

# DOWNLOAD PDF ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENT II. DOCUMENT II: THE ACTION PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

## Chapter 1 : History of Czechoslovakia (1945-1989) - Wikipedia

*The crown achievement of the new reformist government was the Action Program, adopted by the party's Central Committee in April. The program embodied reform ideas of the several preceding years; it encompassed not only economic reforms but also the democratization of Czechoslovak political life.*

Stalinization[ edit ] The Czechoslovak border to West Germany and Austria was intended to prevent citizens of the Eastern Bloc from emigrating to the West. The sign is from the beginning of the 1950s and reads: Enter only on authorization. While it was nominally still a coalition, the "non-Communists" in the cabinet were mostly fellow travelers. On 9 May, the National Assembly, purged of dissidents, passed a new constitution. It was not a completely Communist document; since a special committee prepared it in the 1948 period, it contained many liberal and democratic provisions. Nonetheless, elections were held on 30 May, and voters were presented with a single list from the National Front , the former governing coalition which was now a broad patriotic organisation under Communist control. So-called "dissident" elements were purged from all levels of society, including the Catholic Church. The ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist realism pervaded cultural and intellectual life. The entire education system was submitted to state control. With the elimination of private ownership of means of production, a planned economy was introduced. Czechoslovakia became a satellite state of the Soviet Union ; it was a founding member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance Comecon in 1949 and of the Warsaw Pact in 1955. Although in theory Czechoslovakia remained a multiparty state, in actuality the Communists were in complete control. In 1949, an inner cabinet of the National Assembly, the Presidium, was created. Regional, district, and local committees were subordinated to the Ministry of Interior. After consolidating power, Klement Gottwald began a series of mass purges against both political opponents and fellow communists, numbering in the tens of thousands. Children from blacklisted families were denied access to good jobs and higher education, there was widespread emigration out of the country into West Germany and Austria, and the educational system was reoriented to give opportunity to working class students. Although Gottwald originally sought a more independent line, a quick meeting with Stalin in 1949 convinced him otherwise and so he sought to impose the Soviet model on the country as thoroughly as possible. Gottwald was if anything a victim of circumstance, constrained by fear of his Soviet masters, and obliged to carry out their bidding. He made few public appearances in his final year of life. Czechoslovak interests were subordinated to the interests of the Soviet Union. Many Communists with an "international" background, i. The Ninth-of-May Constitution provided for the nationalization of all commercial and industrial enterprises having more than fifty employees. The non-agricultural private sector was nearly eliminated. Private ownership of land was limited to fifty hectares. The remnants of private enterprise and independent farming were permitted to carry on only as a temporary concession to the petite bourgeoisie and the peasantry. The Czechoslovak economy was determined by five-year plans. Following the Soviet example, Czechoslovakia began emphasizing the rapid development of heavy industry. The industrial sector was reorganized with an emphasis on metallurgy , heavy machinery , and coal mining. Production was concentrated in larger units; the more than 100,000 units of the pre-war period were reduced to about 10,000 units by 1955. Industrial output reportedly increased 100 percent between 1948 and 1955; employment in industry, 44 percent. For the 1955-59 period, France and Italy equalled Czechoslovak industrial growth. Industrial growth in Czechoslovakia required substantial additional labor. Czechoslovaks were subjected to long hours and long workweeks to meet production quotas. Part-time, volunteer labour 1950s students and white-collar workers 1950s was drafted in massive numbers. Labor productivity, however, was not significantly increased, nor were production costs reduced. Czechoslovak products were characterized by poor quality. During the early years of the government, many political prisoners were sentenced to penal labor. Cooperatives were to be founded on a voluntary basis;

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formal title to land was left vested in the original owners. The imposition of high compulsory quotas, however, forced peasants to collectivize in order to increase efficiency and facilitate mechanization. Discriminatory policies were employed to bring about the ruin of recalcitrant kulaks wealthy peasants. Collectivization was near completion by Sixteen percent of all farmland obtained from collaborators and kulaks had been turned into state farms. Despite the elimination of poor land from cultivation and a tremendous increase in the use of fertilizers and tractors, agricultural production declined seriously. By , pre-war production levels still had not been met. Major causes of the decline were the diversion of labor from agriculture to industry in an estimated 2. The Constitution of Czechoslovakia declared the victory of "socialism" and proclaimed the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The ambiguous precept of " democratic centralism " " power emanating from the people but bound by the authority of higher organs " was made a formal part of constitutional law. The president, the cabinet, the Slovak National Council , and the local governments were made responsible to the National Assembly. All private enterprises using hired labour were abolished. Comprehensive economic planning was reaffirmed. The Bill of Rights emphasized economic and social rights, e. Civil rights, however, were deemphasized. The judiciary was combined with the prosecuting branch; all judges were committed to the protection of the socialist state and the education of citizens in loyalty to the cause of socialism. Spartakiad in De-Stalinization had a late start in Czechoslovakia. Students in Prague and Bratislava demonstrated on May Day of , demanding freedom of speech and access to the Western press. After the Hungarian Revolution of October had been suppressed by Russian tanks and troops, many Czechs lost courage. June formalized the continuation of Stalinism. In the early s, the Economy of Czechoslovakia became severely stagnated. The industrial growth rate was the lowest in Eastern Europe. Food imports strained the balance of payments. Pressures both from Moscow and from within the party precipitated a reform movement. In reform-minded Communist intellectuals produced a proliferation of critical articles. The purge trials of were reviewed, for example, and some of those purged were rehabilitated. Some hardliners were removed from top levels of government and replaced by younger, more liberal communists. The program called for a second, intensive stage of economic development, emphasizing technological and managerial improvements. Central planning would be limited to overall production and investment indexes as well as price and wage guidelines. Management personnel would be involved in decision-making. Production would be market oriented and geared toward profitability. Prices would respond to supply and demand. Wage differentials would be introduced. Democratic centralism was redefined, placing a stronger emphasis on democracy. In consequence, the National Assembly was promised increased legislative responsibility. The Slovak executive Board of Commissioners and legislature Slovak National Council were assured that they could assist the central government in program planning and assume responsibility for program implementation in Slovakia. The regional, district, and local national committees were to be permitted a degree of autonomy. Party control in cultural policy, however, was reaffirmed. January was the date for full implementation of the reform program. Pressure from the reformists was stepped up. Slovaks pressed for federalization. Economists called for complete enterprise autonomy and economic responsiveness to the market mechanism. The media "press, radio, and television" were mobilized for reformist propaganda purposes. The movement to democratize socialism in Czechoslovakia, formerly confined largely to the party intelligentsia, acquired a new, popular dynamism in the spring of The program proposed a "new model of socialism," profoundly "democratic" and "national," that is, adapted to Czechoslovak conditions. The National Front and the electoral system were to be democratized, and Czechoslovakia was to be federalized. Freedom of assembly and expression would be guaranteed in constitutional law. The New Economic Model was to be implemented. The Action Program also reaffirmed the Czechoslovak alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. The reform movement, which rejected Stalinism as the road to communism, remained committed to communism as a goal. In subsequent months, however, popular pressure mounted to implement reforms forthwith. Radical elements

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found expression: In May he announced that the Fourteenth Party Congress would convene in an early session on 9 September. The congress would incorporate the Action Program into the party statutes, draft a federalization law, and elect a new presumably more liberal Central Committee. Warsaw Pact maneuvers were held in Czechoslovakia in late June. It called on the "people" to take the initiative in implementing the reform program. The Soviet leadership was alarmed. In mid-July a Warsaw Pact conference was held without Czechoslovak participation. Soviet leader Brezhnev hesitated to intervene militarily in Czechoslovakia. In the early spring of , the Soviet leadership adopted a wait-and-see attitude. By midsummer, however, two camps had formed:

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## Chapter 2 : czechoslovakia |

