Party line and the resolve to fight on with redoubled energy will help to bring the masses into action, so that the Guatemalan revolution may triumph.

For Guatemala, the Revolution and Socialism!

Central Committee of the GPL

Guatemala, January 20, 1970.

FOR UNITY AND SOCIALISM

MANIFESTO* OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND (1970)

I.

As the 1970's begin, important political developments are taking place throughout the whole of Ireland. In the North the once all-powerful Unionist Party has been weakened by the mass agitation for Civil Rights and shows signs of being divided at a time when it can be faced by an alliance of Protestant and Catholic workers within the Labor movement, by Communists, republicans and wide progressive groupings. In the South, the Fianna Fail government is being exposed as a capitulator to British Imperialism and International Monopoly Capitalism and is facing a growing and more united opposition than ever before. This opposition is expressed in agitational and political activity by trade unionists, Communists, republicans, Left labor sections and national cultural activists and provides the basis for a still broader unity of all patriotic and progressive forces.

Years of imperialist domination have stamped common features on the two parts of Ireland. The north is an integral part of the British economic system, whilst the South, despite its apparent political independence, is rapidly moving in the same direction, due to penetration of its economy by British monopolies, its excessive trading dependence on Britain and the capitulation of the Dublin Government to British pressures for free trade between the two countries.

The immediately apparent consequences in both parts of the country are:

- constant unemployment of an abnormal magnitude.
- heavy emigration of young people and a high ratio of dependent old people and very young to the working population.
- an economy wide open to penetration and domination by imperialist monopolies.
- the contradiction between the export of native capital and the highly subsidized attempts to attract foreign industries.
- the large-scale depopulation of the grossly underdeveloped areas West of the Bann and the Shannon.
- the expropriation of small farmers and small shopkeepers on a massive scale.
- the erosion of cultural distinctiveness before the pressures of Anglo-American commercialism.

*Adopted at the Joint Unity Congress of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland and the Irish Workers' Party, on March 15, 1970 in Belfast.

II.

Our island is a natural entity and our people are one nation.

We, Communists of Ireland, call for national unity and independence from imperialism as the essential basis for the construction of Socialism in our country. We believe that out of the common struggle of the working people of North and South will emerge a system that will guarantee a full and prosperous life for the urban and rural working people of Ireland; a new society that will be built by the united fraternal and harmonious labor of the people — a New Ireland that will be free, united and Socialist.

III.

British imperialism has created many grave problems for the people of Ireland and Ireland has experienced many of its various techniques:

- subjugation and colonialism.
- the destruction of native industries.
- the imposition of an Act of Union by bribery and corruption.
- onslaughts on native culture.
- partition.
- the buying-off of a section of the native bourgeoisie to facilitate neo-colonialist exploitation.
- the deformation of the economy to suit imperial needs.

To the techniques of the past Britain is now adding proposals for a form of Anglo-Irish Federation which could be an Act of Union under another guise.

Throughout its overlordship the British ruling class has always regarded Ireland as one unit for the purpose of exploitation. Partition was devised and is used as a means to retain control over the whole of the country. It is in this context that the presence of enlarged British military units in the North must be seen, not as a force "keeping the peace" between Irishmen of different religions, but as protective guardians of British monopoly interests in Ireland, North and South. Had there been no mass disturbances and the consequent political consciousness that arose from the Civil Rights campaign, the British would have felt no need for such a large military presence. In previous bloody and bitter pogroms there was no British military or governmental intervention because Britain saw no threat to her monopoly interests and in fact saw sectarian strife as a useful weapon in keeping Irishmen divided.

In the 1970's, a new stage has been reached in the long struggle of the Irish people for National and Social liberation. The features of this new stage are:

- a new crisis for British imperialist rule in Ireland arising from

the need to meet civil rights demands whilst retaining political control and a facade of democratic government in the North.

—the upsurge of demands for civil rights and a solution to social and economic ills in the whole of Ireland.

—the abandonment by the big property elements in the South of the struggle against imperialism.

—the divisions within Ulster Unionism.

—the growing recognition of the need for a new type of leadership —political working class leadership—in the fight against imperialist monopolies which increasingly dominate the whole of Ireland.

In the present new stage the British ruling class is seeking a form of accommodation with the various capitalist forces, North and South, that will help them to overcome the “disorders” and preserve for the monopolies stable conditions for profit-making, as well as create new opportunities for the exploitation of Ireland as a whole. Thus arise the proposals for “Federation.” The foundation stone for such an “arrangement” has already been laid in the form of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement which is binding together — to the growing advantage of the British monopolies — the three areas of Britain, the Six and the Twenty-Six Counties of Ireland.

Another compelling reason for such an “arrangement” is the need of the British monopolists to streamline their economic apparatus and facilitate the exploitation of their third biggest market, the Twenty-Six Counties, in face of the growth of international monopoly competition as Britain prepares to negotiate entry into the European Common Market.

Neither the Free Trade Agreement nor the European Economic Community provide any substantial or lasting benefits for the workers and small farmers of either the Six or the Twenty-Six Counties. Rather they will cause workers, small farmers and the people generally irreparable harm.

The integration of Ireland, North and South, into the Common Market would be a regressive development adding the exploitation of European monopolies to that of their British counterparts as burdens to be borne by the Irish people, committing the whole of the country to military alliances and making more difficult the achievement of democracy and independence.

To the capitalist conception of federation of the three areas and to the policies of “sell-out” to the monopoly capitalists of the European Economic Community, we oppose our call for the greatest unity and solidarity between the working people of Ireland and Britain in a common struggle against imperialist monopoly capitalism which also exploits the British working people.

IV.

Both the Unionists, who are a subordinate element of the im-

perialist ruling class, and the Fianna Fail Government, which is anxious to find an accommodation with imperialism, are facilitating British monopoly capitalism with their policies.

Both pursue policies geared to a greater or lesser extent to the British imperialist interest. Both are likely to be parties to the resurrection of the Act of Union in a new form.

The two Governments impose repressive laws, such as "Special Powers Acts" and "Offences Against the State Acts," and others under the false titles of "Public Order" and "Criminal Justice." They both try to impose wage restraint and anti-trade union legislation on the working class. In these spheres the pattern of reactionary policies shows striking similarities on both sides of the border.

But our people in both areas are fighting back. They are becoming more and more conscious of the power of organization and the unconquerable strength of unity. The workers of Belfast, Dublin, Derry and Cork are challenging the attempts to curtail their wages and shackle their trade union movement. There are militant Housing Action Committees in both North and South. There is a growing link between the Tenants' Movements in both areas. The students at Queens, Trinity, the various colleges of the National University and the various technical and higher educational institutes are becoming more involved in academic, social and political struggles.

Our working class, with over 200,000 in the North and 300,000 in the South organized in trade unions, has shown its capacity to lead on economic issues by reunifying the Irish trade union movement into one national center.

V.

In the new situation which is opening up in our country the Communist Party of N. Ireland and the Irish Workers' Party have joined together to reconstitute the COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND, which was first formed in June, 1933.

As Irish men and women and as revolutionaries, we are conscious that this political decision is being taken in 1970, the year of the 50th anniversary of the British "Government of Ireland Act" which divided our country, and the year of the centenary of the birth of Lenin, great leader of the international working class, socialist and national liberation movements.

The reconstituted Communist Party of Ireland, an All-Ireland political organization of the working-class and small farmers, is a new feature in the present stage. Its work will be inspired by the consciousness of the great traditions of the United Irishmen of 1798; the Ulster Land War; the National Land League and our immediate forebears, the fighting strikers of Belfast's 1907, Cork's 1908 and Dublin's 1913 — glorious class battles that were fought under the symbol of the "Red Hand of Labor."

Our Party will carry on the proud traditions of the 1933 Communist Party of Ireland which bequeathed a proud legacy of struggle. In the thirties in the North it played an outstanding part against sectarianism and for the unity of the great Unemployed Movement, when Protestant and Catholic jobless, with united ranks, faced batons, bullets and armored cars. In the South its members suffered imprisonment for fighting for the people's rights in anti-eviction and boycott activities. North and South, the party lost the best of its sons in the military battles of solidarity with the Spanish people's struggle against international Fascism.

The fighting banner of the party was never lowered throughout the years since 1933. The work of Irish Communists proceeded throughout these years, despite great difficulties, adapting their organization to events and developments but never retreating from their loyalty to the socialist and working-class ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Connolly and Larkin.

There has not been a people's struggle in any part of Ireland in the last 37 years in which Irish Communists did not unselfishly participate.

VI.

Our country has the necessary resources, labor, skill and capital to develop a thriving and independent economy. It is not in the interest of the Irish people to be part and parcel of the imperialist economic and political system, whose frequent crises have such grave social and economic repercussions in Ireland.

A government that is willing to stand up to British imperialism and fight for the interests of the people, planning the economy and organizing the means of production, distribution and exchange in the people's interest, can build such an economy.

Inspired by the perspective of an Ireland:

FREE from the domination of imperialism and monopoly capitalism;

UNITED by the common endeavors of our people in building a National Democracy as the basis for the winning of a

SOCIALIST form of society in our country, the Communist Party of Ireland believes, after an evaluation of the present situation and its possibilities, that such an Ireland is realizable.

It believes that such an Ireland can be achieved in stages and that there exists at present the potential for the replacement of the present ruling parties of the Unionists and Fianna Fail by Progressive Governments, North and South, which can be pressed to forward the interests of the people. This can be done by fighting on a program that will make inroads into the economic conquest of Ireland by the mon-

opolies and will force British imperialism to end its political interference in Irish affairs.

Such a program will contain demands for the Six and Twenty-Six Counties and for Ireland as a whole, among them the following:

i. Development of our natural resources by the State and the setting up of new State industries;

ii. Public ownership of the banks, insurance and hire-purchase concerns;

iii. Public ownership of principal foreign concerns and the big Irish industries connected with them;

iv. The scrapping of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement and the negotiation of a new trade agreement on a mutually equitable basis, which would provide for more North-South trade and economic relations;

v. The extension of trade contacts with all countries, and especially with the socialist states, whose expanding and crisis-free economies can provide stable markets, as well as with the ex-colonies and under-developed nations whose economies, like ours, are subject to imperialist domination;

vi. Division of large estates and cattle ranches amongst the landless and small farmers, with Government incentives including provision of machinery, seed, fertilizer and stock on favorable terms, for co-operative farming;

vii. Public ownership of inland fisheries and the equipping of our sea fisheries with the most modern boats and plant for processing, together with training schemes for crews, process workers and marketing staff;

viii. Intensive development of rural industries using local raw materials where possible, including food processing, a pharmaceutical and chemical industry, with extra investments in Irish-speaking areas of the country to help maintain traditional communities;

ix. The introduction of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex;

x. Declaration of a national housing emergency and public ownership of major firms in the building industry, together with legislation to eliminate speculation in building land, and town planning measures which will preserve local amenities and viable properties and services;

xi. Ending the destruction of the railways by branch closures and run-down of facilities;

xii. A new plan for shipping which would reverse the trend to make Belfast and Dublin our only seaports;

xiii. Protection of the small and self-employed businessman and the prohibition of foreign-owned supermarkets;

xiv. Development of producers' and consumers' co-operatives with special tax concessions to encourage their growth;

xv. Placing the burden of taxation on the rich and abolition of feudal left-overs such as ground rents;

xvi. Provision of a free, fully comprehensive health service;

xvii. Provision of free comprehensive education, up to and including university level, with merit as the only criterion and without discrimination as to sex, for all professions;

xviii. Protection and extension of the democratic rights of freedom of expression, religious worship and assembly and other civil liberties, for all citizens, Catholic and Protestant;

xix. Declaration of an All-Ireland policy of independence, military neutrality and solidarity with all those fighting imperialism throughout the world.

xx. The defense of our cultural traditions and all that strengthens our identity as a people on this island.

