

## **Comrade Gustáv Husák /Czechoslovak Socialist Republic/<sup>1</sup>**

Dear Comrades!

First of all, please allow me to cordially greet the present meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty and every delegation of the fraternal parties and countries on behalf of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Central Committee and the government of the ČSSR. At the same time we want to join the other Comrades in expressing our thanks to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and the government of the People's Republic of Poland for their excellent organizational work and for the good working conditions. Our Central Committee and the government of the ČSSR greeted the convocation of the Political Consultative Committee as the appropriate moment to sum up the work we have done since the last session and to consider further coordinated action.

In terms of the key problems in current world developments and the evaluation of basic tendencies, we fully concur in the analysis provided by Comrade Brezhnev on behalf of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and the government of the USSR. His speech clearly depicted the way in which the conclusions of the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague in January 1972 and the resolutions of other discussions and meetings that took place between our parties and governments since the last Crimea meeting, particularly in the summer, have been put into practice. Comrade Brezhnev's speech has provided a very profound and objective analysis of the current international situation and provides realistic conclusions and assessments based on it for our future common work. In addition to bilateral talks and exchanges of experience, the exchange of information between the fraternal parties has also been useful for our everyday work. I take this occasion to thank the Central Committee of the CPSU on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPC for the information that the Soviet Comrades consistently and regularly provide us regarding their positions on the resolution of some important international issues.

Also of great value to us is the information from the Soviet Comrades regarding their recent international talks, which objectively reflect the optimistic dimensions of the CPSU's program of peace and the implementation of our common line in foreign policy. We fully support the position taken by the leaders of the Soviet Union in their recent talks with U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger, and we welcome the positive results. We are fully convinced that Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's forthcoming meetings with U.S. President Nixon and Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, as well as other summits, will contribute to further progress in the consolidation of the policy of peaceful coexistence, which is fully in line with the foreign policy interests of all the socialist states. In this

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<sup>1</sup> Excerpt from the Hungarian transcript of the meeting at  
<http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch/collections/colltopic.cfm?lng=en&id=18172&navinfo=14465>.

respect special mention must be made of the new step forward in the field of strategic arms control, although as it has become apparent from Comrade Brezhnev's speech, there are exceedingly important and complicated problems involved.

We believe that it represents a fundamental success of our peace policy that in principle the correlation of forces has shifted in favor of the socialist states; this marks a result of the unceasing growth of the political, economic and defensive power of the socialist commonwealth. There are also two other vital factors at work, which have a motivating role. On the one hand: the tireless initiative and consistent, principled position of the CC of the CPSU, the government of the Soviet Union and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev with regard to the resolution of every important question in contemporary international politics. We are all convinced again and again that this policy is internationalist and reflects not only the interests of the Soviet people but also the common cause of socialism and the whole international communist movement. The other factor: the solidarity and unity of the socialist commonwealth, its coordination and collaboration on the road toward attaining our common goals in foreign policy, and our solidarity, mutual assistance and support in solving the foreign policy tasks that each country faces.

As far as the ČSSR is concerned, our Central Committee and the government of the ČSSR are consistently seeking to contribute to and support the concrete goals of our policy of peaceful coexistence; this is reflected as much as possible in our active participation in the implementation of this policy. In line with the guiding principles of the 14th Congress of our party, our foreign policy consistently leans on these accepted principles both in setting the common goals of the common foreign policy of the socialist commonwealth and in resolving problems in our relations with capitalist countries.

In line with the conclusions of the meeting of the fraternal parties we are focusing on developments on the European continent. The convocation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe represents in itself a shining success resulting from years of foreign policy efforts by our countries. We succeeded in including on the conference's agenda all the issues of principle and practice with regard to European security and cooperation expressed in the Prague Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee, adopted at its meeting in January 1972.

Regarding the work of the second stage of the conference, we agree with Comrade Brezhnev's ideas and proposals. We highly value the Soviet Union's tireless efforts for a successful conclusion to the conference, as demonstrated in Comrade Brezhnev's recent meetings with French President Pompidou, U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger and other Western representatives, all of which were aimed at overcoming the West's obstructions in the work of the Geneva conference. First of all, we must consolidate the real political and territorial conditions that arose in Europe as a result of the Second World War; this is expressed in the decisive formulation regarding the inviolability of borders and in other

formulations as well, reaffirming that the positions that socialism obtained in Europe are unshakeable.

We believe that the development of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation; more information regarding everyday life in the various countries and the development of humanitarian relations represent natural components of the policy of peaceful coexistence. It is quite right that we observe the general principles of state-to-state relations, which will be put into written form by the conference, such as sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and respect for the laws and customs prevalent in each country.

As we have seen in the course of the talks, our opponents are counting on the remnants of bourgeois ideology in the consciousness of some of our citizens, which they would like to preserve, support and exploit for their antisocialist goals. We all agree that we must resolutely oppose all such attempts. The so-called exchange of ideas cannot serve as a pretext for the importation of anti-communist and antisocialist ideology and their dissemination in socialist countries.

We are focusing a great deal of attention on an important aspect of the all-European conference – namely, insuring its continuity. This is contained in a proposal to set up a consultative organ submitted by the ČSSR as a result of an agreement between our countries. This proposal is also receiving growing support.

We fully agree with Comrade Brezhnev's conclusion that our common task is to see that the all-European conference is concluded as soon as possible and that its closing documents are ratified at the summit level. We are convinced that the unified, coordinated, sufficiently flexible but at the same time solid, principled policy of the socialist countries will reach this goal. The activities that our countries have carried out for this purpose have proven to be correct. We are sure that when the conference reaches its culmination, the importance and necessity of a common position for the socialist countries will emerge. Any other approach serves only those who hate the very idea of the European conference.

