

309

FRIENDSHIP STRENGTHENED IN STRUGGLE

G. Husak 1969
L.I. Brezhnev



512

Scanned / Transcribed by
The Socialist Truth in Cyprus – London Bureaux

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/intro.htm>

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/english/home/index.php>



**FRIENDSHIP
STRENGTHENED
IN STRUGGLE**

*Speeches by Czechoslovak and Soviet
Leaders at a Friendship Rally in the
Kremlin Palace of Congresses and
The Joint Soviet-Czechoslovak Statement
of October 27, 1969*

Novosti Press Agency Publishing House
Moscow, 1969

Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV,
General Secretary, Central
Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union

Dear guests,
Dear Muscovites,
Comrades,

Permit me, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the USSR, on behalf of all Muscovites gathered in this hall to greet warmly the Party and state delegation from fraternal Czechoslovakia.

We heartily greet Comrade Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, an outstanding political leader, loyal son of his people, active participant and leader of the partisan movement against the German invaders, a man of great courage, who heads the struggle of Czechoslovak Communists for the consolidation of the socialist system.

We heartily greet General Ludvik Svoboda, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a prominent statesman and staunch patriot.

Glorious chapters of the joint struggle of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples against the fascists are associated with Comrade Svoboda's name. His activities as President serve the cause of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the consolidation of fraternal Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship.

With all our heart we welcome the members of the Czechoslovak Party and state delegation: Comrade Oldrich Cernik, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Chairman of the Government of the CSSR; Comrade Lubomir Strougal, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Comrade Vasil Bilak, Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Comrade Stefan Sadovsky, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia; Comrade Frantisek Hamouz, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Vice-Chairman of the Government of the CSSR; Comrade Jan Marko, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the CSSR; Comrade Martin Dzur, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Minister of National Defence of the CSSR; Comrade Vladimir Koucky, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Ambassador of the CSSR to the USSR.

Comrades, the unanimous, warm applause heard here is a sincere expression of the very cordial and strong friendship, loyal comradeship and profound affinity between the Soviet people and their Czech and Slovak brothers.

Our friendship, the fraternity of our peoples have withstood severe trials. You remember how in the trying days of the shameful Munich deal only the Soviet Union offered Czechoslovakia real assistance. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, however, preferred national betrayal to union with the land of socialism. Czechoslovakia was dismembered and occupied by the Hitlerites. To wrest the Motherland from enslavement, to uphold her unity and to regain her independence—these tasks were placed on the shoulders of the working peo-

ple and primarily of the working class of Czechoslovakia and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

During the grim years of the historic battle against fascism the men of our Soviet army, our partisans, all our Soviet people fighting on the battlefields against the common enemy and on Soviet soil, and in the battles for liberation of Czechoslovakia found fighting by their side courageous patriots of Czechoslovakia. The glorious path covered by the First Czechoslovak Corps whose men fought shoulder to shoulder with Soviet armymen, the joint struggle of the sons of our peoples in the memorable days of the Slovak national uprising—is the path of militant international fraternity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, a heroic path crowned by a great victory.

February 1948 became a turning point in the history of Czechoslovakia, when the working class, the working people finally took their destiny, the destiny of the state, into their own hands and began to build socialism. Soviet people spared no effort to help their Czechoslovak brothers in organizing the new life. All these years the alliance of our countries has been a guarantee of the freedom and independence of Czechoslovakia, while our cooperation helped us jointly to resolve many problems of socialist construction.

Our friendship and fraternity tempered by life, and through joint struggle, cannot be shaken by anything or anybody. We have marched together, are marching together, and shall continue to march together along a common road to our common future—communism!

Immediate confirmation of this is the outcome of the present visit to the Soviet Union made by the Czechoslovak Party and state delegation. Our talks have covered the most important aspects of the relations between our Parties and countries, and also the major issues of the current international situation. They have again shown that there is complete unanimity of views between us on all matters of principle relating to socialist construction and world politics.

Like our Czechoslovak friends, we attribute singular importance to deepening the cooperation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. We regard this cooperation as a decisive factor in consolidating the fraternal alliance and friendship of our states and peoples. We have agreed on measures which will help broaden the existing relations between both Parties, ensure an all-inclusive exchange of experience in socialist and communist construction, coordinate more closely our actions in the international arena.

The talks also covered economic cooperation. Much attention has been given to coordination of economic programmes, to cooperation in production, to socialist division of labour. We have agreed to expand contacts in the field of introducing the latest scientific and technological achievements into the economies of our two countries. Agreements have been reached on increasing the volume of trade. The Soviet Union will provide more raw materials and equipment needed by Czechoslovakia, while Czechoslovakia will, in return, increase exports of goods in which our country is interested.

I wish to emphasize specifically the atmosphere of mutual confidence which was characteristic of the talks. We discussed complex, big issues and we used one and the same language—the language of friendship which knows no reservations. Therefore we arrived at decisions fully meeting our common interests.

Comrades, for nearly 18 months now the thoughts and sentiments of Soviet Communists and all Soviet people, as of people in other socialist countries, have been focused on the events in Czechoslovakia. We have had many emotional experiences during this period—alarm for the future of socialism in a fraternal country attacked by the joint forces of internal and external reaction, militant solidarity with the principled, staunch Marxist-Leninists in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia who fearlessly took up the struggle for the cause of socialism, and, finally, a feeling of

pride in the success achieved by the Czechoslovak Communists in this trying struggle.

We, in the Soviet Union, regard the September Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as a new major step forward along the road mapped out at the Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia this April and May, as a major phase in the history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The Plenary Meeting clearly revealed what caused the rise of the forces of counter-revolution and brought the Party and the country to the brink of losing the socialist gains. The Plenary Meeting said a decisive "no" to those who are still trying to check the healthy process of consolidating the Party and society on socialist, Marxist-Leninist foundations. The Plenary Meeting emphasized once again that the Party's main concern was the interests of the working people, the growth of the people's well-being, the blossoming of socialist culture—concern that all citizens of the Republic who are dedicating their labour and energy to strengthening socialism should live a happy, calm and full life. The Plenary Meeting equipped the Party with a clear-cut political platform, oriented the working people towards the ultimate surmounting of chaos and anarchy in public life, towards the complete routing of the counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist, right opportunist forces. It would be no overstatement to say that the September Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was a major victory of the Marxist-Leninist internationalist forces of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Now that the intricate chain of causes and sequences which engendered the crisis situations has been largely disentangled, more and more people understand that the events in Czechoslovakia were one of the most strenuous postwar class clashes between the world of socialism on the one hand and international reaction and its agents on the other. Many things have been put to trial during

the long months of political struggle in the CSSR: the soundness of the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people and of the positions of socialism in the centre of Europe in general; the militancy of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of Czechoslovak working people—the Party of Communists; the strength of socialist internationalism and the solidarity of the fraternal countries and Parties.