On the basis of such a program can be united the forces which can remove the Unionist Government in Stormont and the Fianna Fail Government in Leinster House and achieve the establishment of Progressive Governments which will defend the people's democratic rights and oppose imperialist inroads and interference.

Powerful popular forces can be won to support such a program. They are principally the 500,000 workers organized in trade unions and linked together by industrial confederations, trades councils, and on a national scale by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, and then all those, North and South, who are organized in or support national and democratic organizations, workers, farmers, professional and business people, students, youth and cultural activists, in short the great mass of the Irish people whose aspirations and self-development are today held back and stultified by imperialism and the domination of our country, North and South, by British monopoly big business.

The unity in action of all these forces would be the first step to the final solution of the major national, economic and political problems of the country. With a common program, applied in the conditions of the two States, there would develop a unity in struggle which would move both parts of Ireland in a democratic and anti-imperialist direction as a pre-requisite for a solution of the border question that is in the interests of the people; this in turn providing the politically necessary basis for the establishment of Socialism in Ireland.

A condition for such an advance must be the leading role of the working class. As the most exploited social section in the community, it has the greatest interest in bringing about a new Ireland which is wholly freed from exploitation. It possesses tremendous strength in numbers and organization, as well as the greatest political experience of all the social strata of Irish society. It has a tremendous tradition of integrity in our national liberation struggle. Its role and historic mission were aptly summarized by James Connolly, when he said:

"Only the working class remains as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland."

The Communist Party of Ireland bases itself primarily on this consistent revolutionary class. In the building of a united movement against imperialism and monopoly capitalism in our land our Party will make its own specific contribution. It will develop still deeper its roots in the trade unions, the basic organizations of the working class. It will extend still further its activities of a socialist theoretical and educational nature, thereby giving the working class a clearer revolutionary perspective. The Communist Party of Ireland, as Irish Communists have done before, will help to formulate strategy for the Labor movement and working class, provide ideas and policies, and in its unique position of being part of both Irish labor and the Irish national movements, will strive to unite all the different aims of the various people's organizations into one single political aim. It can, and will, play a major part in winning the working class to enact its leading role.

The Communist Party of Ireland, in this 50th anniversary of the "Government of Ireland Act," presents the progressive points in this Manifesto as the basis for the unity of all Irish democrats, of workers, small farmers, professional people, small business people, as a platform from which there can begin a national march to a united, independent and socialist Ireland.

Basing itself on the principles of scientific socialism, revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of Ireland believes that to bring about a fundamental change in society in Ireland the working class and its allies must oust imperialism from the country, politically and economically. It must then press forward to break the state machinery of capitalism altogether and establish a socialist form of society in our country.

Compared with the past, infinitely more advantageous conditions now exist for the Irish people to march to national freedom and socialism. Throughout the world powerful allies exist whose interests are identical with those of the Irish people. They are principally:

—The peoples of the 14 countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America who have swept capitalism aside under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties and who are building socialism. Together these countries are a powerful force for progress and, with the Soviet Union to the fore among them, they are assisting the peoples of other countries, fighting for their freedom;

—The working class in the capitalist countries, who like the Irish people, are fighting for jobs, decent living standards and democratic rights and opposing the attempts of the monopolies to impose wage restraints and anti-trade union legislation. Like the Irish working class, the working class of the other capitalist countries are more

and more threatened by the policies of imperialism and monopoly-capitalism;

—The peoples in the battle areas of the fight against imperialism and colonialism who are registering great victories for the cause of national independence; the peoples of the former British colonies who are breaking free of the orbit of imperialist power and whose struggles have contributed to the general crisis of imperialism.

The future is with unity, national independence and socialism. Ireland, under socialism, will be a country whose resources are owned and run by the working class in the interests of the entire people. Science and technology and the achievements of a profound spiritual culture will be at the service of the people. Gone will be the fear of unemployment and insecurity for tens of thousands without hope. Abundant will be the fruits of their labor, their material and cultural achievements. The spectre of enforced emigration will be banished forever.

To the people of Ireland unity, independence and socialism offer a future which imperialism has denied them for centuries — free education for all, full employment, the opportunity to reach the highest level of which human beings are capable; participation by all in public life and affairs, a rich and virile national culture based on our proud heritage.

Socialism will be the crown of achievement on Ireland's age-old struggle. We call on the people of Ireland to join with us in the struggle for such a society as worthy of the noblest aspirations of man. We call upon the Irish people, North and South, Protestant and Catholic, old and young, to join with us on the road to an Ireland, Free, United and Socialist.

DEATH OF AHMAD AL-ZUIBI

The recent period in Syria has seen events that claim the attention of all progressives.

The Syrian Communist Party is the most progressive force in the country. It has been and will remain the vanguard of our people, who are fighting against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for greater national independence and Arab unity, for social progress and socialism.

On April 23, 1970 arrests began among Communists in seven regions of Syria. About 35 persons were seized, and some of them were beaten and tortured. Subsequently a few students and trade unionists were set free but the rest are still in prison. No charges have been preferred against most of the arrested.

The Communist Party tried to secure their release by approaching high government officials, who promised to set the arrested Communists free.

It transpired that decisions adopted earlier provided for the arrest of people distributing *Nidal al-Sha'b*, the CP newspaper, and local publications of the Party, for banning demonstrations and using force to disperse them, and for denying foreign passports to a large number of leading CP functionaries.

The Party condemned these measures and established contact with the Baath Party to seek their repeal. Most key Baathists are convinced that measures of this nature do not contribute to the country's progress and injure the policy of cooperation, which exists in one form or another between Baath and the CP. The Party hoped that the measures in question would be called off and held, therefore, that there was no need to discuss the matter in Syria, still less to carry discussion abroad, since the majority of key government officials and Baathists appreciated the CP position and promised to revoke the decisions concerned. Accordingly, the Party called on its members and friends to be patient.

But there came new unexpected arrests. They affected Ahmad Mustafa al-Zuibi and Abd al-Jamil Bahbuh, well-known Communists active in the Sana news agency. They were kidnapped from their homes by secret service men and put to the torture. A few days later al-Zuibi's body was delivered to relatives, who were told that he had died of a heart attack. But when the relatives opened the coffin they realized that al-Zuibi had been tortured to death.

*Abridged from supplement to *Nidal al-Sha'b*, May 1970. Full title: "The Torturing of Comrade Ahmad al-Zuibi to Death Is a Crime Against the People and the National Progress of Syria." Statement by the CC of the Syrian Communist Party.

This heinous crime caused added concern about the fate of Bah-buh, whose life, we understand, is threatened too.

These are, in brief, the facts showing that some civil servants have for a long time been trying to alienate the Baath and Communist parties.

The arrests, tortures and assassinations are not directed against individuals as some people claim nor against the CP alone, but against all anti-imperialist, patriotic forces of the nation, against Syria's policy of national progress.

This activity can only be prompted by the desire of Right-wing, reactionary forces to turn the country back. They want to nullify progressive changes and the people's gains. They realize that as a first step in this direction they must divide the progressive forces of the nation and undermine the cooperation going on between the Communist and Baath parties in this or that form, in this or that field. They know what experience has shown—that the triumph of the policy of strengthening, extending and improving cooperation among the progressive forces of the nation, large sections of the working class, the peasantry and revolutionary intellectual meets the exigencies of the country's progress and foils the hopes of the reactionary Right, who would like Syria to go back on its policy of national progress.

Any progressive will associate the activity of these elements with that of imperialist and Zionist forces in the Arab countries. The visits which Sisco and Aldo Moro paid to some Arab countries, and the U.S. diplomats' meeting in Teheran were intended to refurbish the thesis of the "Communist menace," revive the anti-Communist campaign in the Arab world and strike a blow at Arab-Soviet friendship. These moves are disguised by the U.S. imperialists' appeal for "prudence," said to be needed for a "solution" to the Mideast Crisis acceptable to the Arab countries.

All this shows that the reactionaries' activity is closely linked with the feverish efforts of imperialism all over the Middle East and hence must be combated. The responsibility of the progressive forces of Syria is great and they cannot shut their eyes to the crimes that are perpetrated. The enemy—imperialism and Zionism—is 50 kilometres from Damascus and cannot be resisted, let alone defeated, by following an anti-Communist policy and persecuting progressives.

The policy of cooperation of the progressive forces at home and in the Arab countries, and of alliance with the socialist countries, first of all with the Soviet Union, with the international labor movement and the national liberation movement, is the only correct policy that can counter the imperialist and Zionist threat. Every departure from this policy injures the national and social progress of Syria and the interests of the Arab countries.

Hostility towards the Communists and arrests among them do not present a danger to Communists alone but to the progressive forces in the Baath Party itself. We wish to say in so many words that the condemnation of these measures voiced by many prominent Baathists does not exempt them from responsibility for these strange practices.

Communists, patriots, progressives, workers, peasants and intellectuals alike demand:

1. Investigate the circumstances of Ahmad Mustafa al-Zuibi's assassination and punish the assassins.

2. Prohibit tortures—according to the Declaration of Human Rights, Syrian laws and the decisions of the Tenth Congress of Baath.

3. Release all imprisoned Communists and other progressives. Let the forces of progress be equal to their responsibility.

For the national progress of Syria, for victory over the enemy—imperialism and Zionism—for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories!

ON THE CONVOCAATION OF THE REGULAR 24TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

DECISION* ADOPTED BY THE CC CPSU PLENUM
ON JULY 13, 1970

1. To convene the regular 24th Congress of the CPSU in March 1971.
 2. To approve the following agenda for the Congress:
 - (1) Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Rapporteur, L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.
 - (2) Report of the Central Auditing Committee of the CPSU. Rapporteur, G. Sizov, Chairman, Auditing Committee.
 - (3) Guidelines of the 24th Congress of the CPSU for the five-year economic development plan of the USSR, 1971/75. Rapporteur, A. Kosygin, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the USSR.
 - (4) Election to the central bodies of the Party.
 3. To establish the following quotas of representation at the 24th Congress of the CPSU: one voting delegate from 2,900 full members of the Party and one delegate with voice but no vote from 2,900 candidate members of the Party.
 4. Delegates to the 24th Congress of the CPSU shall be elected according to the Party Rules, by secret ballot, at regional and territorial Party conferences and at congresses of the Communist parties of the Union republics. Delegates to the CPSU Congress from the Communist parties of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan shall be elected at regional Party conferences.
- Communists registered with the Party organizations of the Soviet Army, Navy, internal and frontier troops shall elect delegates to the 24th Congress of the CPSU together with the territorial Party organizations concerned at regional and territorial Party conferences or at congresses of the Communist parties of the Union republics.
- Communists registered with the Party organizations of Soviet Army and Navy units stationed abroad shall elect delegates to the 24th Congress of the CPSU at Party conferences of the troop formations concerned.

*Pravda, July 14, 1970.

CURRENT TASKS OF PARTY IN AGRICULTURE

DECISION* OF THE CC CPSU

Unanimously adopted by the plenary meeting of July 2-3, 1970, which heard and discussed a relevant speech by L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, are completing the fulfilment of the current five-year plan. Due to the effort of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, important progress has been made over the past years in the economy, culture and the standard of life.