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The loss of the last remaining democracy in Eastern Europe came as a profound shock to millions. Because its impact was equally profound in Western Europe as in the United States, it helped unify Western countries against the Communist bloc. It gave an air of prescience to the French and Italian governments for having forced their local Communists out of their governments a year earlier. The government crisis in Prague lasted from 20 to 27 February, just when Western foreign ministers were meeting in London. Truman understood that in and the American people were not prepared for a massive conventional arms buildup or a confrontation with the Soviet Union. He was reluctant to increase the military budget dramatically and instead chose a gradual and balanced buildup. However, the coup served to expose the limitations of U. At the time of the Prague crisis, roughly ten ill-equipped and poorly trained U. When taking into account Defense Department complaints that the U. The Czech coup changed the whole tone of the debate on the U. It helped spark a new round of Pentagon lobbying for a substantial rise in the military budget, while the NSC called for "a worldwide counter-offensive" against the Soviet bloc, including U. Truman responded to the crisis with a grim nationwide radio address on 17 March calling for a renewal of selective service, which had been allowed to lapse the previous year. He aimed to send a signal of determination to the Soviet Union that U. American willingness to consult on new security arrangements for Europe was the product of neither a changed estimate of Soviet intentions nor a readiness to take on a larger share of the burden of defending Western Europe. Rather, it was a tactical maneuver intended to mitigate the effect of the coup in Czechoslovakia and the brief but intense war scare that followed. More important was the sensitivity with which American officials now treated the nervousness of their European counterparts; the Americans now became more willing to take steps to boost morale in Europe and ease the now-widespread anxieties there. On 5 March, General Lucius D. Clay sent an alarming telegram from Berlin that advised of its likelihood: Kennan wrote that the coup and the telegram had combined to create "a real war scare" where "the military and the intelligence fraternity" had "overreacted in the most deplorable way". Only a week later, the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended rearmament and a restoration of the draft. Stephen Chamberlain for material that would persuade Congress to spend more on military readiness than with any hard evidence of Soviet intent to launch a war in Europe. Still, in Europe too in February and March "war was being commonly, even calmly discussed in streets and cafes on the Continent", a fear exacerbated by reports on 27 February that Stalin had invited Finland to sign a treaty of mutual assistance, contributing to expectations it would be the next domino to fall; [29] pressure for a treaty was placed on Norway too. The Truman Administration had months earlier written off Czechoslovakia as little more than a Soviet satellite; in November U. Secretary of State George C. Marshall told a cabinet meeting that the Soviets would probably soon consolidate their hold on Eastern Europe by clamping down on Czechoslovakia as a "purely defensive move", and Kennan cabled from Manila that the Soviets seemed to be consolidating their defences, not preparing for aggression. Even as he was holding a press conference to push his economic aid plan on 10 March, the CIA reported that "We do not believe The Czech coup and the demands on Finland Hillenkoetter had also written to Truman that "the timing of the coup in Czechoslovakia was forced upon the Kremlin when the non-Communists took action endangering Communist control of the police. A Communist victory in the May elections would have been impossible without such control". In the hysteria and foreboding that gripped Western circles following the Czech coup, it was concluded that similar tactics could be employed in Italy, whose citizens might not even have a chance to vote. British Foreign

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Minister Ernest Bevin and the British Cabinet saw the cooperation between the two leading parties of the Italian left in almost apocalyptic terms, believing that once the Italian Communist Party PCI won power it would marginalise any moderating influence from the socialists. Bevin immediately concluded that the "forces of democratic Socialism" must be strengthened in Italy, and that Britain must support the Christian Democrats, despite all of their faults. The United States was still pushing the French government to support German rehabilitation. In the aftermath of the coup, foreign minister Georges Bidault was afraid of stoking anti-German sentiment that the French Communist Party PCF could exploit and harness to instigate a coup of its own. At the same time, the coup had forced the hand of PCF leader Maurice Thorez, whose public remarks suggested that in the wake of a Soviet invasion, he would support the Red Army. Despite French concern about Germany, it was becoming increasingly clear that the Soviet threat was greater than the German. He had found the Truman Administration reluctant to accept an unambiguous and binding alliance with Western Europe even after the irretrievable breakdown of the Council of Foreign Ministers conference in London in December; Marshall was not prepared to accept the idea in discussions with Bevin that 17 December. The following year, NATO would ultimately be born out of these talks.

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### Chapter 3 : The Communist Manifesto: Insights and Problems | The Anarchist Library

*information concerning statements by a high-ranking official of the communist party of czechoslovakia in prague, czechoslovakia.*

The Decline, Disorientation and Decomposition of a Leadership: The German Communist Party: This general account of the fortunes of the KPD first saw the light in as part of an attempt to draw out its political lessons for the use of revolutionaries working in the labour movement. Although a great wealth of original documentation exists in German, in spite of the importance of this topic, little of it has ever surfaced in Britain. But there do exist a number of first hand accounts of varying worth. The impact of these events on the international revolutionary movement can be examined in Dave Riddell ed, , The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power: Documents , New York cf. General accounts of the whole period also differ widely as to scope, relevance and worth. The most recent is Rob Sewell, Germany: From Revolution to Counter-Revolution, London, cf. Stalinist rationalisations include Eric Hobsbawm, Confronting Defeat: It is to be hoped that the appearance of this vital text in English guise will not be long delayed, even if we have to translate it from the French and not the original. The writer of the article below first became active in working class politics when he joined the ETU at the time of the witchhunt against the left following the famous ballot-rigging scandal, and gravitated towards the Communist Party. He left it in after pondering the lessons of the French General Strike and the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia the year before, joining the International Socialists now the SWP whilst abroad in Denmark. But on his return, repelled by what he regarded as its triumphalism and sectarian attitude, he joined the Labour Party, and until quite recently regarded himself as a supporter of the newspaper Militant. Not only is this history important because the decisive event which led Trotsky to proclaim the need for the Fourth International "the rise of Hitler to power" was primarily its responsibility, but also because the strategy and tactics crystallised in the Transitional Programme were tested out by the KPD, and were shown to be the only way of making Communism a material force in the class struggle, as opposed to a mere idea. The centrists would win this struggle, destroying the KPD as a Marxist leadership, and allowing Hitler to gain power in the process. Therefore the history of the KPD is rich in lessons for those aspiring to Marxism today. This nucleus was grouped, in the main, around Rosa Luxemburg, though other currents were in existence the Bremen left, and a youth grouping, among others. Relations with the USPD became problematic after the revolutionary events of November , when the uprisings in the armed forces and among the workers resulted in the declaration of the republic and the joint SPD-USPD government. The USPD was attempting to straddle both positions. The Spartakists were still an insignificant minority. At the end of December they decided to set up an independent party, owing to the USPD role in the government the councils deciding to abdicate power to the latter and the internal situation in the USPD. The KPD emerges The KPD S was dominated at its foundation by ultra-left elements who thought that the revolution could be made immediately, although the party was, in reality, only a sect. The group around Luxemburg was in a minority, though they led the party. Two decisions were taken which clearly show the ultra-left influence: Leo Jogiches had advised against leaving the USPD, and Paul Levi later said that he was proved to be right, that they could have split the workers from their opportunist leaders in three or four months by staying in the party. She pointed out in her speech that their actions showed that they were not ready to take the power. Membership of the trade unions would leap from 2. In response to a provocation by the SPD, and owing to pressure from the masses, an attempt was made to seize power in Berlin. This adventurist attempt was forced onto the KPD, and possessing superior forces, the government drowned it in blood. It spread rapidly, and a similar movement began in Berlin soon after. In Munich too, a spontaneous upsurge was developing. All these movements failed, and much blood was spilt. The KPD had

