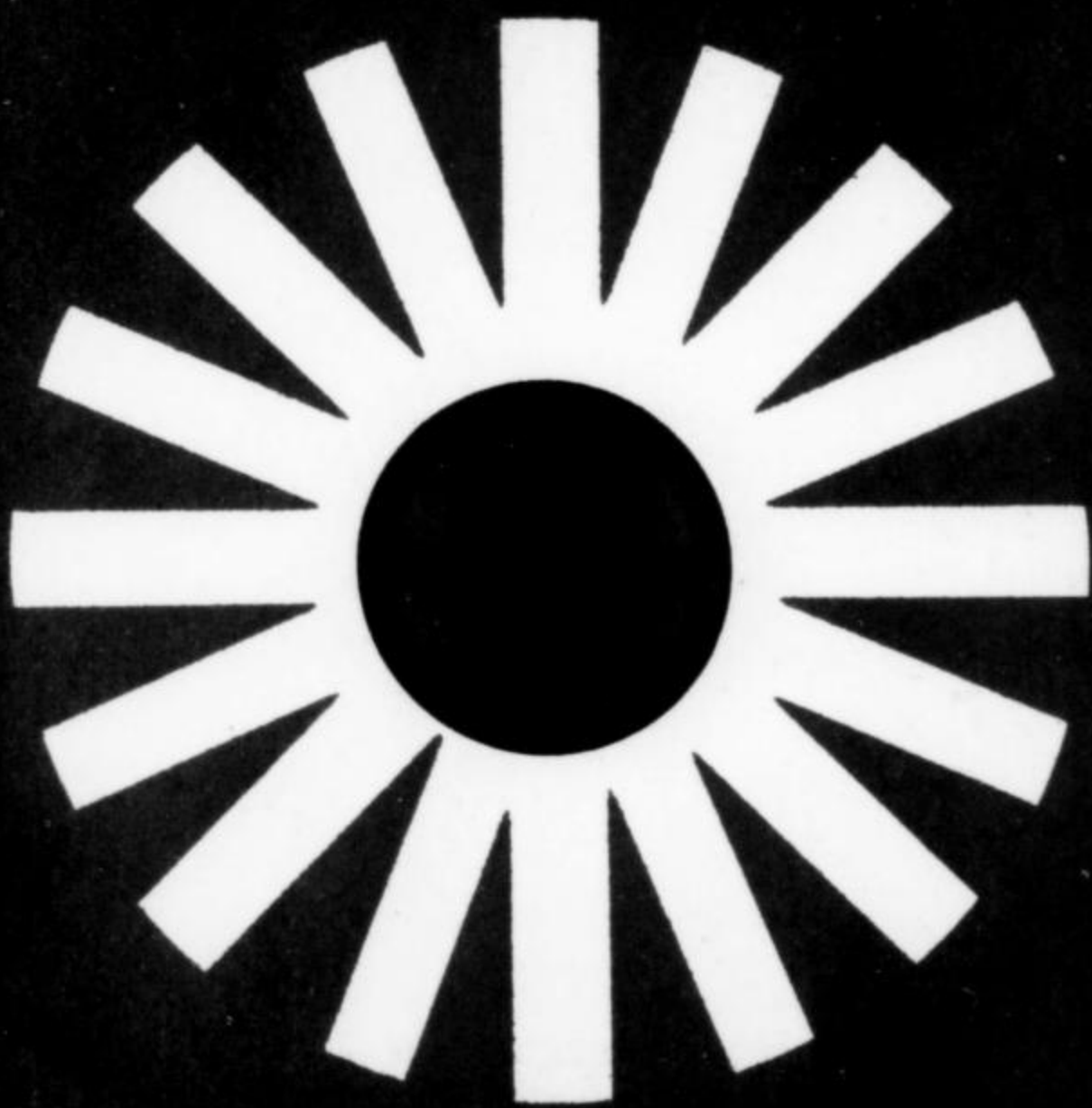




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14th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The 14th Congress of the CPC was held in Prague May 25-29, 1971. There were 1195 delegates with a deciding vote elected to the Congress (one for every 1,000 CPC members) and 115 with deliberative vote. There were 608 guests invited to attend which included Party veterans and representatives of various public organizations. On the day the Congress opened nine delegates were absent for valid reasons.

Of the total number of delegates, 74.5 per cent were of working-class background; 52.9 per cent of the delegates were people employed directly in the sphere of material production: in industry, transport, construction or agriculture, of whom 382 (32 per cent) were industrial workers.

There were 238 Party functionaries (19.9 per cent), 119 representatives of the intelligentsia (10 per cent), 114 workers of government offices and public organizations (9.5 per cent).

The delegates included 241 women. By nationality, 899 delegates represented the Czech people, 249—the Slovak people, and the rest represented the other nationalities in the CSSR. Thirty delegates were from 18-30 years of age, 182 were 31 to 40 years old, 662 were 41 to 50 years of age, and 62 delegates were over 60 years old.

The Congress was attended by delegations and representatives of 68 fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and nine National-Democratic and Left Socialist parties from foreign countries, as well as a delegation representing the World Marxist Review.

A short introductory speech to open the Congress was delivered by President Ludvik Svoboda, member of the Presidium of the CC CPC.

On behalf of the CC CPC, Vasil Bilak, secretary CC CPC, sincerely greeted the delegates of the Communist and Workers', National-Democratic and Left Socialist parties attending the Congress.

The following agenda was adopted unanimously:

1. Report on Party activity and the development of society following the 13th CPC Congress and further Party tasks. Delivered by G. Husak.
2. Report by the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPC. Delivered by M. Jakes.

3. Report on the main trends of the Party's economic policy in the period 1971-75. Delivered by L. Strougal.

4. Debate and voting on Congress materials.

5. Elections to the CC CPC and the CCAC CPC.

The delegates then elected the Congress Presidium and various committees.

Fifty-one delegates representing all regional CPC organizations spoke in the debate on the reports. The Congress heard spokesmen for the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, women, the youth and the Armed Forces. Addresses of greetings were delivered by the representatives of other political parties in the National Front of Czechoslovakia.

All the speakers endorsed the reports and materials submitted to the Congress by the Party leadership and on behalf of their organizations stated their full support for the Party's domestic and foreign policies.

The Congress was addressed by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC CPSU; J. Kadar, First Secretary, CC HSWP; E. Gierek, First Secretary, CC PUWP; T. Zhivkov, First Secretary, CC BCP; E. Honecker, First Secretary, CC SUPG; the heads of delegations of many other fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and National-Democratic and Left Socialist parties.

On the last day of the Congress the delegates unanimously adopted the report by the Congress committee on changes in the Party Rules. The report was made by committee chairman A. Indra. In part, the changes provide for extending the term of office of the CC CPC, elected by the Congress, from four to five years, and also for the restoration of the two-year period for Party candidates.

On proposal of the Congress election committee, the delegates unanimously elected a new Central Committee of 115 members and 45 alternate members and also a new 51-member Central Control and Auditing Committee.

At the first meeting of the new CC on May 29, on L. Svoboda's nomination G. Husak was unanimously elected General Secretary, CC, CPC.

The following were elected members of the CC CPC Presidium: V. Bilak, P. Colotka, K. Hoffmann, G. Husak, A. Indra, A. Kapek, J. Kempny, J. Korcak, J. Lenart, L. Svoboda and L. Strougal.

M. Hruskovic and V. Hula were elected alternate members of the Presidium.

V. Bilak, J. Fojtik, M. Hruskovic, A. Indra, J. Kempny and O. Svestka were elected secretaries of the CC CPC.

G. Husak, V. Bilak, J. Fojtik, M. Hruskovic, A. Indra, J. Kempny, J. Lenart, M. Moc, F. Ondrich and O. Svestka were elected members of the Secretariat of the CC CPC.

M. Jakes was elected Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Committee of the CPC.

The 14th Congress unanimously approved the results of the elections of leading Party organs.

The delegates also voted unanimously for the 14th Congress Resolution and the Directives of the 14th CPC Congress on the five-year plan of economic development for 1971-75.

Speaking in conclusion, G. Husak, General Secretary of the CC CPC, summed up the work of the Congress, stressing three basic traits: the historical victory in the CSSR and the CPC of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the forces true to this teaching and to proletarian internationalism; the approval of a realistic program for the all-round development of socialist society in the CSSR; the demonstration of proletarian internationalism, the strong unity between the CSSR and the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, restoration of the active role of the CPC in the international Communist and workers' movement and in the struggle of all the anti-imperialist forces.

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY SINCE THE 13th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

DELIVERED MAY 25 BY COMRADE GUSTAV HUSAK, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC CPC, AT THE 14TH PARTY CONGRESS (FULL TEXT ACCORDING TO *RUDE PRAVO*, MAY 26, 1971).

Esteemed comrades and delegates,
dear guests,

The Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has met as its supreme body to assess developments in the five years since the 13th Congress of our Party and to map our tasks for the future.

The past few years were among the most difficult and most complicated in the 50-year history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Our Party and our society have gone through a profound crisis, which affected every sphere. It disrupted the Party, public organizations, state and economic bodies, wrought havoc in the economy, undermined the working people's confidence in the future and endangered our foreign relations. The revolutionary achievements of the people, the results of socialist construction, were seriously threatened and, in the final analysis, the socialist system in our country was jeopardized.

These were years of hard trials for our Party and the socialist society. Today we can responsibly declare that the attack of counter-revolutionary forces has been repelled, the socialist system defended. Since April 1969 the Central Committee has taken a firm course to overcome the crises in the Party and society. The condition for surmounting these dangerous crises was the defeat of Right opportunist, revisionist and anti-socialist forces, the cleansing of our Party, social and state bodies, and the restoration of Marxist-Leninist principles in the policy of the Party and in the activities of our socialist state.

After two years of hard, stubborn political, organizational work by hundreds of thousands of Communists we can quite justly state that the Party is ideologically, politically and organizationally

united and capable of action. Our society is consolidated, the stability of the economy has been restored and its rate of development is accelerating. The social and legal confidence of the people is assured. Thanks to its political course and the concrete results it has achieved, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is winning the growing confidence and support of the working class and of other sections of the working people; it has again become the leading force of our socialist society and a firm link in the international Communist movement.

Our friendly, allied bonds with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have been completely restored.

The restoration of normal conditions for the creative work and life of the working people, the overall results of consolidation in the Party, in public organizations, in state and representative bodies, in the economic and social spheres and in our foreign relations, have made it possible to convene the regular congress of the Party.

During the pre-congress campaign all primary organizations, district and regional conferences and the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia expressed full agreement with the political course of our Central Committee and the practical work of its bodies. The recent May Day manifestations held in almost 1,000 communities in our Republic and attended by several million people, showed the high degree of our Party's unity with the broad masses, the support of the workers, farmers and intelligentsia for the policy of the Central Committee. Preparations for the Party Congress proceeded in accordance with the Statutes. They were accompanied by wide-spread labor initiative at industrial enterprises and offices in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its 14th Congress.

In preparation for our Congress an inspiring example was set by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Leninist integrity of Soviet Communists, their exactingness, the businesslike nature and boldness of their plans are an inspiration for our people, a guidance for us in our work. The warm feelings of Soviet Communists towards our Party and the Czechoslovak people voiced at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, contributed markedly towards strengthening the friendship between our parties and nations.

The results we have achieved in all spheres in the last two years are the earnest that our 14th Congress can responsibly conclude the critical stage in our history and orientate the Party and the whole society on the further development of socialism in our country.

I

FIFTY YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

We are happy that at a time of growing achievements of our Party and society we are, with the 14th Congress, reaching the culmination of the 50-years revolutionary road of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a component of and driving force behind the most important and brightest chapters in the contemporary history of our peoples.

Today we can state with justification that the Party has successfully carried out and is continuing to carry out its historic mission, which it took upon itself as the leading force of the working class and other working people. Its 50-year long history, full of heroic and self-sacrificing struggle for social and national liberation, is proof that service to the working class, the working people and the peoples of our country is and will always remain the supreme law of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The victorious road of the Party has confirmed the correctness and validity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism as applied to our country. It is, therefore, a vital source of experience and guidance in our work.

With the lapse of half a century we can fully appreciate the greatness of the historic deed, accomplished by the most mature part of the workers in founding the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It was a logical outcome of the whole social development, the mounting revolutionary democratic and national liberation movements, and the class struggle. The revolutionary workers' movement, after the bitter experiences of 1918-1920 and the defeat of 1920, realized that if it was to win in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and exploitation it would have to break away from social-democratic reformism politically, ideologically and organizationally and, following the Russian Bolsheviks' example, organize a revolutionary Party of a new type. The creation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was a fundamental prerequisite for the success in the struggle with the bourgeoisie.

In its program the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia embraced the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, it opposed the idea of class reconciliation with the bourgeoisie with the goal of revolutionary transformation of society. As opposed to nationalism, it raised the banner of proletarian internationalism. From the very beginning it was inspired in its work by the example of the Great October Socialist Revolution and learned from the experiences of the Bolshevik Party. We shall never forget that it was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who assisted in the revolutionary beginnings of our young Party.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia formed in our multinational state as a united internationalist party of the working class and a component of the international Communist movement. Its internationalism was in keeping with true patriotism. In difficult class, social and national struggles the Party fought for a better future for the working people, for a country without exploitation of man by man or national oppression, for a country that would be a true motherland for all the workers of both our peoples and other national minorities. Communists, as the most consistent fighters for social justice, for national freedom and independence of the Czechoslovak state became bearers and continuators of the progressive traditions of our peoples.

All the Party's historic victories are due to its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and its creative application to our conditions, and to its implacable opposition to revisionist and opportunist deformations. Deviation from these principles always resulted in difficulties and crises. The emergence of the new leadership under Klement Gottwald at the Fifth Congress in 1929 and its struggle with opportunism made it possible to overcome the crisis in the Party and consistently assert the Marxist-Leninist principles of class and revolutionary policy in our conditions. The revolutionary course and the class struggle led by our Party in the bourgeois republic made it the only political force to emerge with honor from the complicated situations of economic crisis and the menace of fascism looming over the Republic, as well as from the peoples' gravest experience, the Nazi occupation. The CPC rallied the working people against the infamous Munich Diktat. Communists combined sincere patriotism with international struggle against fascism. Communists were the leading force of the anti-fascist national-liberation struggle. Their work, activities and sacrifices highlighted the anti-fascist struggle at home and abroad, the combat operations of the First Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR, the Slovak national uprising, the partisan struggle on our territory and the May revolutionary uprising of the Czech people. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia emerged from the war as the recognized leader of the working people in the struggle for national freedom, the restoration of the Czechoslovak state and the reconstruction of our society on the basis of justice.

The working people will never forget that our national and state freedom was restored by the heroic struggle of the Soviet Army. The experience of the pre-Munich republic and especially of the hard years of 1938-1945 brought home to millions of our working people the conviction that the independence of the Czechoslovak state and the national existence of the Czech and Slovak peoples could only be guaranteed in close alliance with the Soviet Union. Thus external conditions were also created for the victory of the

national and democratic revolution and its gradual transition into a socialist revolution.

In the class and political struggles of 1945-1948 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia won over the absolute majority of the working class and the working people to its program. This created the conditions for the defeat of the revolutionary forces in February 1948. The February victory established the power of the working class and the working people in our country, opening the way for the socialist reconstruction of society mapped out by the general line of the Ninth Congress of our Party. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was able to achieve this victory because it creatively applied Leninist strategy and tactics in the fight for working-class power and organized a broad alliance of the working class, farmers and other working people, which became a decisive social force in the political struggle and because it relied upon close alliance with the Soviet Union.

Revolutionary reconstruction of society is an immensely complicated task, yet it was carried out within a relatively short time. The exploitation of man by man was eliminated. In alliance with the farmers and intelligentsia the working class became the ruling class in society; democratic rights and social security of the working people, equal rights for our peoples and nationalities, were ensured. The people became the true rulers of their country.

In all branches of the national economy, which achieved an extraordinary growth, socialist production relations have prevailed. The main component of economic growth was the planned development of socialist industry, which created the conditions for socialist reconstruction of agriculture and other branches, for the industrialization of Slovakia and for strengthening our country's defense capabilities.

Life in our villages has changed radically. Large-scale socialist agricultural production was developed on a cooperative basis. The unified agricultural cooperatives have become firmly rooted in our villages and they stood up well to the political tests of the last few years. A new class of cooperative farmers was formed. The social and cultural level of the villages has risen sharply and the process of eliminating differences between town and countryside is proceeding successfully. There has been a remarkable improvement in educational standards. Science and research, Czech and Slovak culture are advancing at a high rate. The best works of culture and art have been made accessible to broad strata of the people.

The expansion of socialist production has ensured the continued rise of material and cultural standards. The bourgeois government of the pre-Munich republic was unable to solve any of the fundamental social, national or international questions of the state and brought the country to catastrophe. The working class, under the

leadership of the Communist Party, has convincingly demonstrated in an historically short period of time that socialism is an incomparably more just, more democratic and more progressive social system and brings a happier and richer life to the working man. The successes of socialist reconstruction in our country are testimony to the creative force of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the great organizing work of the Party. The experience of, and cooperation with, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries was of great help to us in building socialism.

The construction of socialism was not easy, we came up against many obstacles and difficulties. In the process of complicated development the Party and the working class learned the art of management and government. At the same time, mistakes and serious errors were made. There were objective causes for this, but there were also subjective causes that could have been avoided. It is important to recognize mistakes and errors and rectify them quickly.

At the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Comrade Brezhnev said:

"The present-day socialist world, with its success and prospects, with all its problems, is still a young and growing social organism, where not everything has settled and where much still bears the marks of earlier historical epochs. The socialist world is forging ahead and is continually improving. Its development naturally runs through struggle between the new and the old, through the resolution of international contradictions. The experience that has been accumulated helps the fraternal parties to find correct and timely resolution of the contradictions and confidently to advance along the path indicated by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the great teachers of the proletariat."

Our own experience over the last fifty years and especially over the period of socialist construction teaches us how important it is in the process of socialist construction and the development of socialist society to abide by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to thoughtfully and promptly react to social processes and problems in the various spheres, rectify mistakes and continually improve the work of the Party, social, state, economic and other bodies. Therein lies the earnest of our further successes.

The selfless work and sacrifices of several generations of fighters in our movement were not in vain. Today, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Party, we pay tribute to all those who stood at the cradle of the workers' movement and of our Party, to all those who fought in its ranks and supported it; to all those who stood the test of hard struggles and laid the foundations of our socialist present.

We revere the memory of the comrades who did not live to see this day. Neither our generation nor future generations will ever forget those who lost their lives in the struggle for the rights of the working people, for the freedom of our peoples. We shall not forget those who helped build up our Party, who devoted all their strength and ability to the cause of socialism and the interests of the working people. Among the ranks of thousands of dedicated fighters and revolutionaries we remember Bohumir Smeral, Antonin Zapotocky, Marek Culen, S. K. Neumann, Karel Kreibich, Josef Hybes, Josef Haken and Jan Sverma, Julius Fucik, Jan Zika, Eduard Urx, Stefan Major, Jozka Jaburkova, Karol Smidke, Vladimir Clementis, Ivan Olbracht and hundreds and thousands of other fighters. Their behests will live forever.

The memory of Comrade Klement Gottwald will always live in our hearts. For a quarter of a century he stood at the head of our Party and contributed tremendously to its Bolshevik formation, to development of the national and democratic revolution and the February victory of the working people. Under his leadership the Party laid the firm foundations of the Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance and drafted the general line for building socialism in our country.

We can quite rightly characterize the past 50 years, despite some failures and defeats, as years of dedicated work and successful struggles, as a heroic and victorious road. For half a century our Party has been consistently implementing its program of liberating the working man and has been waging a struggle for a better life for him. For this the thanks, esteem and love of the working people are due to it. To be a member of this Party is an honor and at the same time an obligation.

Loyal to the best traditions of our history, we shall see to it that our Party is continually strengthened, that its revolutionary international character, its Marxist-Leninist unity and close contact with the people become deeper.

We shall strive to make it the true vanguard of the working class, the leading and guiding force of our socialist society and a firm link in the international Communist and workers' movement. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will confidently lead the people towards the further development of socialist society and the communist future.

We are firmly convinced that our 14th Congress will mark a worthy beginning of the second half-century of the Party's struggle for the happiness of our peoples, for the cause of socialism and world peace.

II

THE CRISIS AND ITS CAUSES

The period since the 13th Congress of our Party, which we are assessing today, was marked by a profound political crisis and intensive work to overcome it during the last two years. The reasons for the crisis phenomena in the political, economic and ideological spheres have been dealt with by the Central Committee many times. At its December plenum in 1970 it summarized its conclusions in the document "Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the CPC." Our Party and public know this document well and agree with it.

The successes we have gained in building a socialist society, laying the material and technical base for socialism and developing its political system, as well as in moulding the socialist consciousness of our people are indisputable.

However, the increasing tasks of a well-developed industrial country placed greater demands before the cognitive, leading and organizing activities of the Party, and primarily before its leading bodies, its political-educational and ideological work, before the development of all functions of the socialist state, social organizations, before the development of socialist democracy.

In practice, though, we failed to observe the Leninist idea, proved in practice, that the upsurge of creative activity puts forward increasingly complex problems and thus raises the role and responsibility of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working people and, primarily, the role of its leading bodies. From the beginning of the 1960's there began to appear signs of dizziness from success among the leadership of our Party, which became one of the causes of growing subjectivism and voluntarism in setting political and economic targets and in their practical realization.

The leadership of the Party with Antonin Novotny at the head incorrectly evaluated the stage of development reached by society and idealized the level of its moral-political unity. The wish was presented as reality, and from this grew subjectivistic attempts to outrun developments. In view of the lack of a more profound analysis of the structure of classes and social groups in our society, the contemporary stage of development was superficially assessed and unrealistic deadlines were proclaimed for the conclusion of socialist construction. In 1960 Antonin Novotny declared that "in our country all fundamental tasks of the transition from capitalism to socialism have been resolved." During the 50s important successes in socialist construction were really achieved.

Socialist production relations triumphed — true, primarily from the view of forms of ownership. This, however, is not the same as fulfilment of all basic tasks of the transition to socialism, as interpreted by A. Novotny. Besides, in this connection no analyses or specifications were made of other tasks of the class struggle in the conditions of the very young socialist society, as well as of the production, social and ideological conditions of the all-round incorporation of the former petty-bourgeois strata into the system of socialist large-scale production. Marx, Engels and Lenin always stressed the all-round character of the class struggle from which it is impossible to leave out either the economic, political or ideological sides of the matter with impunity. In our conditions of a strong bourgeois stratum and various social-democratic traditions and influences there was no effective program to guide the moulding of the man of socialist society, the great battle for his socialist consciousness, the battle against inertia and alien class tendencies. The international aspects of our development, determined by the class antagonisms of the contemporary world, substantially strengthened the urgency of the political-ideological struggle. A strong enough fight was not waged against growing Rightist opportunism in the Party, which was a reflection of the influence of the domestic petty-bourgeois strata, and of international influences.