Today hardly anyone will deny that the forces of socialism have withstood with honour this trial—a trial in action, a trial in struggle. The principled stand of Communists, the cohesion of the countries of socialism, their international solidarity have proved to be stronger than those who wished to reverse the history of Czechoslovak society, to wrest power from the working class, from the working people. Counter-revolution did not win and never shall! Czechoslovakia has been and will remain a socialist country! Czechoslovakia has been and will remain a strong link in the community of socialist states!

The CPSU, all our people believed that this would be so. We, allies of Czechoslovakia, honoured our internationalist duty. May I thank our Czechoslovak friends for their high assessment at the September Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in the Party and state documents, of the actions of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet Government, taken jointly with other socialist countries in defence of the socialist gains of Czechoslovakia.

The CPSU expresses complete solidarity with the work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its Central Committee and its Presidium. We are acting on the understanding that your planned policy of implementing the positive programme of January 1968, of ensuring effective Party guidance of all social processes, of consolidating and further developing socialism, of strengthening fraternal friendship with the socialist countries meets the vital interests of the peoples of Czechoslovakia and at the same time of the entire

socialist community. We are confident that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which sees its supreme duty in serving the people, being guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, will in the future too be able to defend the interests of the working people, will find a correct settlement for the political and economic problems facing the country.

Comrades, the struggle of Czechoslovak Communists, of Czechoslovak working people to consolidate socialist gains is of paramount international significance.

The lessons of events in Czechoslovakia have again shown clearly and convincingly that socialist construction is proceeding in conditions of class struggle which may sometimes take sharp forms. While imperialism exists it will not abandon its attempts to interfere in the affairs of socialist countries, its attempts to enter into a kind of alliance, cooperation with the leftovers of the overthrown exploiting classes and all those having old outlooks which unavoidably remain among some sections of the population for long after the socialist revolution. The experience of the class struggle which unfolded in Czechoslovakia tells us never to slacken revolutionary vigilance.

The lessons of the Czechoslovak events also prove the importance of irreconcilability towards the revisionist and right-opportunist danger.

We Communists cannot forget and have no right to forget the teaching of Lenin, who taught us to be irreconcilable to opportunism which constitutes "the organized tool of the bourgeoisie within the working-class movement." Nothing is more harmful and more disastrous for the proletarian cause, the leader of the world proletariat cautioned, than "intra-party diplomacy" with opportunists. The working class cannot achieve its historic objectives, cannot accomplish the tasks of socialism without waging a most resolute struggle against opportunism. That is how Lenin set the question, and the entire experience of revolution-

nary struggle, the entire experience of socialist construction repeatedly bears out that he was right.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the actions of revisionists and opportunists reflect the pressure of the non-proletarian, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements of the population, the pressure of force of habit, the pressure of views and prejudices inherited from the past and among them nationalist views and prejudices. Greatly encouraged by foreign imperialists, taking advantage of certain difficulties and contradictions of social development, the revisionists are trying actively to influence the policy of the ruling Communist Parties, to emasculate it of class proletarian content. The experience of the Hungarian events in 1956, of the Czechoslovak events in 1968 shows that the revisionists and opportunists are in fact paving the way and clearing the ground for counter-revolution. Hence the struggle against revisionism and opportunism has been one of the most important tasks of the Communists.

The lessons of the Czechoslovak events once again demonstrate how immense is the responsibility borne by ruling Communist Parties. Experience has shown that the Communist Party is duty-bound to feel the pulse of events, to strengthen its guiding role in social life, tirelessly to deepen its contacts with the masses, to respond in time to the problems emerging in the course of the development of society, to settle them constructively from a consistently class, Party standpoint, on the basis of a correct, Marxist-Leninist political line.

Finally, the struggle against anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia has posed most sharply the question of international responsibility of Communists for the destinies of socialism. There can be but one reply to the attempts of external and internal reaction to weaken the positions of socialism, to undermine the socialist community: greater unity between fraternal countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, mutual support in the struggle aga-

inst imperialist designs, for the consolidation of the socialist system.

Our common stand on this issue has been clearly expressed in the known Bratislava Statement of the fraternal Parties of six socialist countries. It says that support, consolidation and protection of socialist gains "is the common internationalist duty of all socialist countries." The final Document of the recent International Conference of Communist Parties says: "The defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists." Our indomitable strength lies in the close unity of the fraternal socialist countries, in the cohesion of the national detachments of Communists.

Such are the most important lessons which we all Communists must draw from the Czechoslovak events.

Comrades, the results of the Soviet-Czechoslovak talks are further proof of the growing cohesion of our countries, of the entire socialist community, a further manifestation of the growing trend for unity of all revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism, for the great ideals of socialism and communism. This trend was vividly demonstrated at the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Conference created good preconditions for fresh victories of the revolutionary cause throughout the world. However, much active work is required for the proper use of these preconditions. As for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it will spare no effort to bring this about in the future too.

Our Party, our state will continue to wage a consistent and irreconcilable struggle against imperialism, to frustrate its aggressive designs, to avert the threat of another world war.

In the future too we shall continue giving extensive aid and assistance to all champions of peace, democracy and socialism, our comrades and brothers from the international communist, workers' and national-liberation movements.

We have regarded and continue to regard comprehensive assistance to further cohesion and strength of the

socialist community as our constant and most important task.

Of exceptional importance in present-day conditions is the actual implementation of the decisions taken by the 23rd special session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This will make possible a deepening of the many-sided economic relations among socialist countries on a long-term basis, a fuller use of the advantages of the international socialist division of labour in the interests of every socialist country and of the entire community. The task is not an easy one, but when it is accomplished through common effort, a tremendous stride forward will have been made.

The progress in political cooperation among socialist countries is becoming more and more important. Extensive positive experience has been accumulated in this field. However, there is room for further effort here. Life requires that political contacts, coordination of political work should be more regular, more effective. The settlement of this question hinges also on a search for appropriate organizational forms.

We seek closer cooperation with all socialist countries without exception.

You probably are interested in our relations with China. I shall dwell briefly on this question.

Comrades, you know well that even in the most complex period, in the period of the greatest aggravation of Soviet-Chinese relations, our Party, our state invariably pursued a clear and principled political line towards the People's Republic of China. This line is known. While showing firmness and resolution in defending the state interests and security of the Soviet country, we always remained calm and reserved. While consistently defending the Marxist-Leninist stand on matters of ideology, strategy and tactics of the world communist movement, and of consolidating its cohesion, we have always sought the settlement of differences and cooperation with the People's Republic of China, believing that this served the interests of the peoples of both our countries and the in-

terests of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces in the world.

Hence we have always shown sincere readiness for talks with the People's Republic of China and repeatedly made appropriate suggestions proceeding from the long-term interests of the peoples of the USSR and China, from a belief that outstanding issues between the USSR and the People's Republic of China should be settled only through negotiations.