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tried to restrain the workers from adventurism, but still lacked decisive influence. By May the first post-war revolutionary wave had subsided. The capitalists had made large concessions to the workers, and a certain stabilisation had occurred. An economic recovery was beginning in Germany, unemployment was falling and inflation was starting. The factory councils were moribund and the trade unions growing. This conference declared itself incompetent. The ultra-lefts walked out, and were subsequently expelled. This almost reduced the party by half, the membership dropping to 50 or so as the lefts resigned, en bloc in some areas. This was the case in Berlin and the Hamburg area, where not much remained. This ultra-left is an interesting phenomenon. Many of the rank and file were first-generation proletarians, who upon entering the industrial sphere came into the SPD. The war radicalised them, and they then became a vanguard which was the basis for the spontaneous uprisings in the early post-war period. Some came straight from Catholic or Monarchist views direct to Communism. But two things common to all the ultra-lefts were impatience and subjectivism. This was the case with the theoreticians Gorter, Ruhle, etc., as well as with the elements new to the Marxist movement. They were not prepared to wait for the development in consciousness of the rest of the class, but thought it possible to force the pace through action. By his ruthless dealing with the ultraleft, although it temporarily decimated the party, Levi saved the KPD and laid the basis for its growth as a mass party rather than a sect. In March the reactionary politician Kapp, supported by Freikorps units, attempted a coup against the Weimar democracy. Levi was in prison at the time. But the workers responded with a massive movement in defence of the republic. Thus, it related to the consciousness of the workers, took part in the action, and succeeded in raising it to a higher political level. The Kapp Putsch failed because of the immediate response of the workers. Of course, this moralistic leftism let the SPD leaders off the hook, and allowed them to continue disarming the workers and other counter-revolutionary activities. Levi and Thalheimer spoke in favour of it, though regretting the phrasing. Pieck, being the main author, spoke up for it, drawing upon the Bolshevik example of June, when they called on the Mensheviks and SRs to take power. However, the continuing controversy provoked Lenin into commenting. This statement is quite correct both as to its basic premise and its practical conclusions. It would have been sufficient to say This was also the policy of the Communist International CI. Brandler claims that he supported the idea of winning USPD members slowly, in order to be able to absorb them into the membership, rather than seeing them overwhelm the KPD kernel. Levi protested about this. Out of a membership of between , and a million, only , eventually joined the KPD, while , stayed with the USPD, including most of the deputies, functionaries, and union leaders. Possibly between , and , dropped out of politics because of the split, which also served to alienate many workers from the KPD. A later byproduct of the split would be the strengthening of the SPD when, in , the USPD would re-unite with it, giving it a new injection of proletarians just as it was becoming isolated from the working class. A certain antagonism was developing between the Levi leadership and the CI, especially its president, Zinoviev, who had already begun seeking out allies in order to build his own anti-Levi faction in the party. United Front versus Putschism Ultra-left impatience raised its head again at the unification congress, its confidence increased by the influx of USPD lefts. A tendency flourished which saw the KPD as big enough to act on its own, to ignore the objective situation and only to heed the subjective desires of the vanguard. It is a model because it is the first act of a practical method of winning over the majority of the working class. In Europe where almost all the proletarians are organised, we must win the majority of the working class, and anyone who fails to understand this is lost to the Communist movement; he will never learn anything if he failed to learn that much during the three years of the great revolution. Their will triumphed, and a small PCI was founded around Bordiga. He claimed that but for them similar results to the process with the USPD could have been achieved. Then the left in the KPD leadership moved to undermine Levi by a resolution of censure. By criticising the ECCI delegates, some of whom Levi accused of aborting the Hungarian revolution, he was seen as criticising Zinoviev or, worse still, the Russians in general. Levi was backed by a majority in the leadership,

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but the lefts put the resolution to the party council, the body holding sovereign power between congresses. Brandler and Stocker the mover with Thalheimer of the resolution were elected joint chairmen, and five new members were co-opted onto the leadership. The new leadership declared that it had no differences in principle with the old. This was to be the start of a process of automatic subservience to the Russians, in the main by men better theoretically equipped than their advisers. Later, with the benefit of hindsight, Gramsci was to agree with Levi. The miners had already thrown out a private police force from the mines. Using the unruliness of the workers as an excuse, he intended to disarm them and reintroduce the authority of the central government. The KPD decided to generalise the resistance into a general strike and then to spread it to the rest of the country. The local party press called for a general strike, and in Berlin *Die Rote Fahne* called for the workers to take up arms, but apart from the Hamburg dockworkers, the movement had little support outside of the Mansfeld district. The KPD called it off on 1 April. Some , workers supposedly participated. This adventure was a disaster for the KPD. It started it without any analysis of the balance of forces, without estimating whether other workers would follow the Mansfeld miners, and without any clear perspective of what it was aiming at. Later, it emerged that Hugo Eberlein had organised a series of provocations in Central Germany to involve more workers. The party even drove workers out of the factories at the point of a gun. It also emerged that the ECCI had sent instructions to Germany by its emissaries backing such an action, in order to assist Soviet Russia. Levi saw all this, saw that no opposition was being mounted to this non-Marxist theory, and on 12 April he issued a pamphlet against it, *Unser Weg*: He showed how the party had issued pure propaganda slogans without content in the week after his resignation, and had then launched itself into an uprising without any change in the objective situation in Germany. He blamed the influence of the ECCI and the second-rate emissaries it sent out. Although he had written to Lenin who, along with Trotsky, backed his views, Levi sent out his pamphlet before any reply arrived. Obviously it was the act of a desperate man. The theory was winning support in many Communist Parties, and the ECCI had put a seal of approval on the action by its statement.

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## Chapter 4 : Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Leninists) | Revolvly

*Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, in Collected Works, vol. 6 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, ), p. All citations from The Manifesto herein are drawn from this translation, giving page numbers.*

The general expectation was that the Communists would be soundly defeated in the May elections. He returned to Prague with a plan for the final seizure of power. It announced its primary objective was to win an absolute majority at elections scheduled for , something no Czechoslovak party had ever achieved. Nosek, backed by Gottwald, refused; he and his fellow Communists threatened to use force and, in order to avoid defeat in parliament, mobilised groups of their supporters in the country. On 21 February, twelve non-Communist ministers resigned in protest after Nosek refused to reinstate eight non-Communist senior police officers despite a majority vote of the cabinet in favour of doing so. There were only two non-violent means of resolving the crisis. The non-Communists saw this as a moment of opportunity, needing to act quickly before the Communists had total control over the police and posed a threat to the electoral process. They did not know that the Communists were mobilizing from below to take complete power. Armed militia and police took over Prague, Communist demonstrations were mounted and an anti-Communist student demonstration was broken up. The ministries of the non-Communist ministers were occupied, civil servants dismissed and the ministers prevented from entering their own ministries. Gottwald continued as prime minister of a government dominated by Communists and pro-Moscow Social Democrats. However, these parties had been taken over by Communist sympathizers, and the ministers using these labels were fellow travellers. The only senior minister who was neither a Communist nor a fellow traveller was Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk , who was however found dead two weeks later. Thousands were fired and hundreds were arrested. Thousands fled the country to avoid living under Communism. At the 30 May elections , voters were presented with a single list from the National Front, which officially won . Practically all non-Communist parties that had participated in the election were also represented within the National Front list and thus received parliamentary seats. However, by this time they had all transformed themselves into loyal partners of the Communists. The National Front was converted into a broad patriotic organisation dominated by the Communists, and no political group outside it was allowed to exist. The loss of the last remaining democracy in Eastern Europe came as a profound shock to millions. Because its impact was equally profound in Western Europe as in the United States, it helped unify Western countries against the Communist bloc. It gave an air of prescience to the French and Italian governments for having forced their local Communists out of their governments a year earlier. The government crisis in Prague lasted from 20 to 27 February, just when Western foreign ministers were meeting in London. Truman understood that in and the American people were not prepared for a massive conventional arms buildup or a confrontation with the Soviet Union. He was reluctant to increase the military budget dramatically and instead chose a gradual and balanced buildup. However, the coup served to expose the limitations of U. At the time of the Prague crisis, roughly ten ill-equipped and poorly trained U. When taking into account Defense Department complaints that the U. The Czech coup changed the whole tone of the debate on the U. It helped spark a new round of Pentagon lobbying for a substantial rise in the military budget, while the NSC called for "a worldwide counter-offensive" against the Soviet bloc, including U. Truman responded to the crisis with a grim nationwide radio address on 17 March calling for a renewal of selective service, which had been allowed to lapse the previous year. He aimed to send a signal of determination to the Soviet Union that U. American willingness to consult on new security arrangements for Europe was the product of neither a changed estimate of Soviet intentions nor a readiness to take on a larger share of the burden of defending Western Europe. Rather, it was a tactical maneuver intended to mitigate the effect of the coup in Czechoslovakia and the brief but intense war scare that followed. More