The Party leadership did not draw conclusions or lessons even from the Hungarian counter-revolution and did not arm the Party against methods of ideological subversion, which the imperialists had begun to use as the major weapon against the socialist countries. This is connected with the endeavor of Novotny's leadership to ignore or postpone the rectification of mistakes and errors made in the 1950s, for which he bore direct political responsibility. Unwillingness to assess the actual situation on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis bred all sorts of improvisations both in the economy and the political and the ideological sphere, which resulted in the disorientation of the Party. The increasing difference between words and deeds was markedly evident in the unrealistic conception in the economic field, the consequence of which was the failure of the third Five-Year Plan and stagnation of our economy.

At a time when Czechoslovakia became the object of the concentrated attack of political and ideological subversion from anti-communist centers in the West which concentrated on disparaging the principles and values of socialism and on inciting nationalist and anti-Soviet moods and petty-bourgeois prejudice, the Party leadership by its unprincipled policy made it possible for unfirm people, and even those who did not stand on the positions of

socialism, to occupy key positions in culture, the social sciences, the mass media, as well as in mass organizations and in state and Party bodies. At the same time, the Party leadership discouraged by its wrong methods many brave and upright Communists from a committed fight in this sphere.

The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia pointed out certain unhealthy trends in our political life, and in its conclusions stressed the necessity of overcoming them. The decisions and the resolution of the 13th Congress pointed out quite correctly a wide range of problems that had to be solved. However, the realization of tasks laid down by the 13th Congress did not correspond to the real needs and did not take into account the critical voices heard in the pre-Congress discussion. The unprincipled attitude towards grave problems was moreover often complicated by the Party leaderships, by administrative measures and an insensitive attitude in solving the nationalities questions, particularly as regards relations between Czechs and Slovaks. The long-term perspective of rapprochement between socialist nations was according to Novotny's conception distorted by bureaucratic centralism, which logically resulted in the deformation of equal relations between our peoples.

This entire development evoked tension within the Party and society, led to formalism in inner-Party life, to the passivity of a great part of Party members and the toleration of views inside the Party which are incompatible with socialism. By the middle of 1967, it was already evident that a grave crisis had developed in the Party and society. The results of a broad inner-Party investigation held before the October plenum of the CC CPC in 1967 showed that the Party organizations were justly criticizing the Party leadership for not solving urgent social and economic problems, for permitting intensified denigration of the work of the Party and its history, the dissemination of negativism and petty-bourgeois attitudes. The demanded that these problems be solved by the Central Committee in the spirit of the 13th Congress. The situation in our Party reached a stage at which it was indispensable to take resolute measures against shortcomings and errors occurring in the implementation of Congress decisions, in order to improve the situation in the Party leadership, including Antonin Novotny's removal from the post of First Secretary. This question was considered by the Central Committee at its session in January 1968. Proceeding from the line laid down by the 13th Congress of the Party, the Central Committee stressed the necessity to strengthen the ideological and action unity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its leading position in society, to strengthen the bonds of Czechs and Slovaks by consistently implementing Leninist prin-

ciples in the nationalities policy, and simultaneously to solve pressing problems of the national economy and other tasks. It stressed the obligation of the CSSR towards the world socialist system and the necessity of firm unity with the Soviet Union. The results of the January plenum were essentially an expression of the effort to solve the crisis which had arisen within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and to remove from the activity of the Party and its leadership all that prevented the Party from ensuring the further development of society by increased activity. The conclusions of the January plenum and its resolution were received positively by the majority of the Party and our people.

Experience has taught us that a grave shortcoming of the January 1968 session of the Central Committee of the CPC was that it did not accurately determine the class frame of further political procedure, nor did it direct the Party towards developing simultaneously a militant political and ideological struggle against growing rightist opportunism and anti-socialist tendencies. This task was the more pressing since rightist forces had been active in the country already before 1968, that they were relying upon a numerous, influential group within the Central Committee of the CPC, which was revisionist oriented and had essentially organized itself as a faction. At its January session, the Central Committee did not grasp this alignment of forces, the possible danger, and did not, particularly in the person of the new First Secretary of the Central Committee, create a guarantee of a firm Marxist-Leninist Party leadership in this complicated situation.

On the contrary, under the protection of and with the direct participation of certain rightist-oriented members of the CC CPC rightist forces in the country used their strong positions in the mass media to disorientate the Party and the working people who considered consultations of the January plenum as a precondition for a new upsurge of creative initiative and activity. Thus, through all channels of state communications means and by other forms, petty-bourgeois notions were spread about socialism, the self-criticism of the Party was abused for denigrating its entire history and the whole period of socialist construction. Illusions were created about the capitalist West and about the pre-Munich bourgeois republic. Free reign was given, in particular, to the incitement of nationalism and anti-Sovietism, which was in keeping with the long-term anti-communist designs of the imperialist forces that were striving to disrupt the socialist system in Czechoslovakia.

The development of events in Czechoslovakia, at variance with the interests and the expectations of the majority of Communists and of our people, instead of removing the crisis-ridden aspects

from the Party and society, actually deepened and broadened them to unmanageable dimensions. The causes, the consequences, as well as the entire catastrophic culmination of the post-January development have been clarified and generalized in the "Lessons," the document passed by the December 1970 plenum of the CC CPC. The whole Party knows it and has expressed agreement with it, and our Congress, too, will certainly confirm it as a binding directive for Party work.

If we are again recalling the basic cause of recent developments in Czechoslovakia, which in 1968 led to a counter-revolutionary threat to our entire system, we do so because it is often asked how this development could have come about after the working class had been in power in this country for a rather long period, and when the Communist Party was the leading force and the overwhelming majority of working people stood on the positions of socialism.

One of the main causes of this catastrophic development was the fact that gradually people penetrated into the leading Party bodies who increasingly betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, violated the norms of Party life and the principles of democratic centralism. And these people gradually secured superiority in the leadership of the Party. Particularly in recent years, the class aspect of problems had been blunted in the Communist Party, revolutionary vigilance and ideological principledness declined, there was a growth of petty-bourgeois attitudes, careerism and time-serving. Communist modesty was in many instances replaced by megalomania and fame-worship. These negative tendencies gradually penetrated all spheres of our social life. Upon these waves rightist and anti-socialist propaganda was carried. As a consequence of the advance and the activity of the right-wing forces, the Central Committee of the CPC, and especially its Presidium and Secretariat, ceased to fulfil the task of a decisive center in the construction of socialism and in the protection of the revolutionary achievements of the people. The Central Committee, although it comprised a majority of experienced and dedicated Party members, was as a body unable to reveal and thwart in time the anti-Party and anti-popular activity of the international enemies and renegades and of various careerist hangers-on.

At the May Plenum in 1968, the Marxist-Leninist forces did indeed get a resolution through which urgently drew attention to the dangerous activity of the anti-socialist forces; however, they stopped mid-way. They did not launch an open fight against right-wing opportunism in the Party. Today, we know that in such a critical period it was essential to part with people who did not

stand on positions of Marxism-Leninism. In the effort to maintain a formal unity in the Central Committee at all costs, there was retreat from communist positions and scope was given for the activities of rightist and anti-socialist forces. The Central Committee even let itself be excluded from political life, which was governed by petty-bourgeois uncontrolled activity and anti-socialist tendencies. At variance with the Party Rules right-wing revisionist centers were formed whose activities enabled the advance of the counter-revolutionary forces striving for a reversal of political power in Czechoslovakia. At the July plenum in 1968 the Central Committee submitted to political and moral pressure from without and to the pressure of the rightist-opportunist forces inside the body itself, and identified itself with the incorrect standpoint of the Presidium with respect to the letter of the fraternal parties of the five socialist countries.

Alexander Dubcek, Oldrich Cernik, Josef Smrkovsky, Frantisek Kriegel and others who held in their hands the decision-making on affairs of Party and state, paralyzed all main components of our socialist political system, the activity of the Presidium of the Central Committee, the National Assembly, the government, state organs and the National Front. The main links of executive power and legislative power ceased to fulfil their class mission, because the key positions in them were held by rightist opportunists. This created favorable conditions for stepping up the activity of the counter-revolutionary underground and for subversion by enemies from without.

A similar situation developed in the economic sphere. The Party leadership stopped directing the development of the national economy and permitted the initiative to be taken by various rightist adventurers, such as Sik, who at variance with the vital interests of the working people opened up the way to petty-bourgeois uncontrolled activity, to changing public ownership into group ownership, to eliminating planned management of the national economy, to unrestrained operation of the market, and thus made it impossible for the Party and the state to influence the management and development of the national economy. In its consequences, this road would have led to the liquidation of socialist production relations.

One of the reasons why we reaped these results in 1968 was that Marxist-Leninist and internationalist education was for many years neglected in the Party and society. To a considerable extent the Party was ideologically disarmed. Under the pressure of right-wing propaganda, the masses of the working people were unable to face the organized and coordinated pressure of internal and external revisionist and enemy forces. A common denominator of

the revisionist and anti-socialist efforts was nationalism and anti-Sovietism. This was in harmony with the strategic and tactical intentions of the Western anti-communist centers, which saw in it the most effective weapon for disrupting ties between the socialist countries and the Soviet Union. The mass media became a tool of consistent misinformation and manipulation of public opinion. This led to the creation of an anti-Party and anti-socialist mass psychosis. With their subversive activity the press, radio, television and cinema distorted the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and revived bourgeois ideology, masking it with pseudo-socialist phraseology.

The disruption of fraternal bonds with the Soviet Union and the other socialist allies was to deprive our state of its main defense and put it at the mercy of the internal counter-revolutionary forces and their imperialist protectors.

Following the Hungarian events in 1956 the imperialists changed their methods. Today, when the ideas of socialism are firmly rooted in the minds and hearts of the broadest strata of the working people, they are concentrating primarily upon ideological subversion. In order to disintegrate the Party and socialist society, in order to cover up their real aims, they are waging a fight under pseudo-socialist slogans for "improving" socialism. Instead of socialism built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, they attempt to push through a petty-bourgeois model of "consumer" socialism which would be a bridge towards the restoration of capitalism. They orientate themselves upon the support of all separatist nationalist and revisionist currents for which the petty-bourgeois element is a strong basis. It is only logical that various stars and starlets of the so-called Prague Spring, who were so ardently "reforming" socialism in this country, are today acting as open enemies in the propaganda centers and press organs of imperialism in the West.

Alexander Dubcek and his followers harmed the Party and the people by pushing through the revisionist conception of so-called "democratic centralism," they grossly violated their duties towards the Party and the people, ensuing from the high functions they held, continuously retreating before the counter-revolutionary onslaught and in fact opened up the road for it, grossly violated the duties stemming from our obligations of alliance, renounced the line laid down by the 13th Congress and got as far as liquidating, which culminated in the enemy platform of the well-known anti-Party Vysocany congress. At that congress an attempt was made to form under the name of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia a counter-revolutionary headquarters which was to tear up the bonds of alliance with the Soviet Union and our socialist allies

and gradually liquidate the achievements of socialism in our country.

The Czechoslovak events of 1968 again confirmed the truth of Lenin's thesis that without a principled and firm leadership which stands unreservedly on the positions of Marxism-Leninism even the most numerous revolutionary forces become a split-up mass incapable of organized action, which, under certain conditions, can be overrun by counter-revolutionary forces.

An objective analysis of developments during this period shows that were it not for the timely internationalist assistance of our closest socialist allies, the working class and the working people in our country would have suffered a defeat which would have had far-reaching consequences not only for our people but also for peace in Europe, would have endangered the position of socialism and would have harmed the entire international revolutionary movement.

From the platform of our Congress we again want to confirm the evaluation of August 21, 1968 as it was unanimously approved by our Central Committee in December 1970 and supported by the whole Party: "The entry of the allied troops of the five socialist countries into Czechoslovakia was an act of international solidarity, which corresponded to the common interests of the Czechoslovak working people as well as of the international working class and the socialist community, and the class interests of the world Communist movement. By this internationalist action the lives of thousands of people were saved and internal and external conditions for their peaceful and calm work were secured, the Western frontiers of the socialist camp were strengthened, and the hopes of the imperialist circles for a revision of the results of World War II were thwarted.

At our 14th Congress, when we are closing this complicated period of crisis, we want, on behalf of the whole Party, on behalf of the overwhelming majority of the working people to express our sincere thanks to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government and people, and also personally to you, Comrade Brezhnev, and the other socialist friends, for the fact that in this difficult situation they understood the anxiety which the Czechoslovak Communists felt for the fate of socialism, the requests of many Party and state officials, many Communists and collectives of working people for assistance, that this international assistance saved our country from civil war and counter-revolution and defended the achievements of socialism.

The right-wing majority in the Party leadership, which consummated its open betrayal of Marxist-Leninist policy by the well-known proclamation of the Presidium of the CC CPC of August

21, 1968, attempted to disguise the truth about the international assistance of the allies. This treacherous act caused serious damage to our country, to the interests of the international Communist movement. Mainly due to this proclamation and its dissemination by all the mass media, an atmosphere of unbelievable misinformation and chauvinist hysteria was created at that complicated moment, to which, under the pressure of mass psychosis, even many Communists and honest citizens succumbed who then committed actions which often contradicted all their previous work for socialism, as well as their convictions.

The entry of the allied troops multiplied the might of our internal forces, which were determined to defend the achievements of socialism in Czechoslovakia and to create a firm basis for expanding broad mobilization of the working people for the struggle to overcome the threat of counter-revolution by political means. The Protocol signed 23-26 August, 1968 in Moscow by Soviet and Czechoslovak representatives strengthened the confidence of the sound forces, became a mighty impulse for raising the political self-confidence and efficiency of the Party, the working class and our whole society.

The Marxist-Leninist forces in the Party and society waged a difficult and complicated struggle from August 1968 to April 1969. Gradually they came to know each other, unified and won over to their side those who at the beginning, in the complicated situation, were unable to find their bearings. It was necessary in the first place for all courageous people to see through, as soon as possible, the disruptive intentions of the right-wing, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces. Alexander Dubcek and his followers in the Party leadership continued pursuing a double-faced policy and basically thwarted the work of the Party aimed at overcoming the crisis phenomena. After months of hard struggle in the Party and society, as a result of the effort and selfless work of hundreds of thousands of upright Communists, the Marxist-Leninist forces in our Party consolidated to the extent that in April 1969 the Central Committee could decide to make basic changes in the leadership of the Party, and start the decisive struggle for overcoming the situation wrought by the profound crisis in the Party and society. The inevitable and demanding task was before us: to lead the Party, the working class and the working people, our peoples and the state out of disruption and crisis in all spheres within the state and in our foreign relations.

STRUGGLE TO OVERCOME THE CRISIS

To lead the Party and society out of crisis required a resolute struggle with right-wing, revisionist and anti-socialist forces, to

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defeat them politically and deprive them of the possibility of engaging in disruptive activity. This required the restoration of the Marxist-Leninist principles of our socialist society, the strengthening of the values of socialism, the Leninist principles of inner-Party life, and the gradual solution of the accumulated problems in all sectors. At its plenum in May 1969, the Central Committee defined in its "Implementation Directives" the main targets of the Party in that period as follows:

"a) To restore the unity of the Party on the principled basis of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and on the Leninist principles of Party structure and Party life. To raise the effectiveness and revolutionary militancy of the entire Party.

"b) To restore the leading role of the Communist Party in society, especially in social organizations and member organizations of the National Front, in state bodies, in the economic and cultural sphere.

"c) To strengthen the function of the socialist state in all its parts as an organ of the power of the working class and the working people.

"d) To start immediately to implement effective measures for solving serious economic problems in our state.

"e) To solve, in a principled way, in the spirit of firm friendship, our relations with the fraternal Communist parties of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, on which the basic principles of the foreign policy of our state are founded."

The main part of our struggle against the revisionist and disruptive forces were efforts to restore the Marxist-Leninist character of our Party. From the Central Committee down to the primary Party organizations, it was necessary to carry out important personnel changes, to remove from their posts and gradually get rid of all those who had betrayed the Marxist-Leninist principles of our Party, assumed enemy positions and in the crisis years seriously damaged the interests of the Party. In the course of the exchange of Party cards, more than one-fifth of Party members were not issued new Party cards. At our Congress we highly appreciate the work of the thousands of interviewing commission members. We shall not allow the Party interviews to be depreciated in any respect. On the basis of this differentiation and cleansing of the Party, it was possible to rally around the policy of the Central Committee a militant Party *aktiv*, organize the work of hundreds of thousands of honest Party members, wage the struggle for ideological and organizational unity within the Party, restore its militancy, irreconcilability towards revisionist and hostile influences and trends, and its responsibility for solving vitally important questions of the working class and the working

people. In this principled struggle, the right-wing and revisionist forces were defeated and driven out of the Party. At the same time, a decisive blow was dealt against the anti-socialist and disruptive forces in our society. We know that this struggle to overcome the causes and consequences of opportunism and revisionism must continue. In the sphere of political and ideological education of the working masses we are still faced with tremendous tasks. The results of the great and selfless work of hundreds of thousands of Communists, led and guided by the Central Committee, were gradually reflected in a change of the overall atmosphere within our Party, in the growing militancy and determination of Communists, and eventually in the strengthening of ideological and organizational unity of the Party on Marxist-Leninist principles. This is also borne out by the work of the annual membership meetings, district and regional conferences, which preceded our Congress.

We can announce to the Congress that the aim of cleansing the Party, of restoring its Marxist-Leninist character, of overcoming the internal crisis, has been fulfilled. Our Party is again capable of carrying out to the full extent its historical mission as the leading force of socialist society and of organizing the forces of the working class, farmers, the intelligentsia and other sections of society for fulfilling the tasks to be set by our 14th Congress.

I should like to thank also from this platform the great army of comrades who remained true to the teaching of our Party in the hard crisis-ridden conditions and who, by their selfless work, contributed to the achievement of the great positive results.

The cleansing, differentiating and unifying process was organized by our Party in all spheres of the social and state system. In the fight against opportunist and disruptive forces, which until April 1969 had been firmly entrenched in all social organizations and member organizations of the National Front, in state and economic bodies, in the mass media, in the sphere of science, culture, the arts, etc., it was necessary to wage a difficult struggle and to take important cadre measures. The destructive activity of right-wing opportunists and downright anti-socialist forces became fully apparent in the multi-million organization of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. From leading trade union bodies down to the primary units at places of work, this organization was for the most part misused for various pressure campaigns against the basic principles of the policy of the Communist Party and the socialist state, which ran counter to the vital interests of the working class and the working people. In the complicated struggle, progress has been achieved in the course of two years also in this important sector, through the hard and selfless work of Communists and other working people devoted to socialism.

Very serious were the consequences of the disruptive activity of revisionist and anti-socialist forces among our youth and in its organizations. They broke up the united organization of youth and placed most of the newly created youth organizations at the service of anti-Party and anti-socialist policy. It required tremendous political work on the part of Communists and other working people to overcome this destructive activity among the youth. A new united organization of youth—the Socialist Union of Youth—has been in existence for more than a year, which, as an important assistant of the Party, is gathering strength and increasing its influence on the young generation.

In this way we could go on analyzing in every sphere the process of overcoming crisis and disruptive phenomena, as well as the positive results which have become fully apparent in the course of the two years in the restoration of the socialist social system, in the member organizations of the National Front, in work among working people and in the restoration of the leading role of our Party.

Against revisionist and liberal conceptions of a non-class approach to the function of the socialist state, of the representative bodies, it was necessary to restore and implement the class conception of our state as a body of the power of the working class and the working people, and the function of socialist democracy as a democracy for the working class and the working people. Here, too, political struggle, a differentiation process and many personnel changes were necessary. It can be said that today the bodies of state power, the federal and the national governments, the representative bodies and the entire system of national committees are essentially fulfilling their important role, even though we know that here, as in other sectors, this process of improving work is not and could not have been completed.

The political struggle is interwoven with the solving of concrete tasks of the consolidation of the national economy. The national economy was deeply disrupted. The inflationary wave, conditions prevailing in production and distribution, endangered the living standards of the people. As late as in the summer of 1969, the advocates of a "market economy" were submitting proposals to the leadership of the Party to solve the stabilization of our economy at the expense of the working people by raising retail prices, rent, food prices to the sum of several hundred thousand million crowns. We rejected these conceptions. By exceptional measures — such as a ban on retail price increases, regulation of basic wages, price and investment indices, and especially by placing emphasis on the full utilization of reserves in our economy, the growth of labor productivity, introduction of basic order in production and distribution, on the restoration of economic

management by a single national economic plan, we endeavored to overcome the dangerous situation in the national economy. It is a great success of the Party that with the advancing political consolidation and with the active assistance of millions of workers, farmers, technicians and economic executives the dynamics of our economy was successfully restored. The living standards of the people were not only not reduced, but on the contrary, are gradually increasing. The currency was stabilized, supplies for the population have improved, the social security and confidence of millions of the working people in our system, in the policy of the Party, were strengthened. Today we can start solving many economic and social problems and discuss at our Congress the prospects of economic development in the next five years.

On this occasion, too, we express our high appreciation of the labor initiative of the miners, metallurgical and engineering workers, builders, workers in agriculture, transport and other fields, who have made such a great contribution towards overcoming the crisis, towards the achievement of good results by our economy and towards creating a good basis for its further development. Millions of working people active on this extremely important front of work have thus expressed their devotion to socialism and their understanding for the efforts of our Party, initiated in April 1969.

The results of the consolidation effort in the political and social sphere, in the economy, distribution and social policy have convinced millions of our working people through their daily personal experiences that the course of our Party is correct, they have led to the restoration of the confidence of the working class, cooperative farmers, intellectuals and other working people in our socialist system, in the policy of the Party.

To secure a free development of our peoples, the security of our state and the development of socialist society made it imperative to restore to the fullest extent the bonds of friendship and alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, with the other fraternal parties and allied states. Through the consistent policy of our Central Committee and the great understanding of Soviet comrades and the comrades of other fraternal parties we succeeded in restoring fraternal and comradely relations within a short time and along all lines, renewing the old friendship and intensifying it even more in the new situation, thus bringing our Party back into the ranks of the international Communist and workers' movement, and our state into the family of the socialist states. Today, these ideas are deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of our working class, farmers, the intelligentsia, all working people.