The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government have done all they can to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China, to open the way to reestablishing Soviet-Chinese friendship. As you know, a meeting was held on our initiative in Peking last month between the Soviet delegation led by Comrade A. N. Kosygin and Comrade Chou En-lai and other members of the Chinese Government. Some questions of inter-state relations were discussed at that meeting. Subsequently the exchange of views was continued through official channels and at present, as you know, talks have begun in Peking between government delegations of both sides. The Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet Government would like to hope that a positive, realistic approach will prevail at these talks.

There is no lack of goodwill on the Soviet side. We stand for a settlement of the border and other problems between the USSR and the PRC on a lasting and just basis, in a spirit of equality, mutual respect and consideration of the interests of both countries. If the Chinese side also displays goodwill this will certainly become possible.

Our Party has always stressed that the overall international situation, the settlement of problems which are of concern to mankind, depend largely on the unity of the socialist countries, on their unity of action on the world scene.

The stronger the militant alliance of the countries of socialism, the greater the confidence of the forces of peace and progress the world over, the more effective

will be the rebuff dealt everywhere by the freedom-loving peoples to the aggressive policy of imperialism. This is made particularly clear in the instance of the heroic struggle waged by the Vietnamese people. It is the comprehensive assistance and support rendered by the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries, as our Vietnamese friends reaffirmed at their recent Moscow visit, that has made possible the outstanding victories scored by the Vietnamese patriots over the aggressors. The entire world now sees the futility of the Vietnam venture US imperialism has undertaken. The American people are becoming increasingly aware of this, and their actions and demands for ending aggression against Vietnam, as recent days have shown, are acquiring an increasingly mass character.

The peoples of the Arab countries continue to combat the schemes of the imperialist aggressors. We are linked with them by close and sincere friendship. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are actively supporting their struggle for independence, for the right of free progressive development, for the liquidation of the aftermaths of Israel's aggression. It is in the interests of all peace-loving peoples that an end to aggression in the Middle East be put, that lasting peace be ensured in that area of our planet.

One of the main objectives of the foreign policy of the USSR and Czechoslovakia and of other European socialist countries is to ensure a lasting peace in Europe and peaceful cooperation among all European states.

It is no accident that we are posing the problem of a European collective security system with such insistence and perseverance. To us it is not just an attractive slogan. It is a vitally important matter, one which most directly affects the future of hundreds of millions of people in Europe, and not in Europe alone.

In the struggle for peace and security we offer our hand to all European states. Our programme in this field has been presented in the well-known documents—the Bucharest and the Budapest Statements of the Warsaw Treaty countries, in the Declaration of the

Conference of Communist Parties in Karlovy Vary and in other documents.

We do not want a repetition of the tragedy for which the European nations paid the price of millions of lives. This is why the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries addressed an Appeal to all European states to come together at an all-European Conference where practical measures could be planned to turn Europe into a continent of peace and equal and comprehensive cooperation.

It is noteworthy that this Appeal met with a broad and positive response of the European public. It has been supported by a number of governments and parties, by many members of Parliament. A short while ago the Finnish Government offered to begin concrete, practical preparations for the Conference. For our part, we are prepared to take the most active part in this effort.

We, of course, realize that many obstacles stand in the way of European security. The most important among them has for many years been the unrealistic, revanchist policy of the FRG ruling quarters who do not wish to reconcile themselves to the political results of the anti-fascist struggle waged by the peoples in World War II, and are arming intensively and dreaming of revising the map of Europe.

As you know, marked changes have taken place as a result of the recent elections in the alignment of political forces in Federal Germany. The Christian-Democratic Union—the party of big-monopoly capital which was in power for 20 years, and is directly responsible for the revival of revanchism and militarism in West Germany—has lost its seats in the government. A new government coalition has been formed where the decisive part belongs to the Social-Democrats. The coalition has made a number of statements emphasizing a desire to take a more realistic stand in international affairs.

We would like to believe that such intentions are proclaimed earnestly. Leading circles in the Federal Re-

public of Germany have broad opportunities for their implementation. One can easily see the importance, for instance, of an official recognition by the West German Government of the present European frontiers, including the frontier between the FRG and the GDR, recognition of the fact that the Munich agreement was null and void from the very outset, abandonment of the unlawful claim by the Government of the Christian-Democratic Union to speak on behalf of all German people, etc. Such steps and the signing by Federal Germany of the non-proliferation treaty and its participation, alongside other states, in the creation of a European collective security system, would undoubtedly constitute a positive contribution to the settlement of issues upon which, above all, lasting peace and international security depend.

Naturally, a changeover by the new FRG Government to a policy corresponding to the real state of affairs in Europe and the interests of lasting peace would meet with understanding and support by the Soviet Union and presumably by other European peoples.

The desire of the European peoples for peaceful cooperation should be implemented. This is the demand of our times.

Comrades, only a few months are left before a remarkable date in the life of the Communist Party and Soviet people, of all progressive mankind,—the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Our Party views the preparations for Lenin's anniversary as a review of the implementation of Lenin's immortal behests. All the successes of our Motherland in the struggle for the triumph of communism, all that our Party and Soviet people are proud of has been achieved because the CPSU has invariably taken guidance from the teachings of Marx and Lenin and is consistently following the Leninist policy.

Nowadays the depth of Lenin's brilliant foresight about the dynamic nature and effectiveness of the socialist organization of economic, socio-political and intellectual life of society is unfolding ever more

fully. "But it is important to realize," Lenin said, "how infinitely mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of socialism as something lifeless, rigid, fixed once and for all, whereas in reality *only* socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement... in all spheres of public and private life." (*Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 472.)

Our Party, all Soviet people are proud of the achievements in economic and cultural construction, in improving the life of the people. These achievements are the outcome of the strenuous effort of our workers, collective farmers, intellectuals. The duty of the Party, however, is always to look forward, to see the perspectives before us. We want the people to live still better, we want the peaceful work of Soviet people to be always reliably guarded against all encroachments. To bring this about it is essential to continually enhance the economic strength of our state, to consolidate its defence potential, to score more and more successes in industry and agriculture.

These objectives underlie the present policy of the CPSU. Its essence is implementation of the decisions taken by the 23rd Congress of our Party. We consider it extremely important to ensure planned development of the entire economy. Working towards this end our Party has evolved a broad programme of measures directed towards the steadfast improvement of methods of planning and management in industry and agriculture. Our constant concern is to perfect the entire system of the political organization of society, to further the progress of socialist democracy.

We see the decisive condition for successful achievement of the goals facing Soviet society in further strengthening the Communist Party, its guiding role in the life of our society. The CPSU will continue to play its part as the militant vanguard of the Soviet people, will continue to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The present generation of Soviet people is living in a great epoch, is working in a great free country,

and its constructive and dedicated efforts are decisive for the destinies of the country. The glory, the power and the prosperity of our country depend in the final count on the energy, skill, conscientiousness and discipline of workers in the country's towns and villages. The Great October Revolution, socialism, have made Soviet man what he is today—a full-fledged master of the state, an active fighter for the new system, an ardent patriot, skilful worker and conscious citizen of socialist society. This precisely is what our Leninist Party considers to be its most important and decisive achievement.