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## Chapter 5 : Socialist Party of Chile | Revolvy

*From the Communist coup d'État in February to the Velvet Revolution in , Czechoslovakia was ruled by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Czech: Komunistická strana Československa, KSČ).*

It is a worse sign when the argument gets so nasty that the world press begins to mock it as the Hyphen War. It was certainly not a good omen for, as Prince might have constructed it, the Nation Formerly Known as the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The nation came into existence in the tumultuous aftermath of World War I. Its boundaries, as established by the Treaty of Versailles, included the largely ethnic Czech lands of former Bohemia and Moravia in the west, and Slovakia which also encompassed significant areas ethnic Poles to the north and Ruthenia to the south east. All of these were within the border of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Historically the Czechs had been administered by the Austrians who had not interfered with their ethnic identity. Slovakia and Ruthenia, however, came to the Empire as part of the Kingdom of Hungary and continued to be administered by Hungarians who pursued a vigorous policy of forced Magyarization on their ethnic minorities. Those regions were also more agricultural, far less industrialized and urban than Czech lands. These differences contributed to strains from the beginning. With his enormous prestige Masaryk was elected president of the new nation, originally named Czecho-Slovakia, and helped create a constitutional, parliamentary democracy. An opponent of both German nationalism and Soviet Marxism, Masaryk became the beau ideal in the west of a Central European democrat. Like many Czech he had been raised a Catholic but had left the faith behind to become a Humanist heavily influenced by his American Unitarian wife. Masaryk reflected the sophisticated, cosmopolitan nature of Czech society, especially in the capital of Prague, considered the Paris of Slav lands and the most westernized capital in Eastern Europe. And most of this industrial capacity being far from the front lines of the war was intact. So the new nation came into existence as one of the top industrial nations in the world. Unfortunately, most of the heaviest industry, including steel production, was located in that majority German crescent and owned largely by German banks and corporations. The Slovak lagged far behind in development and tended to look culturally to the east. He managed to keep the sometimes fractious nation together through 10 changes of ministries before retiring due to old age and infirmity on December 14, as Hitler was ominously consolidating his power in Germany. Less than two years later he was dead. Meanwhile Nazi agents in the German majority areas were agitating there to destabilize the Czechoslovakian government. In September the former Western allies led by Neville Chamberlain signed the Munich Agreement with Germany in hopes of mollifying its expansionist ambitions. This appeasement policy handed over the Bohemian, Moravian and Czech Silesian borderlands called the Sudetenland by Hitler to Germany and allowed for the Czech minorities there to be forcefully expelled. Czechoslovakia and its dismemberment during World War II. A weakened Second Republic, re-named Czecho-Slovakia was declared, which was soon forced to cede much of southern Slovakia to Hungary and areas of the north to Poland. The nation continued to unravel. Slovakia declared its independence in March and Hitler assumed control of Czech lands on March 15, claiming them as the German Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The same day the Carpatho-Ukraine—the former Ruthenia, declared its independence from Slovakia and was immediately invaded by Hungary which went on to gobble up adjacent areas of Slovakia. There were notable and highly effective resistance movements in both the Czech and Slovak regions. The Slovaks looked to the Soviets and organized partisan irregulars who operated in larger units in the rural countryside taking advantage of the cover of the rugged Carpathians. A National Front government was installed dominated by three socialist or Marxist parties which had dominated the Resistance movements—the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, and the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party with minority representation from non-socialist parties. By agreement

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at Yalta, the country had been liberated by the Red Army which was greeted as heroes in all parts of the nation. The Soviets were soon able to exert practical control over the country. In spring elections in the Communists won a plurality in Czech regions and the anti-communist won and absolute majority in Slovakia. But the Communists were able to form a coalition government. His death was ruled a suicide, which almost no one believes. Already in poor health following two strokes, he died at his home, under close watch by the Communists, on September 3 the same year. Czechoslovakia was soon under the complete domination of the Soviet Union. Stalinism exerted an iron grasp on the Czechoslovakian Communists which would last longer and remain stronger than elsewhere in Eastern Europe. In yet another constitution re-named the country once again to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Stalinist command economy policies proved disastrous from one of the top ten industrial nations in the world, production plunged to among the lowest levels in Europe. Extremely oppressive monitoring of universities and cultural institutions crushed what had once been a flower in Europe. Students battle tanks during the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. His liberalization policies were wildly popular and set off a near orgy of suppressed political and self-expression, most of it hostile to the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact. It was too much for Moscow and its partners. More than a third of all party members were purged as liberals. The regime became even more repressive and re-emphasized a command economy that crippled some gains earlier in the decade that had brought Slovak production and incomes to nearly a par with the Czechs. In fact, he defied Kremlin directives. In long pent-up tensions boiled up in the first large anti-communist action in years at the March 25 Candle demonstration in Bratislava. More demonstrations broke out in Prague on the 20th anniversary of the Soviet invasion and continued into the next year. On January 16 students in Bratislava launched mass pro-democracy demonstrations, joined the next day by Prague students. A parallel organization the Public Against Violence arose in Slovakia. Each shunned the use of the word party because of its tainted association with the Communists. Public support for the two groups swelled to the millions from all levels of society. The Communist Party, without support from the Soviet Union and unable to now even rely on its own military, collapsed. One of his first actions was to ask to rename the country the Czechoslovak Republic simply dropping the word Socialist. He did not anticipate that this would be in anyway controversial. After all it was the name of the country through most of its existence, between and and again from to So of course, it was immediately controversial. The Slovaks now claimed that this was a slight against their co-equal status. In retrospect, perhaps they should not have brought the last example up. But the amicable Havel was willing to placate Slovak sensitivities in the name of national unity and quickly agreed to the Czecho-Slovak Republic. That set off the Czech who now felt insulted. With frequent angry debates covered with ill-disguised glee by the world press, the issue settled into a stalemate that brought almost all other business before the Assembly to a halt. On March 29, the stalemate seemed broken with the adoption by the Assembly of a compromise name--Czechoslovak Federative Republic. In a nifty trick, the new name was to be spelled without a hyphen in Czech and with a hyphen in Slovak. The Slovaks came to believe that the Czechs were insisting that it was a dash, not a hyphen, in the Slovak name. That made a difference because in both Czech and Slovak grammar a hyphen represented a connection between equals while a dash meant something else. Back to the drawing board. This time it stuck even though it violated a strict rule in both languages that only the first word in a multiple word name be capitalized. With linguistic puristsâ€™ a strong voice in both nationalist movementsâ€™ holding their noses the new name went into effect. But it did not last long. The bitter divisions exposed by the Hyphen War continued to fester over more substantial issues. Effective government was all but impossible. In late s the Federal Assembly, divided along national lines, barely cooperated enough to pass a law officially separating the two nations. By any spelling Czechoslovakia ceased to exist.