In carrying out the "Implementation Directives," in the general struggle for political, economic, ideological and international-political consolidation, the leadership of the Party showed the necessary flexibility, an ability to define correctly the strategic aims and to find effective methods for their achievement. It developed systematically the activity of the Party and the knowledge of our people, it saw to it that there was neither excessive haste nor delay in solving urgent problems. It was necessary that consolidation should proceed in a purposeful and energetic way, and that the struggle against the right wing be linked with the overcoming of past mistakes and shortcomings and with the solving of practical tasks of socialist construction. The broad masses could see on the basis of their own experience that the new leadership of the Party was bringing them security of existence and perspective, as against disruption, anarchy and uncertainty.

We are fully justified in highly appreciating the results of the work of the past two years. However, we know very well how dangerous it would be to indulge in self-satisfaction. We realize how many problems of the past have remained unsolved and how many new tasks are facing us. It has always been a characteristic feature of Communists to assess their work critically and to draw lessons from both successes and setbacks. The overall results of the Party's policy since April 1969 show that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has restored its links with the working class, which is and will remain the ruling class, with the co-operative farmers and a majority of the socialist-minded intelligentsia. This beneficial alliance, which we shall protect and purposefully develop, is the basic source of the creative energy of our Party in solving present-day and perspective tasks. The continuous strengthening of this alliance, the unification of the interests of the class and social groups of our society on the basis of the revolutionary ideology of the working class, will remain an important feature of our future development.

The complicated and difficult period through which the Party has passed since its 13th Congress has shown in full light the importance of high-principled, bold, class and internationally conscious Communists. The test in the struggle with right-wing opportunism, anti-Sovietism and nationalism has confirmed that the Party has a sufficient number of reliable and experienced cadres, who are a guarantee that we shall really advance along the Leninist road.

The 14th Congress of our Party is concluding these exceptionally hard and complicated years since the 13th Congress in militant unity of its ranks, with the support and the confidence of the working class and the working people, in firm alliance and friend-

ship with the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist states, having drawn instructive conclusions from the causes and the course of the crisis, with pride for the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideals in socialist Czechoslovakia.

III

TASKS OF THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC POLICY

In the program for the further all-round development of socialist society, the Party lays stress on the permanent and dynamic development of the economy, on satisfying to an increasing degree the material and spiritual requirements of the working people. We know the role which the successful development of the economy plays in the struggle for strengthening socialist power. We know that the success of our policy is judged by the broad strata according to the real conditions we create for a better life. Therefore, the basic content of our work in future must be the task of leading and organizing the creative work of millions of people in socialist construction.

The starting point for our future economic policy is the result of the successful and rapid economic consolidation. Thanks to this consolidation we were able to overcome within a short time not only the threat of economic catastrophe, but to achieve finally most of the main targets of the fourth Five-Year Plan.

Thanks to this Czechoslovakia today belongs among the advanced states of the world in level of per capita industrial production. The data which you have at your disposal show rapid quantitative and qualitative rise of industrial production in the years of socialism.

The results achieved would have been even more favorable if economic development had not been weakened by stagnation at the beginning of the sixties and, especially, by the consequences of the 1968 crisis. Of decisive importance is, however, the fact that all necessary conditions exist for further all-round progress. We can therefore confidently work out a long-term strategy of economic growth and formulate complex tasks for the future Five-Year Plan.

In defining these tasks we proceed from all the positive results of the past, but we want to avoid past mistakes. This requires realistic appraisal of the level achieved, the resources, and possibilities of further growth. It is no less important, however, to take into full consideration also the specific features of the present stage, which inevitably and ever more powerfully influence the development of our economy and society.

In the first place, the new conditions of economic development

are felt with full vigor at the beginning of the seventies. Possibilities of relying on the further growth of production through extensive development of resources have been practically exhausted. This applies especially to manpower reserves. If we are to meet the further inevitable requirements of the non-production sphere, there is no other way for us than to ensure the growth of production, mainly by increasing labor productivity.

The same applies to power, raw material and material resources. We are overcoming the limitations of our raw material basis thanks to the understanding of the Soviet Union. It is necessary to reduce the specific consumption of raw materials in our production. Without such reduction a further permanent rise of our economy would be very difficult. The situation requires our economy to be oriented unequivocally on the more rational utilization of raw materials, if only because excessive imports of them considerably restrict possibilities of importing technological know-how and consumer goods, and frequently force us to export at all costs.

Nor is it possible to continue the previous practice in the sphere of investments—build new plants and at the same time fail to utilize the existing ones. This would considerably lessen the possibilities of indispensable modernization, of introducing new technologies and achieving a faster development of the services.

In speaking of the limited character of traditional sources of growth, we naturally have in mind their limitation with regard to the present standard of technology, of organization, of management of production, and work. As everyone knows, there are more than enough shortcomings in this respect in all spheres. In individual cases this apparently concerns only trifling things, but taken together throughout the whole society, they are reserves of exceptional importance. Their utilization may notably raise the general level of the economy.

Thus, on the one hand, a basic feature of the new conditions is the limitation of the traditional sources of growth. On the other, it is the increased importance attached to new factors of growth, such as the development of the scientific and technological revolution, the application of modern methods of management and a higher degree of international socialist integration.

The seventies will be marked by the rapid penetration of science and technology into the development of the production forces. Scientific and technological progress will bring ever greater pressure to bear on the concentration of production. It will require mass-production, high technological standards and great utility value at low production costs. Therefore, problems of structural changes, faster transition to higher forms of international integra-

tion, raising the scientific level of planned management, mastering and applying modern methods of management and scientific organization of work, are emerging before us with special urgency. We should be making an inexcusable mistake if we thought that these processes can be avoided or dealt with only in words, if in practice we continued in the old rut.

Full utilization of the possibilities of scientific and technological progress is becoming the only possible alternative for the further development of our socialist economy, and a condition of success in competition with capitalism.

The conclusion which follows from the analysis of the conditions of our economy is unambiguous: *consistent and all-round raising of the effectiveness of the development of the national economy, based on full application of intensive factors of growth, must become the strategic line of its further development, the main content of the Party's economic policy.*

It might seem that these are not new tasks. The need to increase effectiveness was stressed by our Party as long ago as the end of the fifties. The inevitability of transition to more intensive development was emphasized by the 12th and the 13th Congresses. What is new, however, is the degree of their urgency. Also new is the consistency and impetus with which we must implement them. The whole Party and the broad strata of the working people must realize these tasks and concentrate the full strength of the entire society on their fulfilment.

MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE DIRECTIVES FOR THE FIFTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The targets and tasks of the economic policy of the Party in the next five years are expressed in the Draft Directives for the fifth Five-Year Plan.

In political terms, the aim of the Draft Directives is to further strengthen the material and technical basis of socialism and to invigorate socialist production relations, raise the importance of the working class in society, develop the large-scale production character of cooperative farming, intensify international socialist integration and strengthen the international positions of our state.

Their main purpose is to ensure on the basis of permanent development and increasing effectiveness of social production in keeping with the socialist way of life, a greater satisfaction of the requirements and a strengthening of the working people's confidence in the future.

The Draft, based on the results of consolidation, orientates our economy towards a further continuous and proportionate economic growth, expressed roughly by an annual five per cent growth of

the national income. The planned rate does not rely on one-sided orientation on the growth of quantitative indices, which could involve the risk of undesirable fluctuations, but in the stress laid on the qualitative side of development.

The essence of the Directives lies in tasks such as growth of labor productivity, reduction of material costs, rational use of investments, substantially increasing machinery exports, linking the growth of production with the introduction of new technologies, and improvement of all financial-economic indices.

It is necessary to underline one more feature of the Directives: the difficulties of economic development in the coming years are to a great extent also determined by the fact that problems of proportionality, structure and technical standards of production, accumulated and delayed for years, as well as requirements in the sphere of services, are appearing on the order of the day. Aware of our responsibility for the future development of the country, we are striving to create conditions for their gradual solution. A considerable part of investments are, therefore, concentrated on a limited number of big selected projects and structural changes, which are to influence positively the effectiveness of our economy and the living standards at the end of the fifth Five-Year Plan, and especially in the latter half of the seventies.

The Draft Directives provide for economic advance and the solution of urgent problems in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. In the CSR it centers mainly on a concentrated development of selected industrial branches and production, especially by modernizing existing fixed assets, on the resolute solution of problems concerning Prague, the Republic's capital, on the expansion of the power and fuel base in the interest of our economy. In the Slovak Socialist Republic the main task is to ensure an overall faster rate in industry and agriculture, based especially on greater manpower resources and on possibilities of a more rapid expansion and full technical equipment, and thus of better utilization of newly built modern plants. While rationally utilizing all natural, economic and human resources of both republics according to their specific possibilities, the interests of a single Czechoslovak economy are fully in keeping with the interests of the two republics. Such an approach enables us to progress further in the economic levelling between the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, and at the same time to achieve optimum social advancement.

The Draft Directives have been discussed by Party bodies and organizations. The Party *aktiv* appreciated the elaboration and the publication of the Draft Directives two years after the "Implementation Directive" laid down the demand to return to socialist

planning. This was an important success of consolidation; a step towards further strengthening of the role of planning.

All the greater demands should be laid on embodying the objectives of the Directives in an exacting and realistic Five-Year Plan, relying on the support and initiative of the working people, on a high degree of mobilization of resources and reserves, on a Party approach by managerial workers.

Therefore, it is necessary to regard as the first imperative of the Congress in the economic sphere that the Five-Year Plans of industries, branches, enterprises and national committees be in full harmony with the line and the aims of the Party's economic policy.

A separate report by Comrade Strougal is devoted to the concrete tasks of the Five-Year Plan. Therefore I shall take up certain basic tasks of the economic policy, which the Party must take upon itself and put into life.

TASKS OF THE PARTY IN RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING

Over the past 25 years, our socialist society has not only eliminated capitalist exploitation and poverty, but has also achieved a strong rise in material consumption and in the living conditions of the working people. We can quite rightly say: never before in the history of this country has the working man enjoyed such confidence in the future. In terms of the standard of nutrition and clothing we rank among the most advanced countries. The same applies to supplies of durable consumer goods—so far with the exception of passenger cars. The volume of social consumption is higher than in any capitalist state.

Nearly 1.5 million new flats with modern conveniences have been built in the post-war period. Altogether one third, and in Slovakia even half, of the population are living in flats built after 1945.

In the past 15 years, we reduced working time by six hours per week and introduced a five-day working-week. More than one-third of the days of the year are non-working days, and this applies to all categories of employees without exception.

All these facts must be considered from a class viewpoint: whereas under capitalism average figures conceal the profound difference between parasitic consumption of the bourgeoisie and the low standards of the masses of people, the overall average in this country reveals a high and balanced level of consumption by the broadest sections of the population.

The results attained are a source of pride and also a guideline for the further improvement of living standards. The present

material and cultural standards, together with the planned growth for 1975, poses the question of further ways of increasing the standard of living.

We must take into consideration that changes in work, better qualifications and education, the elimination of disparities between towns and villages and changes in living environments will ever more intensively influence changes in the structure of the people's needs and their way of life.

It must also be taken into account that the growth in living standards has had, and will have for a long time, an ever greater impact on the expansion of productive forces, that it represents an important stimulus for the growth of labor productivity.

Experience has shown us that mere expansion of production and consumption does not automatically lead towards developing the socialist way of life. It is therefore necessary for socialist society to direct in a planned way the trends and proportions of personal and social consumption; to combine its rational satisfaction with increased emphasis on improving overall living conditions, on strengthening confidence in the future, on raising cultural standards, showing greater concern for environmental conditions, on promoting qualifications and education, social awareness and strengthening moral incentives. We do not consider the growth of material consumption as an end in itself but as the starting point for the general enrichment of life and the development of the creative abilities of people, for developing those elements and aspects which strengthen the socialist way of life in society, in people and in their mutual relations.

In view of these long-term considerations and other pressing problems, the program for the growth of living standards in the next five years concentrates on the following major urgent tasks:

1. On the basis of the planned growth of national income, real wages of the population will increase by approximately five per cent per year, which will make it possible to steadily raise personal consumption. In this connection we anticipate a faster growth in the sale of industrial goods, especially household appliances, sports and recreation commodities, as well as building materials. In the next five years, about 700,000 passenger cars will be sold. In expanding motoring, it will, however, also be necessary to bear in mind the problems this expansion creates, and to ensure that they do not exceed a tolerable degree.

As regards home trade, we require it to improve its work substantially, to raise the culture of service, to meet the interests of consumers. Production enterprises are required to adapt themselves much more flexibly and in time to demand. It is their joint duty to rapidly overcome, in mutual cooperation and applying modern

methods of marketing and improved planning, various deficiencies in supplies for the market which are caused by our inflexibility.

It will be necessary to raise the extent and the quality of services and eliminate more rapidly its shortcomings and outright abuses and speculation which evoke justified criticism on the part of working people.

2. Average wages will continue to increase. In 1975, the average wages of workers and employers will be approximately 2,300 crowns per month. We shall resolutely apply the socialist principle: to each according to his work, better appreciate honest and skilled work, but also apply stricter sanctions in cases of poor, slipshod work. In keeping with this principle, we shall prepare and gradually review the wage payment system. It will be necessary to ensure harmony between wage and salary levels in the productive and the non-productive spheres. We are preparing certain adjustments of wages and salaries in the field of education and the health services.

3. In the next five years the confidence of people in the future will be strengthened still more. We must maintain stability of the overall level of retail prices.

The Five-Year Plan also envisages measures for an adequate growth in the living standards of those who cannot take part in the production process. We lay emphasis on measures for promoting the natural population growth, for giving greater support to families with children and newly-weds. In the fifth Five-Year Plan, we are reserving for this purpose substantially larger funds than in the past years. These funds will have to be used so as to make the best contribution to the aims set.

We shall also improve the pension system, gradually solve its problems and give special attention to old-age pensioners drawing pensions according to old scales, where the need for adjustments is most pressing. The pension scheme must be made to stimulate voluntary prolongation of working activity.

4. In the next Five-Year Plan period, increased attention will be given to environmental considerations, to the culture of service in shops, to the standards of housing and passenger transport, to the state of medical care and to the creation of conditions for recreation. This is of increasing importance for the contentment of people. Investments in these spheres will therefore rise substantially in the Five-Year Plan period.

One of the central questions of living standards in the coming years is the solution of the housing problem. We know from experience that it is not enough to proclaim slogans but that it is necessary to work out a program of concrete measures, starting from the blueprint stage and our planning to creating the material base and capacities of the building industry. The task here is to

build at least 500,000 flats in the Five-Year Plan period. I say quite openly that we did not want to proclaim an unrealistic task. The building of more than 100,000 flats in 1970 shows that this target is a realistic one and indicates the possibility of exceeding the planned figure. At the same time, we shall spend considerable funds in the Five-Year Plan period on developing the material base of the building industry. Finally, in keeping with the plan, forces and resources must be concentrated on those areas where the housing problem is most acute—in Prague, North Bohemia and Bratislava. The whole process of housing construction must be greatly improved and made more economical, it is necessary to improve the all-inclusive character of construction and to halt the growth of costs per flat. Together with new construction we shall provide material and financial support for the maintenance and modernization of existing housing.

The development of society has reached a stage at which a steady, balanced and all-round rise in living standards has become not only an important expression of the advantages of socialism, but also a necessary condition of its further development.

We must make efforts so that proper attention be given in all links to satisfying the great, as well as the seemingly small needs of people.

PROGRAM OF EFFECTIVE EXPANSION OF PRODUCTION

Fulfilment of the tasks set for the growth of living standards and satisfying the needs of society calls for a substantial rise in social production. The directives envisage a growth in the volume of industrial output by 34 to 36 per cent, in the volume of construction by about 38 per cent, and a growth in agricultural production by 14 per cent, mainly through intensive development.

It will be difficult to realize these intentions if we tolerate serious shortcomings in the organization of production and labor, fail to make full use of working hours, violations of discipline, which we still encounter in production, at building sites and in offices. It is necessary to create everywhere a firm system and order which guarantees the fulfilment of tasks and in which there will be no fertile ground for slipshod work and irresponsibility.

Integrated socialist rationalization must become a permanent method of revealing and mobilizing reserves. We have put it to the fore as an important part of organizational and managerial work, as a part of the process of the formation and implementation of the plan at all levels of management, as an instrument designed for consistently revealing and utilizing reserves in production and other fields.

We are convinced that in this it is possible to count on the full

support of the working people. Socialist rationalization is aimed at using all factors of efficiency growth and simultaneously at eliminating arduous work and at improving working conditions. It also creates a new basis for promoting the initiative of working people and socialist emulation.

We know how many critical words have been voiced concerning the managerial apparatus. We cannot be indifferent to the question of how many people are working in the sphere of management and administration, frequently inefficiently and with outdated methods. Here, too, we must take the road of economizing, rationalization and raising efficiency.

Reconstruction of the entire process of production on the basis of rational organization is an indispensable condition for our national economy to be effective and for the application of scientific and technical progress. Experience shows that modern science and technology become most quickly and most deeply rooted in those places where the ground for this has been well prepared. Comprehensive socialist rationalization is in this sense also the main means for faster application of science and technology.

FOR FASTER SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

It has often been said that in present conditions, when science has become a direct force of production, the rate of application of scientific and technological progress is the main prerequisite for the implementation of our plans, the main lever for developing the socialist economy. Although the results attained are not small, the new tasks make it imperative to substantially speed up scientific and technical development.

The most important thing at present is to put the achievements of research into practice more resolutely. Changing production programs, raising the technical and technological level of production and their consumer value are a highly effective means of introducing new technology. Raising effectiveness requires that we invest much more creative scientific and technical thinking and knowledge in production.

The most important thing at present is to put the achievements of research into practice more resolutely. Changing production programs

Naturally it is much easier to stick to established production and traditional methods. This carries less risk and conflicts. However, this road cannot be taken by a socialist economy. We must fight for technical and economic growth with the same energy with which we fought for its consolidation. A novel approach and efforts to achieve technical development must become the main feature of

the Party influence exerted by leading executives in the economic sphere.

However, emphasis on speeding up technical development cannot result in a scattering of forces and resources or in inducing us to cease strictly calculating what will yield the best economic effect most quickly. I think that in future resources in enterprises, sectors, branches and in the national economy as a whole will have to be concentrated in a more planned and consistent way on the solution of the main tasks, on modernization, integrated mechanization and automation of complete sections and production shops, on the comprehensive introduction of completely new technological plants with a view to ensuring the greatest effect.

The acceleration of scientific and technical development in socialist conditions must take the form of a uniform state technological policy spelling out concretely the economic strategy of the Party. Here, too, attempts to push through narrow local, enterprise, sector and departmental interests are harmful.

The importance of scientific and technological progress makes it necessary that we take its realization as one of the starting points of all managerial and planning activity. It also calls for corresponding changes to be made in the conception and tasks of scientific, research and designing centers.

We must link our scientific and research base more effectively with the needs of socio-economic development.

The directives for the Five-Year Plan represent certain progress in this respect, too. However, it will be necessary, in accordance with the concentration and specialization of production, to proceed further, to slash the number of research tasks, to concentrate research on selected programs and integrate it to a much greater extent in international socialist scientific and technical cooperation.

We realize that, in order to speed up scientific and technological progress, to spur selfless work in the implementation of the exacting tasks of the fifth Five-Year Plan, it will be necessary to win over all talented, capable scientific workers and technical experts, our scientific and technical intelligentsia. We consider this to be a demanding and essential task of all Party organizations.

The acceleration of technological development during the Five-Year Plan period is connected with the need to improve the historically formed structure of production, especially in industry. In the new Five-Year Plan period, the most dynamic development will be that of the chemical industry and the closely related chemicalization of the national economy.

Important and structural changes will be realized in the engineering industry. Further growth in it cannot be achieved through mere expansion of existing production in its present structure.

Much faster growth must be attained in progressive branches which determine the rate of technological development of the entire economy and are of decisive importance for incorporating our economy into international socialist integration. The importance and the complexity of this task make it necessary to begin without delay with its concrete elaboration. We must at the same time determine what kind of production will not be further developed, which needs we shall cover by imports. This may entail stoppage of existing production and the introduction of new production. This usually involves certain difficulties. However, we cannot avoid them any longer, we must begin to solve them consistently.

The process of structural change must find a much more important place in the work of managing bodies from the government down to enterprises. It calls for an intensification and improvement of structural and inter-branch planning while fully respecting the demands of proportionality.

The volume of investments in the next Five-Year Plan period will be about 520,000 million crowns. The future development of the economy, of society and the living standards of the people will depend to a great extent on how effectively we shall use these enormous means. But it is in this sphere that we have the greatest number of problems and weaknesses.

The complexity of the program of capital construction consists in the large number of big technological complex projects that will be launched in the years to come. Moreover, there will be increasing concentration of capital construction in several areas, which will make it necessary to carry out extensive transfers of building capacities. It is urgent to improve the management of capital construction, beginning with the central agencies.

In the final stages of drafting the next Five-Year Plan, it will be necessary to check the technological and economic standards and preparedness of the planned projects. After the experience gained in the past, we cannot permit excessive scattering of means in construction which has well-known negative consequences for the entire economy.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST DIVISION OF LABOR

In the program of further socio-economic development in the years to come, an ever more important role will be played by the international socialist division of labor. We regard it along with its economic aspects, as a major factor which facilitates the strengthening of the unity and closer rapprochement of the socialist countries.

The common long-term program of economic integration of the

countries associated in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance now being worked out for our economy, provides broader possibilities for participation in the development of the world socialist economic system, and drawing new strength and resources for developing and increasing the effectiveness of our economy.

Present-day scientific and technological development depends on the creation of appropriate conditions, notably on the size of production capacities, on the extent of production, the range of products and marketing possibilities. No small country and, today, not even a medium-sized country can create the necessary conditions by itself. The only way of enabling us to overcome the limitations of our domestic market and domestic resources in the solution of the new tasks is the development of the international socialist division of labor. That is why it plays an irreplaceable role in the transition towards intensive development.

In theory, we have long acknowledged this but there are still efforts to produce everything by ourselves, regardless of costs. We produce about three-quarters of all the machines that we use; in other countries, comparable to ours, this share is 25-50 per cent. This necessarily causes technological and economic lagging, growing costs and export difficulties. The Czechoslovak manufacturing industries, particularly the engineering industry, must, without any procrastination, start limiting the existing wide range of products and concentrate on developing those programs which it will be possible to pursue in keeping with the requirements of the international socialist division of labor.

International socialist integration is of fundamental importance for us also from the viewpoint of the class and political stability of our economy and its socialist prospects. *The ninth Soviet Five-Year Plan provides a stable, and, at the same time, a dynamic basis for the Czechoslovak economy, on which we may safely pursue our development.*

The advantages arising from socialist economic integration will not, of course, be automatically forthcoming. They require initiative on the part of all our institutions, from central bodies down to the enterprises. It is necessary that the planned inclusion of our economy in international integration be made an integral part of the plans of national economic development. If we want to make use of the international division of labor, we must show initiative ourselves. In the system of management, it is essential to provide suitable instruments which would stimulate the interest of enterprises in the international division of labor. It is a political task to overcome unhealthy national isolation which often covers up narrow enterprise or local interests, or even underestimation of the results achieved in the development of other socialist countries.