Comrades,

We look to the future with confidence. We know that complex tasks may arise and will arise but we are sure that the great goal—communism—for which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Communists all over the world are fighting—will be reached. Our confidence is based on the fact that we Communists possess the best weapon in the struggle for the victory of the new social system—the progressive Marxist-Leninist theory. Socialist internationalism which helps us to surmount the most difficult obstacles redoubles our strength.

The visit to our country of the Czechoslovak Party and state delegation, the results of the visit symbolize and bring out in the best possible way the importance of the brotherly internationalist relations of our fraternal peoples.

If I were to try in one sentence to define the main outcome of the visit of the Czechoslovak Party and state delegation, I would say that it is a further strengthening of Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship, a strengthening of confidence and understanding between our Parties, Governments and peoples. These ideas permeate the Joint Soviet-Czechoslovak Statement which we have signed today.

Dear Czechoslovak friends,

The great friendship of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, sealed with the blood of heroes, shed in the battles against the fascist invaders, is growing

and strengthening in our common march towards a common goal. In content it is becoming more and more profound. Our unanimous decision to sign a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance by the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia will serve further to strengthen this friendship. Like fine steel in the flames it is tempered in irreconcilable struggle against all foes of socialism, overt and covert, against all who would like to deprive the people of their historic revolutionary gains. Our friendship is pure and unshakable, it is part and parcel of our peoples' conscience. It is a friendship for all times or, as is said in Czechoslovakia, "Na věčné časy!" Our heartfelt gratitude to the Party and state leaders of fraternal Czechoslovakia that their visit to our country has helped to make another important step forward in the development of Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship.

Comrades, permit me in conclusion once again ardently to greet our Czechoslovak friends, to wish them new successes in carrying out the great constructive tasks facing socialist Czechoslovakia. We ask you, our dear guests, to convey warmest greetings from Muscovites and all Soviet people to Communists and all working people of socialist Czechoslovakia.

Long live the solid, unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia!

Long live the fraternal alliance of Soviet and Czechoslovak Communists!

Long live the internationalist solidarity of peoples building socialism and communism!

Glory to the great, ever-living, all-conquering teaching—Marxism-Leninism.

(L. I. Brezhnev's speech was punctuated with prolonged applause.)

Speech by L. SVOBODA, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,
Dear Comrade Podgorny,
Dear Comrade Kosygin,
Dear Soviet friends,
Dear Muscovites,

I would like first of all to thank from the bottom of my heart Comrade Brezhnev for the kind words addressed to our delegation, to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and all Czechoslovak people.

To you all, dear friends, I wish to express our delegation's warm thanks for the friendly welcome accorded us in your city.

I assure you that here, as in all other places of the Soviet Union we visited, we felt really at home.

As Comrade Brezhnev has already said, we have just signed a joint document which sums up the results of our talks, of our visit. I wish to state on behalf of the Czechoslovak Party and state delegation that we are quite satisfied with these results. We have had frank, cordial and sincere talks, as befits friends and comrades, talks about the further consolidation of friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples, about better and more effective cooperation in developing our countries and for a happy future for our peoples, about ways of jointly facilitating the consolidation of the unity of the socialist countries, the unity of the entire international communist and

workers' movement, the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and all over the world.

Yesterday we returned from a tour of the Soviet Union. Everything we saw, all our meetings with Soviet people have made an unforgettable impression upon us. Everywhere, at plants and collective farms and in scientific research institutes we witnessed dedicated creative effort. We have found order, good labour management, high standards of labour discipline and achievements. We have seen what great attention the Soviet leadership pays to developing modern science and technology, we have met the splendid educated and wise people on whom it relies.

During the visit to a cosmodrome we saw for ourselves that the defence might of the Soviet Union is assured not only by excellently trained personnel, ardent patriots and internationalists, but also by the best possible equipment. As a soldier I fully realize that this might is a most reliable guarantee of our security and the security of all socialist countries, and of world peace.

With all our hearts we congratulate you, dear comrades, upon your achievements. We wish you, ourselves and all progressive peace-loving forces in the world to advance along the road of fresh magnificent successes in all fields of human endeavour.

As I look upon you, dear Comrades, upon this beautiful hall, I recall another meeting I had with Soviet people here in Moscow. This was at the meeting of soldiers of the Slavic peoples convened by the All-Slavic Committee in February 1944 in the famous Hall of Columns. At that time we delegates came straight from the battlefield.

At that time our first independent Czechoslovak brigade had already fought in battles at Sokolovo, during the liberation of Kiev, Belaya Tserkov, Zhashkov, and in other engagements. As you know, our military unit was the first foreign unit to go into action against the hitlerite troops alongside the Soviet Army.

We were infinitely moved by the heartfelt reception given us then by Soviet people. They did not conceal their sincere joy that Czechoslovaks were standing and fighting in one formation with the Soviet Army.

On instructions from our entire brigade I then vowed that we would act and fight as our loyalty to the people and our love for the Motherland prompted us. On behalf of all the men of our brigade I then expressed the unanimous desire that the fraternal alliance with the great and powerful Soviet people, an alliance sealed by jointly shed blood, should become the solid and unshakable foundation of the life and prosperity of our peoples.

I was confident that this wish would come true because it reflected the will of all our people. We have honoured our pledge. The victorious banner of struggle against fascism we carried right down to the glorious days of May 1945 together with your troops, with the Soviet Army which saved and freed our Motherland.

Our visit this time is directly associated with the ardent wishes we expressed then and with all we have jointly effected since then for their realization. Therefore, today we may, with gratification and faith in the future, say: the fraternal alliance of the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples has become a reality and forms the basis of the life and prosperity of the peoples of Czechoslovakia. No one has succeeded, and never will succeed, in undermining it.

Let today, as in those days, the same words resound: May the close fraternal cooperation of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union grow and develop for the happiness of our peoples, for their common happy future!

(Ludvik Svoboda's speech was punctuated with prolonged applause.)

Speech by G. HUSAK,
First Secretary, Central
Committee of the Communist
Party of Czechoslovakia

Dear Comrade L. I. Brezhnev,
Dear Comrade N. V. Podgorny,
Dear Comrade A. N. Kosygin,
Dear comrades, dear Soviet friends,
Allow me to cordially greet, on behalf of the Czechoslovak Party and state delegation, this meeting of working people of Moscow devoted to Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, and to convey sincere, comradely greetings to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Soviet Government, particularly the working people of Moscow and to all fraternal Soviet people, from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and from our entire people.

I would like to thank the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state once again for the invitation to come to your heroic and beautiful country on an official, friendly visit. During the stay of our Party and state delegation, we had had an opportunity to discuss a whole number of important common problems with the representatives of your Party and state and to become acquainted with the work and life of the Soviet people. We consider this visit of ours to be highly useful and successful.