Our position is the same with regard to the talks on arms reductions in Central Europe. Our entering these talks reflects the logical and natural consequence of the socialist commonwealth's common efforts toward détente, whose goal is that political détente be followed by military détente and also concrete progress in disarmament.

In terms of the main problems upon whose resolution our Czechoslovak foreign policy has been and will be working on, the most difficult and complicated one was the regulation and normalization of our relations with the FRG. At the last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in January 1972, we asked all the fraternal parties and governments to support us on this score. With this assistance, our negotiations with the FRG led to the signing of a treaty between the ČSSR and the FRG, whose most important stipulation in our view is the declaration that the shameful Munich *diktat* is null and void.

I take this occasion to say thanks once again for the understanding and support. Without the ongoing fraternal support from the CC of the CPSU and from Soviet diplomacy, without the coordinated actions and effective solidarity of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic and the other fraternal countries, we could not have attained an acceptable treaty legal normalizing relations with the FRG.

Imperialism was shown that socialism is able to protect its results, that the imperialists must embrace the path to peaceful coexistence and détente. This has been reflected in the way that the capitalist countries have changed their relationship to Czechoslovakia.

We can already feel some aspects of this positive change. In 1973, we improved our relations with the U.S. We made significant progress in the questions of a financial settlement, and it seems that we will be able to sign the appropriate agreement this year.

Regarding the liberation struggle of the progressive and nationalist forces, we consistently adhere to the assertions of the 1969 meeting of the communist and workers parties. And as for Vietnam, we consider it our internationalist duty to continue our full support for the Vietnamese people and all the peoples in Indochina struggling for the consistent implementation of the Paris accords. We fully agree with the declaration on the Vietnamese problem.

We also agree with Comrade Brezhnev's analysis of the situation in the Middle East and the Arab world, and his proposals regarding further measures. Czechoslovakia is playing an active part in implementing our coordinated policy towards the Arab countries, and our delegation fully supports the declaration regarding the situation in the Middle East.

Comrade Brezhnev called attention to U.S. attempts to exploit the complicated situation in the Middle East for its own political and economic interests and to weaken the position of the socialist countries and the progressive domestic forces in the region.

Therefore, we fully agree that the coordinated activities of the socialist countries in the region are unavoidably necessary. Czechoslovakia is ready to give the maximum support that it can to thwart the speculations of the imperialist and domestic reactionary circles, to support the positions of the explicitly anti-imperialist forces and to further strengthen the influence of the socialist countries, which serves as a decisive guarantee for the assertion of the Arab peoples' legitimate rights.

Some Comrades speaking before me correctly emphasized the serious damage that the policies of the Maoist leadership of the People's Republic of China has been inflicted upon the socialist countries' policies of peace and to the activities of the international communist movement. Our party fully shares these views. The party's 14th Congress clearly formulated our position regarding these issues. I would like to express our Party's position that the Maoist danger to the revolutionary movement is a matter of

concern for everyone on a Marxist-Leninist footing. Therefore, we must not remain neutral in the struggle against this danger or – even more – show any solidarity with it.

Dear Comrades! Permit me to make a few closing remarks. The peoples of Czechoslovakia, just like the peoples of all the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, are preparing to celebrate the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of liberation from the fascist yoke by the glorious Soviet army. The agitation work of our party and our people's work activities are all aimed in this direction. This August, we are celebrating the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, then we will commemorate the battles of the Dukla Straits, the Prague People's Uprising and the liberation of our entire nation. In these commemorations we will emphasize the great results of our working class, our socialist social order and the many-sided fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union. Our citizens are aware that our nation's freedom, our state's independence – just like the development of our socialist society and the work of the liberated people – were all made possible by the many-sided fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and the unity of the socialist commonwealth. The fact that there has been peace in Europe for 30 years and that our peoples are successfully exploiting the advantages of the socialist system is due to the unity of our Communist Parties and of the fraternal socialist states – first and foremost, due to the Soviet Union's political, economic and military power. The Warsaw Treaty itself is a shining example of the common activity of our Parties and governments.

Our treaty's two decades of existence underscores the inestimable significance of our alliance in our common struggle for the defense of socialism, for warding off the threat of war and the preservation of world peace.

The Czechoslovak communists and our people are especially grateful to the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty for their many-sided assistance in preserving the socialist system and Czechoslovakia's revolutionary achievements. It remains our conviction that as long as NATO exists and as long as they are forging plans in Western Europe to form separate military-political alliances, the further reinforcement of the Warsaw Treaty and the improvement of cooperation between the fraternal countries within this framework will remain a pressing task. The Warsaw Treaty is a reliable means of preserving the security of the member-states and helps us in coordinating our foreign policy. Therefore, we fully support the proposal that the Unified Secretariat of the Political Consultative Committee plan a commemoration of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary and present it to the fraternal parties for approval.

The approaching 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Warsaw Treaty is an appropriate occasion not only to sum up the results [of the alliance's activity] but also to further deepen and improve its activities, to make the mechanism for political cooperation within its framework even more efficient and to consider its possibilities. We think it would be useful for the foreign ministers to meet even more frequently to discuss current problems.

Finally, I would like to underline repeatedly that we agree with the draft communiqué and declarations, as well as Comrade Brezhnev's proposal that the government's premiers meet to discuss concrete questions related to the deepening of socialist economic integration at the Sofia Comecon meeting with a view to convening a summit.

On behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and our government I can assure the delegations of the fraternal parties that the Czechoslovak CP and the ČSSR will always contribute to the unity and cohesion of the socialist commonwealth and will adhere to the mutually-accepted principles because we are convinced that this serves both the interests of our peoples and the internationalist objectives of the international communist and workers movement. Thank you for your attention.

*[Translation from the Hungarian by László Borhi]*