The collective farmers and state farm employees, carrying out the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress and CC plenums, achieved a further advancement of agriculture with active support from the working people of the towns. In the years 1966-1969, gross agricultural output averaged 79,000m. rubles per year, which was more by 12,700m. rubles than in the previous five-year period.

Headway was made in grain production, the main branch of agriculture. Gross annual output between 1966 and 1969 averaged 162 million tons, that is, it was 32 million tons, or almost 25 per cent, greater than between 1961 and 1965. Output of other farm products went up, too. These years saw an increase in farm crop yields and in livestock and poultry productivity.

The growing output of vegetable and animal products was a result of consistent implementation of the Party's policy of intensifying agricultural production, mechanizing all operations, making extensive use of mineral fertilizers, reclaiming land and increasing economic incentives in collective and state farming. Investments in agriculture were increased and the countryside was supplied with more tractors, grain combines, trucks and other machines. Eighty per cent more mineral fertilizer went to agriculture in four plan years than in the previous four-year period. The land reclamation program is being carried out. During the four years under survey, 1.2 million hectares of new irrigated land and 3.1 million hectares of drained land were put to use.

The collective and state farms are growing stronger economically and the rural working people's standard of life is improving on this basis. The construction of housing, cultural institutions

Pravda, July 4, 1970.

and service establishments is being intensified in the countryside.

Thus substantial results have been achieved in agriculture in recent years. But seen from the standpoint of meeting the growing demand of the country for foodstuffs and industrial raw materials, the present level of agricultural production cannot be recognized as adequate. The rate of Soviet economic growth and the steady rise in the people's living standard put new, higher demands on agriculture.

To solve the problem of producing considerably more vegetable and animal products, it is imperative speedily to strengthen the material and technical base of agriculture, to retool it. The shortage of agricultural machines, means of transport and mineral fertilizers, the insignificant proportion of reclaimed lands, the inadequate supply of feed, the lag in the processing industry and the still low standard of management on a considerable number of collective and state farms hamper the growth rate of agricultural production.

In a number of regions, territories and republics the Party organizations, government bodies and agricultural agencies do little to direct the work of collective and state farms towards making fuller use of reserves for increasing output and reducing prime cost. They are reconciled to instances of mismanagement and indiscipline in fulfilling plans and to the misuse of land for purposes alien to agriculture. On many collective and state farms crop yields are still low, poor use is made of the land, machinery, fertilizers and other material resources, and livestock population and productivity are growing slowly. Some collective farms do not allocate sufficient amounts to increase fixed assets and extend production.

The Plenum of the CC CPSU resolves:

1. To approve the conclusions and proposals set out in the speech on the current tasks of the Party in agriculture delivered by L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU.

One of the principal and priority tasks for the coming period is to speed progress in agriculture by strengthening its material and technical base in every way. It is necessary to improve utilization of the lands and technical facilities, raise the efficiency of social production on the collective and state farms and bring about a substantial rise in labor productivity and a reduction in the prime cost of agricultural production.

2. In the sphere of crop farming, the Plenum regards it as a most important task to launch a countrywide campaign for higher yields of all farm crops and for the steady growth of production of grain, cotton, sugar beet, sunflower, vegetables, potatoes and other items. The next five-year period should see a substantial increase in grain crop yields on all collective and state farms—

by not less than four centners per hectare in the country as a whole. It is also important to raise the yields of industrial, forage and other crops. With this aim in view, collective and state farms must plan and carry out a system of effective steps to raise the standard of farming—to increase soil fertility, introduce the most productive varieties, master crop rotation and eliminate harvest losses.

Greater output of grain is still a key problem. Gross output in the next five years should average 195 million tons per year.

Fix a stable, invariable grain purchase plan for the period 1971-75 at 60 million tons per year.

Retain the principle of encouraging above-plan purchases of grain approved by the March plenum of the CC, and pay collective and state farms a 50 per cent increase in the basic purchase price for above-plan sales of grain to the state.

Bind Party, government and agricultural bodies to take requisite steps for all collective and state farms producing marketable grain, and for all regions, territories and republics, not only to fulfil the annual plan, but to sell the state at least 35 per cent of grain above plan in the five years.

In the years 1971-1975, state purchases of raw cotton, sugar beet, sunflower, flax fibre, vegetables, potatoes, fruit, berries, grapes, tea and other vegetable products must be substantially increased.

3. The Plenum attaches special importance to increased output of animal products.

It approves the measures adopted by the Political Bureau of the CC and the Council of Ministers of the USSR with a view to providing greater material incentives to collective and state farms to produce more meat, milk, eggs and wool and to sell them to the state.

The Plenum insists that Party, government and agricultural bodies and the heads of collective and state farms should take resolute steps to remove shortcomings in stock-raising and to ensure growing productivity of livestock and poultry and simultaneous growth of the livestock and poultry population.

Expand output of animal products on industrial lines. Large complexes for pork production, cattle fattening and milk production to be built in the vicinity of towns in the next five years. Build, furthermore, new poultry plants and set up mechanized sheep-breeding farms.

Purchases of animal products to be increased every year. Fix state plan rates of purchase for 1975 as follows: livestock and poultry, 16 million tons (live weight), milk, 55 million tons, eggs, 26,000 million and wool, 470,000 tons. Achieve an increase in output of animal products ensuring that every collective or state

farm sells the state not less than 8 to 10 per cent of output above plan.

Output of all feed varieties—hay, ensilage, grass meal and root crops—to be considerably increased in order fully to supply the needs of collective and state farm livestock, as well as those of livestock owned by collective farmers and state farm employees. The scope of work on improving meadows and pastures must be extended to bring into being highly productive, well-maintained pastures. Increase the area under crops rich in proteins—lucerne, clover, peas, vetch, lupine, soya. Grass seed raising to be radically improved.

Ensure the fullest development of the mixed feed industry by reconstructing existing state mixed-feed plants and by building new ones. Organize quantity production of economical automated mixed-feed units for collective and state farms.

Provide for a substantial growth of production of meat-and-bone and fish meal, skim milk powder, feed grade yeast, ferments, vitamins, anti-biotics and preserving agents. Fix to this end increased assignments for the meat and dairy, fishing, food, paper and cellulose and microbiological industries.

4. The Plenum attaches great importance to the proper specification of plans for the purchase of grain and other agricultural products by the collective and state farms for all the years of the next five-year plan. Stable purchase plans should be well argued in every respect and should take fuller account of the potentialities and natural and economic distinctions of each farm, its specialization, deliveries of new machinery and mineral fertilizers and the expansion of the reclaimed land area.

The Plenum calls the attention of agricultural, purchasing, government and Party bodies and of the Party organizations and heads of collective and state farms to instances of parochialism and indiscipline that manifest themselves in fulfilling state plans for the purchase of agricultural products. It insists on resolutely eliminating phenomena of this nature. The specified plan for the purchase of grain and other products is binding on all. No one can alter or fail to fulfil it. To fulfil state purchase plans for all vegetable and animal products and take an active part in selling produce above plan are a primary duty of the collective and state farms.

5. The Plenum approves the decision of the Political Bureau of the CC CPSU to invest 77,600m. rubles in agriculture—construction of production premises, housing, and cultural and service facilities—under the new five-year plan, including 45,900m. rubles for building.

Provide under the five-year plan for the allocation of 43,000m.

rubles to collective farms to be invested in requisite material and technical facilities, including 28,000m. rubles for investment in building.

Instruct the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics to find additional funds and material resources for the development of agriculture and to use them accordingly as annual plans are carried out.

6. Increase mineral fertilizer production to more than 90 million tons and of chemical pesticides to 450,000 tons by the end of the five-year period. Provide for the construction of new plants and the extension of existing ones in the chemical and microbiological industries. The supply of mineral fertilizers for agriculture should be not less than 72 million tons by 1975 and that of feed phosphates, three million tons.

Raise the quality of mineral fertilizers, increase the supply of complex, highly concentrated fertilizers, increase the manufacture of special vans and trucks for transporting and of containers for packing mineral fertilizers, and extend the construction of storehouses for these fertilizers. Take steps to improve the use of mineral fertilizers and manure on collective and state farms and raise the efficiency of their utilization.

7. The Plenum stresses the vast economic importance of extending land reclamation. The following reclamation measures must be carried out under the next five-year plan: irrigate three million hectares of new lands; build reclamation systems in water-logged country on an area of five million hectares, including three million hectares with closed drainage; effect a radical improvement of meadows and pastures on an area of not less than eight million hectares; increase water supply, and complete in the main the reconstruction of irrigation systems requiring technical improvements.

Intensify work on establishing large areas producing marketable grain on irrigated land in southern Ukraine, the Krasnodar and Stavropol territories, Rostov Region, other areas of the North Caucasus, and in the Volga Country. The area planted to rice to be considerably expanded. Accelerate water economy development in the cotton-growing areas. Expand land reclamation in the non-chernozem zone of the RSFSR, in the Far East, Siberia, the Urals, the Polesye of Ukraine and Belorussia, and the Baltic republics. Improve the utilization of reclaimed land by collective and state farms. Carry out large-scale measures against soil erosion and for field-protective forestation.

Instruct the Council of Ministers of the USSR to draw up and approve specific measures for carrying out the 1971-75 land reclamation program.

8. The Plenum considers it necessary to provide in the coming years for the expansion of tractor, agricultural and land-reclamation machine-building, and to set up additional production capacities in these industries in order considerably to increase the manufacture of tractors, agricultural and land-reclamation machines, means of transport and spare parts under the new five-year plan. All industries must take an active part in retooling collective and state-farm production to increase output of farm machinery.

Plenum endorses the initiative of the ministries of the aircraft industry, engineering, shipbuilding, of heavy, power and transport engineering, the defense industry, the oil-refining and petrochemical industries and of enterprises controlled by other ministries to organize and increase the manufacture of machinery plant, spare parts and other material and technical facilities for agriculture by making better use of capacities.

Instruct the State Planning Commission of the USSR and the industrial ministries concerned and the managers and Party organizations of enterprises to use the potentialities of the latter for increasing the manufacture of farm machines, units, assemblies and spare parts on the basis of cooperation.

The ministries and departments, research institutes and designing bureaus concerned to take measures for the manufacture of improved farm machines needed for overall mechanization. The quality of machines and mechanisms must be considerably improved and their dependability and durability increased.

9. In the years 1971-1975 agriculture must be supplied with 1,700,000 tractors, 1,100,000 trucks, 541,000 grain, 230,000 ensilage and 60,000 beet harvesting combines 1,500 tractor trailers, 87,000 excavators, 82,000 bulldozers, 42,500 scrapers and 15,000m. rubles' worth of farm machines, including 6,000m. rubles' worth of machines for stock farms and feed preparation.

Special attention should be paid to mechanizing labor-consuming operations in stock-raising. Agriculture to be supplied to this end with the requisite sets of machines and mechanisms.

Take measures to raise the efficiency of utilizing tractors and farm machines and extend the repair facilities of collective and state farms, Soyuzselkhoztekhnika* organizations and motor transport servicing stations.

Attaching great importance to the retention of a standing cadre of machine operators on the collective and state farms, the Plenum instructs the Council of Ministers of the USSR to work out radical measures for these specialists to stay in agriculture—providing them with conditions for highly efficient work, greater material and moral incentives and better living conditions.

