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Annex IV/a

Speech of Comrade Gustáv Husák

Dear Comrades,

I would like to join the expression of heartfelt thanks to our Hungarian comrades and to Comrade János Kádár personally for the good preparation of our meeting, their warm welcome and their hospitality.

We appreciate the fact that our meetings and consultations now occur at a regular pace, as required by current developments both in our countries and elsewhere in the world. I am referring to the meetings of the Political Consultative Committee and the other meetings that permit us to exchange our opinions and experience on an informal basis, to consider jointly and resolve urgent matters in our mutual relations, and thus better coordinate our activities internationally. I would especially like to voice appreciation for the fact that the contents and forms of our cooperation have been continuously improving and growing richer; this is necessary, given today's needs and requirements.

Since our meeting in Sofia, several important events have taken place. There was the summit between the USSR and the USA in Geneva, followed by the meeting of the First and General Secretaries in Prague. The congresses of our fraternal parties represented important moments in the life of each of our countries and the entire socialist commonwealth. The formulation of programs to accelerate social and economic development, together with our deepening mutual cooperation, are providing the necessary prerequisites for strengthening the positions of socialism throughout the world and for increasing its influence on international developments.

In this regard, the role of the 27th Congress of the CPSU is particularly important. We will keep returning to its results for a long time, for they are a major source of

experience and inspiration. Its ideas also had a significant impact upon the preparations and course of our 17th Congress.

The resolutions adopted by the 17th Congress enjoy the full support of the party and our entire people. This fact was confirmed anew at all levels during our general elections. We are now focusing most of our attention on the thorough implementation of every part of the congress's program.

With regard to foreign policy, our congress proclaimed its full support for the peace program adopted at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, which conforms to the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people. At the same time, our congress tasked us with using all available means and capabilities to actively participate in the program's implementation.

We concur in the analysis of the current international situation presented in Comrade Gorbachev's speech at today's meeting, as well as his proposals for further actions in the struggle to preserve and consolidate world peace.

Comrades,

After the Soviet-American summit in Geneva, the world public expected that the global political atmosphere would change for the better. These expectations were encouraged by the efforts of the Soviet Union, which keeps presenting new, far-reaching peace and disarmament proposals in order to rid the world from the fear of nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction and to create a reliable international security system. These Soviet initiatives, including a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, demonstrate the Soviet Union's great awareness of its responsibility for the fate of human civilization. The nations of the world are becoming increasingly aware of this.

Nevertheless, the American administration, under the pressure of the military-industrial complex, did not take a single step to halt the arms race since Geneva; on the contrary, it has been accelerating it. It continues to work towards the realization of its "Star Wars" program and

has been trying, often successfully, to drag its allies into its dangerous, militaristic programs. The aggressive nature of imperialism, especially of the American variety, has increased.

Manifestations of its despotic nature have included its barbaric attack against independent Libya, its efforts to bring down the progressive government of Nicaragua, and its threats to use raw military power against all who do not yield to its *diktat*.

The class blindness of the aggressive imperialist circles, combined with their megalomania, their efforts to rule the world and their hatred of socialism, have made them incapable of soberly assessing the risks of their dangerous policy, which are in many respects incalculable.

This course of American imperialism was clearly on display at the G-7 summit in Tokyo, where the United States sought a blank check for its military adventures anywhere in the world.

Washington's statement to the effect that the USA no longer feels itself bound by the SALT II treaty confirms that the aggressive circles in the USA are prepared to realize their militaristic plans, despite their treaty commitments. It is proceeding with the deployment of both strategic nuclear weapons and intermediate-range missiles and with the modernization of its conventional weapons. There also have been worrisome developments in the field of chemical weapons. The USA and its closest NATO allies have in fact decided on the production of a new generation of binary chemical weapons and on the details of their deployment in Western Europe.

We must oppose these plans even more energetically; we must strive to attain broad support for a global agreement to ban and liquidate both nuclear and chemical weapons as soon as possible and for supplement these efforts with specific regional measures. This is the purpose of the joint initiative of ČSSR and the GDR to establish a chemical-weapon-free zone in Central Europe. It is also positive that our approach matches that of the SPD and that our initiative has met with a positive reception from the other parties of the Socialist International. We appreciate the support that the fraternal socialist countries have extended to our proposal, as demonstrated

by our joint efforts to block America's production of binary weapons and their deployment in Western Europe. We must also express our collective support for the proposals to establish a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans.

Comrades,

The developments since the Geneva summit demonstrate that Comrade Gorbachev was correct in his words at the Prague meeting – namely, we cannot entertain any illusions regarding imperialism's policy, and we are in for a rough period and a difficult struggle.

It is in this context that we must assess the tremendous efforts of the Soviet Union, which is seeking and actively exploiting all possibilities to halt and reverse these dangerous developments. Together with the other socialist countries, it is putting forward a clear and understandable policy against the militaristic and aggressive course of imperialism, a policy that is also attaining ever-increasing support among realistic public circles in the West. It is important that the nations of the world are beginning to realize who is on the side of peace and who is on the side of war. There are indications of disagreement even among the USA's allies in NATO, who have been complaining about the United States' failure to respond to Soviet disarmament initiatives, except to reject them.

We believe that given the situation, our meeting's appeal to NATO members and all European states to reduce the levels of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe is a major, historic step of significant importance to the nations of Europe. We view it as a new, significant contribution, which complements and constructively develops our existing set of disarmament proposals. The draft appeal has been discussed and fully approved by the Presidium of the CC of the CPC. We are convinced that the appeal and the struggle for its adoption will bring us new opportunities to implement our strategy of peace.

