

**SOVIET — U.S. ALLIANCE AT WORK
AGAINST THE CZECHOSLOVAK
PEOPLE**

TIRANA, 1969



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stand maintained by the United States and the other Western Powers towards the aggression of the Soviet revisionists against Czechoslovakia reveals the whole cynicism and baseness of this monstrous imperialist-revisionist machination. This truth has been testified to again by the recent changes that were brought about in the high hierarchy of Prague.

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Today, there is nothing so antipopular and detestable to the peoples of the world as the aggressive U.S. imperialists acting in collusion with the Soviet revisionists against the freedom and independence of peoples, against revolution and the efforts of mankind to advance. In Vietnam or in Czechoslovakia, in the Middle East or on the banks of the Ussuri river, in the Mediterranean Sea and in that of Japan, wherever there are conflicts and tense situations, there are also felt the predatory clutches of this sinister ultra-reactionary alliance.

For the moment at which they happened and in the way they developed, the events in Czechoslovakia confirmed once again not only the existence of a Soviet-U.S. plot to divide zones of influence and to establish everywhere their political, economic and military hegemony, but also the carrying out of this plot in practice. The Pontius Pilatus stand maintained by the United States and the other Western Powers towards the aggression of the Soviet revisionists against Czechoslovakia reveals the whole cynicism and baseness of this monstrous imperialist-revisionist machination. This truth has been testified to again by the recent changes that were brought about in the high hierarchy of Prague.

It is fully understandable why, having the noose around their necks, the Kremlin chiefs would do their uttermost to establish, if not the so much desired «normalization», at least its appearance in Czechoslovakia. After the fascist aggression against Czechoslovakia, a critical situation was created for the Soviet leaders. Their countenance of social-

imperialists and social-fascists was plainly revealed. Their efforts to present their brutal armed aggression as an «internationalist aid» could not hoodwink world public opinion which rose up indignantly against them. The Czechoslovak people's resistance kept growing. The Dubchek capitulationist clique did not prove itself either fully prepared or in a position to carry through to the end the will of the Soviet invaders, to create a stable situation in Czechoslovakia in their favor. The ground was scorching under the feet of the Soviet invaders.

But the Czechoslovak issue and especially the difficulties the Soviet revisionists came up against after their occupation of Czechoslovakia, brought about serious consequences for the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique also in the Soviet Union itself, further deepening the contradictions within the fold of the Soviet leadership, increasing the discontent and opposition of the people to their traitorous imperialist line of action. At the same time, their relations with their friends and allies, with the various revisionist parties and various people abroad, became worse. The contradictions among the revisionists became more acute, the mistrust towards the Soviet leading clique mounted higher under the leadership of the revisionists, the prestige of the Soviet Union suffered a deep shock, it fell to the ground.

Czechoslovakia has become a very dangerous sore spot for the Soviet revisionists. A further continuation of the situation created there would bring about very grave consequences for the Kremlin clique and its policy.

Without creating a certain appearance of «normalization» of the Czechoslovak situation, the

Brezhnev-Kosygin clique could no longer deceive the Soviet people and avoid the quick outburst of the people's hatred against them. Without cicatrizing in some way, the Czechoslovak wound, the Soviet leaders could not calm down their allies in the revisionist countries who are living under the fear lest what has happened to Czechoslovakia might happen to them as well, they could not appease the indignation of the various revisionist parties and restore some of their lost prestige.

Finally, without finding a way to temporarily ease the Czechoslovak crisis, the Soviet revisionists, as the recent meeting of the preparatory commission in Budapest and Moscow pointed out, could not call together in their capital on June 5 the shattered and disorientated revisionist parties as long as the Czechoslovak issue will not have been settled, at least, as a matter of form. They are well aware that their Italian, British, Scandinavian and other friends, in order to be on good terms with their bourgeoisie and avoid their propaganda speculations, could not willingly set out for Moscow without first creating the impression of the «normalization» of the Czechoslovak situation and without beginning the process of rehabilitating the Moscovite invaders.

But how could this be achieved? There were two ways, namely, either to withdraw the troops of occupation from Czechoslovakia, which they can never do, or to bring to power another team more prone and capable to carry through their aspirations, even if this team were not an ideal one for the Soviet clique. They chose the second way, they removed Dubcek and placed Gustav Husak at the

head of the Czechoslovak revisionist party. In order to carry out this scheme, they used all methods and means, ranging from provocations, espionage and blackmail to promises and threats, sending the Soviet Minister of Defense himself, Marshal Grechko, to Prague for this purpose.