*Government agency in charge of supplying collective and state farms with agricultural machinery.—Ed.

10. In the coming five years, steps should be taken towards substantially extending the capacities of the industries processing agricultural products and raw materials. Provide for the construction of new grain elevators, flour mills, enterprises of the meat and dairy, light and food and other industries, and for the reconstruction of existing enterprises, with a view to equipping them with up-to-date plant. Distribute them properly by having them reasonably close to the sources of the products and raw materials concerned.

11. Seeing that a vast construction program is to be carried out in the countryside in the next few years, steps must be taken to strengthen the production base of the Ministry of Rural Construction of the USSR so as to ensure that by the end of the five-year period the enterprises and organizations under this ministry will be spending not less than 5,500m. rubles per year on building and assembly.

Bring other ministries into construction on state and collective farms, and specify the amount of contractual work to be accomplished by them. Every effort should be made to strengthen inter-collective farm building organizations by supplying them with machinery, equipment and materials. Steps should be taken radically to improve the designing of agricultural projects and to raise the quality of projects. Extend capacities for the manufacture of building materials to meet the growing requirements of construction in the countryside.

12. The Plenum attaches great importance to the expansion of agricultural research and to closer links between science and collective and state farming. It entrusts the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR, the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology under the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR to take steps towards improving the work of research institutions, with the object of solving long-range problems of agricultural production, of evolving new high-yield farm crops and introducing highly productive livestock breeds, as well as of working out the most effective and economical production processes for each item and new mechanization facilities for the use of collective and state farms. Intensify research and introduce into production new methods of controlling pests and diseases of plants and animals, especially of biological means of protecting plants. The material and technical base of agricultural research institutions and educational establishments must be strengthened.

13. The Plenum draws the attention of Party organizations and of Party and state cadres to the need to strengthen discipline and heighten personal responsibility for one's job and for unfailing respect for and implementation of Soviet laws. Respect for land

law and the new collective-farm-regulations is particularly important to the working people of the countryside.

The Plenum insists that the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Economy of the USSR, Soyuzselkhoztekhnika, the Ministry of Agricultural Stocks of the USSR and their local agencies, all Party and government bodies and all functionaries should fight resolutely against mismanagement and the wasteful use of land and of government and collective-farm funds, against manifestations of parochialism and "recipient" attitudes.

It is necessary steadfastly to introduce economic accountability and to strengthen control over the financial and economic activity of collective and state farms. The trade unions and Komsomol organizations, rural soviets, collective farm councils and people's control committees must play a prominent part in this.

14. The Plenum stresses that accomplishing the important tasks set for agriculture will require great effort by the Party and its every organization, a higher standard of political and organizing work on their part and extensive socialist emulation by the working people in town and country.

Rural Party organizations should concentrate on the problems of raising the standard of crop farming and animal husbandry on collective and state farms, of introducing the latest achievements of science and advanced practice, making effective use of investments, land, machinery, fertilizers and other material resources and of money, increasing labor productivity, bringing about on this basis an increase in the output of all farm products and in their sale to the state, and improving the standard of life in the countryside further still.

The Party organizations of industrial enterprises and building projects must exercise permanent control over the fulfilment of assignments for agriculture in time, find additional reserves and resources to increase the supply of machinery and equipment, fertilizers, building and other materials to agriculture and actively assist in introducing the latest technical facilities into agriculture.

The Plenum calls on the collective farmers, state-farm employees and farm experts to step up the emulation movement so as to fulfill and exceed agricultural development plans.

* * *

The Plenum of the CC CPSU is confident that the above measures aimed at advancing agriculture will be unanimously approved by all Communists and all working people of our country. When carried out, its decisions will contribute in important measure to the building up of the material and technical base of communism in the country.

WHY ALEXANDER DUBCEK WAS EXPELLED FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The results of the January 1968 session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia were no chance act, let alone a palace coup. On the contrary, they were the logical culmination of a long process by which the Party had been combating a lingering illness—retreat from Leninism, which was more and more apparent in the policy of the Novotny Party leadership.

Even before 1968 there were signs of a dangerous crisis in our Party and the entire society. Perhaps everyone could see them in the economy. However, they appeared also in the ideological sphere; revisionist and petty-bourgeois views were gaining great scope and their exponents often had Party cards in their pockets. In inner-Party life Leninist norms gradually gave way to ordering people about and conscious Party discipline was often replaced by a more comfortable, bureaucratic system of subordination. The state apparatus was steadily moving away from socialist service to the people, and officials introduced into it practices of the bourgeois state apparatus. It was impossible to overlook the crisis phenomena, but the Novotny Party leadership preferred to close its eyes to them; it failed to remove them, and instead of solving pressing problems chose in a number of cases ostentatious, meaningless gestures.

Dissatisfaction inside the Party and in society was growing. January 1968 was necessary, inevitable.

* * *

But even before January 1968 it was evident that there was a qualitative difference between those who criticized the Novotny Party leadership; two currents were forming, and they had different aims. Most Communists and with them the overwhelming majority of the citizens, as well as criticizing mistakes and deformations, were seeking ways and means of putting things right. They wanted a solution of problems that would cleanse, strengthen and speed socialist development in the country and consolidate the leading role of the Communist Party in society. It was from this point of view that they demanded personnel changes in the Party leadership, seeing them as prerequisite for restoring and consistently applying

Rude Pravo, July 16, 1970.

Leninist principles in the policy of the Party. They adhered to a principled, Marxist position, from which they proceeded in both criticizing mistakes and deformations and in their activities. It was they who provided fertile ground for January 1968.

Besides this sound current, however, there was a growing counter-current that camouflaged itself skilfully. It used criticism of the Novotny leadership of the Party, of the mistakes and deformations that had occurred in our country, primarily as a means of shaking the values on which socialist society is built, of evoking scepticism and mistrust in the very idea of socialism and of minimizing and denying the historic mission of the Communist Party. Developments showed that a bloc of Right-wing opportunists, revisionists and explicitly anti-socialist forces was secretly forming within this current. The activity of *Literarni Noviny* or *Literarni Listy*, as well as the Fourth Congress of Writers in 1967 and the upsurge of various "new waves" in the arts and social sciences stemming from bourgeois sources only confirm this.

The formation of this reactionary bloc was facilitated by the fact that ideological work in the Party was at a low ebb under the Novotny leadership and that Novotny himself and other leading functionaries were opportunistically tolerant of the spread of bourgeois and revisionist views in our country. Nothing is changed in this by the fact that sometimes they adopted administrative and therefore ineffective measures against the exponents of hostile views.

Each of the two currents saw the results of the January 1968 session of the CC CPC in the light of its own aims. The Marxist trend saw in them basic preconditions for the rectification of mistakes and deformations and for a consistent implementation of Leninist principles in the further development of socialist society. The bloc of Right-wing opportunists, revisionists and anti-socialist forces regarded them as a springboard for a direct attack against the CP and against socialism in Czechoslovakia.

It was perfectly logical that the two currents should clash sooner or later.

ONLY CANDIDATE

In this situation, the January plenum of the CC CPC recalled from office the First Secretary of the Central Committee, Antonin Novotny and, surprisingly, elected Alexander Dubcek to the highest Party post. It was an emergency solution, a compromise agreed upon by the old leadership of the Party.

The complicated situation in the Party and the country required that a seasoned Marxist, a class-conscious, ideologically firm and principled man, a good organizer, should head the Party. Alexander Dubcek met these requirements only to a very small degree.

This was known from his work in Slovakia and on the Central Committee. If the CC plenum accepted A. Dubcek as the only candidate of the old Party leadership, it was an expression of compromise necessitated by the situation. Had there been a discussion on the person of the First Secretary of the CC CPC and a militant voting, the critical state in the Party and the country could have been clarified. Yet many members gave in to the notion that the unity of the CC must be maintained, even though this unity had already been upset by formal procedure. That is why a man lacking a program found himself at the head, as the result of an emergency solution.

In that election the CC of the Party proceeded from the consideration that in the months preceding the CC session Alexander Dubcek had criticized Antonin Novotny's intolerable methods. Moreover, he was backed at the time by CC members from Slovakia. Dubcek's so-called positive personal qualities, which began to be mentioned under the influence of propaganda later on, were unknown to anybody at the time. Nevertheless, it was hoped that he would, despite his weaknesses, apply Leninist working methods in the activities of supreme Party bodies—methods which require genuine team work in decision-making and consistent individual responsibility.

In addition, the fact that A. Dubcek spent his youth in the Soviet Union had its effect: it was trusted that he would proceed in harmony with the internationalist traditions of our Party and our nations and see to the interests of the community of socialist countries and the international Communist movement. Those were the main reasons guiding the CC of the Party in electing A. Dubcek to the post of First Secretary of the CC CPC.

Communists and the immense majority of the citizens took a very sympathetic view of the personal change in the Party leadership. The very fact that A. Dubcek succeeded Novotny won him support and confidence in and outside the Party. People associated the change with the adoption of a new, consistently Leninist policy by the Party, a policy initiated by the January session of the CC CPC. Internally and externally—due to the unanimous approval of the results of the January plenum of the CC CPC expressed by the fraternal parties of socialist countries—conditions were created for Dubcek to pursue a really principled policy. He himself, however, lacked the prerequisites for this because of his nature, his ideological and political unpreparedness and the absence of the factor of will power.

HOPE AND DISAPPOINTMENT

The new First Secretary had an opportunity to pursue a policy that would ensure the further development of socialism in the

country against efforts by the bloc of Right-wing opportunists and anti-socialist forces to disrupt the country and abuse the situation for an attack against socialism and against the CPC.

It should be said that this is why the attitude of Right-wing opportunists and the anti-socialist forces to the election of A. Dubcek was coolly reserved at first. It soon appeared, however, that he would be no obstacle to their plans. One has only to recall the various meetings and street demonstrations which anti-Party stage managers used for generating a "hot" atmosphere in winter Prague. Many Communists were surprised to see at them as "January men" precisely those who were notorious for having attended on A. Novotny to the point of servility: Smrkovsky, Kriegel, Sik, Boruvka, Slavik and others. Those people interpreted the meaning of the January session of the CC CPC in contradiction to what the CC had told the Party. Their demagogic speeches through which they cultivated their personal popularity visibly opened a period of total destruction of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

But even though they were members of the CC, and some of them members of the CC Presidium, the First Secretary of the CC CPC, A. Dubcek, looked impassively on their disruptive activity and failed to call them to account as his function bound him to do.

This was one of the first disappointments which he caused to honest Communists and citizens. In A. Dubcek's personal archives there are thousands of letters in which Communists and non-Communists informed him, in the very first months of 1968, of the disruptive attacks of the reactionary forces. They pointed out that Party bodies and organizations were disintegrating under the pressure of Right-wingers, and insisted that he should use all his authority to mobilize the sound forces in Party and society against the reactionary attack. However, Alexander Dubcek made no reply. He not only failed to answer letters from honest people but disregarded in his public speeches the real danger, which was beginning to threaten the socialist foundations of the Republic. Other shortcomings came out too: in what was a crisis situation, A. Dubcek did not convene the CC Presidium for fully three weeks. Somewhat later he refused to convene the CC although two strong Party organizations—those of North Moravia and Prague—whose committees were deeply concerned about the dangerous trend of development in the country, insisted on it.

While the socialist forces were experiencing their first disappointment with the work of the new First Secretary of the CC CPC, the bloc of the Right and anti-socialist forces saw that it could raise its hand against the Party and socialism in Czechoslovakia with impunity.