During our 8-day stay in Moscow, Volgograd, Kiev and other places in the Soviet Union we saw for ourselves the tremendous successes achieved by the Soviet

people in developing their industry, agriculture, science, engineering and culture, and in raising the standard of living.

From the very first minutes of our stay on Soviet soil we felt ourselves among friends, our nearest allies and comrades. Everywhere we met with expressions of comradely and friendly feelings for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, for our people and state. We were deeply touched by the consideration and hospitality, which the Soviet people extended to our delegation as representatives of the Czechoslovak people, and everywhere we felt a deep interest in the problems of Czechoslovakia and the life of our people. The tour of the Soviet Union made a deep impression on all members of our delegation.

The places which we visited have their own particular significance not only in the history and life of the Soviet people, but they are also the object of great attention and respect on the part of the Czechoslovak people, and of all progressive humanity as well. The hero-city of Volgograd has become the symbol of the European nations' struggle against fascism. The epic victory of the Soviet Army at Stalingrad signified not only a turning point in the course of World War II, but it also gave hope to the enslaved peoples of Czechoslovakia, inspired them in their anti-fascist struggle, and became a guarantee of final victory over fascist barbarism.

When we were staying in Volgograd, Kiev and other cities of the Soviet Union I remembered my first trip to Moscow in January 1945. Everywhere then I saw burnt villages and ruined cities, destroyed industrial enterprises, and cultural establishments. Many of our people had seen for themselves the enormous damage inflicted on the Soviet country, its economy and population as a result of nazi aggression. That's why we admired everywhere the results of the heroic labour of the Soviet people, who have—in spite of great human losses—not only restored their economy and material values, ravaged by the war, but also achieved

the all-round development of their Soviet Motherland.

Modern Volgograd provides a wonderful example of the selfless labour of Soviet people, who have built a much more beautiful and richer city from the ruins. They have added feats of socialist labour to the heroism of the war years.

Our trip to the Ukraine and, especially, to its capital Kiev, demonstrated once more the traditional friendly feelings and mutual liking. We recalled the joint struggle we waged in World War II, the combat traditions of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples, the struggle of the Czechoslovak Military Corps which fought side by side with the Soviet Army, the role of Soviet Army in the liberation of Czechoslovakia from fascist oppression, the assistance rendered by the Soviet guerrillas during the Slovak National Uprising and the national-liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people, which was crowned by the liberation of Prague on May 9th, 1945.

Celebrations have started in our country on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. Our entire country is preparing to mark the liberating role of the Soviet Army and the Soviet people in World War II, and to pay homage to the sacrifices of Soviet people, who made it possible to resurrect the Czechoslovak state and the free life of our peoples. During recent celebrations, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and the unforgettable military operations in the Carpathians and the Dukla Pass, our people expressed their profound gratitude and love to the Soviet Union for their liberation, and also their hopes of developing the closest all-round cooperation. It is necessary today—on the eve of the 51st anniversary of the emergence of Czechoslovakia as an independent state—to repeat once more the well-known historic truism that neither the peoples of Czechoslovakia, nor many of the other nations of Europe and the world would have gained their freedom without the struggle

waged and sacrifices made by the Soviet people and their army in World War II.

The slogan "With the Soviet Union for All Time!"—which is supported by the vast majority of our people—was born in actual fact in the course of that fierce fighting for our common freedom 25 years ago. During our tour we realized over and over again the importance and correctness of this slogan, not only as a historical memory, but also as a living behest for the present and the future of the Czechoslovak people. Friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union is the main prerequisite for our existence as a nation and a state.

We were especially deeply impressed by the visit to a cosmodrome, as Comrade Svoboda has said. Our Soviet friends gave us a chance to become acquainted with the achievements of Soviet science and engineering in space research. The things we learned about achievements in this field, the things we had the opportunity to see for ourselves, provide evidence not only of the colossal and selfless work performed by the Soviet people, but, above all, of the fact that—thanks to harmonious collaboration—Soviet science and engineering have, beyond all doubt, achieved the leading position in the world. We are proud of the results of your labour, the results of the first socialist state in this field, which are of benefit not only to the socialist community, but to all mankind.

It is no secret that this great progress in the field of rocketry has a military aspect as well. Our impressions and the observations we made when we visited the cosmodrome exceeded all our expectations and strengthened our belief in the invincible might of the Soviet Armed Forces, as well as our pride in being an ally of this mighty state which possesses the latest military means. This is a guarantee of security for our state, too, and is also a warning to anyone who would like to disrupt the calm and peaceful construction work going on in the USSR and the countries of the socialist community. We are well aware of the

magnitude of the material and financial sacrifices which the Soviet Union is making for the benefit of the defence of the entire socialist camp, and the support of progressive and democratic forces all over the world.

We should also bear these facts in mind in the present class-divided world, taking into account the imperialist threat. These facts allow the Czechoslovak people also to occupy themselves in peaceful creative labour.

We should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Soviet people and their Communist Party on the great successes in developing industry, agriculture, science, engineering, culture, and the defence potential of their country, and to wish them many more successes.

During our visit we once again became convinced of the great prestige that the CPSU—the organizer of all the achievements of the Soviet people—enjoys among Soviet citizens, and how the Soviet people support its policies wholly and completely. This is the result of the high-principled policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is fulfilling the brilliant ideas and behests of Lenin.

We were greatly impressed by the patriotism of the Soviet people, and at the same time by their internationalist feelings, their sincere fraternal approach to our people and to the other socialist countries, as well as towards progressive people all over the world.

* * *

Dear comrades, dear friends!

The relations between our peoples and states have long standing traditions. It was no accident that 25 years ago our people decided to connect the security of our country with the friendship and alliance of the Soviet state.

Our visit is a continuation of the old traditions of class solidarity of the Czechoslovak working people

with the Soviet Union of prewar times, and of the struggle of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the pre-Munich Republic period, and the continuation of the traditions of joint struggle against fascism, and of the favourable experiences of many-year-long cooperation accumulated at the time of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia, which gave our state and our people not only the guarantee of security on a European and global scale, but also the possibility of all-round economic, cultural and social progress.

During our tour of the Soviet Union we became aware of the anxiety with which Soviet people followed the internal political developments in Czechoslovakia in 1968-69, which were fraught with such danger.

We realized once again the meaning and the principled nature of the efforts made by representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, who persistently turned our attention, in many talks, towards the dangerous developments in Czechoslovakia, and strove to help our former leadership to avoid crisis events and the tragic situations into which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak society had gradually fallen.

The correct trends of January 1968—when we strove to get rid of the errors and aberrations of the past, and to settle our political, economic and national problems—met with the complete understanding of the Soviet people and their leadership.

The political changes which occurred in Czechoslovakia in January 1968, given there had been purposeful Marxist-Leninist guidance, provided great opportunities for the Communist Party and people of Czechoslovakia to eradicate shortcomings and to make the next step in developing our socialist society.