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## Chapter 6 : Czechoslovak coup d'État - Wikipedia

*Document II: The action program of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. -- Analysis of document III. Document III: From the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia May June 1,*

European reform movements from a U. Apologies again for the Roman numerals; OpenOffice does that automatically for some reason. A shock came to the Soviets in , though, as their dominance of Eastern Europe was, as before in in Budapest, threatened by a reform movement in one of their satellites: Ultimately, however, the fallout from the invasion effectively forced the Soviets to sit down with the U. In the lead-up to , the United States was plunged knee-deep in the Vietnam War. The war had been escalating consistently under President Johnson since , when the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution effectively gave the president carte blanche to conduct the war as he saw fit. Until , the administration asserted that victory was not only possible, but also right around the corner. Then, in January , came the Tet Offensive: With discontent so high, President Johnson opted to not seek reelection, and he withdrew from the presidential race. The Soviet Union was in a similar situation: The Six Day War, which was a resounding victory for the Israelis, did not sway the Soviet commitment to the Arab states: The Americans were, at this time, ready for far-reaching talks to reduce tensions because of their involvement in Indochina, but Kosygin was not prepared for serious talks, especially since Moscow was in the process of building up its nuclear arsenal to reach parity with the United States. With the turmoil unfolding in the third world, Europe, as divided by the Iron Curtain, was relatively quiet. Since , the order established in Europe had remained unchallenged by either side: Czechoslovakia was a unique case in 20th century Europe: In contrast to the rest of the Eastern European satellites, though, the Czechoslovak political system was remarkably stable. A growing desire for change among intellectuals reached a climax in June at the Congress of Czechoslovak Writers, and at student demonstrations in Prague in October of the same year. Overall, it shifted the focus away from the Party, which was mentioned briefly and vaguely, and instead concentrated on the state organs, particularly the National Assembly. From April to June, the government made preliminary steps towards implementing the Action Plan, but public opinion often made demands that went much further than the moderate reforms proposed. The response in American foreign policy and intelligence circles was noticeably measured: A telegram from Washington to the U. Since political, social and economic situation in Czechoslovakia still very unclear and obviously in state of flux, believe our posture at moment should in general be one of responsiveness to positive Czech approaches without attempting to precipitate Czech action. At this meeting, Ambassador Duda foreshadowed the Action Program that would be unveiled at the Central Committee Plenum on March 28, and briefly mentioned some anticipated reforms: The reforms in Prague were a revolution from the top-down, though, and there was no violence or strife: Ambassador Duda had dismissed concerns of an intervention in his March meeting with Stoessel, but he had acknowledged that, in the event of strife or violence, an intervention would not be inconceivable. By May there were already signals showing: A dispatch from the U. Brezhnev publicly protested any interference in internal Czech affairs, but the embassy staff pointed out that a harsh media campaign by the Soviet government against Czechoslovak liberalization was in full swing. Bohlen, and Soviet Ambassador Anatoliy Dobrynin. During their conversation, Ambassador Dobrynin insinuated that the U. On the 26th and 27th of July, the Soviet Politburo set a provisional plan for the invasion of Czechoslovakia with the understanding that negotiations would continue until they were exhausted. Their attempts failed, though, and on the 21st of August, , the Kremlin gave the order: The invasion was luckily, by comparison to Hungary in , relatively bloodless. The invading Warsaw Pact armies did not meet armed resistance from Czechoslovak forces, who were ordered by the government not to resist. Aside from strong vocal opposition to Soviet aggression, the West was noticeably silent, whereas in Hungary they had goaded the revolutionaries to take to the streets with

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Molotov cocktails and submachine guns. There were some casualties, but they were mostly students gunned down by Soviet conscripts who had lost their nerve or were inexperienced with crowd control; Czech and Slovak blood spilled on the streets of Prague did unite the nation in hate, though, and the month long occupation was epitomized by the Soviet soldiers not receiving the warm welcome they had been promised by their superiors. Morale among the invading troops was low as the Czechs and Slovaks rejected them outright rather than welcoming them as liberators as had been expected. It would be some time after the invasion that the Americans would reap the benefits of the corner that the Soviets had backed themselves into. In the autumn following the invasion, the Soviet Union announced the Brezhnev Doctrine: Brezhnev declared in November that it was the right and duty of the Soviet Union to intervene in any state where the Marxist-Leninist system was imperiled by the threat of a new capitalist system taking over. The rising schism between China and the Soviet Union was exacerbated by the intervention, and it painfully strained the once monolithic force of world Communism that now appeared to be crumbling. Rising discontent in Romania and Yugoslavia against the Soviets also became more pronounced, and even on Red Square itself there was a historic protest against the invasion. The Brezhnev Doctrine was a brave facade to portray the Soviet Union as strong and secure in its position in Eastern Europe, but the Soviet leadership was well aware of the reality of the price they would have to pay if they were forced to implement it again. The election was a landslide victory for Republican Richard Nixon, who was ushered into office on a wave of anti-Vietnam War fervor. His opportunity to make his move came before he took office, when in shots were fired across the Sino-Soviet border. In the meantime, his warming with China put additional pressure on the Soviets, who had by this time reached parity in strategic weapons stockpiles with the United States. Early in his presidency, Nixon had announced the development of a new anti-ballistic missile program in response to the growing Soviet arsenal. The steps had been made in the right direction, though, towards developing mutual trust, and the foundation was laid for a further reduction in tensions between the two superpowers. While both superpowers were receptive to negotiations prior to the Soviet invasion, the Soviets were more hesitant than the Americans to commit to serious talks. The loss of prestige that the Soviets suffered as a result of their aggressive attempt to roll back liberal reforms in their sphere of influence had a major impact on their ability to negotiate from an advantageous position. By , a new administration was in power in Washington, and its priority was withdrawal from the conflict in Vietnam. With these assets, Nixon was able to position the United States in a way that made the Soviets, already suffering from loss of influence in the third world and teetering on shaky ground in their own backyard, unable to refuse rapprochement with America. The newly minted Brezhnev Doctrine, retroactively applied to Hungary , was built on lies and bluffs: While their military might had reached both conventional and strategic parity with the United States, the Soviets were unable to exercise that might without risking either an all-out war or a dramatic disintegration of their bloc. Soviet relations with the Chinese were also crumbling, and were made worse by their invasion of Czechoslovakia. With the loss of their largest land border as a friend, the Soviets had little choice but to warm up to the West or risk economic repercussions in response to their aggressive containment policy. Brezhnev, in , went on to give credit to his invasion of Czechoslovakia: The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia was a calculated risk by the Kremlin to stem the tide against the disintegration of their sphere of influence in Eastern Europe; while they were successful in containing the spillover into their other satellites and border territories, the Soviets expended immense political capital and sacrificed a large amount of prestige to do so. The new administration in Washington, under the direction of Nixon and Kissinger, pounced at the opportunity to press their advantage and to create a new balance of power in the Cold War. University of North Carolina Press, ,

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### Chapter 7 : czechoslovak communist party |

*This collection of documents, ranging from the end of February up until the autumn after the invasion, is a series of reports and correspondences, mostly from within the Ukrainian wing of the Soviet Communist Party, discussing the events in Czechoslovakia.*

From an examination of this work on its own terms, what emerges is that it is not a "text" intended to be served up for academic deconstruction and convoluted exegesis but rather the manifesto of a party that challenged the existence of capitalist social relations and their underlying class base. The Manifesto directly faced the exploitative social order of its time and intended to move a class--the proletariat--to revolutionary action against it. Bringing theory to the service of building a movement, as Marx and Engels did--indeed, they perceptively interwove basic analytical ideas with programmatic and organizational issues--is becoming alien in the present era, which is sharply dichotomizing the two. To be sure, the existence of "Marxology" as a university discipline today, with its own professoriat and journals, as distinguished from a living practice, is not an entirely unprecedented phenomenon. Kautsky, among others, already began to make this dichotomy as editor of *Die Neue Zeit* in the s. But *Die Neue Zeit*, at least, was the theoretical organ of a mass movement that mobilized hundreds of thousands of people on the German political scene. It was not until recent decades that strictly scholarly Marxian journals appeared that exhibited few or no political intentions and hence provided no basis for a practice engaged in transforming society. The divorce between theory and practice--and the failure of avowed leftists to build a revolutionary public sphere in the past few decades--has led to the debilitation of theory itself, as witness the current acceptance of postmodernist nihilism, Situationist aestheticism, and quite recently, even Eastern spiritualism among a number of self-professed Marxists. By contrast, the most refreshing feature of *The Manifesto* as a theoretical document is that it candidly and unabashedly addresses lived social relations, not simply their cultural offshoots. Its stylistic magnetism, which made it the inimitable model for so many later programmatic statements by revolutionary movements, lies precisely in its bold candor about the material factors that guide human behavior. Far more than Nietzsche, Marx who seems to have penned most of *The Manifesto* wrote with a hammer about the realities of the capitalist system that were emerging in his time. The famous opening line--"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles"--is arrestingly declarative, allowing for no equivocation. As Marx himself freely acknowledged, the importance that it attaches to class struggles was not new to revolutionary thought. Having no direct impact upon the events that made up the stormy year of , *The Manifesto* nonetheless left a lasting imprint upon subsequent working-class movements, providing a definitive standard by which their revolutionary intentions were to be judged. And it placed upon every subsequent revolutionary movement the obligation to make the oppressed conscious of their status--that is to say, to inculcate among the exploited a deep sense of class consciousness and to urge them to abolish class society as such. Pounded out as it was, the opening line of *The Manifesto*--unadorned and unequivocal--immediately fixed the Communist League for which it was written as an overtly revolutionary movement. Thereafter, socialist organizations and movements that professed to seek justice for the oppressed had to validate their standing with the emerging working class in its conflict with the bourgeoisie. After the publication of *The Manifesto*, class struggle was taken for granted among such movements, even if they sought to achieve socialism in peaceful and piecemeal ways by making compromises between workers and capitalists. Capitalism, *The Manifesto* went on to emphasize, is an unrelentingly exploitative economy that is driven by its competitive relations to colonize the entire world and to bring social life as such face to face with the question of its very ability to survive in the absence of a communist society. Today, when reformism permeates most of the political thinking that goes under the name of leftism, we would do well to recall that Marx and Engels warned, a century and a half ago,