But it is a fact that in carrying out this operation, the Soviet leaders had the full backing and support of the U.S. imperialists and of the home and foreign reactionaries. During all this period, they refrained from causing further trouble to the Soviet leaders in Prague. This U.S. concession was, of course, not made without ulterior motives. This is a concession or indulgency which the revisionist gentlemen of Moscow will not fail to compensate four-fold to their Washington partners. The indifference shown on the departure of the Dubchek team who, until recently, had enjoyed all the sympathies of the Western bourgeoisie and reaction, shows, that when it comes to the great interests of the Soviet-U.S. alliance, not only their fate but that of Czechoslovakia as a whole becomes a mere coin of exchange. Nixon felt that the Soviet chieftains could not join the U.S. imperialists in summit talks to carry out their joint schemes against socialism and the freedom and independence of peoples without first putting their backyard in order. Richards Helms, the head of CIA spoke openly of this when he stated to the representatives of the U.S. businessmen on May 11: «... the U.S. — Soviet relations in the future will depend on what way the Kremlin leaders will have solved their own problems with the countries of the communist bloc. On the other hand, «normalization» in Czechoslo-

vakia would, to a certain extent, appease U.S. public opinion which, after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, is not so willing to approve the immediate beginning of the planned Soviet-U.S. talks. The change of guards at Prague, though not a complete and final solution, helps under the situation that has been created to cicatrize the wound, so that the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists could carry out the bargainings they have in mind.

It is true that Dubcek and his team had totally capitulated after August 21 last year betraying the supreme interests of the Czechoslovak people but this was not enough for the Soviet leaders. They want to dominate Czechoslovakia through a «Czechoslovak leadership», loyal and obedient to their orders and strong and capable, at the same time, of suppressing the people's resistance. Due to the circumstances under which it came into being and the conditions brought about, the Dubcek team lacked these attributes. It never succeeded in becoming a compact leading group which knows what it wants and acts energetically to attain its objectives. The Dubcek barge was drowned in the maelstrom created by the Soviet revisionist occupation of Czechoslovakia and the capitulationist and traitorous line of the Dubcek group.

Soviet revisionist propaganda is now making a lot of noise to describe the new Czechoslovak Quisling, Husak, as a «strong hand» allegedly «defending» the interests of Czechoslovakia and being capable of not only maintaining order in the country but also of establishing correct mutual relations with the Soviets. As a matter of fact, the Western bourgeoisie, too, echoes this propaganda and Dubcek's

former supporters are at a loss for words to sing praises to Husak's «virtues». A queer orchestration, indeed! «His patriotism as a Czechoslovak», the American paper 'Christian Science Monitor' writes, «cannot be questioned». «Husak,» the influential newspaper of the upper French bourgeoisie, 'Le Monde' retorts, «is by no means an 'unconditioned' agent of the Soviets». On the other hand, Emil Zatopek, the authorized spokesman of Czechoslovak reaction, stated: «I share Husak's opinion and admire his nationalism. He is a real politician.»

That Husak is a Slovak national-chauvinist, this is a wellknown fact. But why, among all that long list of collaborationists gathered now in Prague, did the Soviets pick precisely on a Slovak nationalist who is, no doubt, one of their men but still not a one hundred percent one at that? As a matter of fact, not only on August 21 but even a long time later, Husak's name did not figure on the list of the Kremlin Tsars for their lieutenant in Prague. By placing now a publicly known nationalist and anti-Marxist at the head of the leadership of the Czechoslovak revisionist party, despite the fact that he may bring a lot of trouble to them, the Soviet leaders ensure, at the same time, their hegemony in Czechoslovakia and give the latter the appearance of an «independent» State. They know that Husak, in order to strengthen the positions of the Slovak bourgeois nationalists to the detriment of the Czechs, Hungarians and others, will always stand in need of Moscow's support which will be given to him in drops and in proportion to his ability to carry out its orders and defend its interests. In the final analysis, national division has

been, from times known to history, a favorite weapon for invaders. On the other hand, — and those at the Kremlin show great concern about this — the existence of a nationalist at the head of the Czechoslovak leadership provides the possibility to the Western bourgeoisie to justify their indifference towards the fate of Czechoslovakia and to reconcile themselves with its occupation by the Soviet revisionists. Those in Moscow have long thought of this and have decided on Husak's candidature, losing no sight of which way the sympathies of the Western ruling circles run.

