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References to the newest "procedures" of the Peking regime are appearing with increasing frequency in the press of East Europe. The Hungarian newspaper Nepszabadsag, for instance, said on June 13th --without mentioning Mao by name -- that the Hungarian party had to react differently than in the past when the workers give expression to their dissatisfaction in various ways. Mao had said in his speech that ~~the~~ "small" industrial troubles should be recognized as symptoms of "contradictions", but "non-antagonistic contradictions," not caused by the enemy.

But just as the Prague communists endeavored after Khrushchev's speech to keep Czechoslovakia untainted by resulting "de-Stalinization" moves, so now they appear to wish to interpret Mao's theories for Czechoslovakia once and for all and end discussion. His speech also appears to be one of the first attempts to shape the Chinese theories to the "Neo-Stalinism" of Czechoslovakia.

The long attack on "revisionism" in Hendrych's speech, however, indicates that despite Prague's efforts to the contrary, "alien" ideas have penetrated the country, especially into the ranks of the intelligentsia and writers. Unnamed writers are criticised at the end of the report for their "basically incorrect views on the political and social problems of our times;" for allowing themselves to become "permeated with nihilism and scepticism." Hendrych also admitted that "bourgeois" ideas are playing a disruptive role among students and workers.

The two main sources of "revisionist" ideas - Poland and Yugoslavia - are taken to task in much the same way as was the fashion until approximately May 1st when there was a noticeable musing of Belgrade-Moscow relations. Yugoslav errors are mentioned specifically; Poland is criticised only by interlude.

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The timing of the release of the Hendrych report is interesting. It comes when a Polish delegation led by Gomulka and Premier Cyrankiewicz is in East Germany.

(None of the points of Cyrankiewicz's first speech in Berlin was a reaffirmation of Poland's determination to develop along its own "national" road to socialism.)

It follows the indefinite postponement only last week of a Czechoslovak government visit to Yugoslavia; and rumors that Khrushchev will come to Prague on July 3rd.

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Hendruch's report opened with a general statement on ideological problems and on the need for ideological work to occupy a larger place in party activities. "Decisive trends of class struggle on an international scale" have to be elucidated along with the international communist movement's relation to them. It has been demonstrated that the "struggle for socialism...is indivisible and that the attacks of world reaction are aimed against the communist movement as a whole."

The report then goes into an examination of the present activities of the "capitalist" world and the "ideologists of imperialism."

The most "hideous" weapon of the capitalist world is "revisionism" with which he deals at length.

Hendrych is careful to restate Prague's faithfulness to other communist dogma which has become vital in the past year: proletarian internationalism; the "primary" importance of international, "generally valid principles" which guide the activity of the Czechoslovak communist party; the leadership of the socialist camp by the Soviet Union, acceptance of which is a "basic question." In this section, Hendruch explains that Prague was always opposed to over-stressing of "national characteristics" of the Czechoslovak "road to socialism" simply because these characteristics are specific and are "limited in validity"; it is, rather, up to other parties to examine the Czechoslovak road and find if there is anything of it which can be applied in their own countries. Moreover, the "one-sided emphasizing" of "national roads" in practice "usually leads" to overestimating "particularism" at the cost of "international obligations." In fact, he said, "the most varied bourgeois hangovers" are often "presented as national characteristics."

Prague thus has come to recognize the validity of "roads to socialism", perhaps pushed to this by a statement in the Mao speech on the "Chinese road to socialism."

Hendruch rejects as "completely unfounded" views that "bi-lateral" talks between the various communist parties "are the only possible or even admissible form of international cooperation among the communist parties." Rather, "conferences of a larger number of parties" would seem only natural.

It has been Belgrade's view, at least in the past, that "bi-lateral" talks were sufficient and that any larger meetings could only lead to a reestablishment of a Cominform-type organization. The Warsaw regime has quietly concurred in this opinion.

In fact, with the exception of a five-nation meeting in Budapest in January, all recent meetings among parties have been "bi-lateral."

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The strong opinion expressed on this subject, together with Hendrych's ~~XXXX~~ proposal for the re-establishment of an "international communist theoretical and political journal" would seem to indicate that Moscow has possibly decided to move in the face of possible negative reaction from Belgrade.

The final sections of the report are concerned with Mao's theories of "antagonistic" and "non-antagonistic contradictions" and with current Czechoslovak problems.

On the capitalists.

Efforts of the bourgeoisie to alter imperialism by "reformatory" methods do not work. "Various nonsensical theories" holding that the capitalist system will "somehow spontaneously 'transform' " itself into socialism originate from an "old revisionist thesis." This "nonsensical theory" had been put forward by, among others, Tito in a Mayday interview with the Yugoslav organ Borba; Tito, quoting Marx, said that various socialist theories were constantly penetrating the "old" capitalist system.