A FALSE LEGEND ARISES

The sequence of events in the first half of 1968 showed how fast the bloc of Right-wingers and anti-socialist forces changed its initial cool attitude to A. Dubcek into absolute admiration of that "maker of January." Especially after the ill-considered political decision in February 1968, when control over the press was lifted and the Party leadership lost all influence on the mass media and virtually delivered them into the hands of the reactionary bloc, the popularization of A. Dubcek rose to dizzy heights amounting to a veritable personality cult. The Right-wingers went so far as "quite unselfishly" to ascribe to Dubcek the authorship of the "new model of socialism, a democratic socialism with a human face," although it is common knowledge that this concoction of U.S. strategy intended for the socialist countries was ready before 1968 in the editorial offices of *Literarni Noviny* in Betlémska Street and at the Writers' Club in Narodni Avenue. Dubcek had no objections.

The communications media glorified his every move and step, whether it was a headlong drive into a swimming pool or interviews with various delegations bringing him resolutions with anti-socialist demands. According to an old recipe, the public learned once again that there was a light late into the night in the window behind which the great leader was working. The most diverse polls were held, with A. Dubcek emerging invariably as the most popular person. Dubcek clubs were set up after the example of pop-music star hunters. Dubcek's humanity, wisdom and courage were extolled, but nothing was written about his Communist loyalty to principle. On the contrary, that eulogy was entirely aimed at presenting Dubcek as the new prototype of a Communist whose views, ideology and attitudes suit and are acceptable to everybody, even to the Church and the ideological opponent.

A. Dubcek did not resist this unworthy, bombastic campaign. Far from seeing through the false game which the Right and anti-socialist forces were playing with him according to the rule "With Dubcek against the CPC," have gave in to the eulogies and succumbed more and more to the un-Communist notion about his special mission. He went so far as to assure the CC Presidium that should a dangerous crisis develop he would master the situation with his personal prestige.

FAME FOR ONLY SOMEBODY

While Dubcek's popularity was rising to dizzy heights, the bloc of Right-wingers and anti-socialist forces set out to "shoot off"

Party functionaries. It was not a question of only individuals who had really discredited themselves under the Novotny leadership by using non-Leninist working methods, although in those cases, too, there were violations of inner-Party democracy, for Party officials were recalled from their functions, not on the basis of a critical analysis of their work by Party committees, but under the pressure of smear campaigns in the mass media.

It was a question, in the first place, of comrades heading regional, district and big local Party organizations, of people who had provided fertile ground for January 1968 but saw its meaning in a speedy rectification of mistakes and deformations and in the further advancement of socialist society, not in a total destruction of socialism. These genuine Marxists were stigmatized by the information media as "conservatives" and "dogmatists." They became the target of slander campaigns dominated by demagoguery and lies, and the passions of backward sections of the population were stirred up against them.

Even at Party conferences the Right wing used fraudulent manipulations in elections to "shoot them off." In complete contradiction with the Party Rules, groups of Right-wingers imposed a new election code which in fact gave the Right-wing minority the right to elect their representatives to the new Party bodies. A member of the Presidium of the CC CPC, Boruvka, even declared at a Party conference in Nachod that "statutes are null and void in a revolution." The crusade against Marxist cadre members spread beyond the Party, into the economic apparatus and government agencies.

The Rightists, profiting by their knowledge of Marxism, chose the method of the main link and attacked the Party functionaries and apparatus. If you hit somebody's heart you do not have to cut off his hand. By paralyzing the functionaries and the apparatus, they brought the entire Party to a standstill. The witch-hunt assumed such a character that some comrades found a way out in suicide. Alexander Dubcek did not stand up against the total disruption of the cadre of Party functionaries. It is true that in several speeches he pointed, in general terms and streamlined phrases, to extremes which were detrimental to the Party, but in reality he did nothing in defense of comrades and, in many cases, close associates. He gave the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces a free hand. He did not stand up even against those members of the Party leadership who furnished ammunition to the reactionary bloc for the "shooting off" of principled Communists. It is well known, for example, that J. Smrkovsky, member of the CC CPC Presidium elected at the April 1968 plenum of the CC, voiced doubts more than once about the mandate of the CC CPC of the time and fomented hatred for its Marxist majority.

It was only logical in Dubcek's evolution that he did not stand up, even after August 1968, for those members of the CC Presidium whom the counter-revolutionary forces were overtly threatening with death for "treason."

WORDS AND DEEDS

It is precisely Dubcek's indifference to the elimination of Party cadre members and to the disruption of the Party, on which the bloc of Right-wing and anti-socialist forces started at the very beginning of the "Prague spring," that furnishes evidence, not only of A. Dubcek's retreat before reaction, but of the beginning of his adoption of a Right-wing opportunist platform.

It was, in fact, an obvious departure from the real meaning of January 1968. This also manifested itself in many other cases. Mention should be made of at least the most important ones.

Upon election to the post of First Secretary of the CC CPC A. Dubcek pledged himself consistently to implement the resolution of the January plenum of the CC. One of the main tasks on which the resolution laid stress was to achieve the recovery of the Party, to overcome the remnants of bureaucratic management, to strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the Party, to increase its efficiency and its leading role in society. However, the exact opposite happened under Dubcek's leadership. In the complicated situation of the "Prague spring," the Party was left without correct orientation and tended to disintegrate step by step under the blows of the Right.

This process was speeded by a non-Marxist, opportunist interpretation of events, which A. Dubcek offered more than once. Since the First Secretary of the CC CPC upheld the thesis that all the meetings, demonstrations, "Hyde Parks" and signature actions—the entire destructive movement which had a markedly anti-Communist character—was an "expression of popular political activity" and since he emphasized in practically every speech that what was going on was a "healthy, progressive development," even though it was shaking the fundamental values of socialism, it is understandable that the bulk of Communists was confused and even staunch Marxists in the Party cadres were forced to the defensive, and that, on the other hand, the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces won the greatest scope for maneuver.

Under Dubcek this came about in a relatively short time. The main guarantee of socialism—the Communist Party—found itself under the fire of reactionary, counter-revolutionary forces, and barely defended itself, all the more since its headquarters—the CC Presidium — was split and Right-wing opportunists were gaining ever stronger influence in it.

The CPC was faced with catastrophe. Indeed, some of its leading officials and certain regional and district Party committees were at the head of the anti-Communist campaign. This was an indication of a profound, terrible crisis in the Party. A. Dubcek knew this situation from numerous reports, letters and documents but did not try to halt the dangerous process. On the contrary, he curtailed in the Party leadership the influence of honest comrades who wanted to prepare the Party for the encounter with the counter-revolutionary forces. He transferred decision-making to that part of the leadership made up of the advocates of Right-wing opportunism, such as Kriegel, Smrkovsky, Cisar, Slavik and others, who adulated Dubcek and deliberately took advantage of his self-satisfaction.

In the critical situation A. Dubcek paralyzed even the apparatus of the CC CPC, in which many staunch Marxists were working. He left them to the mercy of a fierce "apparatus-member hunt" and set up his own apparatus of advisers and research teams, whose composition was determined, however, by Right wingers.

Honest Communists in mass organizations and in the economic and state apparatus likewise found themselves in a critical situation. It is well known that many of them were simply thrown out or at least removed from their jobs only because they defended the Party. The situation was truly desperate in the communications media, whose editorial staffs were dominated by Right-wing and counter-revolutionary forces. In the editorial offices of *Rude Pravo*, where Communist editors had at least some influence and tried to implement the new policy of the Party, Right-wingers were stepping up their pressure.

Something unbelievable happened: Alexander Dubcek, who after January was for Communists and most non-Communists a certain symbol of the struggle for a really Leninist, Communist policy, gradually became the banner of the Right-wing and counter-revolutionary forces.

FRUSTRATED EFFORT

It is true that this fact—Dubcek's adoption of a Right-wing opportunist platform—was not known to all Communists at the time, either in Czechoslovakia or abroad. The adulation campaign in the communications media gave rise to strong illusions about Dubcek among the public.

However, there were moments which revealed Dubcek's lack of principle and opportunist approach to the situation. This was when the voice of Marxist forces in the Party broke through the anti-Communist hysteria of the mass media and mobilized the socialist forces against the danger threatening the Republic.

In May 1968, especially, the compromising part of the Party

leadership was made to give warning, at least verbally, against the danger of anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces. However, it could not be made to act, to take drastic measures against these forces. At the beginning of May, a conference of secretaries of regional and district committees sharply criticized the activities of the Party leadership and proved through facts that a real danger had arisen for the Party and the Republic due to the activity of the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces. At the May 1968 session of the CC CPC the Marxist majority of CC members put through a resolution which pointed with good reason to the disruptive activities of the Right. A similar voice could be heard also at the conference of chairmen of works councils of the CPC in big enterprises and at many Party meetings. There was evidence, furthermore, that the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces had links with imperialist countries and their intelligence services, and that their disruptive activities were in striking accord with the plans and forecasts of Western "experts in communism."

Irrefutable facts about the anti-socialist and anti-state activities of the counter-revolutionary forces were furnished by a secret report of the Ministry of the Interior in May 1968, intended for the Presidium of the CC CPC. It revealed both the activities of imperialist intelligence services on our territory and subversive efforts against the state by certain well-known journalists, representatives of K 231, the preparatory committee of the Social-Democratic Party and other politicians from certain political parties and mass organizations.

A. Dubcek could keep silent no longer. At a conference of secretaries of district and regional committees of the Party on May 12 and 13 he made a speech which was to a considerable extent a reflection of the views of the Marxist part of the CC Presidium. He spoke, among others, the following frank words:

"What would it mean if this torrent of unobjective political criticism continued and grew? It could mean only one thing: a fight against Communists and all else who strove in good faith to safeguard revolutionary changes—the setting up of cooperatives, and lastly nationalization or even February—a fight contributing to the formation of an anti-Communist, counter-revolutionary platform . . . As matters now stand in our country, support for anti-Communist trends can very well come also from abroad, either from certain circles of our post-February emigration or direct from political quarters in imperialist countries. Do not let us be misled by the forms and methods which may be used to this end. Even the international bourgeoisie has learned a lesson from how impatiently and badly it interfered in developments in Hungary in 1956, and it will use much subtler or entirely different methods to further its anti-Communist aims."

A. Dubcek also admitted in that speech that representatives of the CPSU and other fraternal parties had justified fears that the entire process in our country might be used against socialism, and that they had promised our Party full support. In this connection he said:

"We must be fully aware of our internationalist responsibility, which is all the greater because we have taken the present difficult road at a time when imperialism is going over to the offensive in many areas. All the more necessary is it for us, not only in our own interest, but in that of the international Communist movement as a whole, which sometimes looks on us with critical reservations, to be equal to our responsibility."

Dubcek's speech found a favorable response among Party secretaries. Its ideas also reached the broader mass of Party functionaries and strengthened the self-confidence of the sound core of the Party. A shortcoming of the speech was, however, that Dubcek paid tribute to his thesis that "essentially the character of the present period is determined by a positive social process," and failed to emphasize that the formation of an anti-Communist, counter-revolutionary front was a reality already.

The action of the sound core of the Party against the reactionary bloc was perhaps more evident than ever at the countrywide meeting of the People's Militias attended by 10,000 militiamen. It is still fresh in everyone's memory how the Right wingers quieted down under the influence of the Communists' militant resolve. In those days all requisites of an early mobilization of the Party for a clash with the counter-revolutionary forces were really there. A healthy movement was going on in local organizations and in districts, due above all to the resolution of the May plenum of the CC CPC.