From whatever angle you look at them, the events in Czechoslovakia reflect the collusion and conspiracies of the Soviet revisionists with the U.S. imperialists who, in order to safeguard their own selfish interests and to carry out their counter-revolutionary plans, are always prepared to trample underfoot and sacrifice the freedom and independence of peoples, their honor and national dignity. In 1939, Czechoslovakia was sacrificed in order to satisfy Hitler's aggressive appetite with the hope that this would help strengthen the alliance of the big Western Powers with fascist Germany, to defend their own imperialist interests and to push Germany eastward towards the Soviet Union. Now, too, this has been repeated. Now, too, Czechoslovakia has been abandoned by the Western Powers and left at the mercy of their aggressors with a view to inciting the latter towards the East, this time, towards the Far East, towards the People's Republic of China. Just as thirty years ago, when the Western bourgeoisie called on the Czechoslovak people to exercise «discretion», to be «realistic» and

submit, now, too, they do not fail to repeat the same slogans. Typical is the attitude of the Vatican, this most authorized representative of international reaction. «Confronted with Moscow's stand,» its weekly 'Osservatore della Domenica' wrote on April 23 this year, «the Czechoslovak realists must bow, for there is no other way out for them».

That bargains were struck on the back of the Czechoslovak people for the sake of the greater interests of the Soviet-U.S. «Holy Alliance», is proved also by certain other events which «coincidentally» took place and followed the recent events in Prague. The principal ones of these are the U.S. imperialists' plans on the Vietnam issue, the proposals of the Soviets and their allies of the Warsaw Treaty on European security and the intensification of the anti-China propaganda of the Soviet revisionists accompanying it also with armed provocations on the Sino-Soviet border.

As a matter of fact, these problems have been on the agenda even before but some new manifestations have recently come up regarding them. Thus, the Soviet leaders have long been sparing no efforts to pull the U.S. imperialists out of the blind alley they have plunged into in Vietnam. But since Nixon came to power, these efforts have been intensified and the collaboration of the Soviet revisionists in helping the U.S. to attain its goal has become more open. In advancing his new 8-point plan for the so-called political settlement of the Vietnam issue, U.S. President Nixon did not conceal the fact that the realization of this plan requires absolutely the backing of the Soviet leaders, their intervention with the Hanoi Government.

European side and concentrate on the People's Republic of China.

But while the Soviet policy of European security has raised hopes in the West, it has, at the same time, caused no little unease among the partners of the Warsaw Treaty and, above all, the German Democratic Republic and Poland. They have scented it that they themselves will have to pay the cost of this «security». It is interesting to note, that while Soviet propaganda precludes any pre-conditions for the meeting on European security and emphasizes that there will be no such pre-conditioning, Polish propaganda sets well defined conditions for it. Thus, for instance, a recent article in the Polish theoretical journal «Nowe Drogi» polemizing with the Soviets and opposing the text of the Budapest call, writes: «It goes without saying that the recognition by the Federal German Republic of all the existing borders, the Oder-Neisse border and the border between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, as well as the renunciation by the Government of the German Federal Republic of its atomic aspirations and its claims to represent the whole German nation are the basic premises of the European security system.» This Polish stand, backed also by the East Germans, Czechs and certain others, is explained also by the fact that at the Budapest meeting they were reluctant to endorse the Soviet demand to jointly accuse China of being an aggressor on the Ussuri. Despite these troubles and discords with their partners, the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists are stubbornly persisting on their course of acting in collusion with the U.S.

imperialists against the People's Republic of China.

In order to prove at length that they are resolute partners with the U.S. imperialists in the anti-China orientation of the Soviet-U.S. alliance and that tranquility in Europe is for them a decisive and indispensable condition, the Soviet leaders vied with the imperialists in their anti-China campaign and their aggressive attitude towards the People's Republic of China. Essential in this campaign are not the calumnies and base slanders against the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party. Unprincipled polemics, foul invectives and banalities are a permanent characteristic of the anti-China propaganda of the Soviet revisionists. The important thing now is that it strives to arouse among the Soviet people the psychosis of the danger which comes allegedly from China, appealing to Great Russian nationalist and chauvinist feelings.