Unfortunately, that historic chance for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and our people was not utilized, but was, on the contrary, directed against the interests of the working class and the working people. We have many times spoken about the reasons for the dangerous crisis developments in Czecho-

slovakia in the post-January period. The weakness and absence of unity within the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—in which there also operated right opportunist and revisionist forces—opened up great possibilities not only for the right opportunists but also for the counter-revolutionary forces of clearly anti-socialist orientation, inspired and fully supported by the imperialist forces in the West.

These forces systematically introduced a split into our Party and society, hiding behind pseudo-socialist slogans. They undermined the foundations of the socialist system, abused the people's national feelings and weakened and destroyed our allied relations with the socialist countries and our international relations with the world communist movement.

The right opportunists sapped the ability of the Party's leadership to act, to such an extent, that it gave up its positions one by one, without resistance, in the political and economic fields, thus creating the conditions for intensification of the intra-Party struggle for leadership, and for our society and state to fall into the hands of opportunists and anti-socialist forces. As a result of all this, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and all our society was for one-and-a-half years in the grip of intense internal strife and crises, which led to the very brink of tragic situations.

We fully understand that the developments in Czechoslovakia evoked anxiety in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries for the destiny of socialism in Czechoslovakia, and the results of World War II in Europe. Our Soviet friends and other allies did not in the least hide, during numerous discussions, their critical attitude towards the developments in Czechoslovakia. Unfortunately, the leadership of our Party was not equal to the problems of the time, to their duties and responsibilities for the destiny of socialist society in Czechoslovakia. It not only succumbed to the right opportunist and petty-bourgeois reformist moods and pressures, but for all practical purposes,

contributed towards them by its own actions. That was what directly aggravated our internal and international situation last year. When the friendly and comradely advice of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries proved to be of no avail, when the previous leadership of our Party did not meet the obligations it had taken upon itself, and even refused to meet representatives of the fraternal Parties, when it did not organize struggle against opportunist and counter-revolutionary forces, when the adventurist policy of the right and anti-socialist forces was directing Czechoslovakia's development towards an even graver worsening of the situation, which jeopardized the foundations of our internal socialist order, and, thus also the solidarity and security of the socialist camp, the troops of the five friendly countries were brought into the territory of our country, in August 1968. The former leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, or, to be more exact, its majority influenced by right opportunists, viewed this measure from non-class and non-Marxist positions, in defiance of the national and state interests, and thus helped to launch a hysterical, nationalistic campaign against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which was supported by bourgeois and imperialist propaganda outside our country. Today we know all the internal and foreign-political stages through which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovak society passed. It is by no means a bright chapter in the history of our Party. It is not easy for us to speak of this.

A way out of this dangerous, crisis situation was found, after prolonged internal struggle, only at the April 1969 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The decisions of this Plenary Meeting were aimed at political and economic consolidation within the country, and at restoring allied and friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. At the May and September Plenary Meetings of the Party Central

Committee we explained to our Party and to our people the reasons for the errors and crises within the Party and society, and made political and cadre decisions based on this. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia abrogated its decision in which it substantiated its refusal to take part in the July 1968 Warsaw Meeting; it rescinded the wrong decision of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia of August 21st, 1968, and affirmed that the introduction of the troops of the five socialist countries into our territory was an act of international assistance to Czechoslovakia, for the defence of the socialist gains of our working class and working people, for the defence of our socialist state from the attempts of the right, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces not only in our country, but beyond its borders, to effect a turn in the political life of Czechoslovakia.

We stressed that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia would firmly follow a principled Marxist-Leninist policy, that it would rid its ranks of right opportunists, strengthen its leading role in our whole society, and conduct a consistent policy of alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

Beginning with the April Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, consolidation in our country is proceeding at a rapid rate. The anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces, as well as the right opportunists and their sponsors abroad have suffered serious defeat in Czechoslovakia and their plans to corrupt socialist society in our country, and to drive a wedge between the socialist states, have been frustrated.

The logical outcome of the political decisions of this year's September Plenary Meeting were considerable cadre changes in the Central Committee of the Party and its organs, and in other institutions in our society. All the political and cadre changes in the Party, educational, economic and public organizations

which have been taking place lately, pursue one goal only—the political and economic consolidation of the Czechoslovak state on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party. The idea is to create an atmosphere conducive to the peaceful constructive labour of our people in the building up of our socialist society and its prosperity. The organs and organizations of our Party, and the majority of the working people of Czechoslovakia support this principled policy of the Party Central Committee.

In these conditions our international relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties and, especially, with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have become sincere allied and comradely relations. Today we can declare with complete assurance, that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak state stand firmly shoulder to shoulder with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, and shoulder to shoulder with the other friendly socialist countries. We are an inalienable component part of the socialist community not only for today, but for the future too.

The process of political and economic consolidation in our country has not been completed yet. We are faced with much difficult and responsible work, but the main victory of the Marxist-Leninist forces in our Party and society has already been secured. Our friends know this, and our enemies should have no doubt about it either. That's why today we can speak in all confidence, and with a clear conscience, about the resurrection and deepening of cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and our other friends. Today we can assure our allies and friends with equal confidence that Czechoslovakia will follow in its development the socialist course defined by the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia is, and will be, a firm link in the socialist camp. The borders of Czechoslovakia—the westernmost frontier of the socialist community—are, and will remain, a re-

liable common border of our socialist states.

In this new situation the visit of our Party and state delegation to the Soviet Union also acquires special importance. It is taking place at a time when the right anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia, together with their inspirers and sponsors abroad, have suffered defeat, at a time of internal consolidation in Czechoslovakia on the Leninist principles of the policy of our Communist Party, on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, and of the complete restoration and deepening of fraternal and comradely relations between our countries.

Our Party and people have learned an important lesson for settling our political and economic problems from the post-January 1968 development. We think that our experience will serve as a lesson also for the world communist and working class movement, above all, in the sense of the damage that can be done by the different opportunist and petty-bourgeois illusions and anarchist and nationalistic trends, and how dangerous is underestimation of imperialism's plans to corrupt the socialist states and to disrupt friendly relations among them. Not to fight against the forces inimical to communism means to give way to these forces. We are consistently drawing conclusions for our entire work from this bitter experience of our Party and of all our people. We shall strengthen the unity of our Party on Marxist-Leninist principles, increase the socialist power of the working class and the working people, develop our ties with our allies, in a comprehensive way, and consistently fulfil our internationalist duties. We believe that part of this work has already been completed.

* * *

On our visit we saw how the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and people are preparing to celebrate the centenary of Lenin's birth. We are also preparing for these celebrations.

Lenin's ideas and behests teach us to what crises we may be led by deviating from the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, by opportunistic flirting with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories, by political and ideological compromise, and by making concessions to opportunist and anti-socialist forces. We paid a dear price for this lesson, and we are sure that it may serve as a warning to other Communist and Workers' Parties, too. We frankly and honestly explain the policy of our Party to the public and cleanse this policy from the various defects, falseness, demagoguery, and nationalistic propaganda, which was instilled into the minds of our people, and caused grave complications in the world communist movement. Today our Party and society are directing their efforts towards the completion of the political consolidation within the Party and society, within our entire political and economic life, towards stabilizing our economy and towards the creation of the prerequisites for our further progress, for the development of socialist democracy and the peaceful and happy life of our people.