However, the Party leadership missed this opportunity. A. Dubcek let himself be lulled by the soothing talk of the Right-wing on the CC Presidium and by the noisy protestations of the communications media, which claimed that he exaggerated the danger from the right. At the same time he was intimidated by mere hints on the part of certain journalists to the effect that one more speech of that kind and his popularity would be over. Communists waited in vain for measures and instructions that would guide them in the coming encounter.

"2000 WORDS" AFFECTED THE PARTY

This opportunist vacillation of A. Dubcek was used by the bloc of Right-wing and anti-socialist forces. A mere eight days after the rally of the People's Militias, *Literarni Listy*, *Prace*, *Zemedelske Noviny* and *Mlada Fronta* published the declaration "2000 Words,"

which was the signal for the counter-revolutionary forces to attack.

At that moment the opportunist contradictions between words and deeds, noticeable in Dubcek's activity since early 1968, became marked. At the afternoon meeting of the CC Presidium A. Dubcek, together with several members of the leadership, sharply condemned "2000 Words" as a counter-revolutionary appeal. But a few hours later he began to vacillate in his view of that anti-Communist lampoon. He insisted that it should be publicly condemned not by the CC Presidium, but by some other body.

Why? There is only one explanation: he was afraid that he would lose his popularity among the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces and did not want to append his signature to a Party document giving their counter-revolutionary action its right name. He completed his opportunist attitude when, the next day, he failed to fulfil the resolution of the CC Presidium saying that he should express the Presidium's stand on "2000 Words" in his television address.

In this connection it is necessary to point out another circumstance which puts the finishing touches to Dubcek's image. The discussion of "2000 Words" in the CC Presidium was chaired by O. Cernik. In conclusion of the deliberations, he formulated the Presidium resolution instructing Alois Indra, secretary of the CC CPC, to send the regional and district Party committees a teleprinted message on behalf of the CC Secretariat stating the Presidium's attitude to the counter-revolutionary appeal. The message was written almost word for word according to the conclusions on which the Presidium had agreed. It is known that this inner-Party message got immediately into editorial offices of the communications media, which launched a smear campaign against Comrade Indra. Its only purpose was to make the public believe that the condemnation of "2000 Words" by the CC Presidium was a result of "conservative" pressure on Dubcek. This was prompted by Dubcek's television speech, in which he did not say a word about the counter-revolutionary appeal.

"2000 Words" was intended for the extraordinary district conferences of the Party which began the day after its publication. The conferences focussed attention on the selection of delegates to extraordinary regional conferences and the extraordinary congress of the Party. The counter-revolutionary stage-managers wanted to influence this selection, and the documents show that they succeeded in this to a considerable extent: approval or rejection of "2000 Words" was in a number of cases a criterion for election or non-election of a proposed delegate to the regional conference and to congress.

The extraordinary district conferences in June 1968 showed that the Party was going through the most profound and most danger-

ous crisis in its history. CPC influence on political life was slight, the determining political role was played ever more obviously by the counter-revolutionary bloc dominating a considerable part of the state and economic apparatus, the mass media, trade unions, youth organizations, K 231, KAN and mass political organizations. In many districts even Party bodies yielded to its influence. If Dubcek, Smrkovsky, Cisar and others imagined that the love shown them by KAN and the entire bloc would last they ought to have realized that they were cherishing a snake in their bosom. They ought to have learned before long that the bloc would not go with them if they began to thwart its designs. They did not see this and this shows how naive they were. All allegations about the high degree of activity in 1968 are false. Everyone knows that many delegates to district conferences, which elected delegates to regional conferences and to the congress, were selected in the presence of less than thirty per cent of the membership. That many of these "elections" were invalid did not matter as far as they were concerned. The vaunted high degree of activity in 1968 was Right-wing activity.

Dubcek's Right-wing opportunism, which became ever more marked in the activity of the Party leadership, played a part in making the working class distrustful of the Party. At the beginning of the year the employees of many factories not only supported the post-January policy, but drew the attention of the CC CPC to the Right-wing danger arising in the country. Unfortunately, A. Dubcek did not heed the warnings of workers' collectives. He did not mobilize internal forces and allowed a degree of disruption which left the allies no choice but to step in. A. Dubcek concentrated on armchair talks with spokesmen of various organizations, artists' unions, etc., and did not think of protecting the interests of the working class. In the end the clever tactics of the counter-revolutionary bloc, which proceeded from the ever more obvious alienation of the working class from the Party, completed what was an unexampled tragedy in the fifty years' history of the CPC: the Party lost its influence over factories.

This was the most terrible result of Dubcek's opportunism.

DUPLICITY

In June and July it became evident that the counter-revolutionary forces had launched a general offensive against socialism in Czechoslovakia. At the same time it was plain that the sound socialist forces at home were steadily weakening. It was natural that this adverse development should strongly disturb the allies of Czechoslovakia. The counter-revolutionary bloc, for its part, realized that the only way of saving socialism in our country was

direct aid from our allies. This is why it strove to raise insurmountable obstacles to it. The mass media stepped up the nationalist and anti-Soviet campaign to the utmost.

That campaign assumed full strength from June 20-30, 1968, when staff exercises of the Warsaw Treaty armies were held on our territory. In the places where the exercises took place, citizens gave members of the fraternal armies a friendly welcome. In the press, however, questions were asked about the purpose of staff exercises in our country and journalists commented more and more openly that the allies were "exerting pressure on Dubcek, demanding a change of policy." The campaign culminated in attacks against the allies and in nationalist frenzy, which literally drove the fraternal soldiers from our country.

A. Dubcek did not react to that campaign. The government contented itself with reassuring the public. Yet Dubcek could have given a truthful explanation of why the staff exercises were taking place in our country, and most citizens would have accepted the explanation. After all, it was A. Dubcek who had reached agreement with the Warsaw Treaty command on holding the staff exercises on our soil.

If the Party leadership had not permitted the anti-Soviet campaign, the exercises could have supported the socialist forces in the Republic in the expected encounter with the counter-revolutionary forces. As a result of A. Dubcek's unprincipled, opportunist policy, the encounter never came. On the contrary, the reactionary bloc gradually won decisive positions while A. Dubcek unashamedly ignored the fact that allied soldiers were spat at, soldiers who had come to the aid of the socialist forces in our country under an agreement reached by him. Nor is that all—he did not react to the slanders of the counter-revolutionaries, who claimed that the staff exercises were nothing but an attempt to intimidate Dubcek, to put pressure on Dubcek, a dirty method of making Dubcek change course. He allowed others to be denigrated while he himself basked in the sunshine of popularity.

Can there be a more convincing proof of Dubcek's duplicity?

NOTHING BUT PROMISES

However, A. Dubcek's double-dealing with regard to the Soviet Union and the other allies had been apparent earlier.

At the Dresden talks of the six socialist countries on March 23, 1968, representatives of the fraternal parties for the first time voiced apprehension about the intensifying activity of Right-wing and anti-socialist forces in our country.

The Dresden talks represented aid to the CC of our Party in the struggle for a real post-January policy. On the way home A. Dub-

cek, like the other members of the delegation, voiced his determination to put things in order in our country. However, nothing at all was done on his return to Czechoslovakia to "put things in order." On the contrary, Dubcek chose the more popular tactic of falling in with pressure groups. The only change was that reaction became more audacious.

A. Dubcek took a similar stand following the Moscow talks on May 3 and 4, 1968. The Soviet representatives submitted to the CPC delegation facts confirming the forecast made by them in Dresden, that the bloc of Right-wing and anti-socialist forces would mount an attack on a wider front if the Party did not fight it resolutely. They actually pleaded with Dubcek and the other comrades to realize that the Czechoslovak border is simultaneously the frontier of the socialist camp and that events beyond and on this border endanger not only the CSSR but the whole socialist camp.

It was from this point of view that the CC Presidium proceeded on the delegation's return from Moscow. It agreed on the view that drastic steps must be taken against the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces. As a matter of fact, it was the last time that the Party leadership had achieved unanimity.

Shortly afterwards a conference of secretaries of district and regional committees of the CPC and a plenary meeting of the CC CPC were convened. An offensive of the sound core of the Party and of all socialist forces in the country was in the making. But as we have already said, the Party's determination to win the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces was wasted. The hopes of our Soviet Communists and of comrades from the other fraternal parties did not materialize.

A. Dubcek continued to react to letters and telephone calls from representatives of the fraternal parties only by words and promises. He never did anything. At all meetings and talks with our allies he obstinately denied the possibility of a counter-revolutionary coup in our country. Only when faced with incontrovertible facts about disruptive activity in the country did he admit that along with a "healthy trend of development there occur extremes and excesses."

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, whose letter arrived at CC CPC on June 12, 1968, asked Dubcek in a very friendly manner for a meeting. Dubcek was to name the place himself. However, the First Secretary of the CC CPC decided against the meeting because, he said, it was a period of holidays and conferences. Another reason he gave for his decision was that he planned to spend his holiday in the USSR and that problems could be discussed on that occasion. However, he almost immediately had the CC Presidium pass a resolution saying that leading

officials of the Party and the state should not leave the country.

A few weeks later the CPC was invited to send a delegation to a meeting of the fraternal parties in Warsaw. As is known, the leadership of our Party, and later the plenum of the CC CPC, turned down the invitation and did not attend the meeting. This decision was adopted under the pressure of a violent nationalist and anti-Soviet campaign in the mass media and at various street meetings and demonstrations. It was evident that they were supported by Dubcek's attitude towards L. Brezhnev's letter, not unknown in certain quarters.

During the discussion of the Warsaw invitation by the CC Presidium the exponents of Right-wing opportunism in the leadership took an openly anti-Soviet stand together with those who had been invited to the discussion in abundant numbers.

The debate at the CC plenum, which was to decide about our participation in the Warsaw meeting, was under pressure from dozens of journalists and cameramen who attended against all custom. Besides, various delegations arrived at the plenary session of the CC. As a rule, they were empowered by nobody and many of them directly threatened members of the CC CPC, saying that if they accepted the invitation to Warsaw the nation would call them traitors.

Alexander Dubcek did not tell either the CC Presidium or the CC that he had been informed in time about the date of the Warsaw meeting. He used a trick to gain consent from the Presidium and CC plenum. He suggested bilateral talks, which he had rejected in earlier conversations, and, in substance, manipulated the Presidium and the whole CC.

SOCIALISM IN THE CSSR IN DANGER

In those days, nationalist and anti-Soviet hysteria fully dominated the streets of many towns. The Party leadership was split and unable to deal with the situation. Honest people in the Party leadership were discredited in the eyes of many misled people by slander and baiting.

Right-wing opportunists let themselves be carried on a non-class and virtually anti-patriotic wave. Kriegel, Smrkovsky, Cisar, Slavik and others became "darlings of the mob." A. Dubcek did not lag behind. In front of millions of televiewers, nationalists handed him sheets with signatures to demands to the Party delegation preparing for the Cierna and Tisou meeting with the delegation of the CC CPSU. And A. Dubcek promised to act on nationalist demands. On that occasion he said in part:

"We can already say with greater certainty that a unity is coming about such as this country has not known for many long years, a unity for which our nations have long been waiting, a unity deserved by our socialist effort. . . ."

A man who called himself a Communist at the time, a man entrusted with the highest Party office, stressed above everything a unity based on nationalist hysteria.