It is not the propaganda of the Soviet press alone that reveals the anti-China trend of the present Soviet foreign policy. Kosygin's visit to India and his speech in Delhi show that the Kremlin Tsars are seeking to strike up alliances with every reactionary force, provided it joins them against China. They are not ashamed of flirting with Chan Kai-shek, let alone the Indonesian fascist generals, the puppet rulers of Malaysia and Thailand, for this purpose. There is not the least doubt that the essence of the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit talks will be to deepen their common anti-China schemes and plots. While intensifying their collusion with U.S. imperialism and Asian reaction in order to set up a «cordon sanitaire around China», the So-

viet revisionists are, at the same time, increasing their military contingents in the Far East and resorting to serious provocations on the Sino-Soviet borderline and creating bloody incidents there.

By these crazy and very dangerous acts, the Soviet revisionists can scare themselves rather than others. The 700 million strong Chinese people, who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have never been scared and will never allow themselves to be scared by the war cries and sabre-rattling of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists. Should they dare launch an aggressive war against China, the Chinese people are determined, as Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said, to decisively, fully, entirely and competely annihilate all aggressors, individually or collectively.

In the present day world events cannot be detached from one another. The Czechoslovak events, too, took place in close connection with the present international conjuncture and they can not be understood apart from the big Soviet-U.S. counter-revolutionary conspiracy. But did the Soviet revisionists heal the Czechoslovak sore spot? Will they succeed in subjugating the Czechoslovak people?

Neither the support of the U.S.-led imperialists, nor the change of Quislings in Prague, not even brutal force will pull the Soviet revisionists out of the Czechoslovak quagmire. The last word belongs to the Czechoslovak freedom-loving people. The Husak clique, which replaced Dubcek at the Prague castle on orders from the Soviet occupatonists and with the blessing of the imperialists and

of home and international reaction, will resort to fraud and terror in order to intimidate the Czechoslovak people and curb their resistance. But neither the foreign invaders nor the local traitors will ever attain that end.

The Czechoslovak people are now well acquainted with the beastly, blood-seeking countenance of the Soviet invaders and are well aware that every Quisling they bring to power in Prague is a running dog of the invaders and a sworn enemy of the Czechoslovak people. The Czechoslovak people cherish no illusions whatsoever about them, just as they should rest no hopes on the U.S. imperialists and their allies who, within thirty years, have sold them out twice in succession to the aggressors in their dirty deals with them. They do not recoil from sacrifice and know too well that there is no national dignity and no socialism without freedom. Their only road to salvation is to resort to all means of struggle even to armed combat against the foreign invaders and local traitors. Workers and peasants, men and women, old and young, patriotic intellectuals, all the Czechoslovak people will launch such a war as to make life in Czechoslovakia unbearable and impossible to the foreign occupationists. They will drive them out of the sacred soil of their homeland and restore the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this just battle they will not be alone. They will have the solidarity and backing of all the revolutionary forces and of the freedom-loving peoples of the world on their side.

The events in Czechoslovakia are a great lesson and warning to all peoples of the danger the Soviet-U.S. alliance holds out to their freedom and

independence, to the freedom and independence of every nation. The freedom and independence of every nation, the right of sovereignty to develop in conformity with its specific conditions and desires, is not defended only where state borders begin and end, on the day when the enemy breaks through your door and violates your home. It is defended every day and every hour by a tit-for-tat fight with the imperialist and revisionist enemy who lie awake and refuse to give up their designs to subjugate all countries, wherever they are, whether big or small.

But the criminal schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists will be defeated by the combined power of the revolutionary and freedom-loving peoples of the world. The Soviet-U.S. alliance, like all counter-revolutionary fascist alliances, is weak when compared with the force of the people, but may become very dangerous if it is not exposed, if it is not challenged and isolated in time. In a situation like this, which is fraught with great risks, it behooves all the freedom-loving peoples, all the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, to enhance their vigilance, not to fall back but to breast with pluck and courage the raging tides of the imperialist and revisionist reaction. The joint Soviet-U.S. counter-revolutionary front must be opposed by the joint anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist front of the people which is capable enough to nib in the bud the aggressive schemes of the new claimants to world domination. The battle may be a long, a bitter and, often, an unequal one, but certain victory belongs to the people.