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that "the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law," indeed, that "its existence is no longer compatible with society" pp. The pithy formulations are impossible to summarize without doing them injustice, while the brilliance with which Marx and Engels demonstrated that capitalism creates the conditions for its inevitable destruction is impossible to capture. The culminating passage of part I contains ideas that are provocative and prescient even for the coming century: The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind. The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. Industrial capitalism on the European continent was still embedded in a mixed economy--partly bourgeois, partly feudal, and largely peasant. Nearly all cities were still compact entities, crowded with winding medieval streets and surrounded by walls, and everyday commodities were still fashioned by the hands of skilled artisans. The winter of was still the inception of the bourgeois epoch, not its high point, let alone its end, and the words globalization and multinationalism were unheard of, even as The Manifesto described similar phenomena. The predictions in this passage might have been dismissed as fanciful visions, had they not been placed in the context of The Manifesto, which gave them an historical as well as an educative meaning that previous accounts of capitalism a word that was still new had lacked. These lines demonstrate the power of theory to project itself beyond given conditions into the future--and the theoretical projections of Marx and Engels here became glaring realities many generations later, although remaining unfulfilled even into the new millennium. Paramount is the salient reality that capitalism is the uncontrollable work of historical "sorcery"--a system of production for its own sake--that, while it exists, must eat away at the natural world and drastically remake the planet, probably to the detriment of all life-forms, including human beings. Without a revolutionary change, its drive as a transformative system--a society that runs on its own, beyond even the control of the bourgeoisie itself--may be modified but cannot be arrested. No "discourse" on the theoretical or programmatic issues of The Manifesto can be meaningful unless it addresses the need for the formation a "revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things" p. Abolition of private property" p. For a communist movement to fall short of this goal, as Marx and Engels understood, would be, not to "approximate" it or to "realistically" modify it, but to abandon it altogether. As the authors of The Manifesto were to write in their address to the Communist League after the events of , reforms could validly be demanded, but only as a means to ratchet up greater demands that would be impossible for the existing social order to satisfy and that thus would lead to an armed confrontation with the bourgeoisie over the very structure of society. Nor were the readers of The Manifesto in those years--and not even for a generation later--members of the industrial proletariat, to whom the document was addressed. By far the great majority of workers who could understand its message were artisans who aspired to the right to "associate" in craftlike mutualistic brotherhoods or industrial trade unions and, among the most advanced workers, to the right to "organize work" cooperatively. This artisanal or associative socialism, as historians have called it, was more cooperative than communistic, rewarding the members of associations according to their work rather than according to their needs. By contrast, The Manifesto of the Communist Party made a

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dramatic leap, unequalled by any contemporary socialistic document. It showed that communism was not merely an ethical desideratum for social justice but a compelling historical necessity, flowing out of the very development of capitalism itself. This leap was reined in by its ten-point minimum program, largely the work of Engels. Hence even the most socialistic of the ten demands, the seventh, prudently called for the "extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state" rather than the collectivization of the economy p. In a long-range perspective, part II of The Manifesto projected the concentration of all productive facilities, including the land, in the "hands of a vast association of the whole nation" p. Actually, this last phrase, "a vast association of the whole nation," was specific to the English translation; the original German spoke of "associated individuals," a somewhat Proudhonist formulation that would have made the document more acceptable in Germany at the time. After classes disappear and property has become socialized, The Manifesto says, the "public power will lose its political character," that is, its statist form: Political power [the state], properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat in its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away the old conditions of production by force, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of class generally and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class. In place of the old bourgeois society with its class and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. They constitute the most resolute party in the struggle for promoting the welfare of the proletariat, but always viewing the contours of the struggle as a whole, they "everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. The answer--idiosyncratic in the light of what the two men were to write in later years--is surprisingly libertarian. In The Manifesto, the proletarian "state" that will replace the bourgeois "political power" and initially make the most "despotic inroads on the right of property" will consist of the proletariat raised to "the position of ruling class. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. In fact, the implications of this extraordinary formulation have vexed even the ablest of socialist theorists, anarchist as well as Marxist--and they dogged Marx and Engels themselves as a problem up to the last years of their lives. How could an entire class, the proletariat organized as a "movement" that would eventually speak for society as a whole, institutionalize itself into a "political" or state power? By what concrete institutional forms would this class, whose revolution in contrast to all previous ones would represent "the interest of the immense majority" p. Until the Paris Commune of , Marx and Engels probably intended for the "political power" that the proletariat would establish to be nothing more than a republic, that is, a representative form of government, albeit one rooted in political rights such as recall. Anarchist critics of Marx pointed out with considerable effect that any system of representation would become a statist interest in its own right, one that at best would work against the interests of the working classes including the peasantry , and that at worst would be a dictatorial power as vicious as the worst bourgeois state machines. Marx and Engels had no effective response to make to this criticism, as we can tell from their correspondence with their German supporters. This tradition, which lingered in France through most of the 19th century, found no echo in the Marxist literature. But the Paris Commune of came as a breath of fresh air to Marx and Engels, who, a generation after The Manifesto was published, embraced the Commune as the institutional structure that the proletariat would produce between a capitalist and a communist society, or as Marx put it in his Critique of the Gotha Program, "the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. In its political institutions the Commune was much more of a municipalist entity, with strong affinities to anarchist notions of a confederation of communes. It essentially challenged the existence of the French nation-state, calling upon the thousands of communes that dotted France to unite in a Proudhonist contractual network of autonomous communes rather than subject themselves