Frantisek Kriegel suggested to the Presidium that the whipped-up moods should be used and the CPC turned into a party of the whole nation. Nor did Alexander Dubcek reject that counter-revolutionary proposal.

During the talks at Cierna nad Tisou and then in Bratislava, A. Dubcek used a device that had "proved its worth": under the pressure of facts and arguments he promised to take measures and remove the "excesses." But on his return he again gave himself, by dropping various hints, the halo of a hero resisting "foreign pressure." He did not keep a single promise.

The nationalist and anti-Soviet wave enabled the counter-revolutionary forces to win the last important positions. One of their spokesmen, CC Presidium member Frantisek Kriegel, was already theorizing on how to sway and misuse the forthcoming Party congress: according to him, it was necessary "to keep the masses in tension."

A. Dubcek knew about Kriegel's meeting with Smrkovsky, Cisar, Goldstucker, Hejzlar, Rattinger, Beer, Mlynar, Kohout, Hanzelka and other Rightists at which that "concept" had originated, but he did not oppose it. On the contrary, by continuing to allow the mass media to raise the hue and cry about "impermissible foreign pressure on Dubcek," he supported the realization of Kriegel's concept of "keeping the masses in tension because the congress and its results are at stake."

At that time it was evident to all sober-minded people that socialism in Czechoslovakia was in danger. The counter-revolutionary forces had stopped play-acting and were talking openly about Czechoslovakia's dissociation from the Warsaw Treaty, about neutrality and severance of the ties of alliance with the Soviet Union. They even planned to break economic relations with the USSR.

The CPC leadership gave up the possibility of mobilizing the sound forces and allowed the Party to be disarmed, with the result that practically it found itself lacking a leading body. The allies had no choice but to render internationalist aid to our country in order to save socialism in it.

Alexander Dubcek remained loyal to his unprincipled ways and duplicity even in the tense moments of the night of August 20-21, 1968. The day before, he had received a letter full of preoccupation from the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC saying that our country was not carrying out even the Bratislava agreement. He could have picked up the telephone to inform the Soviet comrades of the situation and to agree on effective measures. He did nothing.

He did not submit that important letter from the Soviet comrades

to the Presidium of the CC CPC until one hour after the allied troops had crossed our borders. And immediately afterwards he tendered his resignation. He wanted to escape responsibility. Besides, he would thereby have fanned the fiercest anti-Soviet passions.

A Dubcek knew that the troops of the socialist countries were not coming to occupy Czechoslovakia or to liquidate socialism in our country. In any case, he said so one year later, at the September 1969 plenary meeting of the CC CPC.

If he knew it in August 1968, why did he allow Mlynar and Smrkovsky on that August night to draft a statement of the CC CPC Presidium which was nationalist, non-class and entirely at variance with proletarian internationalism? Why did he enable the Rightists to exert pressure on those members of the Party leadership who refused to vote for the statement? Why did he let the Party leadership discuss the statement at all?

A. Dubcek is fully responsible for the fact that the statement of the CC CPC Presidium of August 21, 1968 gave our class enemies a weapon against socialism, the Communist movement, the USSR and other socialist countries, and that it misinformed and confused not only our Party and our citizens but, at the same time, the leadership and members of some Communist parties in the capitalist countries.

The Presidium statement of August 21, 1968 enabled the counter-revolutionary forces to win, under cover of a patriotic struggle against outside forces, the last positions. However, the presence of allied troops prevented them from settling accounts with their opponents by bloodshed.

SINKING DEEPER INTO AN OPPORTUNIST QUAGMIRE

On his return from the Moscow talks at the end of August 1968 A. Dubcek delivered on the radio a report on the results of the talks. He spoke pathetically and his voice was thick with tears. However, he did not at any moment indicate the disastrous and highly dangerous crisis in which our Republic had found itself prior to the arrival of the allied troops. He did not admit that socialist development in our country had been in danger and that there had been a threat of counter-revolutionary action and civil war. Nor did he mention his share of responsibility for the situation but posed again as a misunderstood messiah.

Be that as it may, his activities after August 1968 showed that he was no wiser. The day after his return from Moscow he had talks with the illegal CC elected at the so-called Vysocany congress. He accepted the categorical demands of that anti-Party grouping. It wanted comrades who had "discredited themselves," i.e., people who for many months had stood on Marxist positions,

to withdraw from the Party leadership. Another demand was that the legal CC be supplemented by "Vysocany people." The third demand was for retaining the cadres of the "Vysocany congress."

A. Dubcek met those demands. Although he did not succeed in driving all the "discredited" from the Party leadership, he fully met the second and third demands: the session of the CC CPC of August 30, 1968 coopted to the CC not only the eight Vysocany people the anti-Party grouping had insisted on originally, but many more. Skilfully sandwiched between the 80 new, coopted members of the CC were the most vociferous "Vysocany people." The cadres of that "congress," too, were retained by A. Dubcek, in cooperation with other Rightists, in the various committees and the apparatus of the Party, in editorial offices, research institutes, etc.

A. Dubcek did not change his stance, and persisted in a Right-opportunist, nationalist and anti-Soviet platform, even after the November 1968 plenum of the CC CPC.

He tacitly approved the fact that a large proportion of members of the CC and the Party apparatus and the absolute majority of the mass media disparaged the November resolution of the CC, which was the starting point for restoring the class and internationalist character of the Party and stressed the continuing danger from the Right.

He also knew—and did not protest against it—that a number of Party committees and organizations failed to fulfil the resolutions of higher Party bodies and violated the principle of democratic centralism. He must have known, for he daily received reports to that effect, that Marxist cadre members who tried truthfully to inform the Party and the public about the causes of the deep crisis in the country were still baited, overtly or covertly. He also left free scope for nationalist and anti-Soviet activities, which were uncommonly intense and outspoken in part of the mass media.

Even after August 1968, A. Dubcek's policy left free scope to the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces and enabled them to create crisis situations as intense as prior to August 1968.

Nevertheless, the situation in Party and society did change substantially. After August 1968 the Marxist core of the Party rallied together in spite of all obstacles, and its strength made itself felt more and more. This also influenced further development in the country.

The April 1969 session of the CC CPC put an end to A. Dubcek's unprincipled, opportunist policy and launched a principled political struggle against Right opportunism in the Party and against the counter-revolutionary bloc generally.

* * *

A legend, even one that has arisen by chance, can only be smashed by historical truth.

The legend of Alexander Dubcek was being deliberately built up over many months by a powerful apparatus of reactionary forces. It penetrated deep into the consciousness of a part of our population, including Communists. It lived and is alive, not only in our country, but in the capitalist countries, where many progressives fell for it. And then, it is known that foreign mass media and various propaganda agencies in the West assisted its birth to an important extent.

Alexander Dubcek was expelled from the Party by the June 1970 meeting of the CC CPC.

This is neither revenge nor a subjective act of the new Party leadership. It is merely an expression of the objective historical truth about A. Dubcek's role in the most difficult period for our Party and society. The expulsion from the Party logically completed A. Dubcek's evolution as an unprincipled, compromising and uncourageous member of the Party.

This was how the decision of the CC CPC was received by our Party at meetings. And this is how it is also received by the majority of our citizens. Even the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces received Dubcek's expulsion from the CPC on the whole indifferently.

The legend can persist only where there is little or no knowledge of the facts about developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in the spring of 1969. It is disagreeable, of course, if it is kept up by progressive people holding views close to ours, but this does not yet make the legend a reality. The facts are inexorable. Our article gives only part of a large number of facts proving, among other things, how much patient effort was also exerted by people who wished to prevent Alexander Dubcek's desertion to the reactionary camp.

We believe that these facts may also help those progressives abroad who were blinded by the shine of a mere legend. It is important not only to us, but certainly also to them, for it may be a lesson enabling them to nip similar legends in the bud and avoid what we have experienced in Czechoslovakia.

It stands to reason that we take an entirely different view of bourgeois propaganda, which is taking advantage of Dubcek's expulsion to step up the anti-Czechoslovak campaign, stinting neither strong words nor fearful bogeys.

We fully realize that the strategists of imperialism cannot be satisfied by the withdrawal from our political scene of a man on whom imperialist political quarters pinned many a hope for the disruption of the socialist camp and the liquidation of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

However, the period when the policy of the Party leadership was guided by the petty-bourgeois attitude of "what will foreign countries say to it?", and when the reactionary forces in our country slavishly

and pettily imitated Western conductors under the guise of high-sounding patriotism, is over for good. Dubcek's expulsion from the Party is its conclusion.

The new Party leadership gave Alexander Dubcek a perfect opportunity to realize his mistakes and, as far as possible, to find his way out of a renegade's swamp. Dubcek did not find this way out during his appearances before Party bodies. He continued to assess the events and developments in Czechoslovakia in terms of his own person, of his own interests, feelings and intentions.

At a meeting of friendship among nations at Devin, Comrade Husak spoke about the reasons for A. Dubcek's expulsion from our Party: during the relatively short period he headed it, he brought our Party to an unprecedented state of disintegration, he brought our society, public organizations, trade unions and youth to such a degree of disruption, and our economy to such an inflationary situation and such a degree of disorganization, that we stood on the brink of economic failure. In the sphere of international relations, he disrupted our ties with the Soviet Union and other allied countries, so that Czechoslovakia found itself isolated in the face of great hazards and danger. Is that little?

Dubcek must have shed the last remnants of Marxism and of class and internationalist consciousness. The Party, socialism and the international fraternity of the working people were lost in his speeches behind countless references to his own person.

It was he who brought on his expulsion from our ranks. He was unable to bear the responsibility he had assumed and he therefore set out along the easier road of falling in with the Right-wing and counter-revolutionary forces, so that in the end he found himself on their platform. They paid him for it by creating the "Dubcek legend," in which he believed and still does. This, however, is an indication of Alexander Dubcek's weakness.

The Party remained strong even after grave crises.

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

ANNIVERSARY OF ENGEL'S BIRTH

Prague, July 1-2. An international Marxist symposium on the theme "Frederick Engels and the Communist Movement" took place here on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Engels's birth. It was sponsored by *World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism)*, the theoretical and information journal of the Communist and Workers' parties.

The symposium, opened by K. Zarodov, Chief Editor of *World Marxist Review*, was attended by functionaries and theorists representing 34 brother parties.

Professor Kurt Hager, member of the PB and secretary of the CC SUPG, read the main paper entitled "Frederick Engels, Great Theorist of Scientific Socialism and Leader of the Working Class."

VENEZUELA

June 29. The CP of Venezuela published its program theses to be discussed by the Fourth Congress of the CPV, due to open on December 4, 1970. The theses analyze the national situation, disclose the causes of the lag in and lopsided development of the economy and specify the Party's immediate and long-range tasks.

IRAN

July 3. The Secretariat of the CC, People's Party of Iran (Tudeh), published a communique saying that recently a few members of an Iranian Maoist-minded group which calls itself the "Revolutionary Organization of Tudeh" had surrendered to the regime, against which they had continuously urged an immediate armed struggle.

The CC PPI (Tudeh) Secretariat warns world democratic opinion against the slanderous fabrications of the reactionary press regarding our Party and insists that there is no connection between our organization and the group posing as the "Revolutionary Organization of Tudeh."

The PPI (Tudeh) perseveres in the fight against the adventurist and Leftist orientation of groups which try to divert the youth of our country from the real conditions of the Iranian people's struggle for democracy and national independence and push them in this way towards moral degradation, political apathy and sur-

render. These groups with their outspokenly anti-Soviet attitude and slanderous propaganda against our Party and its international line would like to divide the Iranian working class in favor of Iranian reaction and its imperialist patrons.