After all, our relations with the socialist countries do not preclude our expanding effective and advantageous commercial, scientific and technological contacts with capitalist countries.

In keeping with the general economic line, we must also seek greater effectiveness in the field of foreign trade. There are considerable reserves in this sphere. To reveal them, we must improve the economic, organizational and commercial work of all elements of foreign trade, including market surveys, raising the qualifications of workers, and promoting effective links between production and foreign trade in accordance with socialist principles. Last but not least, the active role of foreign trade must be promoted so as to make it bring pressure to bear to ensure the raising of the economic and technological standard of production.

NEW STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The directives lay special emphasis on the further development of agricultural production. The main task for the next few years is to extend and improve food supplies for the population, and to meet the growing demand for staple foods by our own production. In the fifth Five-Year Plan, this will require an increase of about 20 per cent of government purchases of agricultural products.

We are confident that our farm workers, who proved by their work in the crisis-ridden years how much they have identified themselves with socialist society, with socialist agricultural large-scale production, will fulfil this difficult task.

It is the policy of the Party in the agricultural sphere, too, to consistently strive for intensification, for further development of industrial methods, for mobilizing reserves through rationalization and the application of scientific and technological progress.

At the present level further growth of agricultural production depends directly on an extension of its material and technical base and on the creation of economic conditions conducive to the growth of production. In the Five-Year Plan period investments in agriculture—including means provided by cooperatives—will be 21 per cent higher than in the fourth Five-Year Plan period. By 1975, use of chemical fertilizers will rise to 220 kg of active nutrients per hectare of farm land. The output of mixed fodder is to reach five million tons in 1975.

Our engineering industry must ensure the development and supply of high-performance agricultural machinery and technological equipment, as well as the technical restructuring of our agriculture. The problem of sufficient quantities of spare parts cannot be shelved indefinitely either.

Agriculture is entering upon a new, important stage of the development of the production forces. Large-scale production technology and equipment are already beginning to exceed the possibilities and size of our farming enterprises. Its effective use makes it necessary to begin with a gradual concentration of production with simultaneous promotion of specialization both in crop and animal production. This will make it possible to make more effective use of labor and the means of production and to achieve further substantial growth of the social productivity of labor.

We see the main road towards concentration of production forces in the next period in the creation and deepening of voluntary cooperative relationships between agricultural enterprises to ensure full social effectiveness. The state policy of investments, subsidies and grants will be also geared to this.

This complex process of concentration and specialization, which goes beyond the Five-Year Plan period, must be guided in a planned way, preparing it on the basis of thorough economic calculations. For this purpose, it is necessary to work out long-term realistic programs of the further all-round development of agriculture for the next 10-15 years.

Further development of chemicalization and mechanization of large-scale agricultural production will help eliminate the difference between work in industry and agriculture. It will also make agricultural work more attractive for young people, and provide them with wider prospects of making full use of their abilities. It will make it possible to raise still higher the living standard of agricultural workers and improve the entire way of life in rural areas. We are convinced that all this will cement the ties of the working class with the cooperative farmers.

IMPROVING MANAGEMENT

The growth of effectiveness of the national economy and each of its elements depends on the standard of organizational and managerial work in every workshop, enterprise, general directorate, ministry. Mastering the complex socio-economic and scientific-technical processes at the present development stage is a very difficult economic and organizational, as well as political, task.

The results we have achieved over the past 25 years convincingly demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system of management, based on public ownership of the means of production, planning, democratic centralism, the leading role of the Party in the economy, and on promoting the initiative of the people.

The system of management must be constantly adjusted to new conditions and tasks if the advantages of socialism are to be made

full use of. The need for this was in the forefront of the interest of the Party and society in the past decade. We took many correct steps, but we also made many mistakes. The decisions of the 12th Congress, of the 1965 plenary session of the Party's Central Committee, and, on the whole, the conclusions of the 13th Congress, showed an essentially right direction to be taken to improve the system of management. This direction was in keeping with the needs of our economy, as well as with the general endeavor of the socialist countries in this sphere. However, the question of management was exploited by the rightist forces which, under the slogan of a market model of the economy, attempted to liquidate socialist management of the economy.

Since the April plenary session of the Central Committee in 1969, we have largely rid the system of management of revisionist tendencies, retaining the main original intentions of the Party on its improvement. The results of consolidation have confirmed that it is basically fulfilling its task although not without mistakes. We must place planning on a firm scientific foundation, strengthen the role of the central plan, turn our financial and credit system into an effective system of regulation of the relations between state and enterprise, develop effective instruments promoting effectiveness of exports, master the management of capital construction, improve the system of material interest of enterprises and individuals, and transform the price system into an effective tool for measuring costs and for inducing their reduction.

The directives set out a number of requirements for raising the efficiency of our economy. Much work and effort is still required to make our system of management more effective in helping to meet these requirements.

In the further development of the system of management we must proceed from all the positive tested experience of the past and also make use of the achievements of the fraternal countries, especially the USSR. We must improve the system of socialist management so that it effectively carries out the basic intentions of the economic policy of the Party.

Attention must be primarily concentrated on improving the system of national economic planning. The standard of central economic planning is the decisive factor for the quality of the system of planned management. Since April 1969 we have done much to strengthen the role of the Plan.

From the point of view of the need to improve the system of planned management, however, we must go further. Its improvement can now be promoted by the use of modern mathematical methods and computer technology which we must fully master. Only in this way is it possible to master the task of scientific prog-

nostication of the development of the needs of society and the most effective ways of meeting them, and on this basis to improve the compiling of long-term, medium-term and operative plans.

Along with substantially improving the quality of planning goes the effective use of the objectively operating cost instruments and economic levers to support the aims of the Plan. We have exposed and defeated the revisionist concept of absolutization of the market and negation of the role of the plan. However, in the struggle for the effectiveness of all links in production we must also make active use of the system of economic instruments to bring economic pressure to bear on production.

The quality of management is for us also a question of the specific level of managerial and organizational work which cannot be replaced by the most perfect system. The frequent shortcomings with which we have to cope are caused by the fact that carelessness, red tape and irresponsibility have become rooted in many sections of management and these are then presented as shortcomings of the socialist system of management.

These phenomena, like opportunism in managerial work, unprincipled retreat in face of difficulties, toleration of shortcomings at the expense of society, must be consistently rooted out. This requires a clear definition of organizational and managerial relations, of the status and competence of individual links in management, the strengthening of the personnel policy of the Party, the implementation of the full personal authority and responsibility of executives.

We understand the work of executives as activity with a political content. The decisions have far-reaching consequences for the implementation of the policy of the Party in a given sector. That is why we want to enhance their role, give them full confidence and support, but also increase our demands and control of them.

The Party and the socialist system cannot and will not take upon itself responsibility for their specific mistakes and will criticize them openly.

We must therefore require from executives, especially Communists, that they devote all their abilities to raising effectiveness in every sector. In our personnel policy the main requirement must be exactingness both in the political and in the specialized professional respect. Systematic selection, consistent training of personnel, regular evaluation mainly according to the results of work, must be raised to a higher level as one of the fundamental parts of managerial work. Together with this we shall strengthen the control function of Party organizations, so that they see to the consistent implementation of the Party line.

We must pay great attention to the building up of the whole

structure of management from the ministries to general directorates and enterprises; we must see to the clear definition of the tasks of all sectors of management on the basis of democratic centralism; we must ensure their inter-relations, responsibilities and effective division of decision-making, in keeping with the objective tendencies of concentration of production and raising the effectiveness of management.

Our society provides all the conditions for the promotion of the broadest participation of the working people in management. And we have not only the conditions but also a set of specific and well-tried forms of participation by the people: production meetings, trade unions, public discussion of the role of the plan and control of its fulfilment, the submitting of reports to the management by working teams and socialist emulation. So the point at issue is not that we should artificially construe new forms but that we should restore those great, tried and tested traditions of our revolution and socialist construction, a characteristic feature of which was that the trade union movement was the organizer and representative of the working people's participation in management. This wealth of forms must really be made use of, the experience and initiative of the people must be carefully studied and generalized, and everything new and valuable emerging from it must be fostered.

When we consider the extent of the tasks in the economy it is evident that extremely great obligations ensue from this for the whole Party and for every member. Putting the new requirements into practice, overcoming the surviving orientation towards development through extensive methods and towards securing a comfortable life of the enterprise at the expense of society, and the fight against the assertion of local interests will require tenacious and systematic work.

Communists, Party bodies and organizations must feel full political responsibility in their sectors for implementing our economic policy as "the second program of the Party," they must fight for it and mobilize the broad strata of the working people for it. For nothing can replace the conscious will, conceptual management and organizational work carried out by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the development of a socialist economy.

If we summarize our tasks in the economic sphere we can say that we have every reason for optimism and confidence in the future. The tasks we are setting ourselves are demanding but realistic. They express our desire to do everything to make the life of our people richer and more content. We are convinced that our people will fully support this comprehensible policy by their work.

SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIETY AND TASKS OF THE PARTY

The task of our Congress is to outline the main goals of Czechoslovakia's socialist development in the years ahead. For this it is necessary to assess realistically the nature of the stage we are approaching, the state and the tendencies of development of the class structure of society, the degree of socialist awareness of the working people, the standard of economic development, trends of development of production forces in the world and the general correlation of the international class forces. While appraising soberly all the determining factors, it must be said that we have not yet exhausted the possibilities of the stage of socialist development, that it is necessary to respect consistently the laws of development of socialist society, strengthen socialist social relations and head towards the development of an advanced socialist society.

In speaking of the development of socialist society, Lenin wrote:

"Clearly, in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, not enough to abolish their rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual workers and brain workers. This requires a very long period of time. In order to achieve this an enormous step forward must be taken in developing the productive forces; it is necessary to overcome the resistance (frequently passive, which is particularly stubborn and particularly difficult to overcome) of the numerous survivals of small-scale production; it is necessary to overcome the enormous force of habit and conservatism which are connected with these survivals."

It is evident that the construction and development of socialist society in its class, political, ideological and economic contexts is a long process, in which all of its aspects must be respected. The aim of our Party's policy is to bring closer together the working class, cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other social groups, to bridge the differences between the town and the countryside, brain-work and manual work. Certain successes and progress in this respect have been achieved in the years of socialist construction. It must be repeated that it is possible to bring classes and social groups closer together, to strengthen the unity of the people only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the objective interests of the working class on the basis of the practical implementation of socialist aims.

A strong and advanced working class is and will remain the leading force in the development of our socialist society. In past

years revisionists tried to cast doubts upon this basic thesis of Marxism. The working class in this country is the most numerous class of society, accounting for nearly 60 per cent of the population, it is the chief creator of material values; thanks to its consciousness, organization and revolutionary experience and its vital class interest, it is the main guarantee of socialist power, the revolutionary achievements of the people, it is the main force which leads the development of the society in the interest of all working people. Our Party, as a party of the working class, will exert all efforts to strengthen this leading role of the working class, so that, by enhancing its education, culture, political and class consciousness, the working class becomes the main fighter for political, economic and technological development in society, for a socialist way of life.

In the 50-years history of our Party the working class fought against the bourgeoisie and for the socialist transformation of society in alliance with the farmers, which is the political basis of the power of the working people in this country. With the increasing successes of cooperative agriculture, a new class of cooperative farmers has come into existence, which is a reliable ally of the working class and a firm support of our socialist society. Agricultural large-scale production has substantially changed the work and the position of the farmer, his material and cultural standards in comparison with widely dispersed small-scale production. Increasing use of technology and machinery in farm production brings work in agriculture closer to work in industry and the levelling out of social and cultural differences between the town and the countryside is advancing successfully. This process will be intensified, mainly through collaboration between cooperatives and by further supplies of technical and material equipment to agriculture. The socialist forms of farming have become firmly rooted in the minds of cooperative farmers, and the recent years of crisis have shown that our unified agricultural cooperatives remained organizationally firm, consolidated; their production and the standard of living of the farmers have a rising trend. Life in our villages today is different, happier and more cultured.

The process of socialist construction brings the working class, farmers and intelligentsia closer together. A high percentage of our new intelligentsia, its overwhelming part, originates from families of workers and farmers. This process of convergence is especially noticeable in the sphere of material production.

The mission of the socialist intelligentsia lies in devoting its creative energy to the people and contributing in all ways towards the progress of socialist society. From the standpoint of tradition, of the historical heritage of our country, from the viewpoint of conditions in the present world, this is the most honorable historical

task, which our intelligentsia can fulfil. As a result of many shortcomings in Party work in the past a part of the intelligentsia developed feelings of superiority and privilege. The petty-bourgeois revolt in 1968 upheld the thesis of the intelligentsia "elite," designed to lead society. The Right wing forces flagrantly abused its almost monopoly position in the mass media for manipulating the "lower strata," i.e., millions of working people. We not only reject these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas about the position of social classes and strata; we have learned from experience to what catastrophes they lead. Socialist society allocates vast sums for the development of education, culture, science, for all strata of the intelligentsia. It holds in esteem the work of the intelligentsia which helps to advance socialist society and together with the workers and farmers participates in useful work. We shall see to complementing the intelligentsia from the ranks of the working class and cooperative farmers and strengthen its cohesion with the working people, with the aims of socialism and communism. We should like all intellectuals to give their knowledge, their skill and their efforts towards the advancement of the socialist homeland. In this sphere a great deal of political-educational work awaits us.

Support must be given to the logical process of bringing together the working class, cooperative farmers, socialist intelligentsia and the other social strata on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, of the development of socialism.

WE ARE INTERNATIONALISTS

In our state live the Czech and Slovak peoples and Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian and German national minorities. In the course of its history our Party has implemented the Leninist principles of equality in relations between peoples and nationalities. We crowned the development of relations between our peoples with the principle of the federative structure of our state. It should be said that the federative structure, although being new in this country and despite our brief experience, has proved to be a success and has become a positive factor in the development of our peoples and national minorities and in the strengthening of the Czechoslovak state. We shall continue promoting this Leninist form of relations between our nations and strive for the optimum development of both our republics and, at the same time for strengthening the unity, power and prosperity of the whole state.

The nationalities problem is a very sensitive one, in which much experience from the past and many nationalist prejudices survive. It is one of the spheres where hostile, reactionary and various revisionist forces strive to get a foothold and to weaken socialist

society. Our Party is international in character, it is an integrating force of the working people of both our peoples and all nationalities. Its task is, thus, to rally the working class, farmers and the intelligentsia of both peoples and nationalities, for the common socialist aim on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy.

It is necessary to wage a struggle against nationalist survivals, wherever they may appear, in internal or international connections. While being proud of our national, democratic and revolutionary traditions, we shall educate the working people of both our peoples and all our nationalities in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of brotherhood; we shall foster the feeling of all working people as belonging to a unified Czechoslovak state. The development of socialist nations and nationalities is not in contradiction with the development of the federative socialist state, but on the contrary, they are closely connected. Therefore, the strengthening of socialist consciousness of all citizens, their affinity, their common interests and aims, are among the foremost tasks of our international Party, among the foremost tasks of strengthening the socialist state.

In the struggle of our working class and the working people with the bourgeoisie, the political and state power in Czechoslovakia fell to the people. There was a fundamental class change. The ruling bourgeoisie was overthrown and the oppressed and exploited masses of workers and farmers became the ruling and decisive force in the state. It is a class state of the working people and it is an instrument for carrying out the class and socialist aims of the workers, farmers and the other strata of the working people. In this sphere, too, many concepts were distorted and interpreted in a revisionist way. By means of abstract concepts of the state and democracy, groups of revisionist and anti-socialist forces strove to reverse the power of the working class and the working people in our country, and to seize important power instruments of our state. Therefore the basic class aspects of the function of the state and its bodies must be clarified again.

Opportunist neglect of these Leninist ideas of class approach to the function of the state caused us immense damage.

THE STATE AS TOOL OF WORKING PEOPLE'S POWER

Today we can say that the Czechoslovak socialist state is fulfilling the function of instrument of the class power of the workers, peasants and the other working people and is gradually improving the methods of its work in the organizational, economic, educational, cultural, defense and all other spheres. We shall strengthen

our Czechoslovak socialist state, improve its agencies and functions so that it may fulfil its mission in the all round development of society.

The power of the working people in this country is realized by means of various forms of socialist democracy. We have never concealed that socialist democracy is a class democracy for the millions of the working people.

The basic form of working people's rule is the system of national committees and representative bodies. National committees handle the problems of the working people in communities, towns, districts and regions. On their work depends, to a high degree, the happiness of the working people and their growing participation in management and administration. More than 220,000 deputies work in these bodies; together with activists in citizens' committees, commissions and other bodies there are more than half a million voluntary workers from the ranks of citizens. They have done a tremendous amount of work since they were set up after the war. However, there are still a number of shortcomings in their work, they may be inconsiderate to individual citizens or often fail to solve questions for which they are responsible. National committees, as directly elected bodies of the people, must work so that the citizens see them as their representatives who deal with their day-to-day and long-term interests and requirements. They should combat mismanagement, irresponsibility, graft, favoritism and other evils. The Party must devote increased attention to the work of national committees and especially to the work of Communists in these bodies of broad popular representation and see especially to the development of all forms of immediate participation of citizens in management and administration of their towns and communities.

Elections are to be held shortly to elect members of national committees and other representative bodies. In these bodies the position of the working class and the other working people must be strengthened, the representation of women and young people must be increased substantially and maximum effort must be exerted towards improving the work of this important link of our social order and socialist democracy.

The supreme organs of the representative system—the Federal Assembly, the Czech and Slovak National Councils — are representatives of people's power in our state. In accordance with the Constitution and our socialist principles, these bodies bear great responsibility for implementing the basic class interests of the working people at national and federal level. They can fulfil this important mission only if the deputies keep in close contact with national committees and the electorate.

We attach great importance to improving socialist legality and

strive to make it correspond to the present requirements of development of our state and the protection of citizens and society.

The Federal government and both National governments have carried out a great amount of positive work in the course of the consolidation process.

The success of our further development will greatly depend on the standards of their work, their approach to different aspects of the entire diversified state organism, on the consistent implementation of Party policies and the responsibility and effectiveness of every link.

Recent years have again taught us that socialist society needs reliable, well-prepared bodies of power for the protection of the revolutionary achievements against external and internal enemies.

We are living on the frontier of the imperialist world and cannot lose sight, even for a moment, of the fact that we must be prepared together with our allies for the defense of our national and state independence and the socialist system. We are ensuring this role within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty countries, relying on firm, inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union.

The defense of our freedom and socialist achievements is a permanent task of the whole society, not only of the armed forces, but also of all state and social organizations and institutions, which ensure the tasks of the defense of the country in a unified defense system of the state. These tasks had been greatly neglected. The Party has therefore adopted measures for intensifying the defense education of the population, particularly of youth, to strengthen the unity of the army and the people, to make the defense of our socialist state an honorable and patriotic duty of every citizen. The Party devotes great attention to the strengthening of the defense of the country and especially to the armed force, our people's army, which is an instrument of power of the working class and the working people, is a part of the working people and protects their interests. In the last two years our people's army has grown stronger, political work in its ranks and combat preparedness have improved. Much still has to be improved and perfected in Party-political work and in political-ideological education within the army and in combat training. After a purge of the ranks and other measures our army is morally and politically at such a level of preparedness that, together with the allied armies, it can fulfil the tasks which the people expect of it in case of danger.

The People's Militia has played a very positive role in the defense of socialist achievements. Sincere gratitude is due to it for this. It holds a firm position in the entire defense system of the state. We shall continue to strengthen and invigorate the People's Militia and paying increased attention to it.

Security bodies play an important role in the protection of our socialist system. In the struggle against disruptive elements, against criminality, in the protection of public order and citizens' rights, in the protection of the socialist system, in the fight against the subversive activity of imperialism, they are doing valuable work, which is being systematically improved. We shall see to it that the workers of security bodies consistently observe socialist legality, protect our social order and are vigilant against all external and internal enemy forces.

In past years there were considerable violations of laws, of socialist legality. It is necessary to engage in great political-educational work, ensure that laws are respected in the interest of the citizen and in the interest of society, that the norms of socialist life are observed. Respect of laws and justice must become a natural phenomenon of our society.

In the struggle for order and discipline, for observance of our laws, especially in the economic sphere, an important role is attached to people's control agencies. The system of work of these bodies, as it is taking final shape and which must be steadily improved, is to combine specialized knowledge with wide social commitment of the working people. Control is an important part of management and the participation of the working people is an important content of socialist democracy. It should be said that there are still many shortcomings in this sphere and much more attention will have to be paid to questions of control.

The implementation of our socialist aims in all spheres presupposes precise, well-organized and effective work of the state and economic apparatus. After cleansing this apparatus according to the view of loyalty to socialism, emphasis will have to be laid on combating surviving tendencies of red tape, irresponsibility and inexpedient inflation of staffs, for the rationalization of its work, for a committed political approach to the implementation of the tasks entrusted to it.

PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS—A MAINSTAY OF SOCIALISM

In the socialist system, working people participate in managing our society not only through representative bodies and state institutions, but also through a wide network of mass organizations and political parties associated in the National Front.

An important role in drawing working people into the management of society should be played by a well-functioning Revolutionary Trade Union Movement which, in this country, comprises about five and a half million members. The trade unions participate in the solving of economic development problems at every place of

work, in every plant and at all levels of our social system. After the period of disruption, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement is today again gradually taking over its important role in the national economic sphere, as well as in educating working people to adopt a socialist attitude to work and to social ownership and in care for cultural and social needs, for the health of working people, as well as in the protection of the legitimate interests of the working people. In the coming period, it will be necessary to overcome the mistakes of the pre-January period which resulted in considerable formalism in trade union activities, as well as of the post-January period which was marked by revisionist disruption in the trade unions; it will be necessary to elaborate the whole wide range of the many-sided activities of this powerful mass organization in order to enhance its role and to make better use of the possibilities which it provides as one of the important components of our political system. The role of a school of socialist education, which is to be fulfilled by the trade unions means, on the one hand, to consistently defend the legitimate interests and needs of working people against various manifestations of red tape and violation of rights and, on the other hand, education in a spirit of the interests of the entire society, socialist norms of life and work, and of developing the initiative of millions of working people. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement plays an exceptional role in raising the consciousness of the working people and winning them over for the policy of our Party.

The Party will consistently support the activities of the trade unions and will ensure that Communists working in them are capable of winning over millions of working people for the cause of socialism, as was emphasized by V. I. Lenin. The Party will see to it that the trade unions consistently fulfil their revolutionary role as a school of management, a school of economy, a school of communism.