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to a centralized state. Marx embraced this municipalist Commune, and in substance its call for a confederation of communes without using the compromising word confederation, which his anarchist opponents employed, as a political structure in which "the old centralised government in the provinces" would, following Paris as a model, "have to give way to the self-government of the producers"--presumably a proletarian dictatorship. The powers that people enjoy under such circumstances can be usurped without difficulty. Some anarchists will always find fault with any form of institutional social organization, but if the people are to acquire real power over their lives and society, they must establish--and in the past they have, for brief periods of time established--well-ordered institutions in which they themselves directly formulate the policies of their communities and, in the case of their regions, elect confederal functionaries, revocable and strictly controllable, who will execute them. Only in this sense can a class, especially one committed to the abolition of classes, be mobilized as a class to manage society. Apart from their writings in erstwhile support of the Paris Commune, neither Marx nor Engels ever resolved the problem of the political institutions for proletarian rule that they set for themselves in *The Manifesto*: In the Russian workers came up with their own solution to the question of a political institution for class power: This citywide soviet, which emerged in the Russian capital in the Revolution, was an approximation of the assemblies that had appeared in the Great French Revolution. Had it remained merely a municipal council, it would have differed little from the Paris Commune, although it was much more working class in character. More than Lenin, it was Leon Trotsky, one of its last and certainly its most prominent chairmen, who saw in the soviet not only the institution that could mobilize the proletariat as a class but provide the transitional political and economic bridge from a capitalist to a socialist society. Not until did Lenin decisively change his view about the soviets and come to regard them as institutions of working-class power. Even so, he wavered during the July events, when the Bolshevik leaders were imprisoned as a result of a premature spontaneous insurrection, but by the autumn of he had returned to the goal of a soviet government. For a time he suggested that a soviet government might include all the soviet parties--Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries of all kinds as well as Bolsheviks--but by the end of , the Bolsheviks ruled the newly established soviet state entirely alone and eventually turned the soviets into docile instruments of their party apparatus. The question of the institutions of political and social management by a class as a whole--and eventually by citizens in a classless society--has no easy resolution. The solutions that later anarchists, more collectivist than the Proudhonists, offered are pregnant with possibilities, but they too suffer from a lack of definition and articulation. An adequate account of its possibilities and limitations would require another article. Mere economic control of plants and factories is only one side of the coin of a revolutionary transformation, a lesson the Spanish anarchosyndicalists learned only too dramatically in , when, despite the greatest collectivization experiment in history, they failed to eliminate the bourgeois state--only to find that it returned in May , forcibly demolishing the powerful anarchist enclaves in Catalonia and Aragon. What seems necessary are the institutions of a democratic politics--to use the word politics in its Hellenic sense, not as a euphemism for modern-day Republican statecraft. I refer to a politics that would create local assemblies of the people and confederate them in purely administrative councils, in order to constitute a counterpower to the nation-state. How such a counterpower could be established and could function falls outside the province of this article; far too many important details, both historical and logistical, would be lost in a brief summary of this "assemblyist" position. That Marx and Engels, with their theoretical depth, foresaw the trajectory of capitalist development, in terms that are even more relevant today than in their own day, would be enough to make the work a tour de force in the realm of political thought. Both its great insights and its vexing problems live on with us to this day. The tragedy of Marxism is that it was blind to the insights of social anarchism and that later revolutionaries failed, at crucial moments in history, to incorporate the insights of both forms of socialism and go beyond them. With the later emergence of welfare states and their ability to manage crises, capitalism seemed able to prevent itself from sinking into a deep-seated economic crisis,

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causing this notion of "immiseration" to seem questionable. But the volatility of modern, "neo-liberal" capitalism and the erosion of its methods for crisis management have brought into question the ability of capitalism to be a self-correcting system. It is far from clear that, in the years ahead, economic collapse as well as ecological disasters will be avoided. Progress Publishers, , p. All citations from The Manifesto herein are drawn from this translation, giving page numbers. Black Rose Books, Recent theories of "strong democracy" and the like presuppose the existence of the state and tend to defer to the notion that present-day society is too "complex" to permit a direct democracy, thereby offering no serious challenge to the existing social order.

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### Chapter 8 : Czechoslovakia : definition of Czechoslovakia and synonyms of Czechoslovakia (English)

*In April , "The Action Program of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia" was adopted at the plenary session of the Party's Central Committee, and was titled "The Czechoslovak Road to Communism."*

Of all the new states established in central Europe after , only Czechoslovakia preserved a democratic government until the war broke out. The persistence of democracy suggests that Czechoslovakia was better prepared to maintain democracy than were other countries in the region. Thus, despite regional disparities, its level of development was much higher than that of neighboring states. The population was generally literate, and contained fewer alienated groups. Under Masaryk , Czech and Slovak politicians promoted progressive social and economic conditions that served to defuse discontent. Far more dangerous was the German element, which after became allied with the Nazis in Germany. The increasing feeling of inferiority among the Slovaks, who were hostile to the more numerous Czechs, weakened the country in the late s. Munich Betrayal Main article: Britain, and France at the Munich Conference ceded the control in the Appeasement , ignoring the military alliance Czechoslovakia had with France. In , the remainder "rump" of Czechoslovakia was invaded by Nazi Germany and divided into the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the puppet Slovak State. Much of Slovakia and all of Subcarpathian Ruthenia were annexed by Hungary. Poland occupied Zaolzie , an area with Polish minority, in October The eventual goal of the German state under Nazi leadership was to eradicate Czech nationality through assimilation, deportation, and extermination of the Czech intelligentsia; the intellectual elites and middle class made up a considerable number of the , people who passed through concentration camps and the , who died during German occupation. The Czech intellectual elites were to be removed not only from Czech territories but from Europe completely. The authors of Generalplan Ost believed it would be best if they emigrated overseas, as even in Siberia they were considered a threat to German rule. Just like Jews, Poles, Serbs, and several other nations, Czechs were considered to be untermenschen by the Nazi state. On June 4, , Heydrich died after being wounded by an assassin in Operation Anthropoid. In the German war effort was accelerated. Under the authority of Karl Hermann Frank , German minister of state for Bohemia and Moravia, some , Czech labourers were dispatched to the Reich. Within the protectorate, all non-war-related industry was prohibited. Most of the Czech population obeyed quiescently up until the final months preceding the end of the war, while thousands were involved in the resistance movement. For the Czechs of the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia, German occupation was a period of brutal oppression. Czech losses resulting from political persecution and deaths in concentration camps totaled between 36, and 55, The Jewish population of Bohemia and Moravia , according to the census was virtually annihilated. Several thousand Jews managed to live in freedom or in hiding throughout the occupation. Despite the estimated , deaths at the hands of the Nazi regime, the population in the Reichsprotektorate saw a net increase during the war years of approximately , in line with an increased birth rate. Communist Czechoslovakia Spartakiad in Under the decrees, citizenship was abrogated for people of German and Hungarian ethnic origin , who had accepted German or Hungarian citizenship during the occupations. In , this provision was cancelled for the Hungarians, but only partially for the Germans. Those who remained were collectively accused of supporting the Nazis after the Munich Agreement , as Almost every decree explicitly stated that the sanctions did not apply to antifascists. Some , Germans, many married to Czechs, some antifascists, and also those required for the post-war reconstruction of the country, remained in Czechoslovakia. In the parliamentary election, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was the winner in the Czech lands , and the Democratic Party won in Slovakia. In February the Communists seized power. Although they would maintain the fiction of political pluralism through the existence of the National Front , except for a short period in the late s the Prague Spring the country was characterised by the absence of liberal democracy.

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While its economy remained more advanced than those of its neighbours in Eastern Europe , Czechoslovakia grew increasingly economically weak relative to Western Europe. In response, after failing to persuade the Czechoslovak leaders to change course, five other Eastern Bloc members of the Warsaw Pact invaded. Soviet tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia on the night of 20â€”21 August This resistance involved a wide range of acts of non-cooperation and defiance: Meanwhile, one plank of the reform programme had been carried out: The theory was that under the federation, social and economic inequities between the Czech and Slovak halves of the state would be largely eliminated. A number of ministries, such as education, now became two formally equal bodies in the two formally equal republics. However, the centralised political control by the Czechoslovak Communist Party severely limited the effects of federalisation. After Main article: History of Czechoslovakia â€” In , the Velvet Revolution restored democracy. This occurred at around the same time as the fall of communism in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland. Within three years communist rule was extirpated from Europe. Unlike Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union , the end of communism in this country did not automatically mean the end of the "communist" name: In , because of growing nationalist tensions, Czechoslovakia was peacefully dissolved by parliament. On 1 January it formally separated into two completely independent countries: Heads of state and government.