I think we should all consider collectively how to make our peace and disarmament proposals even more convincing and what we have learned from the positive effects so far in

order to win people's hearts and minds for our cause and to help isolate the most reactionary and most aggressive forces of imperialism. It is obvious that the application of the Leninist principle of openness and comprehensibility of foreign policy – along with the fact that we address not only governments, but also their peoples – is bringing benefits. We must do even more to firmly embed the conviction in world public opinion that the policy of confrontation is dangerous and has no chance of success and that the only path open to mankind is that of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Naturally, imperialism will do its best to disrupt the goals that we have set for ourselves at our respective congresses. As we could see for ourselves in connection with the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, it will not hesitate to cynically exploit the most reprehensible means available. The tragic accident was used by the West to launch a massive, unprecedented anti-Soviet hysteria, the purpose of which was to call into question the socialist system and to weaken trust in the Soviet Union, especially in terms of its security and disarmament proposals.

This artificially-induced panic counted on people's fear of the as yet unknown consequences that nuclear energy may bring. However, this fear has gradually started to turn against those who induced it. The peoples of Europe are increasingly coming to realize the danger posed by the explosion of just one atomic bomb on our continent. Consequently, there are now even greater opportunities to win their support for our proposals to remove all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction from Europe and to destroy them.

As was the case in the past, our enemies are now exploiting all extreme right-wing, neo-Fascist and similar forces, including revanchists, to further their anti-Communist goals and to undermine trust among the countries of Europe. We also cannot leave unnoticed the recent congress of Sudeten German expellees in Munich, in which Chancellor Kohl and other West German government officials actively participated for the first time ever. Voices could be heard there once again proclaiming that the "German" and "Sudeten German" questions remain open. Behind this lies territorial claims and demands; a questioning of the outcome of World War II,

including the postwar territorial settlements in Europe; and attempts to revise it. The policy of the FRG, which is the most loyal servant to Reagan's policy of war, reflects completely this doctrine of revanchism.

Comrades,

We attach a great deal of importance to the multilateral disarmament talks in Geneva, Vienna, Stockholm, and the UN as part of the process of consolidating security. Lately, we have witnessed a tangible hardening of the West's position in all these forums. This has been the result of the pressure exerted by the United States, which has intentionally promoted a course opposed to the recently-submitted, constructive proposals of the Warsaw Treaty's member-states and has repeatedly tried to steer the disarmament talks to a dead end.

We consider it necessary to step up our peace offensive. Many political representatives and movements in the West have doubts about the policy of the current American administration and its consequences for Europe. This fact underlines the importance of dialogue and a search for agreement about critical questions related to European and global security.

We must do all we can to successfully conclude the first phase of the Stockholm Conference, which would have a positive effect on the subsequent CSCE meeting in Vienna, as well as the ongoing struggle to return to a policy of détente.

We base our position on the fact that the Helsinki Conference and its Final Act now represent major stabilizing factors for Europe and the entire world. This position is also our point of departure in preparing for the next all-European meeting, at which we must collectively strive to make it yet another significant contribution to a healthier political atmosphere and a return of détente.

With regard to Vienna, we consider it necessary to focus our attention on an important, yet so far rather neglected, part of the Final Act: the part concerning economic cooperation. Our approach in this area has solid foundations and utilizing it could make a significant contribution

to the stabilization and development of the policy of détente, especially since we should now deal with the policy of discrimination and embargoes as the dialogue between the CMEA and EEC begins to develop. It is with this goal in mind – as we already informed the March meeting of the Committee of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw – that we would like to present a proposal to convene an “Economic Forum” in Czechoslovakia after the Vienna meeting, which would consider the development of all-European economic cooperation.

Comrades,

The period currently before us confronts us with a whole complex of extraordinarily important tasks, both domestically and internationally.

As we raise the collective responsibility of all the socialist countries for socialism’s future successes in its historical struggle with capitalism, there is an increasing need to improve the efficiency of the socialist system, to exploit more quickly and comprehensively its advantages, practice and potential as we previously discussed at our respective party congresses.

Looking for new, more effective ways and methods of cooperation in every area is becoming an important priority. The enhancement of the CMEA’s efficiency and flexibility is of fundamental importance. I am referring especially to deeper and more permanent forms of cooperation through direct relations between economic organizations – in research, development, production, sales, joint ventures, scientific and production associations, etc. The Czechoslovak party fully supports these efforts and our authorities have already adopted several concrete measures in this regard.

A good, long-term conceptual document has been prepared and approved: “The Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress of the CMEA Member-States until the Year 2000.” The Czechoslovak party attaches fundamental importance to its consistent implementation and the removal of all obstacles that stand in its way. This will require a change in deep-seated practices, old ways of thinking, and in many cases also existing legislation. We must create the prerequisites for an all-round intensification and improvement in the efficiency

of the entire integration process. We have signed long-term bilateral programs for long-term cooperation with a number of fraternal countries, which also aim at this goal.

We attach extraordinary importance to the all-round consolidation of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. We welcome the fact that an information group is being established, whose work will further improve the mutual exchange of information and our collective efforts in the fields of propaganda and diplomacy.

In conclusion, I would like to voice our agreement with the draft documents that were submitted.

*[Translation from the Czech by Jiří Mareš]*