We also have many problems in the economic field which are caused by various reasons. All sorts of dilettante economists and political adventurers wanted to replace the planned management of socialist economy with the elemental laws of the market, and to disrupt the entire system of our economic management. We are seeking appropriate forms for the planned development of Czechoslovak economy. We know that its basis is a single plan for developing the national economy and that it is necessary to strengthen all the links in economic management. We have already adopted a number of measures in this direction, and are now preparing a complex decision for the stabilization of our economy, and for creating the conditions for its further development.

During the talks between the Czechoslovak Party and State delegation with the Party and State leaders of the Soviet Union we informed each other of our plans and intentions and, first of all, sought ways for

an all-round deepening of our political, economic, cultural and military ties. We think that in so doing we shall render the best possible assistance to our people, to the entire socialist community and to all progressive forces in the world.

Complete unity of views on all major problems was confirmed at our talks, and this is reflected in the Joint Statement which we have signed today. We shall develop in close cooperation the political, economic, scientific and military ties between our two countries and among the whole socialist community. We shall seek ways of further developing our economy and of raising the cultural and living standards of the population of our country.

Economic matters occupied an important place in the talks we had with your representatives. We are keenly interested in the speediest possible implementation of the decisions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance concerning the development of socialist integration, and the intensification of the economic, scientific and technical cooperation between our countries. In many fields we have already arrived at agreement or have outlined ways for cooperation. The possibilities for mutual cooperation among socialist countries are far from being exhausted. In this respect we shall work persistently for the realization of our ideas when we evolve the five-year plans for our countries.

Cooperation with the Soviet Union has a special significance for Czechoslovakia which is an advanced industrial country. It not only guarantees the stability of the economy of Czechoslovakia, but also creates prospects for developing our economy and, thus, for raising the living standards of our people. We get from the Soviet Union not only the raw materials which we need, but also the latest equipment and modern machinery for our economy. We, for our part, are taking steps to fulfil our obligations in time and qualitatively in respect to our Soviet partners.

Our aspiration to secure the joint defence of the countries of the socialist community unites us with the

Soviet Union. That is why we shall go on strengthening the defensive alliance of the Warsaw Treaty, and fulfilling the responsibilities stemming therefrom. We repeat again that our Western borders are the borders of the socialist camp, and because of that we consider that the safeguarding of them is the joint task of the entire socialist camp. The Treaty on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on our territory is also a reflection of that fact. We consider it to be guarantee of the security of Czechoslovakia, as well as of the security of the other socialist countries.

We attach great importance to the realization of the conclusions elaborated by the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held last June in Moscow. This event, which is of exceptional importance in the world communist movement, provides opportunities for the further development and successes by the world communist and working class movement, and in the struggle waged by all the democratic and peace-loving forces. In this context we shall also coordinate our foreign policy aimed at the strengthening of the forces in Europe and throughout the world that make or can make for assuring peace and security in Europe and other areas. In so doing we are guided by Lenin's idea on the coexistence of different social systems on our globe.

In conducting its foreign policy every nation and every state proceeds from its own lengthy experience.

When we define the foreign policy of socialist Czechoslovakia, our Party must carefully consider and take into account the thousand years of experience of the Czechoslovak people, which they accumulated in the course of their struggle against the expansionism and aggressiveness of German imperialism. At present, the western borders of our country with the Federal Republic of Germany—where, as everyone knows, NATO takes the firmest support in the rampant strength of West German militarism and revanchism—is for the Czechs and Slovaks the key problem of their national existence and state sovereignty.

It is from there that the threat to the peace and security of the nations of Europe constantly emanates, and for us—the real danger, which is expressed in the age-old plans of “Drang nach Osten”. Munich, with all its tragic consequences for the Czechoslovak people, became the symbol of that policy 31 years ago. Nobody can expect us to believe the verbal assurances of the changes to come in West German policies, until the West German Government annuls the Munich Agreement from the very beginning. We completely support all L. I. Brezhnev has said in his speech in connection with this, for it corresponds with the cherished and vitally important interests of our Motherland.

We should like to believe that the new Government of the Federal Republic of Germany will sincerely strive to normalize its relations with our country and the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. I am referring to the whole range of problems of European security, which are also mentioned in our Joint Statement, and which offer realistic possibilities for achieving success in the cause of security and the peaceful consolidation of the situation in Europe. We welcome any proposal that genuinely strives to attain such peaceful aims. However, we don't want anyone to have any doubts that we consider the criterion of the honesty of the intentions of the new West German Government to be unconditional abrogation of the Munich treaty, and their attitude to the German Democratic Republic, to its existence and its borders, and to the results of World War II. We in Czechoslovakia see the German Democratic Republic as the force of progress and a socialist future for the German people. We are united with the GDR by the common interests of national and state existence, socialist internationalism and Marxist-Leninist ideology. During the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the German Democratic Republic, we expressed our complete solidarity with the first socialist state on the territory of Germany, and today we have no reasons for changing our position.

We sincerely wish to cooperate with all the countries which strive to strengthen security in Europe, to avert the threat of war, and to ensure peaceful cooperation.

In the course of World War II our two states—Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union—concluded the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance on December 12th, 1943. This Treaty was prolonged in 1963. At the time we reached agreement with representatives of the Soviet Union that it would be expedient—in the interests of the further development of fraternal relations between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union—to sign a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. The new Treaty would be based on the results of our cooperation and, at the same time, would reflect the qualitative changes which have taken place between our two countries in more than 25 years. This Treaty—in the spirit of our talks and relations at the time—should be the expression of the new situation, of higher level of our mutual cooperation.

* * *

Allow me in conclusion to thank, once again, all the Soviet leaders for the friendly attention to our delegation, to thank all Soviet people for their friendship, their class solidarity and fraternal attitude to the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

We would like to assure you once more, on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, that the Czechoslovak Communists and the working people of our country are fully resolved to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party, to build up socialist Czechoslovakia as a firm link in the socialist community, and to deepen in every way the friendly, comradely and fraternal relations with the first socialist state—the great Soviet Union, with its Communist Party and the Soviet people. Therefore, once again, from the bottom

of our heart, we greet the Muscovites, all Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Long live the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first country of socialism, the main bulwark of social progress and peace throughout the world!

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened the way to the working class and the working people of many countries for the realization of the great ideals of social justice!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, the main force in the world communist and working class movement!

Long live close cooperation between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the heroic Soviet people, the bearer of the revolutionary, progressive, democratic traditions of all mankind!

Long live eternal friendship and alliance between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union!

(Gustav Husak's speech was punctuated with prolonged applause.)