Our socialist society has given political, social and cultural equality to women. The proportion of women in the production process is great and is constantly rising. This creates problems in relation to the women's tasks in the family, in the education of children.

The representation of women in political, public and social organizations in the course of years had for many reasons declined, although their active work in Party and trade union bodies, in national committees and all links of our political system would result in a much more rapid elimination of the shortcomings which are still felt to a considerable extent by employed mothers. It is necessary to elaborate a whole set of measures aimed at increasing the high employment of women, at improving conditions for the work of women in the family, for the education of children, for

strengthening the family. This is all the more necessary since the rapid decline in our population growth rate is creating a tense situation in the labor force and is in many sectors becoming a factor limiting further development.

Children and young people up to the age of thirty today represent one-half of the population in our country. Their socialist and specialized education at schools, in the family, at places of work, in every institution concerned with children—is of immense social importance. Party, state and public bodies must devote much greater attention to the socialist education of young people in order that they may see the purpose of their life, their self-assertion in active, conscious, responsible work for the development of our socialist society.

An important place in the education of the younger generation is occupied by the Socialist Youth League and its Pioneer Organization. It is their task to help the Party in preparing the younger generation for its present-day and future mission, to lead their members to taking an active part in the life of the society, to socialist patriotism and international feeling. In the work of the Socialist Youth League, too, it is necessary to avoid the mistakes of the past, whether they manifest themselves in formalism and a simplified view of the life of young people, or in remnants of the activities of rightist and revisionist forces of recent years. Youth comprises various social groups: workers, farmers, specialists, students, etc. The Socialist Youth League must find forms of work with each group of young people, and satisfy and develop their interests and needs in the field of culture, sports, etc. We want young people to participate more directly in the work of Party bodies, trade unions, the National Front, as well as state and representative bodies, in order that they may gain experience in public and political work, and invest their enthusiasm and determination in the construction of our homeland. It is necessary to pass on the experience of the older generation to young people and prepare them to become a new replacement capable of managing our society. It is necessary to strengthen the Party core within organizations of the Socialist Youth League and to admit more young people to the Party to this end.

Our social security system, which is of a high standard, enables our working people to retire at a relatively early age to deserved rest. We have a considerable number of pensioners. This is an important social group which in certain towns represents as much as a quarter or an even greater fraction of the population. The attitude towards this older generation of people, who had honestly worked for decades, care for them, providing them with opportunities of asserting themselves, for making use of their experi-

ence as well as the solution of certain sore points, are among our essential tasks.

An important place in the healthy development of socialist society belongs to mass physical training and sports which help to strengthen physical health and the moral qualities of the people, to raise our defense capacity and to attain self-fulfilment. Our unified sports movement has achieved many positive results. We appreciate the activities of its workers especially among young people. However, there are also many shortcomings in this field with which we cannot be satisfied. Means for mass physical training and sports are scattered and insufficiently used and inadequate attention is given to sports facilities in the building of our towns and villages. We must analyze and consider ways of improving and intensifying mass physical training and sports, not only within the framework of unified sports but also of social organizations, national committees, enterprises, schools, etc. We must also give attention to problems of top performance sports in order to ensure effective representation of our state.

We appreciate the work of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, which played a great role in past years in strengthening Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. We value the work of the broad cooperative movement and other components of the National Front.

The political parties and mass organizations, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, are today associated in the National Front, as it took shape in the course of our revolution and socialist construction. We view the National Front as a class alliance of the working class, cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia, other sections of working people and their organizations, as an alliance of Communists, members of other political parties and citizens without any political affiliation, an alliance of Czechs and Slovaks as well as other nationalities on the territory of our state. It is now necessary that, through the National Front and its member organizations, the masses take a greater part in political and public life and its management. The National Front will continue to play its part in our political system and its member organizations must lead the millions of working people towards strengthening socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism, fraternal relations among our peoples and nationalities, towards reinforcing the unity and strength of our state.

TASKS OF POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Our bitter experience has taught us the high price that has to be paid for neglect of all forms of ideological work, of the political education of the working people. The work of the Party to win

over the working people for our policy, constantly strengthen the unity of the Party and the people and deepen the moral and political unity of society is as important an aspect of the Party's activity as the creation of the material and technical base of socialism. The main purpose of the political and ideological work of the Party and other component parts of our political and state system is to educate men towards thinking and acting in a socialist way. We need well-trained people with specialized education, a high cultural level, imbued with political and ideological enthusiasm and who are fully devoted to socialism. Socialist awareness does not appear automatically merely by the change in living and working conditions. It is a result of purposeful educational work based on the influence exerted by socialist gains. Wherever our own ideological influence weakens, wherever our ideological activities and political and cultural education lag, scope is created for hostile tendencies and petty-bourgeois attitudes.

The fulfilment of our tasks depends on our ability to develop and mobilize the abilities of people, their creative energy, their moral qualities, on our successes in the purposeful moulding of socialist man. Lenin considered this task to be one of the basic long-term tasks of the cultural revolution in which the class struggle for new socialist relations, for the development of the economy and all spheres of society is organically and inseparably linked with the fight for a new world outlook, for the scientific ideology of the working class—Marxism-Leninism. While the system of exploitation and oppression promotes human selfishness, ruthlessness and indifference to the fate of others, the socialist system provides conditions for fostering in man respect for honest work, for comradely relations, love of one's homeland, solidarity with the fight of the working people and nations against exploitation and oppression throughout the world.

The moulding of socialist man, his positive qualities, socialist morals, civic responsibility and high discipline, his striving for greater knowledge and his own development is a highly exacting task and one which is essential for the growth of a socialist society. The more intensively the Party and the entire state organism devote themselves to this responsible work, the stronger is the social system of socialism, the ability of the working class and all working people to run their state, to consciously and purposefully shape their future.

It is particularly important to lead young people in this direction so that they keep pace with the spirit of the times and meet the requirements of the contemporary and future tasks of our society, that they be educated, honest, diligent, that they take pride in their socialist homeland, its revolutionary past and great future, in order that they may be aware of the great opportunities provided

by socialism, and of their responsibility in the struggle for a new morrow.

In summing up the Party's work in the years since the 13th Congress, we must note that in implementing this historical task—the moulding of a socialist man, especially of the younger generation—we neglected and failed to think over many things, and thus cleared the field for petty-bourgeois, rightist and revisionist influences. Since April 1969, we have been exerting great efforts to overcome the disruption caused by the rightist and anti-socialist forces. However, we know that much considered, serious work in the ideological sphere, in the political education of the masses, is awaiting us.

The struggle for the socialist mentality of our people is at the same time an ideological struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois survivals, currents and tendencies still persisting among certain strata of society, or which are the consequence of systematic ideological subversion on the part of the imperialist world. The past years have brought much proof of the subversive work of imperialist intelligence centers against Czechoslovakia and its socialist system, of gross interference in our internal affairs. This subversive work is still going on today, either as lying, slanderous campaigns of the bourgeois news service, "Free Europe" and other similar channels of imperialist propaganda, or with the help of other forms and methods. The ideological and class struggle continues and we can expect nothing from imperialists that would be of advantage to our socialist system, to our Party. Therefore, the whole Party must maintain vigilance against all forms of subversion. It has been said many times that, in the ideological sphere, there can be no peaceful coexistence, no concessions to hostile views, no compromising with survivals of the former society based on exploitation. To harmonize all the means of Party, social and state bodies for moulding a socialist man, for exerting a principled, consistent influence in the Marxist-Leninist spirit, is one of our most pressing tasks.

We face exacting tasks in the field of education. Our school must be a socialist school, a support of the socialist system. Its mission is to prepare the young generation in harmony with the needs of socialist society, with the requirements of the developing economy and individual social spheres. We proceed from the principle of unity between upbringing and education. Although in the past we placed emphasis on a unified and democratic school and laid certain foundations for such a school, steps were taken several years ago by which these principles were violated to a considerable extent. At variance with our policy, access to education was rendered more difficult for children from working-class and peasant environments, one-sided emphasis was placed on professional

aspects and the educational process was greatly weakened. All this must now be rectified.

In particular, we must make all workers of the educational sphere—from the ministries down to headmaster and teachers at schools—fully aware of their duties and their high responsibility to society. Red tape is always harmful, but its influence is most detrimental in educational work. At the Party conferences, quite a number of critical voices were heard in relation to the educational system. This must lead to greater responsibility in the process of instruction and education.

In this connection, there exist specific problems at many institutes of higher learning. We are concerned with the situation existing in professional training and especially in the political education of university students.

We appeal to our teachers. It is they who determine the level and the results of pedagogical work; they are to guarantee that our young generation will be well prepared for life in keeping with the program of socialist development, in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, socialist ethics, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. There can be no concession whatever with regard to these requirements.

We highly appreciate teachers who understand their mission and are working in this spirit. Conditions must be created in an organized way for the good work of the school in a socialist spirit.

Life makes it imperative to prepare certain necessary changes in the educational system. To strengthen the working and polytechnical character of schools, eliminate the separation of secondary schools from practice, from the requirements of production, etc. However, we shall act with circumspection and consideration. The future of education cannot be divorced from the perspectives of our economy and the program of the development of society. However the immediate center of attention now is the quality of pedagogic work, the content of teaching and the standard of education. Special attention must be devoted to subjects which immediately influence the socialist awareness of pupils, their approach to the policy of the Party and their acquisition of the fundamentals of our world outlook. In the past, this sphere was greatly underestimated in the training of teachers. Only thus could it happen that at many universities the former departments of Marxism-Leninism became centers of revisionism.

SOCIALISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE

The development of socialist society is inseparably linked with the development of science. The application of scientific knowledge in production, technology, in the organization of management, edu-

cation and enlightenment activity is becoming a basic factor for the growth of the productivity of social labor. We are faced with the task of organically combining the achievements of the scientific technological revolution with the advantages of socialist society. The number of scientific institutes and institutions grew immensely during the years of the construction of socialism. Our state is expending considerable means on science. However, we cannot be satisfied with the low social effectiveness of scientific work. If a turn is to be achieved, we must, while eliminating obstacles in production, where people do not always show interest in achieving scientific progress, constantly and resolutely overcome tendencies of regarding research as an end in itself; research has not—from the very stage of selecting research programs—been adequately incorporated in the general struggle for practical scientific and technical progress.

Scientific and research institutes and universities were strongly influenced by right-wing opportunists and anti-socialist forces and some of them became centers of their disruptive activity. This was also made possible by poor labor discipline, poor control of fulfilment of plans and the results of the work of individuals and teams.

In the sphere of science and universities rectification is being gradually achieved. We welcome the initiative of many foremost scientists, research and university workers, who are striving for consolidation in this sphere both in the political and the scientific aspect. We have excellent workers in the sphere of science who have achieved some marked successes in research work, and whom we hold in high esteem. We are confident of the integrity of the majority of our scientific workers and would like to rely to a greater degree on the concrete results of their work.

We shall seek ways of further utilization of our developed scientific base, of concentrating efforts on the main tasks, of bringing science closer to production and practice and providing conditions for the creative work of the scientific intelligentsia to make a much greater contribution to the further development of socialism. This is not a question of secondary importance. Utilization of the scientific and technological revolution is becoming a key issue of further development. We shall deal systematically with questions of scientific work and its application for the development of our country.

Specific problems exist in the sphere of social sciences. We know how badly they, for the most part, acquitted themselves during the onslaught of revisionist forces and what contributions they made to it. Even Party institutions, such as the Institute of Party History, the Institute for Political Sciences, the Political College, were very severely affected by these influences. Numer-

ous measures for rectification have been taken over the last two years. However, we are faced with the important task of organizing and advancing work in all the social sciences, in scientific institutes and at universities, and incorporating the forces of the theoretical front devoted to Marxism-Leninism in the ideological offensive of our Party, in the struggle for shaping the socialist consciousness of the working people, in the struggle with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and tendencies, in campaigns to clarify urgent problems of the further development of socialist society.

Important and complicated tasks are facing the arts and the sphere of culture in general. In the past—although no incorrect resolutions were adopted on the ideological and Party-based content of the arts, on its importance in the ideological struggle of the Party—the real threat of the onset of right-wing forces was underestimated, the situation on the cultural front was idealized. The period of growing non-socialist, petty-bourgeois tendencies in this sphere came to a climax with the profound political abuse of the arts and culture in 1968 for political-power aims by the bloc of revisionist and anti-socialist forces.

Aggressive groups of opportunists gained control over culture and especially over the creative unions headed by the Union of Writers, and used them for the operation of counter-revolutionary forces. In the course of the consolidation process, right-wing centers were broken up with the help of upright members of the creative intelligentsia, Party influence in culture was strengthened and the leading role of the socialist state was restored. This is undoubtedly one of the positive elements of our policy after April 1969. We know, however, that this is only the beginning of the work, that it is necessary systematically and patiently to create conditions for forging ahead, for invigorating socialist culture and the arts, for enhancing their ideological content and Party spirit. The differentiation process in this sphere is advancing successfully. We shall give full support to those creative workers who, by their work and their civic attitude are committed to the cause of socialism, who place their talents at the service of our people, our society. However, we shall act consistently against the introduction of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences into the sphere of culture and the arts, which is an important part of the political and cultural education of the millions.

Strong pressures for commercialization of the arts, for their depreciation to the benefit of groups which are more businessmen than artists, have penetrated the cultural sphere.

We realize that in this sphere it is necessary to proceed sensitively but from high-principled positions. We must be tactful

towards creative quests, the assertion of individual inclinations and talents, the diversity and variety of forms and styles of socialist realism, which will enrich socialist culture. We shall not make concessions to any efforts to try to use the arts against the Party and socialism. Socialist art is a great ideological weapon. Literature, the theatre, cinema, television, visual arts, music, etc., have an important mission in shaping the socialist man, in educating him in the spirit of our society. This ideological weapon must serve the interests of the working class and the working people. Socialist culture is truly democratic and humanist. It is a culture for the people, for the working people, not for snobs or for a restricted circle of aristocrats.

The experience of the past years has shown that the radio, television, the press, the cinema — the mass communication and propaganda media, as we call them — are important ideological tools and instruments of power. One of the first tasks after the April plenum of the CC CPC in 1969 was to restore the leading role of the Party in this sphere. These powerful weapons had to be torn out of the hands of subversive groups and placed at the service of the working people and the society. Since then the press, radio and television have been making an ever greater contribution towards the consolidation of our society, towards exposing and defeating the opportunist forces. Today, these media are again a mainstay of the Party and the socialist state. This powerful weapon is again in the hands of the working people.

The present stage places increased demands on the work of the mass media. Emphasis must be placed on raising professional standards, so that the content of newspapers and periodicals, radio and television broadcasts are not only imbued with the Party spirit, but that they are also varied, attractive, that they serve the purposes of education, instruction and entertainment. The chief mission of the mass media in the socialist state is to be an efficient organizer and disseminator of the policy of the Communist Party, continuously raise and develop the socialist awareness of all strata of the population, shape public opinion purposefully and in the spirit of socialist ideals, win over the working people to active support of the policy of the Party, foster greater participation and committed action, initiative at work and in public life. The mass media must oppose hostile propaganda, the influences of bourgeois ideology, petty-bourgeois survivals in thinking and practice. In the course of two years our Communist journalists devoted to the cause of socialism have succeeded in accomplishing a great deal. We are convinced that under the leadership of the Party they will also attain high standards in this responsible social activity.

V

ASSERTION OF THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY IN THE LIFE OF THE SOCIETY

An important aspect of our political struggle with revisionism is the leading role of the Party. Leninism teaches us, and practical experience gained during socialist construction has made it clear, that the leading and organizing role of the Party is an essential prerequisite for successful socialist advancement. We have also seen that any weakening of the leading role of the Party is a step backward and leads to a crisis. The historical necessity for the leading role of the Party grows with the new tasks and new requirements of socialist construction. The more advanced our society, the more demanding its political, economic and ideological tasks, the more urgent is the need for the leading role of the Party in society, the more manifold must be its manifestations. The Party ensures the leading role of the working class. In its policy, it integrates the interests of all classes and strata of society. It is a guarantee of the defeat of hostile forces, of the overcoming of class antagonism, and of the consolidation of socialist power. The Party is a guarantor of the connection of our work with the struggle of the international progressive movement, with the community of socialist countries, with the Soviet Union.

The Party is the main force which paves the way to new requirements, new methods and demands. The Party is the only force capable of formulating, on the basis of scientific socialism, a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist program of social development, and of organizing the working people to ensure its implementation. The all-out strengthening of the leading role of the Party is a paramount duty of all Communists, an objective necessity for the steady and successful development of our society; this fully accords with the fundamental interest of the working class, of all people.

The revisionists tried to limit and reduce the leading role of the Party to vague ideological influence and deprive the Party of actual management of the social processes. However, Leninism teaches us, and our experience confirms, that successful socialist construction requires the Party to enforce its leading role, see to the unity of conceptual and executive activity, the unity of programmatic and organizational work, the unity of words and deeds. For the Party to be able to direct the further development of society in the next decade effectively and purposefully, it is essential to give greater attention to cognitive activity, to make use of Marxist-Leninist science for in-depth analyses of social processes and to generalize the experience of the masses, and on this basis, to

raise the standards of leadership. We intend to start preparatory work on a long-term program of development of our socialist society. At the same time, it will be necessary to increase substantially our ability to turn plans and resolutions into reality. Unity of both these aspects is of decisive importance for increasing the overall standard of the Party's leadership.

Parallel with the strengthening of the leading role of the Party, we shall constantly strive to improve the methods and forms of its work. Our enemies claim that the leading role of the Party means a power monopoly and that it impedes the development of the activity of the working people. If it is a question of hostile, anti-socialist and revisionist activity, we declare frankly that Communists will do everything to nip it in the bud. But if it is a question of initiative and activity conducive to the development of socialist society, then the role and purpose of the Party is to give it support. We do not see the leading role of the Party as meaning that Party bodies should assume the powers and responsibilities of state and economic bodies; they must give political guidance to Communists in the respective sectors, supervise their work, and demand initiative and responsibility for the implementation of the Party's policy. Neither does the leading role of the Party mean petty patronage over public organizations, but promoting their activity and initiative in implementing Party policies.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MASS-POLITICAL WORK

A task of fundamental importance for us is the enlistment of the broadest sections of the working people for implementing the policy of the Party, the constant strengthening and deepening of the unity of the Party and the people; this unity is not given once and for all but must be continuously fostered with every new task and at every stage. It is clear to Communists that they are not building socialism for themselves, and that they cannot build it by themselves, relying on their own resources. The development of socialism can be brought about only through the creative activity of millions. To promote and enlist the enormous energy, experience, talent, education and skill of our people, of the nations of our country for the common cause—that is the main prerequisite for making headway. From this stems our attitude towards non-Party people, full-fledged citizens of our socialist state whose participation in drawing up and carrying out plans of the development of society we wish to enlist. We count on everyone who sincerely wishes to take part in our common effort, and we shall create conditions for making use of the initiative, knowledge and experience of the people. This, naturally, also goes for those who did not get new Party membership cards, and who wish

to rectify their past mistakes by honest work. We shall, however, wage a consistent political struggle against those who are standing on the other bank. Any manifestations of domineering attitude or superiority over those who are not members of the Party must be alien to Communists. In our approach to people we must abandon sectarian notions that what we Communists understand and are convinced of must be automatically clear and comprehensible to everyone. To convince people patiently by personal example and arguments—that is the role of Communists.

Over the half a century of class struggles the Party has amassed an enormous wealth of experience in winning over and leading the masses, in choosing the organizational forms to get our Communist truth through to them, and to convince them, by practical example, of the correctness of our policy. This experience gave rise to the slogan "Turning to the Masses," to which we have reverted. We say that the hopes of our enemies that the Party would remain isolated have been proved wrong. In the process of consolidation the Party has been winning ever increasing support from the working people. Ever closer contacts are being established by Party organizations with non-Party people. We are convinced that the decisions that our Congress will adopt will meet with the full approval of all those who value socialism and the future of our country, that they will make for still closer ties between the Party and the people. We shall not take the road of cheap promises or seek cheap popularity. We shall always and frankly speak only the truth, however bitter it may be, and we know that the people will understand us and give us their support, as always in the past when we took this way.

It is essential to continuously improve the forms and methods of mass political work, to seek ways of reaching out to all groups of working people. It is worth fighting for every upright person, even though he may have been temporarily deluded and made mistakes. Mass work in enterprises must, however, be considered to be our prime task in the coming period. To win over the entire working class to the policy of the Party, to make enterprises—particularly the big ones—reliable mainstays of the Party, to ensure that every upright person knows and understands the policy of the Party and gives it his approval—that is the task on which all efforts must be concentrated.

FOR THE MARXIST-LENINIST CHARACTER AND UNITY OF THE PARTY

The demands placed on the leadership of the society are directly reflected in the growing demands made on the political and organizational work of the Party, its ability to formulate correctly stra-

tegic and tactical tasks, to determine the main links, to choose effective tactics and forms of work, to properly choose, prepare and place cadres, and to consistently check up on the fulfilment of the decisions adopted.

There is no doubt that the Party can cope with these tasks only if it is united, cohesive, loyal to Marxist-Leninism, and if it unflaggingly observes Leninist norms in its internal life and in its activities. We know the tragic consequences of violating Leninist norms. We also know that their restoration after April 1969 has enhanced the Party's strength.

Firm political, organizational and ideological unity of the Party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the source of the Party's strength and a prerequisite for all our achievements. As a result of its political struggle against the rightists and of the purges carried out, the Party has attained a high degree of unity of its ranks. However, it is necessary continuously to maintain, intensify and strengthen Party unity in solving all new questions. The Party is not, and will not in future be, immune to external pressures, to petty-bourgeois attitudes, to manifestations of casualness and inertia, to opportunist attempts to avoid controversies, to obstacles and the influence of difficulties arising in the course of construction.

The conclusions we have drawn are expressed in the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPC on urgent questions of Party unity. We are convinced that this document, too, will be endorsed by the Congress as a binding directive for the further work of the Party.

The main danger against which we must fight is rightist opportunism, which has taken deep roots as a result of historical development. Therefore a principled political and ideological struggle against all manifestations of opportunism and revisionism is and continues to be a component of the struggle for Party unity. In the interest of the Party, however, it is necessary to counter all attempts to introduce factionalism or to find pretexts for departing from the adopted course planned by the Party.

The exchange of Party cards concluded the stage of purging the Party, thereby drawing a line under the past period in the life of the Party. The task of strengthening and consolidating the Party ranks, and improving the quality of its work has been placed on the order of the day. Systematic concern for the purity of the Party and its ranks remains the primary duty of all Party organizations and all Communists. In future the Party must part ways with those who disrupt its unity, violate Party or state discipline, abuse their position or by their actions weaken the authority and sully the good name of the Party.