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### Chapter 9 : Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia - Wikipedia

*That notion would be reinforced during the Prague Spring, when party archives were opened and showed that Stalin gave up the whole idea of a parliamentary path for Czechoslovakia when the Communist parties of France and Italy stumbled in and*

Twenty-seven years later, Ricardo Lagos Escobar represented the Socialist Party in the presidential elections. In the legislative elections on 16 December, as part of the Coalition of Parties for Democracy, the party won 10 out of 38 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 5 out of 38 elected seats in the Senate. After the elections, the Party increased its seats to 15 and 8, respectively. In the elections, it retained 11 Congressional and 5 Senate seats. Socialist Michelle Bachelet won the presidential election. In the presidential election, she was elected again and took office in 2010. After the Chilean coup of 1973, it was proscribed along with the other leftist parties constituting the Popular Unity coalition and the party split into several groups which would not reunite until after the return to civilian rule in 1990. Socialist thought in Chile goes back to the mid-19th century, when Francisco Bilbao and Santiago Arcos opened a debate on civil rights and social equality in Chile. These ideas took hold in the labour movement at the beginning of the 20th century and, along with them, the various communist, anarchist, socialist, and mutualist ideals of the time were diffused by writers and leaders such as Luis Emilio Recabarren. The idea of founding a political party to unite the different movements identified with socialism took shape in the foundation of the Socialist Party of Chile, on 19 April 1922. The new socialist state only can be born of the initiative and the revolutionary action of the proletariat masses. The Socialist Party will support their revolutionary goals in economics and politics across Latin America in order to pursue a vision of a Confederacy of the Socialist Republics of the Continent, the first step toward the World Socialist Confederation. The Party quickly obtained popular support. Its partisan structure exhibits some singularities, such as the creation of "brigades" that group their militants according to environment of activity; brigades that live together organically, and brigades of militant youths such as the Confederacy of the Socialist Youth, and the Confederacy of Socialist Women. The participation of the Socialist Party in the government of Aguirre Cerda reached an end on 15 December 1937, due to internal conflicts among the Popular Front coalition, in particular with the Communist Party. The Socialists participated in his cabinet, alongside Radicals, members of the Democratic Party and of the Liberal Party and even of the Falange. The promulgation, in 1933, of the Law 8. Allende abandoned the party and united the Socialist Party of Chile, which, as a group with the Communist Party outlawed, raised the candidacy of Allende for the Front of the People. In spite of the loss, the unification of the socialist parties had a new leader, and Chile was one of the few countries of the world in which a Marxist had clear possibilities to win the presidency of the Republic through democratic elections. The overwhelming triumph of Eduardo Frei Montalva over the candidate of the FRAP Salvador Allende Gossens in the presidential elections of September 1964 caused demoralization among the followers of the "Chilean way to socialism". The discrepancies of the party were perceived clearly. The party now officially adhered to Marxism-Leninism, declared itself in favour of revolutionary, anticapitalist and anti-imperialist changes. Popular Unity triumphed in the presidential election of September 1970. There was world expectation; he agreed to manage the coalition and to be a Marxist president with the explicit commitment to build socialism, while respecting the democratic and institutional mechanisms. He proclaimed that the party should become "the Chilean vanguard in the march toward socialism". In the municipal elections of April 1970, the leftist coalition achieved an absolute majority in the election of local councillors, which caused growing polarization due to the alliance of the Christian Democrats with the sectors of the right in the country. The withdrawal of the Party of Radical Left from the government, with its 6 representatives and 5 senators, meant that the government of Allende was left with less than one third of both houses of the parliament. In the parliamentary elections of

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March , the Popular Unity ruler coalition managed to block a move by the opposing Democratic Confederation to impeach Allende. This initiative did not attain the required two-thirds majority. The Socialist Party, which had posted its highest electoral showing in history, was opposed, along with MAPU , to any dialogue with the right-wing opposition. President Salvador Allende refused to relinquish power to the Armed Forces, and ultimately committed suicide in his office at the Palace of La Moneda , during an intensive air bombardment of the historic edifice. Within a few weeks of the coup, four members of their Central Committee and seven regional secretaries of the Partido Social had been murdered. A further twelve members of the Central Committee were imprisoned, while the remaining members took refuge in various foreign embassies. The secret services of the military state managed to infiltrate the organization and, one by one, arrested its principal leaders. Altamirano, not accepting this, declared a re-organization of the party and called a Conference. The XXIV Conference took place in France in and Altamirano declared there that, "Only a very deep and rigorous renewal of definitions and proposals for action, language, style and methods of "doing politics" will make our revolutionary action effective Yes, it means we must "renew it", understand it as our most precious instrument of change, as an option for power, as an alternative to transformation. They aimed, in conjunction with the Christian Democracy, to end dictatorship through "non-disruptive methods". The other sector majority from among the socialist militants in the interior of the country formed the "popular rebellion" alliance - an agreement with the Communist Party, the Leftist Revolutionary Movement and the Radical Party of Anselmo Sule. The objectives were the same. After the First National Protest against the Pinochet regime, which occurred on 11 May , the efforts of the different factions of the Socialist Party intensified. This was a coalition of Christian Democrats, Silva Cimma radicals, and sectors from the republican and democratic right wing. They convened the Fourth National Protest Day 11 August and proposed, in September , the formation of the Socialist Bloc, the first attempt at a unification of Chilean socialism under the slogan "Democracy Now! The signing of the National Accord in late August , between the Democratic Alliance and sectors of the right wing aligned to the military regime, deepened division among the Chilean left wing. The most radical politico-military arm opposed the method of gradual transition towards democracy. In September , the politico-military method of "mass violent insurrectionist uprisings" was finally aborted after the failure of "Operation 20th century", as the assassination attempt on Pinochet by the FPMR was called. Some of the top leaders from among the revolutionary sectors of the "Almeyda" Partido Social, along with conciliators and opportunists, on realizing that the idea of overthrowing the dictatorship was not a viable strategy, began to take control of the party and distance themselves from the Communist Party. As a result, the socialist left wing realized that a "negotiated solution" to the conflict could not be found outside of the provisions of the Constitution. In March , Clodomiro Almeyda entered Chile secretly and presented himself before the court to rectify his situation. He was deported to Chile Chico , condemned and deprived of his civic rights. We shall defeat him with the ballot boxes.. We are convinced that the town is going to stop Pinochet with the ballot boxes. We are going to build that army of seven million citizens to embrace different alternatives to the Chilean political landscape". In December the "renewed" Partido Social founded the Partido por la Democracia PPD Party for Democracy , an "instrumental" party serving as a tool to enable legally democratic forces to participate in the Plebiscite Referendum and in subsequent elections. Ricardo Lagos was appointed as the president. Some radicals, dissident communists, and even democratic liberals joined this party. This proposal by the democratic opposition was partly accepted by the authoritarian government via the 30 July , Plebiscite, where 54 reforms to the existing Constitution were approved. Among these reforms were the revocation of the controversial article 8, which served as the basis for the exclusion of the socialist leader, Clodomiro Almeyda , from political involvement. After the elections the XXV Congress was convoked at Costa Azul, which took the momentous decision for Chilean socialism to abandon its traditional isolationism and join the Socialist International. The fall of the wall of Berlin, on 9 November , deeply affected the Chilean

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left, especially in its more orthodox sector. This accelerated the process of unification within the party, which was finalized on 27 December. Hortensia Bussi, the widow of Allende, sent a message to the Congress from Mexico: I salute with deep feeling the reunification of the Socialist Party of Chile. The first challenges for the unified socialists were the exercise of power and the "double membership" status of the "renewal socialists" as members of both the PS and the PPD. Finally, the Socialist Party decided to have itself recorded under its own name and symbols in the electoral rolls, and gave a two-year time limit to its members to opt for the PS or the PPD. After Frei became president, the Socialists took up senior posts in his first cabinet: This time Lagos won the primary on 30 May, with In September, marking 30 years since the coup against Allende, the Socialist Party issued a document accepting responsibility for the events: It is beyond all doubt that President Allende maintained an unchanging and impeccable attitude. Nevertheless, the socialists have made it clear, and we repeat it now, that we did not do enough to defend the democratic regime. We aimed to carry through a program of change without the necessary majorities in parliament and in society, we remained intransigent in the matter, and we did not give President Allende the support of his party that he needed to lead the government along the pathways that had been defined. Michelle Bachelet with the presidential flag. Moreover, Michelle Bachelet was elected as president of Chile. Bachelet took over as president on 11 March. Her initially high popularity dropped considerably as a result of the student mobilization known as the "Penguin Revolution", the Transantiago crisis, and various conflicts within the governing coalition. Described as a "social contract", her government reformed pensions and the social security system, aiming to help thousands of Chileans to improve their quality of life. Prominent figures including Jorge Arrate, senator Alejandro Navarro and deputy Marco Enriquez-Ominami quit the party in and In the parliamentary elections, the PS led by Escalona suffered a serious defeat: