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Annex IV/2

ADDRESS

By the Head of the Czechoslovak Delegation,  
General Secretary of the CC of the CPC and President of the ČSSR Gustáv Husák at the  
Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty  
Warsaw, May 14-15, 1980

Dear Comrades,

Permit me also to express, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, my sincerest thanks to our Polish hosts for the excellent conditions that they have provided for our work.

We are meeting at a time when all of progressive mankind is celebrating the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory over fascism and remembering with gratitude the heroic, liberating role that the Soviet Union played in saving human civilization. Victory Day – May 9, 1945 – is also the day when the Soviet Army completed Czechoslovakia's liberation, the day when our nations' struggle for national liberation reached its peak. The Czechoslovak people thus rightfully regard this day as the most important anniversary in our modern history. It marks the beginning of a new course for our nations, a course of building socialism, a course that we have been pursuing in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Twenty-five years ago, the Warsaw Treaty organization was founded here, in the capital city of People's Poland. World developments during these 25 years – filled by the socialist commonwealth's collective struggle for the construction, consolidation and continuous development of socialism, for world peace and the consolidation of our states' security – have convincingly shown that the decision of our parties and our states to establish the Warsaw Treaty Organization was correct.

The past 25 years have fully confirmed that the Warsaw Treaty Organization constitutes a secure barrier against imperialism's efforts to disturb our countries' peaceful development. It has become an effective tool for coordinating and unifying our approach regarding issues of collective defense and foreign policy. It has become a platform for a fruitful exchange of opinions, where we work out common approaches and positions on fundamental issues regarding European and world developments; where we work out our common line in foreign policy and the member-countries' collective strategies and tactics. We will work with all our strength to consolidate its unity, coherence, and

fighting power because they represent the principal guarantees of our state sovereignty and independence and have proven themselves in the struggle to consolidate, peace, security and cooperation among nations.

We base our position upon our experience during the entire postwar period, upon our collective struggle against imperialism. We always remember that the crucial precondition for success in the struggle for the cause of socialism and against all imperialist attacks has always been the common, unified and coordinated advance of all the socialist commonwealth's members against the gravest danger – imperialism.

It is particularly important to remember that experience today and to heed it thoroughly. The General Secretary of the CC of CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, L.I. Brezhnev, presented a very fitting characterization at the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Moscow. He emphasized that our collective task is to concentrate our forces at the main thrust of the attack – i.e., in the fight against imperialism, its aggressive goals and intentions.

At this moment, when imperialism has launched an unprecedented anti-socialist campaign and anti-Soviet hysteria; when it is striving by all possible means, through a so-called “policy of differentiation,” to drive a wedge between the individual socialist countries and the USSR; the main thrust of attack, its most important point, as we noted above, lies in complete and utter resistance against such intentions. We believe that now it is necessary more than ever to close ranks in opposing such anti-Soviet invectives and to support consistently the USSR's highly-principled, anti-imperialist policy of peace. Now, just as before, this constitutes an essential prerequisite for each socialist country and for the socialist commonwealth as a whole. There are not and cannot be any neutral countries in this regard. Protecting and consolidating our commonwealth's unity is an ongoing task, consistent with the vital interests of all our nations.

This is why we fully support the USSR's efforts in the struggle to rebuff the current, dangerous course of imperialism's policy; this is why we fully support its consistent struggle to defend the achievements of détente, to promote disarmament, and to safeguard the defense and security of the socialist commonwealth. We fully support the highly-principled, internationalist positions of the USSR on all issues regarding the construction and development of socialism and the fight against imperialism and in favor of peace, détente and disarmament, including the struggle for national liberation.

In today's complex situation, when imperialism is seeking to return to the offensive, Lenin's thesis regarding the overriding importance of a class-based approach,

especially in difficult situations, has been clearly and convincingly vindicated. We firmly believe that a clearly-defined, class-based platform remains an indispensable prerequisite even now for a united front among the socialist commonwealth, the international Communist and workers' movement and other anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

Dear Comrades,

Everything we have achieved in our struggle for a Europe living in peace has been gained as the result of a tough fight. Each of our countries has contributed its share. However, the positive results can be attributed mainly to the highly-principled, Leninist policy of peace of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state. The Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak people as a whole greatly appreciate the relentless efforts and wisdom of Comrade Brezhnev and his tremendous contribution to the cause of peace and international détente.

We have listened with great interest to Comrade Brezhnev's speech, which has greatly inspired and enriched our conversation. On behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, I would like to express our full agreement with its analysis and evaluation of the current international situation, including the stress placed on the need to continuously strengthen our unity and cohesion, and the proposed course of action for all of us. This also applies to the major, new initiative to convene a summit meeting of the world's leaders.

The world's peace-loving forces are placing great hopes in the socialist commonwealth because it is our countries that are offering a realistic solution to the accumulated problems of today's world. All our actions must be aimed at fulfilling these justified hopes.

We must unmask the true intentions of imperialism even more effectively. The imperialistic and hegemonic forces have intensified their efforts and have thus further complicated the international situation. The NATO member-states are feverishly arming, and the most reactionary forces have been openly attacking the policy of détente. Therefore, we must intensify the efforts of all forces working for peace and rally them in the fight against these dangerous plans. We must make the people of the capitalist nations, as well as our own countries, understand that NATO poses a threat to world peace and is striving to achieve military superiority over the socialist commonwealth.

One of the most dangerous manifestations of this policy, we believe, was the decision of the North Atlantic Alliance to deploy new types of US missiles targeted at the

Warsaw Treaty countries. This policy poses a serious threat to all European countries. Joint efforts by the socialist countries, the Communists and all progressive forces in Western Europe are needed in order to expose the NATO states' lies, aimed at disguising their armament efforts as an attempt to maintain the balance of power. Along with the other Warsaw Treaty countries, the ČSSR is prepared to do its utmost to prevent any disturbance of the military and strategic balance at the expense of the socialist commonwealth's security.

At previous meetings of the Political Consultative Committee, we all agreed that the growing cooperation – especially in the military field – between Beijing and Washington and the other imperialist states poses a serious threat to world peace, the ongoing revolutionary process, and the independent development of nations. Now, we are witnessing concrete attempts at coordinated action against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and the national liberation movement, such as the ongoing aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, or, more recently, the training and support for counter-revolutionary forces in Afghanistan. We believe that in the interests of peace, socialism and international cooperation, Beijing's policy must be condemned and its dangers revealed to all the nations of the world.

The forces of reaction throughout the world, under the personal leadership of President Carter, are mobilizing against international détente, security and cooperation and against everything that is progressive. Washington is responsible for the severe deterioration in Soviet-U.S. relations, which play a critical role in shaping the overall development of the international situation. Given that the consolidation of socialism's positions, the socialist countries' unity and the mobilization of all peace-loving forces successfully compelled a turn from Cold War to détente in the past, we believe even more in our ability to rebuff the reactionary forces and to ensure that détente remains the main tendency in international relations. The forces of socialism, democracy, and peace are now much stronger than before.

Together with the other participants in the Political Consultative Committee meeting, we agree that a further improvement in the situation requires concrete steps toward military détente. We consider the task proclaimed in the declaration of the Moscow meeting of the Political Consultative Committee to be the most important and urgent – namely, the quick achievement of a decisive breakthrough in the arms control and disarmament negotiations. It is correct, we believe, to emphasize this issue at the meetings of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of our countries. We also welcome and fully support the proposals set forth in the declaration that we will adopt at today's meeting.

In the fight for détente and disarmament, we must continue to win over all peace-loving and realistically-minded forces. We consider the recent meeting of the Communist and workers' parties in Paris to have been an important forum. It confirmed once again that the Communists are standing at the forefront in the struggle for peace and disarmament. Its results have given important impetus to the mobilization of all forces favoring peace, regardless of their political or religious affiliation. The Czechoslovak Communist Party, our government, and our National Front will do everything we can to translate the most important and urgent "Appeal to the Nations of Europe for Peace and Disarmament" into deeds. We are convinced that even a small, positive step is politically important in terms of halting the feverish rush to armament and moving toward genuine disarmament.

Dear Comrades,

The foreign policy of socialist Czechoslovakia is firmly rooted in the conclusions of the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPČ and has been closely coordinated with the other Warsaw Treaty countries. In keeping with the Moscow Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee, as elaborated by the Politburo of the CC of the CPČ in accordance with our particular conditions, we have contributed as best we can to our commonwealth's efforts to influence world developments. We have consolidated and further developed our cooperation with the other socialist countries, both bilaterally and multilaterally.

Our comprehensive and ever-deepening mutual cooperation in all areas constitutes a powerful, driving force in the development of each fraternal country and the socialist commonwealth as a whole and a reliable guarantee for steady and ongoing progress. We attach much significance to the continued strengthening of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation among the CMEA member-countries. We believe that the level of economic development achieved by our countries and current trends worldwide require that we make more frequent and consistent use of the broad opportunities offered by socialist economic integration.

The ČSSR has always sympathized with and fully supported the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, and the People's Republic of Cambodia. These sympathies were reconfirmed during this year's visit of a Czechoslovak party and state delegation to these countries, which has contributed, we believe, to the improvement and consolidation of ties between these fraternal countries and the entire socialist commonwealth. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is an outpost of socialism in the region. We resolutely oppose any attempts at granting absolution to

the criminal Pol Pot regime or imposing an unpopular government upon the young Cambodian state from outside. We fully support the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Cambodia and will do everything to strengthen the independence of this fraternal country and to assist it in its successful development.

We firmly side with fraternal, socialist Cuba and give her our full support in her fight against the growing pressure of American imperialism. We firmly condemn the Pentagon's attempts to threaten the sovereignty, independence, and socialist development of the Republic of Cuba through military intimidation, naval maneuvers, and other subversive actions. We highly value Cuba's positive role in the non-aligned movement. Cuba's example is a great, revolutionary source of inspiration for Latin America and the entire developing world.

We have repeated once again our opinion on the situation and developments in Afghanistan. We fully back the government led by Babrak Karmal, which is implementing the revolutionary and democratic goals of the April Revolution and is working to strengthen the progressive forces in the country. We firmly support the internationalist approach of the Soviet Union, which is providing assistance against outside aggression and defending Afghanistan's independence, freedom, and overall development and defending the Afghan people's right to self-determination.

Czechoslovakia is continuing its active support for national liberation movements, especially in southern Africa and the Middle East. We have been supporting in every possible way the Arab countries' fight for the complete elimination of the results of Israeli aggression and for a fair and lasting peace in the region. Our position on the Camp David Accords, which constitute treason against the Arab people and serves to consolidate US imperialism and Israeli expansionism, remains unchanged. We side with the people of Iran in their anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation, although we realize that the Iranian revolution is unfolding under very difficult circumstances.

We consider the strengthening of our relations and our assistance to nations fighting for freedom and independence as a manifestation of our commitments and duties stemming from the ideals of proletarian internationalism and international revolutionary solidarity. We will continue to support the legitimate fight of peoples against imperialism, colonialism and all forms of neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid.

We have been striving for the intensive development of comprehensive relations with the countries oriented toward socialism. We agree that the further development of cooperation with these countries requires concrete measures to coordinate our actions.



This would increase the efficacy of our countries' assistance and help them better utilize their particular capabilities.

We will continue to strive to build normal, good, and mutually-beneficial relations with the capitalist states, if there is goodwill to do so on their part. We are prepared to utilize and develop everything that has proven useful in the implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and will keep looking for other, mutually-beneficial forms of cooperation.

We believe that the possibilities and opportunities for further improving relations among the signatories of the Helsinki documents have been far from exhausted. As we prepare for the Madrid meeting, we are keeping this fact in mind. We are striving so that the preparations and the course of the meeting itself will be constructive and bring tangible, positive results, especially in terms of continuing and further deepening the process of détente and international cooperation. In our opinion, Madrid should adopt the crucial decision to convene an all-European political conference on military détente and disarmament. We support fraternal Poland's initiative to host the conference in Warsaw. Still, we can bank on the fact that our class enemies will try to manipulate the Madrid meeting and use it against the socialist countries, just as they did at Belgrade. We should make active use, we believe, of the upcoming fifth anniversary of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe for coordinated political, diplomatic, and propaganda activities.

Dear Comrades,

We believe that the opponents of the détente process will not succeed. It has established deep roots, especially in Europe, although the situation here has also become more complicated due to the aggressive course of the United States. Still, it is obvious that the U.S.'s allies do not want to renounce the benefits of the détente process, including beneficial economic relations and cooperation in other areas. Although they are basically maintaining solidarity with the world bourgeoisie, many West European countries do not intend to blindly follow Washington. In our opinion, we should use this situation to our advantage and do our best to keep reinforcing the atmosphere of mutual trust in Europe.

Dear Comrades,

Despite all the recent complications and problems, we can state that the international position and influence of the socialist commonwealth has been consolidated,

and its influence continues to grow. This has contributed to our common fight for peace and socialism and for a tighter cohesion among the forces of the socialist commonwealth, the international Communist and workers' movement and national liberation movements.

The ongoing, successful development of our foreign activities requires us to follow a united and coordinated approach, to support all peace-loving and progressive forces, and to win over realistic politicians in the West to a policy of détente and disarmament.

We are committed to doing everything that we can to keep strengthening and consolidating, in close unity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, our economic and defensive potential and to contribute, through an active foreign policy, to peace, disarmament and mutual trust among nations.

I would like to stress that the organizational mechanism of the Warsaw Treaty, which has improved step-by-step, now corresponds to present needs. To make our cooperation even more effective, we must make better use of this mechanism. Czechoslovakia is prepared to actively participate in this work.

In conclusion, I would like to express, on behalf of the CC of the CPC and the government of the ČSSR, our full agreement with the proposed declaration, and to assure you that the ČSSR will do its utmost to bring its conclusions to life.

Thank you for your attention.

*[Translation from the Czech by Jiří Mareš]*