There is no reason to mistake the PPI (Tudeh) for the so-called "revolutionaries" deliberately misusing the Party's name for purposes alien to it.

FINLAND

July 6. The CC CPF, meeting in plenary session, discussed the issue of the formation of a parliamentary majority government. A. Saarinen, Chairman of the Party, addressed the meeting, which empowered the Political Bureau to adopt a decision concerning the formation of the new government.

JAPAN

Tokyo, July 1-7. The Ninth Congress of the CP of Japan was in session. It heard the report of the CC CPJ presented by Kenji Miyamoto, General Secretary of the CC CPJ, passed the resolution "The Outlook for the Seventies and the Tasks of the Communist Party of Japan," amended the Party Rules and elected the new leading committees of the Party.

July 7. The CC CPJ elected by Congress met for the first time. It approved the composition of the Party leadership. Sanzo Nosaka was elected Chairman of the CC CPJ and Kenji Miyamoto, Chairman of its Presidium.

TUNISIA

July 8. The banned Tunisian CP demanded that the ban on the legal activity of the Communist Party and on the Left-wing press be lifted.

The Party insists that the National Assembly should really represent all trends existing in the country. This calls for an end to the one-party system, free elections, and respect for democratic rights and the autonomy of trade unions and student leagues.

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

July 8. *Unen* carried the text of the CC, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party decision on preparations for the 50th anniversary of the People's Revolution.

The decision says that on July 11, 1971, the Mongolian people will celebrate the glorious 50th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution together with the working people of the Soviet

Union and other socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world.

The main results of the country's progress over fifty years were that exploitation by feudal serf-owners and all social and national oppression had been fully abolished, a new, socialist society had been built, the arats (peasant stockbreeders.—*Ed.*) had won genuine freedom and happiness, age-old social and economic backwardness had been eliminated and the country transformed from an agrarian-industrial into a socialist state.

In the years since the People's Revolution the prestige of the Mongolian People's Republic had grown considerably and the country had become an inseparable component of the world socialist system.

These historic gains of the MPR were due to correct and wise Marxist-Leninist leadership on the part of the MPRP, the heroic effort of the Mongolian people, who stood united behind their Party and government, all-round and disinterested fraternal assistance from the great Soviet Union, and friendship and all-round cooperation with other socialist countries.

The historical experience of the development of the MPR showed that backward countries could speedily achieve socio-economic progress and build a new society provided they established links with advanced socialist countries and drew on their aid in firmly following the socialist path shown by Lenin.

The decision specifies a series of measures for the preparation and celebration of the Mongolian people's holiday.

In conclusion the CC MPRP calls on the workers, cooperative peasants, intellectuals and other working people of the country to greet the jubilee of the Mongolian People's Revolution with new achievements in carrying out the decisions of the 15th Party Congress and the tasks of building socialism in Mongolia set out in the new Party Program.

RUMANIA

July 8-9. The CC RCP held a plenary meeting.

The meeting heard a communication about the policy of the Party and government of the SRR in foreign affairs and assessed it as positive.

It rated highly the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the SRR and the USSR. It noted the exceptional importance of the Treaty to the progress of the relations between the two socialist states for the good of the Rumanian and Soviet peoples, the strength and unity of the world socialist system, and peace and progress throughout the world.

The meeting also examined some economic problems and adopted relevant decisions.

It adopted a decision on the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the RCP.

N. Ceausescu, General Secretary of the RCP, addressed the meeting.

USSR

July 13. The CC CPSU met in plenary session. It was addressed by L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU. The decision adopted by the plenum appears in this issue of *Information Bulletin*.

COLOMBIA

July 15. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the CP of Colombia the Party's CC published a document summing up the Party's struggle over 40 years for the interests of the workers, peasants and other working people, against imperialism, for democratic liberties. The document notes the patriotic and internationalist character of the Party—a party of the Lenin type—which has been fighting without let-up for a people's revolution and whose goal is socialism.

Twice in the 40 years of its activity the Party had to go underground. Communists have been brutally persecuted. Twenty members of the CC CPC have been assassinated in the last two decades alone. A very short time ago, an enemy bullet killed CC member César González.

Colombia's Communists have always advocated unity of the country's working class. In the thirties the CP helped in setting up a united labor center. It went on fighting for the unity of the working people. This policy was readily supported by the Colombian people.

The CP has always adhered to the principles of proletarian internationalism. It stands for world Communist unity as in the past. Colombian Communists identified themselves with the fight of the heroic peoples of Cuba, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia against imperialism.

HUNGARY

Budapest, July 15-16. The CC HSWP held a plenary meeting here.

The meeting discussed problems of the international situation, the main targets of the five-year plan (1971/75) for economic development and preparations for the Tenth Party Congress. J. Kadar, First Secretary of the CC HSWP, spoke on the latter point. The meeting resolved to convene the Party congress on November 23, 1970. Its agenda will comprise the CC report, amendments to

the Party Rules, the election of leading Party committees and other items.

The meeting approved theses for the congress and draft amendments to the Party Rules.

R. Nyers, secretary of the CC HSWP, spoke of the main targets of the fourth five-year economic development plan. The meeting discussed and endorsed the main principles of the plan.

Z. Komocsin, secretary of the CC HSWP, spoke on the international situation. He dealt especially with European security and said that the Budapest conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries on June 21 and 22 last had been an important advance in this respect.

Z. Komocsin pointed out that the working people of Hungary, the HSWP and Hungarian People's Republic emphatically condemn the U.S. war of aggression against Indochina.

The working people of Hungary, he said, support the Arab peoples' just cause and are resolved to go on strengthening anti-imperialist unity of action with the Arab countries.

PERU

Lima, July 19-20. The CC PCP discussed the organizing, ideological and political work of the Party among the masses.

Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the CC PCP, spoke on the political situation in the country. He said the recent period in Peru has seen new steps to develop the nationalized oil enterprises and to carry the agrarian reform deeper. Laws have been enacted on state monopoly of the output of the mining and fishing industries, control over foreign exchange transactions, etc.

In foreign policy, the country's efforts were intended to bring into being a front of Latin American peoples against the predatory policy of U.S. imperialism, to promote economic, diplomatic and cultural relations with the socialist countries and effect a rapprochement with socialist Cuba in a situation that was becoming more and more favorable to the restoration of normal relations.

Speaking of the earthquake that hit Peru, del Prado expressed deep gratitude to the governments and peoples of the socialist countries which have extended ample aid to Peru. No one can now ignore the fact, he said, that it is "precisely the USSR that has given our people the greatest and most comprehensive aid."

Jorge del Prado stressed the growing role of the Peruvian Communist Party in the life of the country and touched on the problem of stepping up Communist work among the masses so that they may participate all the more actively in the fight to carry socio-economic changes deeper.

FRG

July 21. Speaking to a meeting of Mannesmann Co. workers in Duisburg, Kurt Bachmann, Chairman of the German CP, called for greater activity of the peace and democratic forces of the FRG. Attention today is focussed on the issue of talks between the FRG and Soviet Union to renounce force.

Under the pressure of reality and the repeatedly expressed will of the peace-loving population of the FRG for better relations with the Soviet Union, the Federal government shows readiness to talk but is under fierce attack from Strauss, Springer and the "right-extremist cartel" as a whole.

The GCP calls on the working people and all peace supporters of West Germany to defeat reaction and insist on carrying the talks through to a fruitful conclusion. An agreement renouncing force would meet the fundamental interests of the working class. A successful effort to normalize relations with the socialist countries, including the GDR, would help curb the most aggressive and nationalist wing of monopoly capital.

INDIA

Delhi, July 20. The CEC CPI met here for a four-day session.

The most noteworthy and significant political event that has occurred in the country at the present time, the session says in its resolution, is the mass struggle of poor peasants and agricultural workers for land begun in response to the appeal of the CPI, All-India Peasant Union and All-India Organization of Agricultural Workers. For the first time in the history of independent India, a militant nationwide agrarian movement against the forces of feudalism, for land, is sweeping the country.

The political forces continue to polarize, with the forces of reaction on one side and those of progress on the other.

The CPI called on all progressive members of the ruling Congress party to join in militant united action and to set up a united front against reaction. It also called for radical socio-economic changes to raise the people's standard of life.

The CEC CPI urged all Indian Communists to stand up with still greater energy for the just demands of the people and to wage a genuinely revolutionary struggle for the unity of all Left-wing and democratic forces, against the offensive of reaction.

LEBANON

July 21. The CC LCP published a statement on the coming Presidential elections. "The Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party," it says, "held an enlarged meeting in mid-July to examine the situation in the country in view of the coming Presi-

dential elections. The CC approved the Political Bureau report and reaffirmed the Party's position and its action plan to intensify the national fight against the conspiracies of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, as well as against Israel and Arab and home reaction."

The statement stresses the need to defeat attempts by imperialist and reactionary forces to interfere in the internal affairs of Lebanon, especially on the eve of the Presidential elections.

"The CC LCP is confident," it says, "that the masses of Lebanon, led by the progressive forces, cooperating with the Palestine resistance movement and supported by the Arab and world progressive movement can foil the plans of imperialism, Zionism and reaction directed against the interests of the Lebanese people and the independence and sovereignty of their country, and prevent the election to the Presidency of the Republic of a leader who would help in carrying out the above plans."

SPAIN

July 30. *Humanité* carried a statement by the CP of Spain calling on the Communist parties, revolutionary forces, trade unions and progressive organizations to protest against the crimes of the Franco dictatorship.

The crimes of the authorities in Granada, where police have killed three people, wounded dozens of others and carried out over a hundred arrests, have deeply angered people in Spain and the world. There was a building workers' strike going on in Granada, in Madrid the employees of the underground and those of numerous large enterprises were likewise on strike, and young people held demonstrations. In Seville, Barcelona and other cities there were strikes and calls for solidarity were made.

All these actions took place in anticipation of a national strike.

The CP of Spain expressed its profound class solidarity with the working class of Granada, which had become a victim of repressive measures, and insisted that those responsible for them be punished.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

Late July. The Vietnamese press carried reports about the first stage of the Ho Chi Minh Enrolment in the Working People's Party of Vietnam announced on the 80th anniversary of the birth of Ho Chi Minh, outstanding Vietnamese Communist, founder of the DRV. In Hanoi, over 50 per cent of those who have joined the Party in this period are workers and other people engaged in production. One-fifth of the enrolled are shock workers who have held this title for over a year. Scientific workers and technologists

make up 25 per cent of those who have joined the Party organization of the capital.

Most of the new Party members come from the Ho Chi Minh League of Working Youth. In the Party organizations of the armed forces, young people constitute the overwhelming majority of new members of the WPPV.

BRITAIN

Belfast, Late July. Representatives of the CPGB and CP of Ireland called on the British and Irish working people to step up their fight for democratic rights for the entire population of Ulster, and for the right of the Irish people to self-determination.

A statement published after the meeting of the two parties notes that while the progressive forces of both countries have made progress in the fight for democratic rights since the last meeting of the CPGB and CPI (August 1969), the overall situation in Ulster still causes serious concern.

It was not accidental, the two parties pointed out, that the latest attacks of Northern Irish reaction on the population, which insists on its rights, coincided with the Conservatives' return to power and the ensuing rightward swing of the government of Northern Ireland.