Of great importance for the unity of the Party is correct solu-

tion of questions related to its organizational structure. It is especially important to ensure that, in the conditions of the federatal organization of the state, the Party should preserve its character of a united, internationalist party capable of guaranteeing the ties of fraternal cooperation among Czechoslovakia's peoples and national minorities, of being an integrating force of the working class and the working people of the entire state.

STRENGTHENING OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

We have overcome the dissensions brought into the Party by the opportunists. However, the great struggle we are waging calls for the continued strengthening of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. This is a decisive prerequisite for improving the internal life of the Party, increasing the functioning of Party organizations and the activity of Communists. Communist discipline has been tightened, but we must do much to ensure that every member of our Party fights consciously for its policy and abides by its decisions. To strengthen discipline still further we shall ensure that the proper conclusions are drawn from cases of infraction of Party Rules and decisions.

Along with the strengthening of democratic centralism as a prerequisite for united action the development of internal Party life at the present stage provides the opportunity and makes it imperative to emphasize another aspect—the development of inner-Party democracy. We have seen that democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy cannot be separated or juxtaposed. Bureaucratic centralism, anarchy and spontaneity harm the Party, and cannot be tolerated. For Party unity, discipline and efficiency it is essential that all Communists participate fully in formulating and implementing the Party's policies, that all have equal rights and fulfil their duties. Consequently, we must continue to strengthen the democratic principles of shaping, carrying out and controlling the policy of the Party.

An important part of the principles is strengthening the collective character of leadership. Collective leadership with clearly personal responsibilities must become an inviolable principle of all Party bodies. The proceedings and results of annual general meetings and conferences confirmed that notable successes can be reached only in an atmosphere of collective, businesslike, frank and democratic discussion of fundamental questions of Party life.

We consider it necessary to promote criticism and self-criticism as an important condition for a full-blooded Party life and successful progress. It is not only a reliable method of exposing and redressing shortcomings, but also an important means of activating Communists. We stress, especially for the benefit of executives,

that one of the characteristics of a Communist should be his ability to listen to critical remarks and to draw lessons from them. Party organizations cannot tolerate practices when critical comments are not heeded or are even suppressed; they must regard encouragement of criticism and self-criticism as an important part of their activities.

The development of the internal life of Party organizations along these lines will create the best conditions for overcoming the chronic diseases of passivity and formalism which had for years been attendant features of the life of our Party. Experience shows that in those Party organizations in which tasks and responsibilities are unequivocally and clearly defined, in which all Communists carry out specific tasks and in which there is systematic control, where there is an atmosphere of exactingness as well as of trust, passivity of members disappears. We must try and remove the term "passive Communist" from the Party vocabulary.

Formalism, which still survives in some places, is just as bad as passivity. We all know how much initiative, willingness and good will have been wasted unnecessarily in the past owing to formalism. That is why we must not tolerate sham activity cloaked in cliches which usually conceal laziness and incompetence. And we still have people whose activity is merely calculated to give an outward impression.

The establishment of comradely relations among Communists is also extremely important for the life of the Party. In their mutual relations, they should be exacting towards themselves and others, display mutual criticism and self-criticism, comradely understanding, help and support.

FOR A HIGHER LEVEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND PERSONNEL WORK

It has been stated repeatedly that if a correct line is laid down, its fate depends on organizational work. And yet for many years the situation was such that good resolutions were often adopted, but little was done to fulfil them. Things would have undoubtedly taken a different course if there had not been a tolerant attitude to opportunism in practical work. Since April 1969, the ability of the Party, Party bodies and Party activists to put adopted resolutions consistently and correctly into practice has considerably increased. During the exchange of membership cards the Party managed to carry out great organizational work, gaining a vast body of experience in directing the work of the hundreds of thousands of activists, learning to unite, guide and control it on the scale of the entire Party. We shall proceed from this experience

in future and see to it at all levels that the standard of organizational work corresponds to our tasks.

An important place in the organizational work of the Party belongs to the district Party committees which directly guide the primary organizations, ensure the unity of state and local policies and create conditions for effective work of the primary organizations. The district committees should concentrate not only on the activities of their own organizations and institutions at district level, but must see their main mission in the direction of primary organizations, in promoting the policy of the Party where it is implemented, where its fate is decided—in the factories, cooperative farms and communities.

A great role in raising the level of organizational work, in preparing, ensuring and checking the implementation of resolutions is played by the Party apparatus. At this Congress, we want to express our appreciation of its role because the rightist forces had been waging a concentrated attack against it. After the purge the Party apparatus made a significant contribution towards consolidation. More than half of the comrades working in it have university and secondary education and considerable political experience. However, new tasks place ever greater demands. We shall see to it that work in the apparatus is done by comrades who are closely linked with the Party, who have rich experience gained in the course of Party activity in various sectors, great abilities of creative political thinking, who continuously improve their knowledge and consistently carry out the decisions of elected Party bodies.

At the present stage it is also necessary to improve the style of work, to pass over from impromptu campaigns, which the situation often forced upon us in the past period, to more planned and systematic work, to apply the method of gradual elaboration and solution of problems with the participation of a broad active, methods of seeking the best solutions in an atmosphere of frank and critical comradely discussions. Effective control of fulfilment of adopted decisions must in future become an essential feature of our work.

We must ensure the fulfilment of the aims of our policy by correct choice, training and deployment of cadres, which has always been an important instrument of the leading role and implementation of the policy of the Party. Today cadre work is of special importance. Replacement of those who failed to stand the test of time and strengthening of decisive sectors with cadres devoted to the Party is an important part of the struggle against rightist forces. The very fact that it was necessary to make extensive changes in cadres shows how long cadre policy had been neglected. However, it also shows that the Party has sufficient strength and loyal cadres to solve this task.

The new tasks to be adopted by the Congress will necessarily also entail making greater demands on people, especially in leading positions. How we train cadres today and the level of this training is of decisive importance for the future. The Party will support the authority of leading executives and will give them its confidence, while at the same time placing higher demands on them and controlling them. It will judge them primarily according to the results of their work for society, according to how responsibly, energetically and resolutely and with what insight they lead the collectives entrusted to them towards the fulfilment of new tasks.

It is important to concentrate on the creation of cadre reserves. An inexhaustible source for them are the masses of workers, co-operative farmers, intelligentsia, youth and women. It is a foremost task to seek out and promote new, mainly young people. At the same time, it is necessary to adopt a sensitive approach to the experience of old and time-tested comrades who have devoted their lives to the struggle of our Party, and to combine their experience with the enthusiasm of young people.

We do not want to create an atmosphere of unrest, which would provide fertile ground for irresponsibility by constant reorganizations and frequent unnecessary personnel changes. We endeavor to achieve the greatest possible stability of cadres which is essential for an atmosphere conducive to creative work. This does not, of course, mean that people who are unable to cope with their tasks, should retain their positions. Comrades who by their past work have distinguished themselves for the Party, must be appreciated. However, the interests of the Party do not permit these merits of the past to justify non-fulfilment of present-day duties.

An important task in improving the quality of cadres, especially their political level, is to create a stable system for their training. However, even the best system cannot make up for their own efforts to improve their ideological and theoretical level, to master the latest findings of science. None of us can manage today with what we learned long ago. A leader must have knowledge and he must learn throughout his life.

The resolution on cadre and personnel activities must be applied consistently, to its full extent and meaning; it is necessary to assert really correct unity of all criteria related to cadres, take a planned and systematic approach to the entire work concerning cadres and consistently observe Leninist norms in this field.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY OF THE PARTY

The decisive condition for the Party to be a leading force of our society in all spheres is the quality of its membership. This is why

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the permanent tasks of all Party bodies and organizations must include systematic and consistent concern for comprehensively enhancing the significance of Party membership, for ensuring the growth of the Party.

A fundamental step for improving the quality of the Party was the exchange of membership cards. Its results meant not only that the Party was purged of exponents of rightist opportunism, but to a certain extent also of passive members. The Party at the same time preserved its mass character and its close links with the broad masses of working people. The prestige and responsibility of Party members in society has increased markedly. It is therefore necessary to continue to place high demands on Party members so that their work and the stand they take can serve as a model for others and so that they can consistently defend the policy of the Party.

In the exchange of Party cards we solved only a part of the tasks connected with improving the quality of membership. The other part—planned control of the composition and of the growth of the Party—is now facing us. Many circumstances—notably insufficient attention in the past years to recruiting new members—require that we pay much greater attention to improving the age composition and social structure of the Party.

We are a Party of the working class and this makes it imperative to increase above all the number of the best members of the working class in the Party. It is at the same time natural that the Party must fill its ranks by admitting the best members of cooperative farms and the socialist intelligentsia.

Our concern for the future of the Party, for socialism and the Republic must also be reflected in an increased admission of young people into the Party, in its ties with the young generation. Overcoming the unfavorable age structure of the Party is a vital necessity. Concern for the growth and quality of membership is highly urgent and pressing. It should not be a kind of campaign. It should be a purposively directed long-term process. In this connection, we are submitting to the Congress a proposal to re-introduce a period of candidate membership, which is to enable candidates to get better acquainted with the Party, the rights and duties of members, and to enable the Party to learn more about them. Life has shown that the decision to abolish the period of candidacy, which was adopted by the 13th Congress, was premature.

The importance attached to these questions by the Soviet comrades at their 24th Congress is highly instructive for us. It will be one of the first tasks of the new Central Committee to make a comprehensive assessment of the question of the further growth and formation of the Party.

IMPORTANCE OF MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATION

Experience teaches us that in future we cannot forget for a moment the fundamental truth of Leninism that the sphere of ideology and ideological work is an inseparable part of our class struggle for the strengthening and development of the socialist society.

If opportunism and revisionism could take advantage from the lagging of our ideological and theoretical work, the conclusion to be drawn from this is clear: to pay substantially greater attention to this sector of work. Our chief task is to fight against revisionism, to expose its sources, to overcome its manifestations in all fields. If this struggle is to be efficient, it cannot be so without an active approach to the new problems. "Criticism of bourgeois and revisionist attacks on our theory and practice becomes much more convincing when it is founded on the active and creative development of the social sciences, of Marxist-Leninist theory," Comrade Brezhnev noted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Theoretical and ideological work is linked with the need to consistently raise the level of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism in the entire Party, continue improving the standard and efficiency of Party propaganda and education. We shall therefore place emphasis on the political and ideological training of Communists, and especially of leading officials of the Party, state bodies and public organizations. In this, we regard deep communist conviction and full political activity of its participants as the basic criterion of the efficiency of Party education. We must strive for all Party members to understand that the policy of the Party represents a creative Marxist-Leninist response to the fundamental political, economic, ideological and ethical problems of our time, of our peoples.

It is essential for all members of the Party to thoroughly study the documents and results of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and to perform their everyday Party work in the spirit of the Congress. This is the first prerequisite for them to be able to defend and explain the policy of the Party to the millions of working masses.

CHANGES IN THE PARTY RULES

Proposals for certain changes in the Rules have been submitted to the 14th Congress. They have already been discussed by district and regional bodies of the Party. Their standpoints have confirmed the view that it is not necessary to work out new Rules, but only to make necessary changes stemming from gained experience and the new needs of the Party, and to concentrate the main efforts on consistent observance of the Rules.

In 1968, the rightist opportunists also attempted to revise the Party Rules. They managed to weaken the role of the Rules in the life of the Party. This is why, after April 1969, the Central Committee devoted such attention to restoring the binding character and application of the Rules in Party activities.

The proposals specify in greater detail the duties of Communists in strengthening the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party, in the struggle against opportunism and revisionism. They are aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of Party bodies and organizations, at full development of internal Party life. They proceed from the fact that in the federal set-up of the state the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia continues to be a united, internationalist and centrally-directed Party. They formulate the attitude of the Party to the young generation and define anew its relationship to the Socialist Youth League.

For better coordination of political and economic programs, it is proposed to hold Congresses once every five years, and regional and district conferences once every two or three years.

We are convinced that consistent application of the Rules will facilitate the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party, the successful development of Party life, that it will become an important instrument for extending Party influence in all spheres of life of the society.

VI

TASKS OF THE PARTY IN FOREIGN POLICY

The complicated development through which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has passed over the past five years has also been reflected in the international activity of the Party and the foreign policy of our state.

"The Lesson Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia" offers an objective picture of one of the great battles between socialism and imperialism in the sixties. It shows fully the interrelation between internal political disruption and imperialist subversion as well as the inevitability of close cooperation of internal and internationalist socialist forces in the defense of the revolutionary gains of socialism in the CSSR. It is an irrefutable fact that the defense, strengthening and present development of socialism in our country is a great victory of the world revolutionary forces and a heavy loss and defeat for imperialism.

This is the fundamental class truth on which we based our analysis of the recent past. Already at the Moscow International meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969, we said

that we should prepare by the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, an evaluation of the Czechoslovak crisis in which the Party and society found themselves in 1968. We have done this. The conclusions reached by the Central Committee were unanimously endorsed by Czechoslovak Communists and they are supported also by the great majority of our working people.

We express our comradely gratitude to all the fraternal parties who observed our developments over the past two years with understanding and supported with solidarity the efforts of Czechoslovak Communists at strengthening socialism in our country. We once again express our readiness to receive in a comradely way everyone who wishes to learn the objective truth about our situation, and we shall acquaint him with all the facts which we have deduced from our present knowledge and evaluation. It is up to the fraternal parties to decide for themselves which of our experiences is significant for them too.

The solution of the Czechoslovak crisis in harmony with the interests of socialism and internationalism did not hamper the settlement of conflicting international problems as predicted by the rightists but, on the contrary, created conditions for achieving progress in solving outstanding problems of post-war development.

A primary task of our Party is to contribute in all ways towards the implementation of the decisions jointly adopted at the Moscow conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969. This conference gave strong impetus to the development of widespread action among socialist, national liberation and democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism and for revolutionary progress in the world. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will play an active part in every initiative aimed at strengthening the unity of action of the Communist and revolutionary movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. That is why we also share the views of fraternal parties, that international meetings of Communists should become a permanent practice in our movement which would promote its revolutionary effectiveness.

At the present time we have good comradely relations with the majority of the fraternal parties. We wish to assure them from the platform of the Congress that Czechoslovak Communists, taking a lesson from recent experience, will vigilantly guard their socialist achievements and revolutionary workers' power. We are aware that the complex tasks of socialist construction which we are now solving require the full development of all the creative forces of the Party and the people, the organic harmonizing of our national and international interests and obligations, and con-

sistent adherence to the general laws of building socialist society. Our Party will exert every effort to contribute in an all-round and effective manner to strengthening the political, economic and defense capacity of the socialist community.

We assure the fraternal Communist parties of capitalist countries of our solidarity and support for them in their struggle with the bourgeoisie, for the rights and just demands of the working class and for social progress. We are deeply convinced that the working class of the capitalist countries will win through struggle the conditions for carrying out basic democratic and socialist changes.

We wish at the same time to assure the Communist and revolutionary democratic parties of the developing countries of Asia and Africa that we shall actively support all their endeavors to overcome the social and economic heritage of colonialism, dependence on imperialism and various forms of neo-colonialist exploitation. We are in full solidarity with the efforts of revolutionary and progressive forces in these states to find a non-capitalist solution to vital problems which throws open socialist prospects before these countries. We assure all countries still waging a national liberation struggle against the colonial yoke of our support.

We also welcome the new progressive phenomena in the anti-imperialist movement on the Latin American continent, strong evidence of which is the victory of the forces of Popular Unity in Chile and the successes of the national democratic, anti-monopolistic offensive in Peru and Bolivia.

We proudly join the fundamental mission of Communists to be in the vanguard of all truly revolutionary and progressive events. Despite the furious attacks of world imperialism and its lackeys, the ideas of socialism are triumphantly forging ahead on all continents. Developments throughout the world confirm again and again the viability and correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. International reaction is well aware that anti-communism in its old, primitive form can no longer disrupt the unity between Communist Parties and the broad masses of the workers. That is why it makes consistent use of every expression of right-wing opportunism and revisionism with the aim of diverting the working class from its revolutionary mission. Our recent experience and the experience of other parties convincingly confirm that revisionism inevitably develops into open betrayal of socialism and the revolutionary workers' movement, into the open transition of its representatives to anti-Communist and anti-Soviet positions.

However, in the struggle against right-wing opportunism and international revisionism we must not overlook the danger which

the current theories and practices of the Chinese leadership entail for the interests of socialism, world communism and the common anti-imperialist struggle. They are based on anti-Sovietism camouflaged by leftist, pseudo-revolutionary phrases and aimed at splitting the unity of the socialist countries and widening the breach in the international revolutionary movement. The leadership of the Communist Party of China refuses to establish contacts of any kind with the great majority of Communist and Workers' Parties, not excluding our Party. We are sure that the Chinese Communists and Chinese people will sooner or later realize this mistake. We are willing to discuss all problems which could contribute to the normalization of mutual relations, insofar as we are convinced that this is in the interest not only of both countries but of the cause of socialism and world peace.

After two years we can say that cooperation with the socialist countries, restored after the April plenary session of the Communist Party Central Committee in 1969 on the basis of mutual trust, is very good and developing favorably. But this does not mean that we are fully satisfied. In economic, scientific and cultural relations there are many new possibilities for still more effective expansion of our mutual relations.

Over the past two years it has been our endeavor for Czechoslovakia not only to fulfil its obligations and undertakings ensuing from its belonging to the socialist camp, but at the same time to contribute effectively to strengthening the unity of action and growth of the political and economic might of the socialist community in the modern world.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue to contribute to the Warsaw Treaty member countries coordinating their procedure in foreign political affairs and in securing the joint defense of revolutionary achievements and the inviolability of the borders of the socialist community.

The Soviet Union is the mainstay of the might of world socialism and the most important source of its revolutionary energy; it is also an invincible barrier to the expansionist and aggressive aspirations of imperialism. It is above all thanks to the tremendous economic and military might, international prestige and Leninist peace program which was once more summarized in the foreign political concept of the 24th CPSU Congress that socialism is now asserting its influence in solving all world problems.

We can say with pleasure and satisfaction at our Congress that Czechoslovak-Soviet relations have not only been fully restored but have reached a qualitatively higher level and are expanding in scale. A symbol of these fraternal, in the true sense of the word, relations is the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, the first

anniversary of which we marked on May 6. Our relations and cooperation with the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Rumanian Socialist Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic, founded on common socialist interests and aims, are also developing successfully. Recent talks between representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia show that there are realistic conditions for improving mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

I shall undoubtedly be voicing the sentiments of all delegates to our Congress if I assure the representatives of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam present here that our Party and all our people support from the bottom of their hearts the just cause of our Vietnamese friends who are continuing their many-years' courageous struggle against the American aggressors and their Saigon lackeys. We promise the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indochina that we shall continue to support their courageous struggle against imperialist intervention. We fully support the well-known proposal of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam for achieving a just peace in this area.

Our full sympathy and support goes to the first socialist country on the American continent—the Cuban Republic—which is bravely defending the cause of progress and socialism and is continuing in its constructive endeavors. We also voice our full solidarity with the Korean People's Democratic Republic, unwaveringly striving for a peaceful unification of the country and the withdrawal of the American occupational troops from South Korea. We are convinced that our cooperation with both the Cuban Republic and with the Korean People's Democratic Republic will continue to expand favorably.

At the present time international attention is directed towards the Middle East where, as a result of the expansionist and aggressive policy of Israel, supported by American imperialism, a dangerous hotbed of war has been created. We take an unqualified and resolute stand on the side of the United Arab Republic and the other Arab states fighting to overcome the consequences of Israeli aggression, for the return of the occupied territory and for the assertion of the just claims of the Palestinian people. A realistic way for establishing peace in this area is fulfilment of all the provisions of the resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization of November 1967.

In this connection we express our conviction that on the basis of common interests in the struggle against imperialism and for

social progress our relations with the United Arab Republic will continue to develop fruitfully.

In view of our country's geographical position we are interested in peaceful developments in Europe, in an effective system of collective security. We are of the opinion that the constructive initiative of the socialist countries over many years has created favorable conditions for the all-round preparation of an All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation and for its convening without any preliminary conditions. There can be no doubt that every positive step in strengthening peace in Europe is of worldwide importance. Proceeding from historic experience the European states, regardless of differences in social systems, should work jointly for overcoming obstacles and barriers standing in the way of understanding in the questions of peace, security and cooperation.

An important step in this direction was the conclusion of the treaty between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG. It is, however, regrettable that the Bundestag has not yet ratified these important documents. This only confirms that there are influential forces at work in the Federal Republic which prevent a real settlement of relations with the socialist states. Proof of this is also the negative stand on the recognition, according to international law, of the German Democratic Republic, although this is an entirely justified and natural demand of a sovereign state which has proved by its whole policy that it has ended once and for all with the militarist and reactionary past of Germany and has done much for peaceful development in Europe.

One of the unsolved problems which has an indisputable influence on the development of conditions in Europe is the still unsolved relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The chief obstacle to their solution is the persistent untenable stand of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Munich Diktat claiming that it was a valid international treaty. It is generally known that the Munich agreement was negotiated without the participation of Czechoslovakia and against that country, that it was forced upon her by threats and violence. Our just demand to proclaim the Munich Agreement as invalid from the very outset with all the ensuing consequences, is based on the irrefutable fact that this so-called agreement was part of the criminal Nazi betrayal of peace and was a step towards the Second World War; it was a crime against Czechoslovakia. We expect the Federal Republic of Germany to deduce from this historic truth unqualified political, moral conclusions in keeping with international law and to recognize the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very beginning. Only thus can the FRG demon-

strate that it wishes to achieve such a regulation of mutual relations with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic that would overcome the unfortunate past.

We want to reaffirm at our Congress the resolution to expand political, economic and cultural relations with all capitalist countries in the spirit of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, provided their governments respect the wish of our working people to live and work in a socialist society. We are convinced that this intention is in harmony with the aspirations of all nations and peoples of good will. But never for a moment should we forget the threat of world imperialism headed by the aggressive circles of the United States of America. It is essential to develop broad actions by progressive, democratic, national liberation and socialist forces against its expansionist aggressiveness and plans of world domination. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regards it as its highest international obligation to take an active part in this common revolutionary struggle.

WE VIEW THE FUTURE WITH CONFIDENCE

The Central Committee has submitted to you its report on the development of the Party and society since the 13th Congress. It has informed you about the basic conclusions drawn from this development. It has informed you about the great struggle to overcome the crisis which we have been waging since April 1969. It has also proposed tasks for the future period and outlined the long-term prospects of the advancement of our homeland.

It is Congress' task to assess these results and tasks and to work out a binding line for the Party in the years to come.

We have no doubt that delegates to our Congress will approach the debate on the report of the Central Committee in the same creative spirit and on the principled and responsible stand which again prevails in our Party and which predominated the whole preparation of the Congress. We have no doubt that the Congress will cope with this important task, realizing its great responsibility to the whole Party, the working people and the entire international Communist movement.

The Congress is closing a difficult and complex stage in the life of our Party and society and opening a new stage. After years of crisis and uncertainty, improvisation, struggle and the victorious advance of Marxist-Leninist forces in the Party in the last few years, the 14th Congress can now confidently draw up an ambitious and realistic program for the further advancement of our socialist homeland. We can show all the people of our state how to proceed so as to root out the sources of past crises, create an atmosphere of calm, confidence, certainty and optimism, favorable

conditions for creative work and a happy life for our people. The tasks which we must consider reflect the vital interests of our working class, the working people, our peoples and our socialist society. Conditions exist for all our people to unite in the fulfilment of these tasks.

We are convinced that we can firmly look forward to further progress. We are looking to the future with confidence and certainty.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching, our working class, the working people, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the socialist system have emerged victorious from crisis, shocks, and difficult struggle. We shall turn the lessons of past mistakes and crises into victories for our people.

Our glorious Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which is commemorating its 50th anniversary and is imbued with new revolutionary strength and determination, is the earnest of further successes.

Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia! The creative ability, the diligence, the experience and the patriotism of our working class and the working people, the fraternity and unity of our nations is the earnest of our victory.

Long live our working people, Long live the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic!

The alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, our belonging to the international Communist movement is the earnest of the peaceful life of our national and state freedom and our socialist order.

Long live the unity of the socialist countries!

Long live the international Communist movement!

Long live and prosper our great ally—the Soviet Union!



SPEECH BY L. I. BREZHNEV

AT 14TH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dear Czechoslovak friends,
Comrades,

Every congress of a fraternal Party is a big and, in many respects, an instructive event for Communists. But the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia undeniably holds a particularly significant place both in the life of your Party and country and in the life of the whole of our socialist community and the world Communist movement.

This Congress brings to a close a very serious and responsible stage in the history of socialist Czechoslovakia. It can by right be called a congress of victory over the enemies of socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a congress of the triumph of socialism. Rallying millions of working people around it, your Party has come to its 14th Congress holding aloft the militant banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of socialist internationalism.

Your Congress coincides with an anniversary treasured by all of us. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the tested militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and of all the working people of the Czech lands and Slovakia, is 50 years old. These years have been marked by the selfless, heroic struggle of the Communists, the finest sons and daughters of their people, for the freedom and happiness of the country, for socialism. A glorious road of struggle of which your Party, all the patriots of your country, can rightfully be proud, has been traversed.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of millions of Soviet Communists, we convey to you, dear comrade delegates, and, in your person, to all the Communists of Czechoslovakia, most heartfelt congratulations on this splendid anniversary. We wholeheartedly wish you new, big successes in the struggle for the prosperity of your socialist state, for the further improvement of the life of its people, for the common cause of all Communists, the great cause of peace, freedom and socialism!

We representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are grateful to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for inviting us and are happy to take part in the work of your Congress. Soviet Communists entertain feelings of

deep respect towards their Czechoslovak brothers and comrades-in-arms. The presence of Party delegations at Congresses is one of the manifestations of the inviolable friendship linking our Parties and peoples.

Many pages in the history of the militant brotherhood of the Czechoslovak and Soviet Communists are associated with the name of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Before the Great October Revolution, Lenin maintained close contacts with prominent progressives of Bohemia and Slovakia. He hailed the birth of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Lenin's comradely advice, and his meetings with Bohumir Smeral, Antonin Zapotocky, Karel Kreibich, and other Czechoslovak Communists played a historic role in the shaping of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the fighting vanguard of the Czechoslovak working class.

The Communists of our country and the Soviet people revere the memory of the first builders of your Party. Like you, we cherish the name of Comrade Klement Gottwald, outstanding leader of the Czechoslovak and world communist movement, who did so much for the development and strengthening of friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples.

The history of your Party is, above all, a history of the heroism of Communists, who headed the struggle of the working people for the genuine freedom and independence of the country. It was the Communist Party, in the bitter period of Munich, that not only forcefully denounced that disgraceful sellout, but also indicated the only correct way to save the independence of Czechoslovakia, namely, to resolutely rebuff the fascist invaders, and accept the assistance offered by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people highly value the contribution of Czechoslovak patriots to the victory over fascism. We remember the valor of the fearless members of the underground, the road of combat covered by the Czechoslovak Corps under the command of General Ludvik Svoboda, the selflessness of the participants in the Slovak national uprising, and its leaders, Karol Smidke, Gustav Husak, Jan Sverma, and other comrades; we remember the courage of insurgent Prague, to whose aid units of the Soviet Army came in a swift dash. We know very well that the real soul and organizer of the struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks against the German occupationists was the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The revolutionary February of 1948 was a historical exploit of the Czechoslovak working class. Under the leadership of their Communist Party the working people of Czechoslovakia, having taken over state power, turned the country's development resolutely and irreversibly upon the socialist road. The socialist revolution swept away the last obstructions that interfered with the

free development of the country. Capitalist exploitation, economic crises and unemployment were put an end to once and for all.

The revolutionary February paved the road to socialism for Czechoslovakia—the road of swift growth of the productive forces, the road of steady rise of the working people's living standards, of strengthening truly equitable and fraternal relations between Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities of your country, the road of giving the working masses at large access to the values of culture and science.

Communists are well aware that the building of a new society is a complex creative process demanding the revolutionary break-up of the entire old tenor of social life, a process marked by inevitable struggle against the class enemy. There can be mistakes and failures on unbroken paths. But the main thing that characterizes the results of the half century work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is the important and indisputable successes in socialist construction scored by the Party jointly with the masses, in the interest of the masses.

The Czechoslovak people may justly pride themselves in the remarkable achievements which the socialist era in their history is already marked with. In the past, the country never did nor could know such dynamism and such great scope of socio-economic transformation.

It was socialism that, for the first time in history, produced genuine democracy, ensured the working people's decisive role in society, gave them confidence in their future, and created prerequisites for the all-round development of the individual. It is the socialist system that today gives the opportunity of using most effectively and in the interest of all people such a great force as modern scientific and technological progress.

The Czechoslovak working people enjoy these advantages of the new system in their life already today. There is no doubt that, with further successes in socialist construction, these advantages of socialism will manifest themselves ever more deeply and fully.

For the first time Czechoslovakia has won real security and genuine guarantees of its independence and of the inviolability of its borders in the family of fraternal nations of the socialist countries. Your country with its substantial industrial potential has made its contribution to strengthening the economic might of world socialism. The international prestige of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as an active force consistently coming out for the peace and freedom of nations, against the imperialist policy of oppression and aggression, has risen immeasurably. Freedom champions on all continents point to the important role of the Communist Party of

Czechoslovakia in the development of the world revolutionary process.

Of course, the new, truly people's system and the consolidation of socialism in your country do not suit some quarters. In Czechoslovakia itself, there were forces — survivals of the past — that attempted with the active support of international reaction to cross out the gains of the February Revolution, deprive the Communist Party of its guiding role in society, undermine the very foundations of socialism in your country, and reverse the course of its history. That was another confirmation of the validity of V. I. Lenin's warning that until the historical epoch of transition from capitalism to communism is over, "the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration." The counter-revolutionaries wanted to isolate Czechoslovakia from its brother countries, break it off from the socialist community, and place it at the mercy of imperialists.

But it is now clear to everyone that your Party has triumphantly stood the grim trials. Its best forces and its main nucleus have honorably stood the test of battle. They barred the way to the muddy wave of anti-socialist and bourgeois-nationalist hysteria fanned up by the joint forces of domestic and external counter-revolution, and started a resolute and successful struggle for the restoration of the Party's guiding role in society, and made it impossible to break the fraternal alliance between Czechoslovakia and the socialist countries.

This, as Comrade Husak quite correctly pointed out here, is an achievement of thousands upon thousands of Czechoslovak Communists who at a time of grave trials displayed principled attitudes, a firm will and staunchness in defending everything for which generations of revolutionaries had fought in your country along with the heroes of the battles against fascism, the fiery fighters of February, and the builders of a socialist Czechoslovakia.

At the April 1969 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak Communists said their final NO to the Right-wing revisionists and to those who gave support to the enemies of socialism. This was a resolute turn to the restoration of the Party's Marxist-Leninist character. The new leadership of the Party elected at the Plenary Meeting headed the struggle of the healthy forces in the Party and in society for the consolidation of the socialist system and for overcoming the consequences of the sallies of counter-revolutionaries.

Soviet Communists completely share the assessments of the events of 1968-1969 in the well-known document "Lessons of the Crisis Development," as well as in the Report of the Central Com-

mittee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to the present Congress. These documents offer a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of an important stage in the life of your Party and country and they are of considerable international importance.

Championing the gains of socialism, Czechoslovak Communists have been fighting for the national interests of their people and for the internationalist interests of the entire communist liberation movement, for the interests of peace and social progress. That is why the prestige of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its leaders—Comrades Gustav Husak and Ludvik Svoboda and other unbending fighters for the cause of socialism—is so great in the world Communist movement. In a complicated situation, they proved to be real patriots and convinced internationalists for whom the happiness and prosperity of their socialist homeland are inseparable from the interests of world socialism.

Comrades, the Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the speeches of the delegates at the Congress present a convincing picture of the extensive activities of Czechoslovak Communists in the struggle for the consolidation of the socialist system. Today this is the primary concern of your entire Party and country. In working for the all-round advance of the socialist economy on the basis of utilization of the achievements of scientific and technological progress and improving the methods of socialist economic management, your Party lays the firm foundation for the all-round improvement of the living and cultural standards of the working people and for further development of the entire system of socialist social relations.

The inspiring vistas thrown open before the Czechoslovak people by this Congress became possible, comrades, primarily because you have won the battle for the Party, and have achieved success in cementing it on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. These vistas, comrades, became possible, because you smashed the stooges of the bourgeoisie—the Right-wing revisionists, who tried to deprive the Party of the invincible weapon of Leninism, and wanted, under the guise of “improving” and “rejuvenating” socialism, to destroy it and turn the country in the direction of restoration of the capitalist order of things. At the same time your Party has shown in practice that it possesses a sense of the novel, so necessary for Leninist revolutionaries, that it rejects dogmatism and routine, and does not allow the creative approach towards phenomena to be replaced by the repetition of old formulas once learned by rote.

Your achievements, comrades, your confidence in the future, are based on the fact that the Party has mapped out a correct course which conforms to the vital interests of the multi-million mass of

working people of town and countryside. They become convinced of this by their everyday experience. They demonstrate their loyalty to the Communist Party and faith in its policy most convincingly by deeds, by constructive effort. That is why the country's economy, which was dislocated and brought practically to the verge of crisis by the revisionist "improvers" of socialism, has been restored in a short space of time and is making steady advance.

Dear comrades, we have already had the occasion to speak about the fact that the lessons which your Party has drawn from the sharp clashes with the class enemy have significance not only for the further development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic but also for other socialist countries, for other Communist Parties.

Your experience once again reminds us of the fact that it is the sacred duty of the Communists of socialist countries in all their activities of building a new society to strictly follow the behests of Lenin, the revolutionary essence of his great teaching, to give a resolute rebuff to all attempts at distorting and falsifying Leninism, to all manifestations of opportunism. This experience again and again warns of the dangers of complacency, of the dire need for unceasing vigilance in relation to all forms of hostile activities of the opponents of socialism. It drives home the need to wage a consistent struggle against the subversive actions of international imperialism. It shows how important it is to enhance the leading role of the Communist Party, its ties with the masses of the working people, to constantly perfect the style and methods of Party work in educating the masses, to consistently develop socialist democracy.

Life has again convincingly confirmed that the strength of socialist internationalism, fraternal unity of the socialist states, their indestructible solidarity and mutual support have been and will be the greatest asset of the Communists of the socialist countries, their reliable support and powerful weapon in the struggle against class enemies.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, steeled in class battles, is confidently leading the working people to new accomplishments in building socialism. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic today appears before the whole world as a strong link in the great union of peoples building a new life, and no one will ever succeed in tearing Czechoslovakia away from the socialist camp, in disrupting our fraternity and friendship.

Comrades, the active cooperation of the socialist states in the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, in bilateral relations, joint comradely discussion of questions that arise, the working out and pursuance of a foreign

political line based on common principles, close coordination of practical activities—all this increases the might of socialism and its influence on the course of world events.

The peoples of Indochina, fighting against imperialist aggression, the patriots of the Arab countries and the other peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and of course of the European continent feel from their own experience, from the destinies of their own countries the tremendous positive influence of the harmonious, concerted actions of the socialist states in defense of peace, freedom and social progress.

Referring to Europe, the consistent course of the socialist community countries has already yielded real fruit in strengthening peace, developing peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation between the states of our continent. All those who do not shut their eyes to the facts, who objectively appraise the reality of our days cannot but understand that precisely the socialist community constitutes in our time the most reliable bulwark of European peace. Our joint struggle for a really firm peace in Europe is meeting with growing understanding both among broad public circles and on the part of many governments of the European states.

We take a realistic view of the state of affairs. We see attempts at sabotaging progress in safeguarding European security, and we know who stands behind them.

In order to boycott the constructive initiatives of the socialist states, a whole conception has been invented according to which European problems can supposedly be solved in no other way than all at once, in a single complex. In this way attempts are made to hamper the ratification of the treaties between the FRG and the Soviet Union and the FRG and the Polish People's Republic, to drag out the convocation of an all-European conference, to prevent a settlement of other problems, including the important question of Bonn's regarding the Munich diktat as null and void from the very outset, with all the consequences stemming therefrom.

One may not speculate in the interests of peace and international security interminably. The establishment of all-European cooperation should not be an object of political haggling. We would like to believe that European statesmen will find in themselves enough determination and realism to heed in practice the tragic lessons of the past. We have faith in the peoples' indomitable desire for peace and genuine security. We sincerely hope that the favorable possibilities now available will be used and that a solid foundation will be laid for the peaceful cooperation of all European states.

All-round cooperation between socialist countries is a reliable guarantee for improving the world situation and creating the favor-

able conditions to implement our stupendous plans of socialist and communist upbuilding. Comrades, let me say from this rostrum that the CPSU will carry on with its policy of strengthening and advancing such cooperation. This policy has been fully corroborated by the 24th CPSU Congress and we shall do our best to steadily cement the unity and strength of the world system of socialism—that momentous achievement of all revolutionary forces.

Comrades, we are glad to note that we have joined hands in this great cause. Our political, economic and ideological cooperation is becoming ever more close and effective. As you know, the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, signed at the historic Prague castle a year ago, provides for bringing the peoples of our countries still closer together and for the continued advancement of all-round cooperation between them, in the area of national economic contacts included. This, we are sure, will contribute greatly to the common cause of economic integration of the socialist states. The Treaty makes it incumbent upon us to take necessary action to defend the socialist gains of the peoples and the security and independence of our two countries. This Treaty has well served and will continue to serve the noble purpose of deepening and expanding the eternal, inviolable friendship between the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Dear friends, allow me to express profound gratitude to Comrade Gustav Husak and the other comrades who took the floor here, to all of you, for the high appraisal of the activity of our Party, the internationalist nature of its policy, and the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. Recognition by friends gives inspiration and imposes a responsibility. You may be sure that Soviet Communists, true to Lenin's behests, will always be worthy of the trust shown by their comrades in the joint struggle for socialism and communism.

In conclusion, I once again wish you full success in the work of your Congress. We are convinced that it will pave the way for further socialist victories in Czechoslovakia and will contribute to the friendship between our countries and the strengthening of the entire socialist community.

Long live the militant alliance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

May Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship go from strength to strength!

Long live the unity and cohesion of the socialist nations, the world communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces!

Long live peace and communism!

(Pravda, May 27. In full.)

PROGRAM OF THE PEOPLE'S VANGUARD PARTY OF COSTA RICA

The 11th Congress of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica was held in San Jose May 14-17, 1971.

The 200 delegates convened to discuss, in a comradely democratic and sincere atmosphere, the tasks facing the Costa Rican revolution. They endorsed the work of the Central Committee in the last four years and adopted the new Party Program and Party Rules.

The full text of the Program, the Introduction and 10 chapters, were published by the newspaper Libertad on May 22. Several chapters are re-printed below.

I. THE NATURE OF OUR REVOLUTION

The tremendous reforms required by the present historical epoch can be carried out only by a government representing the interests of the working class, farmers and middle strata of the population.

Throughout the country's history, various groups of the ruling class have been in power. They have demonstrated their inability to solve the basic problems facing the nation. Because of this there is no other alternative to a deep reaching social revolution. Although this revolution will be national in character, corresponding to the objective requirements of Costa Rican society, its historical peculiarities and distinctive traits, it will be one more link in the historical process launched with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This process was expressed in the establishment of the system of socialist countries, the fact that the USSR is a Communist society, liquidation of the imperialist colonial system and the constant build-up and development of the world revolutionary forces.

Our people are capable of liberating the country from imperialist domination, in other words, of winning full political and economic independence for our country. Our people will fulfil this mission and establish a democratic, popular government with active participation by the masses under the leadership of the working class. This government will raise the people's living standards, do away with the causes of poverty among the farmers, and increase productivity in agriculture through a genuine agrarian reform. It will stimulate development of industry and establish a regime enforcing all democratic rights and give special attention to the development of culture.

The first stage of the Costa Rican revolution will be essentially democratic, popular, anti-imperialist and agrarian in character. Revolutionary changes will be primarily aimed at doing away with exploitation and domination of Costa Rica's economic and political life by North American monopolies.

As imperialist capital penetrated our country it established close ties with certain circles of the local bourgeoisie. These bourgeois circles are accomplices in the plunder of the national wealth and the exploitation of the working people. They are also abettors of the imperialists' interference in our country's political and cultural life.

Out-dated production relations in agriculture and the existence of large tracts of uncultivated land owned by the state, local and foreign landowners, retard the country's development. In view of this another important task of the first stage of the revolution is to carry out a genuine agrarian reform.

The democratic nature of the revolution is determined by the fact that it is supported by the majority of the population. It is aimed at the maximum satisfaction of the needs and aspirations of the people. The revolution must also guarantee democratic rights.

The democratic, popular revolution will be the result of the active mass movement led by the working class. It will strengthen the state sector of the economy through the nationalization of imperialist-owned enterprises and state utilization of the country's natural wealth. The revolution will also see the organization of a cooperative system for farmers and handicraftsmen which will open the way for a transition to socialism.

The guarantees, characteristic features and timetable of the transition to socialism, the next stage of the revolution, will be determined mainly by the part played by the working class, its ability to organize and head the other forces participating in the revolutionary process.

Socialism means the establishment of a new type of social organization characterized by a high level of labor productivity. Exploitation of man by man will disappear in socialist society and conditions will be created for all its members to enjoy wide opportunities for the full development of the individual. The modern achievements of civilization, science, technology and culture will truly serve all of society.

Socialism will uproot the causes of poverty and ignorance for all time.

II. POPULAR GOVERNMENT—A NEW TYPE OF GOVERNMENT

A government carrying out revolutionary transformation must be democratic and popular. Its legal foundation will be recognition

of the fact that the will of the people is the only source of power.

This government will include representatives of all popular parties and non-affiliated forces interested in revolutionary changes.

The main task of such a government will be to guarantee and broaden democratic rights for all the people. Full implementation of civil rights will make it possible to activate all popular forces, advance the revolutionary process, strengthen and extend the people's political and social gains.

The new government will guarantee freedom of assembly, association, religious worship and speech and will create the material conditions for implementing these freedoms. The right to vote and to be elected will be guaranteed by an electoral system giving the people a direct say in nominating their true representatives to all organs of power through their mass organizations.

All forms of discrimination based on race, nationality, sex or any other considerations will be abolished; persons found guilty of any form of discrimination whatsoever will be held criminally responsible.

A democratic, popular government will guarantee that legal proceedings are speeded up and are free of charge.

Respect will be guaranteed for human life, full use of private property, inviolability of the home and of correspondence.

The new type government will strengthen the existing municipal system, making it autonomous in order to turn it into a true expression of popular power and an effective tool for the country's democratization, as well as to ensure better distribution of wealth and accelerate the country's coordinated and harmonious economic development.

(Chapters III-VIII of the Program outline the goals and tasks of the struggle against imperialism, land reform, the struggle for democracy and the working people's social rights, national economic development, tax and education reform.)

IX. THE REVOLUTION'S MOTIVE FORCES

The tasks of the anti-imperialist, agrarian and democratic revolution, and in the future the tasks of socialism, will be carried out only on the basis of joint action by the majority of people. No single Party or group is capable of establishing revolutionary power single-handed.

In fulfilling its mission our Party places emphasis on efforts to unite all social forces suffering as a result of imperialist domination, backwardness and the degradation of national culture into a democratic front around the working class.

The main force in this front must be the proletariat, the poor and middle farmers, students, the intelligentsia and other middle strata groups.

In certain conditions the struggle against imperialism may also be joined by sections of the bourgeoisie whose interests run counter to imperialism.

A truly genuine revolutionary alliance must center around the working class even if it does not constitute the majority of the population. The working class is the leading force in the entire revolutionary process by virtue of being the most consistently revolutionary class; by virtue of the place it occupies in the process of capitalist production; by virtue of its being directly exploited by the regime, which is an incentive for organization; by virtue of its experience in the class struggle; by virtue of being economically independent of the dominating social system; by virtue of its being the only class armed with a scientific world outlook—Marxism-Leninism; and by virtue of its being the creator of the socialist system of states headed by the Soviet Union, the greatest achievement of the world revolutionary struggle.

These features of the working class allow it to support the demands made by other sections of the working people and to struggle for their fulfilment.

The working class in our country is growing rapidly, together with its organization and class consciousness. The new generation of workers, most of whom are of farmer background, demands our Party's constant attention, aimed at developing their class consciousness and organization so that they may perform their role in the historical revolutionary process.

Agricultural workers constitute an important segment of the working class. For a historically long period of time agricultural workers at banana plantations played a leading role in demonstrations of the proletariat.

Office employees and the working intellectuals are adapting their forms of struggle to the forms of struggle of the working class; their social position is approaching that of the working class.

These and other groups of the working people are an integral part of the working class because they are in equal measure victims of capitalist exploitation and all forms of oppression and domination by imperialist monopolies.

The farmers, especially the poor farmers (semi-proletariat, sharecroppers, tenant farmers and other victims of semi-feudal exploitation) are natural allies of the working class. The worker-farmer alliance is the basis for uniting all progressive forces. Together with the working class the farmers are becoming an active force in the struggle to win a democratic and popular government.