"Imperialist circles" use the slogan "gradual liberation" of the socialist countries to loosen the latter's ties with the Soviet Union. One weapon here is "economic." Hendrych said it was necessary "carefully to judge the suspicious willingness of the US to offer credits and supplies of various materials to certain socialist countries..." The reference is, of course, to Poland and Yugoslavia.

But the main weapons remain ideological. "The theory of 'National Communism'" aims to "place into unfounded contradiction" national interests of socialist countries and the interest of the bloc as a whole. This fact was "most markedly shown" in the "preparation of and the actual course of the Hungarian events."

Revisionism.

Although it has not constituted a serious danger to the Czechoslovak party, revisionism is "often underestimated in an unhealthy way."

Hendrych claimed that a Lenin slogan on the "struggle on two fronts" - that is, against both revisionism and dogmatism - had been distorted. Revisionism was the main enemy.

Revisionists "pose" as the "only 'revolutionary' and 'creative' Marxists and Leninists"; they misuse the fight against dogmatism and sectarianism; they accuse the best members of the parties of "'incurable dogmatism' and 'conservatism'"; they call their fight against the "main principles of Marxist-Leninist teaching" a "fight against 'Stalinism.'"

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A common tactic of revisionists is to deny "the main laws of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie". Hendrych did not go into the current Czechoslovak usage of the term "class struggle", but latest Moscow interpretation seems to be that while Stalin was wrong that the class struggle sharpens CONTINUALLY as socialism grows, the course of the class struggle has its ups and downs, with the "class enemy" still capable of mounting sudden sharp attacks on the "people's power", as in Hungary.

Hendrych says another gambit of the revisionists is to use as an argument a "fabricated contradiction between a sort of 'strategic' and a humanistic communism" which leads to their denying of the democratic character of the system; to maintain that "to compare socialist democracy with bourgeois democracy is harmful nonsense"; and to demanding "'pure', 'integral' freedom and democracy."

The charge of "strategic" communism has been made against the Soviet Union in one form or another by nearly all Yugoslav leaders. What they mean is that Moscow uses communism as a means of furthering Russian national foreign policy aims.

Further, Hendrych went on, the revisionists want to turn the party into a "discussion club" - a charge often made in Poland, especially against Polish "leftist" writers; they demand "freedom of factional activity and also frequently try to organize it in practice; they consider it compatible with party membership to publish criticism of the party and communism in the "bourgeois press."

These sins, as far as is known here, have not been committed in Czechoslovakia to an extent warranting much severe criticism. This ~~xxx~~ section, then, must refer to Polish and Yugoslav party members. Among the Yugoslavs, Djilas and Dedijer have published in the western press; the Polish philosopher Kolakowski has been published in the American periodical NEW LEADER but not with his permission.

Hendrych says revisionism is "particularly dangerous" in the international sphere. It is a direct attack on "proletarian internationalism" and its main target is the communist party of the Soviet union. Revisionists would like to see "socialist" inter-state relations of the same type as these between capitalist countries; but the aim is always the same - to weaken mutual ties between the "socialist" countries and especially their ties with the Soviet Union. Revisionists suggest that relations inside the "socialist camp" should be based on "peaceful coexistence"; Hendrych condemns this proposal.

It was first stated by the Polish writer Bibrowski and has been attacked by all the conformist communist press.

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Hendrych said it is necessary to separate "genuine and conscious" revisionists from "those whose concessions to the ideological pressure of reaction or petty bourgeois spontaneity can be considered only temporary and shortlived."

Contradictions.

There are "conflicts" (contradictions) of other than a class character - for example between the level of production of society and the way in which society's material and cultural needs are satisfied. Hendrych, unlike Mao, does not go into the complexity of this problem; he says merely that it is "primarily the purposeful and planned effort of the party and socialist state" which must solve these conflicts.

In this connection, he says, the "latest documents and articles of the Chinese comrades" have aroused great interest.

The Chinese policy of "long-term coexistence and alliance with the national bourgeoisie" is expressed in the slogan "Let flowers of every kind bloom. Let diverse schools of thought contend."; this, however, does not mean a "reconciliation of Marxism with bourgeois ideology but aims at conquering the latter in an open struggle of opinions where the advocating of any counterrevolutionary views, hostile to the people is, of course, impermissible."

Having, thus, seized on the toughest part of the Mao speech - that such a "unity of opposites" is never in ANY case more than transitional - Hendrych then tries to show why in Czechoslovakia non-antagonistic contradictions are more likely than not to be subordinated to the much harsher theory of class struggle. Because the "imperialists' espionage and subversive activities are directed with particular intensity against Czechoslovakia," and because "international and internal factors are continuously interlinked," a "considerable part of the internal non-antagonistic contradictions can... assume the character of sharp class antagonism. We must bear this in mind..."

Hendrych revealed the real opinion of the Prague regime toward the Chinese methods when he said that it was considered they should be of "great importance for the further development of the revolutionary movement, above all in the countries of Asia and Africa," - by implication, NOT in the Soviet Union or East Europe.