Certain youth groups also take part in revolutionary action against imperialism, for the country's socialist transformation. Marxist-Leninist ideas inspire activity not only among young workers, but among large student strata, as well. The role of university students in the revolutionary process is growing day by day.

The youth realizes that the present system, based upon capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination, affords no future for the development of their creative powers and is incapable of providing stability or prosperity.

Artisans, handicraftsmen, small traders and other petty-bourgeois circles are also joining the revolutionary struggle because they, too, are victims of big capital and imperialist exploitation.

As their ties with the working class strengthen their political importance will grow. Work among these groups is very important for Communists because of their numerical strength due to certain specific traits of the national economy. Although there exists a historical tendency towards their gradual disappearance as the concentration of capital grows, the process is an extremely slow one. These social groups will be supported by the working class in developing their activity during the entire revolutionary process, including the socialist stage.

The women of Costa Rica are taking a more active part in the popular movement and the anti-imperialist struggle and are voicing their own demands.

Women are subjected to discrimination and suffer greatly from the conditions of poverty in which families of workers, farmers, employees and others are forced to live.

The reactionary forces of the existing regime have, for many years, fostered and taken advantage of the ignorance and backwardness of women. This requires that we carry out sufficient ideological and political activity among women in order to turn them into an effective force of the revolution.

Our Party shall strive to create a united front of these and other forces, of Catholics and other religious groups adhering to the revolutionary process. While this unity is being built up, our Party will take the initiative in all movements corresponding to the interests of the people, international solidarity, defense of the democratic regime, and the struggle for peace.

In its revolutionary activity our Party is guided by the principles that great historical changes are the result of action by the people. Our Party is consistently against individual terror of any sort and other forms of struggle which either ignore the political activity of the masses or attempt to split the masses from their vanguard.

X. THE PEOPLE'S VANGUARD PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION

The role of the working class and its Party is the cardinal issue of revolutionary strategy. In our time it has been widely debated. The revisionists either underestimate or reject the necessity of a Leninist-type Party in order to carry out revolutionary tasks.

History teaches us that the development of a revolution right up to its socialist stage depends mainly on whether or not the working class and its Party are the leading force. Various classes participate in the revolutionary struggle. The popular regime that appears after the first stage of the revolution includes the farmers and part of the bourgeoisie, mainly the petty and middle bourgeoisie, making possible the hegemony of these classes. The working class strives for the leading role in the revolutionary process, a role which is not achieved automatically or inevitably. If the working class party is weak or deviates from Marxist-Leninist positions the working class may well fail to achieve or will be deprived of hegemony in the revolutionary movement.

The working class party's leading role must be won in struggle.

Like the farmers, the petty and middle bourgeoisie in the cities will accept the leadership of the working class party to the extent that it demonstrates its ideological firmness, organizational stability and courage in struggle.

The existence of a strong working-class party in the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist process is the only guarantee that the revolution will be carried out without hesitation, sectarianism or haste.

To cope with the serious barriers to revolutionary change the revolution must be headed by a highly organized, ideologically strong party. Difficulties in the struggle usually lead to demoralization and retreat among the middle strata and the bourgeoisie. In addition, the imperialists maneuver in an attempt to win over the local bourgeoisie in spite of the differences between them.

The working-class party must prevent the imperialists from winning over or misleading its allies. It must help them see the bright vistas of victorious revolution and help them master the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Sincerity and confidence will always be the principles determining relations between the working class party and its allies.

The creation of a strong working-class party is the main link in preparing a victorious revolution. A strong working class party is the earnest of a strong workers' and farmers' movement and a stable and correctly oriented student movement, in short, a broad movement of the masses without which it is impossible to imagine any successful activity by a truly Marxist-Leninist party.

In order to achieve the organic solidarity on which its strength and activity depend, the Party is basing itself on the Leninist principles of democratic centralism.

Our Party enjoys the broadest possible democracy and members are imbued with the spirit of criticism and self-criticism.

Our Party is a detachment of the international Communist movement. In theory, goals, and the interests it represents our Party positions coincide with the positions of Communist and Workers' parties the world over. That is why proletarian internationalism is a bedrock of its activities.

Proletarian internationalism does not reject our Party's national traits. Our political activities are a harmonious combination of both these characteristics. Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, it is a guide to action. Our Party drafts its own policy on the basis of its own criteria and in accordance with the political, economic and social conditions in which it is active.

Workers of the world—unite!

ROUT OF RIGHTISTS; MASSIVE GAIN FOR DEMOCRATIC FORCES

The National Council of the CP of India adopted a resolution at its April 23-28 meeting. We present here excerpts published in **New Age**, May 2, 1971.

The results of the mid-term parliamentary elections to the Lok Sabha signify a turning point in the post-independence development of our country.

The Indian people have asserted their will decisively in favor of a leftward turn in the political life of our country and routed the reactionary combine of the Syndicate, Jana Sangh and Swatantra parties.

The election results represent a serious reverse for the U.S. and other imperialists who had backed up and relied upon the grand alliance to push forward their neo-colonialist plans of subversion and rightist takeover.

These results are no isolated event. They constitute an important part of the big advance being registered in the recent period by the left and democratic forces in Asia and throughout the world.

IMPACT OF MASS STRUGGLES

The election results have confirmed the radicalization of the masses which attained new heights since the Presidential election and has since continued unabated. The impact of the mass struggles including the magnificent all-India struggle for land occupation conducted under the leadership of the CPI all over the country has been more and more felt on political developments. The fight against right reaction became a rallying point of the democratic forces in which our Party played a notable part.

The election results demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the Indian masses decisively rejected the policies of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism advanced by the grand alliance.

The election results represent a big advance for the forces of the national democratic revolution and a serious reverse for the imperialists, monopolists and landlords who are the targets of that revolution. The election results provide unprecedented opportunities for successfully carrying forward the unity of the national democratic forces which is vitally necessary in the new period.

PROGRESS VS. REACTION

The landslide victory secured by the ruling Congress has come as the result of three main factors. *First* is the image projected by the ruling Congress and particularly by the Prime Minister, an image in continuation of bank nationalization and abolition of the privy purses and privileges of the feudal princes, an image of fight against the forces of reaction and obscurantism and for a radical program of effective steps against poverty and unemployment. *Second* is the fact that the parties of the reactionary combine exposed themselves thoroughly before the people, both before and during the election campaign, as defenders and champions of the property rights of the monopolists and the princes and by their bankrupt slogan of "Indira Hatao" isolated themselves completely and helped to bring about the landslide victory of the ruling Congress. *Third* is the fact that the complete disarray and disunity in the camp of the left forces, the utter opportunism of many of the left parties and the failure and collapse of the left united front governments in Kerala and West Bengal due to the policy of the CPM also contributed to the Congress victory.

The election results have in general vindicated the correctness of the political-tactical line taken up by the Communist Party of India of uniting the left and democratic forces, including the progressive sections inside the ruling Congress, to defeat and rout the right reactionary combine and bring into existence a more left and democratic oriented Parliament capable of making radical changes in the Constitution and taking the country forward. Indeed, it has become clear now that the left and democratic forces would have emerged in far greater strength in the new Lok Sabha than they have secured if only the SSP and CPM had cooperated with our Party and joined in the common fight against the right reactionary combine on the basis of maximum unity of the left and democratic camp. The composition of the new Lok Sabha would, in that case, have been decisively weighted in favor of the Left.

DEFECTS TO BE OVERCOME

It should cause us serious concern that even while the Party's policy proved correct and its tactical line vindicated, our Party could not at the same time emerge as a bigger force than before both in terms of votes and seats. This certainly calls for a sharp self-critical examination and drawing of proper conclusions. The main reasons for our failure in this respect are to be sought in the basic defects and shortcomings of our mass political work, in the

weakening of the Party's links with the masses in several places, in our failure to build strong and expanding political bases relying on the basic masses and in the serious weaknesses of Party organization. These basic defects and weaknesses have in fact been continuing for the last several years. Their overcoming has become more urgently necessary today than ever before, in view of the nature and possibilities of the present period and the responsibility devolving upon the Party. General political radicalization alone is not enough, the masses must be imbued with revolutionary class consciousness.

APPEAL TO LEFT PARTIES

The Communist Party of India earnestly appeals to the left parties to draw the necessary lessons from the bitter experience of the harm done to the Left as a result of the policies of division and conflict in the ranks of the left parties. It appeals to them to realize the dangers involved in the disastrous policy of compromises and alliances with the right reactionary parties. If timely correctives are applied and the left parties move forward to forge unity of action among themselves and also forge links with the Left inside the Congress, they can play an ever-increasing and vital role in the period ahead.

The reactionary parties have been routed in the elections, but that does not mean that the power of reaction has been liquidated. First, they still continue to have a considerable mass base—a fact which is underlined by the votes secured by the parties of the "grand alliance" in a number of states. Second, the forces of reaction and of monopoly will, in the new situation, utilize the right-wing sections inside the ruling Congress, buttressed by the trek from the Syndicate into the ruling Congress, as well as the bureaucracy, to obstruct radical measures and sabotage their effective implementation.

In such a situation, the unity of the left and democratic forces in the country, including those inside the ruling Congress, can be carried forward and the resistance of the reactionary vested interests broken only through *mass campaigns and mass struggles*. *To underestimate the importance of this, to underestimate the importance of the independent militant class role and mass activity of the Party in building up left and democratic unity in the new conditions emerging after the elections, would be a fatal mistake.*

It is necessary to guard against the right opportunist deviation of forgetting that without mobilizing mass pressure and the mass movement, without the independent mass role and activity of the Party and independent political initiative, without timely criticism

and exposure of the government's vacillations and actions which are harmful to people's interests, the ruling Congress will not automatically embark upon the path of effectively implementing its promises and pledges and taking the speedy radical steps the present economic situation urgently demands.

WARNING AGAINST ILLUSIONS

The experience of the elections has also shown the importance of extending and consolidating the independent political mass base of the Communist Party of India which can be done only by educating our masses to understand the essence of the Party policy.

At the same time, it is also necessary to bring forward and fight for our clearcut and radical anti-monopoly, anti-landlord program, the honest and bold implementation of which alone can lead in the direction of realization of the slogans "socialism and democracy" glibly put forward by the ruling Congress during the election campaign.

The necessity of a big ideological struggle among the masses and particularly among the intelligentsia on the basic social changes and against the revisionist and left-adventurist trends has become very urgent.

NOT A RETURN TO THE PAST

While it is necessary to guard against the danger of right opportunist deviation, it is equally necessary to combat the opposite deviation represented by the opportunism and sectarianism of the political outlook of the CPM which equates the two congresses and sees in the landslide victory of the ruling Congress only a simple return to the conditions of monopoly rule of the old united Congress in the country. Those who argue in this manner fail to see that it is the *mass peoples' upsurge*, a *left upsurge based on expectations of rapid fulfilment of a radical program that brought about the rout of the reactionary combine and a landslide victory for the ruling congress*. The same upsurge can be led forward and the new government forced to implement its promises if a proper lead is given by the left and democratic forces inside and outside the congress acting jointly.

The Communist Party of India will concentrate on mass struggles and campaigns focussed on the following demands:

1. To amend the Constitution so as to remove the impediments placed by the Supreme Court in the way of radical social and economic legislation, subordinating of the powers of the judiciary to Parliament and state assemblies, the principle of proportional representation in all elected bodies, abolition of all upper houses and

reducing the voting age to 18, inclusion of right to work among the fundamental rights.

2. For radical amendments to the existing land ceiling laws and for free distribution of surplus lands, as well as all types of government lands, among agricultural workers, poor peasants and adivasis, in cooperation with popular committees; for adequate wages and free house-sites for agricultural labor.

3. For nationalization of monopoly concerns, taking over of the wholesale trade and export-import trade; for weeding out the agents of the monopolists and democratizing the managements of the public sector concerns.

With the commanding heights of economy controlling credit, market and big machine building industry in its hands, the public sector would be in a position not only to give stability and security to the small and medium producer in rural and urban spheres but also to planfully expand small enterprise throughout the length and breadth of the country, opening realistic possibilities of liquidating unemployment and bringing down prices.

All talk of priority to liquidating economic inequalities and unemployment will be illusory without such a radical attack upon the monopolies for which the country and the people are ripe and ready today.

4. For a national minimum wage, DA to fully neutralize rise in cost of living and full trade union rights for the working class.

5. For extension of democratic rights of the people by curbing the powers of the bureaucracy and the police.

6. For strengthening the policy of peace and non-alignment based upon active anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism; for strengthening friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; for full diplomatic recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

7. For recognition of the provisional government of the Republic of Bangla Desh and full support to the people's liberation struggle against the military regime of Yahya Khan.

In order that the CPI can carry out its inescapable role in the coming period, strenuous efforts will have to be made to overcome the many grave ideological-organizational weaknesses that have been revealed. A key task in the coming period will be to struggle to steel the party organizationally and ideologically in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism to enable it to still better serve and lead our working class and toiling masses.

ON FIGHT FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The following "Urgent Message on the Fight for Peace and Social Progress" was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, USA. Abridged from **Daily World**, April 22, 1971.

Now is the time to end the war! This is the determination that must animate each and every one of us as we participate in the great Spring peace offensive.

The war must end—NOW!

The people are tired of lies and promises. The people are tired of being lulled by words about gradual withdrawal. We are tired of a war without end for racist, imperialist ends.

The toll of American dead mounts ever higher while genocidal death is rained from the skies on the Indochina peoples, their villages and farms. President Nixon speaks of Vietnamization. In his racist mind it seems perfectly moral to continue to "waste" hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese. But the Vietnamese people are human beings.

If we condone the continuation of their wanton genocidal slaughter, we each lose part of our humanity and resemble the miserable figure of Lt. Calley. Murder is still murder even when it is called "wasting." It was logical that Nixon should have come to the aid of Calley. They are both cronies. Calley followed orders that turned the village of Mylai into a lifeless cemetery. Nixon gives the orders to turn all of Indochina into a lifeless Mylai.

Nixon's promised withdrawals are not part of a plan to end the war. They are part of a cynical plan to keep us in the war and the war itself going for endless years. Nixon must withdraw many of the troops because of pressure from the people at home and the growing rebellion among the GIs. Thus he and the Pentagon have been compelled to alter their strategy for continuing the war.

But the war can be stopped NOW! It can be stopped because something of great importance has happened in the past year. We do not have to convince the majority of the people that the war is wrong and that we should get out right away. Everyone now admits that the great majority of our people are against the war.

Now none can doubt we are the majority! When we march against the war we articulate the majority will. This fact must give us confidence, must spur us forward, must give us a new feeling of power and determination.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

The great immediate task before us is to help the great majority to find a hundred, yes, a thousand different ways of making it clear that it will not stand for any further empty promises, that it demands an end to the war without any ifs, ands, or buts. We must help the great majority to attack the war in such a way as to make it untenable for the powers that be to continue it. We must help the great majority create a major *political crisis* over the war in the country so that even the ruling class realizes that it can no longer refuse to heed the majority will.

How is this done? First, we need more and more and bigger and bigger demonstrations. But that is not enough. Every day must be a day of struggle against the war.

The issue of the war should be linked up with every burning problem of the people, for it is so linked in life itself. While there are long term basic causes for every area of social crisis, the war greatly intensifies them and makes impossible even partial solutions.

DOMESTIC CRISES

The war and the huge military budget is depriving the nation of needed social services. It is creating crisis after crisis in education, sanitation, housing, welfare and so forth. It is the major cause for the inflation that eats at our standard of living.

It feeds racism at home and is felt most of all by the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian and Asian peoples. It is now a major cause of the growing unemployment. The fight against the war is therefore a fight for the needs of the people just as a fight for the needs of the people is a fight against the war. The great majority of the people must now feel this relationship in their very bones.

Because the end of the war will not automatically mean that conditions at home improve. We must make clear today that our fight is against racism, repression and poverty at home no less than against these abroad. This is one reason why we favor multi-issued movements, in which the anti-war forces recognize the need to fight against racism and oppression at home, while the movements of the people around domestic issues recognize the need to put an end to war.

PATH OF UNITY

This is also the path of unity of the peace movement, so badly needed if the majority sentiment is to be organized and fully registered. Particular needs of every sector of the people must be

linked to the struggle for peace to draw into activity ever wider sections of the population based on how the war most directly affects them.

Now that the great majority are against the war and Nixon and the Pentagon are on the defensive in the eyes of the people, all tactics of the anti-war movement should aim to keep the initiative and offensive in its hands.

No irresponsible tactics should be employed that permit Nixon and his gang of war criminals to seize upon some incident or other to create confusion among the people and to divert attention from the war and their own guilt and responsibility for it.

Tactics of frustration and despair are futile and dangerous.

Tactics defensible in the eyes of the people and having their sympathetic understanding can and should be used today.

Above all, we must be on guard against government provocateurs who may purposely provoke incidents and continue to frame up innocent people in order to put the peace movement on the defensive and to lose for it the support of the great majority.

For this reason, the movement must be on guard against any frustrated misguided individuals or groups who may see in "trash-ing" tactics the way to vent their anger and frustration without regard for the consequences.

Remember: We are now the majority! Beware of provocations! Beware of Nixon-Hoover tricks to frame-up and repress anti-war and anti-racist fighters. Defend Angela Davis, Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, Ruchell Magee, Reis Tijerina, the Berrigan Brothers, Arnold Johnson, and all the victims of the war repression. Freedom for all political prisoners!

One of the most important developments of recent months is the increased opposition to the war in labor's ranks. About 15 international unions are now on record for an end to the war. This is an important step forward. But something more is now needed if the war is to come to an end. What is needed is a mighty labor peace movement and crusade. The anti-war forces in labor's ranks should now take the offensive in union after union and in the AFL-CIO.

The time has come to take the issue of the war into every shop and office. The time has come to organize shop and union rallies and mighty union anti-war demonstrations. Business-as-usual attitudes must cease until the war is ended. That is why it is so important for the activities of the Spring Peace Offensive to go forward from April 24.

The demand that President Nixon be impeached for violating the will of the majority and the Constitution must grow in intensity.

And the Peoples Peace Treaty to end the war should gain many millions of endorsements if the sentiment is to be registered.

Raise wages! Cut profits! Lower taxes! Lower prices! End pollution! Turn war money into human money! Defend our democratic rights! End racism! To end the war is to help solve these acute problems of the people!

To let the war continue means to increase the danger of its spreading into an Asian and even a world conflagration. To let it continue longer means to permit the country to be taken over by a power-mad, war-bent, racist, fascist monopoly-military clique. *The time has come to end the war now! No more business-as-usual! Let the people's wrath be felt for peace now!*

WHAT'S BEHIND THE U.S. DOLLAR CRISIS?

The following statement* on the U.S. dollar crisis was made public by the Political Committee of the Communist Party and was signed by Henry Winston, national chairman, and Gus Hall, general secretary.

The dollar crisis is an event of major international and domestic importance. The most powerful European financial centers have, in effect, devalued the dollar.

This is a blow to U.S. imperialism, to the billionaire bankers of Wall Street, to the multi-national corporations. The U.S. dollar is no longer undisputed ruler of capitalist finance. American bankers and capitalists can no longer profiteer so freely throughout the world of capitalism. Multi-national corporations can no longer so readily set up runaway plants at the ultimate expense of the countries where they operate and of the jobs of U.S. workers. The financing of U.S. global bases, U.S. aggression in Indochina, U.S.-supported Israeli aggression, become more difficult.

Inevitably, big business and the Nixon administration will attempt to surmount the crisis at the expense of the American working class, of the poverty-stricken, of the Black people, and of other oppressed peoples.

The crisis resulted from 20 years of deficits in the international payments of the United States. Like an international bankrupt on a huge scale, the Treasury cannot pay the gold it owes foreign bankers.

A major cause of the deficits is the aggressive expansionism of

*Daily World, May 21, 1971.

U.S. imperialism, the network of military bases, the payoffs to satellite governments, the handouts to U.S. corporations operating overseas, the wars and intervention carried out by or financed and militarily aided by U.S. imperialism. These have brought a mounting burden to U.S. international payments, and now amount to \$8 billion per year.

Of critical importance is the war in Indochina, which alone costs \$3 billion in foreign exchange per year, and which contributes substantially beyond that to the declining trade payments position of the United States.

The crisis dramatizes the weakening of the NATO alliance. It reflects the sharpening political and economic contradictions amongst the imperialist powers. Some of them have called a halt to their open-ended financial and political support of U.S. imperialism. The crisis is opening up fissures within the American ruling class itself, as exemplified by Senator Mike Mansfield's demand for the withdrawal of half the U.S. forces in Western Europe.

The Nixon administration plans to use it as an excuse for more tax give-aways to big business, under the guise of "encouraging exports."

The pressure is on from West European bankers, advising the American authorities to "put their house in order" with a policy of "austerity." American bankers and manufacturers are increasing their demands that Nixon use his wage-freezing powers to the full, to slash welfare programs to the bone. The heat is on the Nixon administration to hold down economic activity, on the Federal Reserve Board to tighten up the money supply and raise interest rates at the expense of housing and consumer credit.

These are standard devices of finance capital to deal with a monetary crisis. They do not cure the illness. They are class weapons to take advantage of it by increasing unemployment, lowering mass living standards, and raising profits.

But the dollar crisis also brings opportunities to the American people to mobilize and fight for a people's way out of the crisis, at the expense of militarists, bankers and multi-national corporations. The call of President Jennings of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) for stringent controls over activities of multi-national corporations is a step, but only a step, in the right direction.

In this crisis, the key foreign policy measures advocated by progressive forces become more vital than ever, for financial as well as political reasons. Other proposals, specifically dealing with the dollar crisis, come to the fore.

The Communist Party recommends:

Complete and immediate withdrawal from Indochina. An end

to all financial support to the Thieu-Ky regime and other client governments. An end to the billion yearly private and public financing of Israeli aggression.

Withdrawal from and liquidation of the 2,000 U.S. foreign bases.

And end to that kind of imperialist "foreign aid" which aids only the people's exploiters and oppressors.

Elimination of trade barriers with socialist countries, the most promising area for the improvement of the U.S. trade position and the increase in American jobs through exports.

Prevention of inflation threatened by devaluation, by a complete freeze and rollback to reasonable levels of monopoly prices, closing of tax loopholes of the rich. Bar any wage freeze.

Defeat of austerity proposals. A stepped-up struggle for a program of jobs or income for all, for government provision of useful jobs for all not employed by private industry, and for a \$6,500 minimum family income.

It is instructive in this connection that the countries with a socialist economy and society know no economic crises of any kind, no production declines, no financial or monetary crisis. They enjoy steady growth in production and living standards, with full employment.



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