Joint Soviet-Czechoslovak Statement

At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, a Party and State delegation of Czechoslovakia paid an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union from October 20 to 28, 1969. The delegation included: First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Gustav Husak (head of the delegation); Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Ludvik Svoboda; Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Oldrich Cernik; Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Lubomir Strougal; Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Vasil Bilak; Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia Stefan Sadovsky; Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Vice-Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak

Socialist Republic and Minister of Foreign Trade of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Frantisek Hamouz; Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Jan Marko; Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Minister of National Defence of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Colonel-General Martin Dzur; Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Ambassador of Czechoslovakia to the USSR Vladimir Koucky.

The Czechoslovak comrades travelled to Volgograd and Kiev, and visited a number of industrial enterprises, collective farms, scientific, cultural and educational establishments. They were everywhere accorded a hearty welcome and brotherly hospitality. The Soviet people cordially welcomed the Party and State delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; they expressed warm feelings of friendship for the Czechoslovak people and wished the Czechoslovak working people successes in building socialism.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Gustav Husak; Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Ludvik Svoboda; Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Oldrich Cernik, and other Czechoslovak comrades, together with the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Alexei N. Kosygin, Minister of Defence of the USSR Andrei A. Grechko, and other Soviet officials, visited a cosmodrome where they saw various types of space and military equipment and were present at the launching of rockets.

During the stay in Moscow the Party and State delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic held talks with the Party and State delegation of the Soviet Union which included: the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union L. I. Brezhnev (head of the delegation); Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet N. V. Podgorny; Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A. N. Kosygin; Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee A. P. Kirilenko; Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee K. F. Katushev; Member of the CPSU Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee N. K. Baibakov; Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers M. A. Lesechko; Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR A. A. Gromyko; Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Defence of the USSR Marshal of the Soviet Union A. A. Grechko; Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Trade of the USSR N. S. Patolichev; Member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Ambassador to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic S. V. Chervonenko.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of comradeship and fraternity, in a spirit of mutual trust and respect, sincerity and cordiality.

I.

The talks confirmed full identity of views regarding ways of promoting further all-round development of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are fraternal countries, united by common historical destinies, a

common social order and Marxist-Leninist ideology, common aims and interests in the struggle for peace and social progress, for the communist future of their peoples. Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship has been sealed by the blood shed by their peoples on the battle-fields in fighting for a common cause. It is made sacred by the ideas of the Great October Revolution, the glorious traditions of joint revolutionary struggle against capitalism, the anti-fascist war of liberation, and creative constructive labour in building socialism and communism. Having stood serious tests, it proved its irresistible vital force.

Soviet-Czechoslovak relations rest on the firm foundations of confidence, comradely mutual assistance and support, active internationalist solidarity, equality, independence, non-interference in one another's domestic affairs, mutual respect of sovereignty, which are inseparably linked with common solicitude for the further strengthening of socialism. The fraternal relations are highly cherished by the two Parties and peoples; they constitute an important factor in their joint work and struggle.

The talks devoted considerable attention to questions of developing the socialist economy and of the economic cooperation between the two countries. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia strive to make full use of all objective advantages offered by planned economy in which centralized guidance is combined with initiative of enterprises and personnel. They attach great importance to the consistent implementation of measures aimed at perfecting the structure of the economy, the system of planning and guidance and methods of management. Broad exchange of experience on matters concerning the implementation of the economic policy of the fraternal countries helps to raise the efficiency of economic management.

Economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia promotes the economic development of both countries, facilitates the solution of the most important tasks in the build-

ing of socialism and communism, and serves the vital interests of the peoples of both countries. The goods turnover is now 80 per cent bigger than in 1960, while mutual deliveries of machinery and equipment have increased 130 per cent.

Concrete questions concerning coordination of the two countries' national economic plans for the period ending in 1975 were discussed. Meeting the desire of the Czechoslovak Side, the Soviet Union will increase its deliveries of petroleum, cast iron, cotton and some other important raw materials for the Czechoslovak industry as well as equipment Czechoslovakia greatly needs. Conditions are being created for a considerable increase in goods turnover in the next five-year plan period on a mutually advantageous basis.

The Soviet Side agreed to deliver, in addition, durable goods in 1970 and to render assistance in the purchase of certain commodities on the foreign market which are now in short supply in Czechoslovakia.

The two Sides state that in the present conditions specialization and cooperation are acquiring greater and greater importance in the mutual economic relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, above all, in machine-building, power industry; chemistry, electronics as well as in the production of consumer goods. They help create favourable conditions for introducing progressive changes in the pattern of the national economy, and for developing socialist economic integration between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia as well as within the framework of the entire socialist community.

An understanding was reached on expanding cooperation in nuclear power engineering. The Soviet Union will render scientific and technical assistance and will supply the necessary equipment for the construction of new big atomic power stations in the CSSR. The two Sides agreed on the development of long-term extensive cooperation in the manufacture of equipment for nuclear power stations and the manufacture of computing facilities. The Soviet Union will substantially

increase its aid in building the underground railway in Prague and thus make it possible to speed up the construction. Possibilities of close cooperation will also be jointly examined in expanding the manufacture of lorries in the CSSR.

An important result of the expansion of economic cooperation between the two countries will be the fuller and more efficient utilization of the capacities of the CSSR engineering industry through Soviet orders for machinery and equipment.

To achieve rational use of the scientific and technical facilities and scientific manpower in both countries, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia will systematically concentrate their efforts on studying a number of scientific and technical problems that are of great economic importance.

The Czechoslovak Side states that economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union, always the biggest and most reliable economic partner of Czechoslovakia, creates the necessary conditions for the optimal and stable development of Czechoslovakia's national economy.

Both Sides regard as the most important task of cooperation at the present stage the rendering of mutual assistance in making the speediest introduction of the results of the scientific-technological revolution into all branches of the national economy, in raising the efficiency of socialist production and thus also the living standards of working people.

To raise the level of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries to a new height, it is necessary for Party and state bodies to pay constant attention to the expansion and improvement of planning, including mutual consultations on economic policy and the coordination of economic development plans.

The parties to the talks came to the common conclusion that the activities of planning, economic and foreign trade organizations of both countries and the Inter-Governmental Soviet-Czechoslovak Commission

for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation should be aimed at ensuring the further rapid development of mutually beneficial economic cooperation and the socialist economic integration of the fraternal countries.

The two Sides agreed on further expanding cooperation between state organs and public organizations, on developing relations between regions, cities, and districts, and friendly contacts between the personnel of factories, collective farms and institutions of the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. They noted the great positive role played by the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union and the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society in strengthening fraternal relations between the peoples of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union.

The two Sides attach great importance to the strengthening of friendship and close cooperation between the armed forces of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other fraternal countries. Accordingly, efforts will be made to strengthen cooperation and friendship between the Czechoslovak people's army and Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the territory of Czechoslovakia.

Both Sides will promote further development of cooperation and expansion of relations in the field of science, culture, the arts, education, cinema, press, radio and television, health services, sports and tourism. The broadening of direct contacts between the working people of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia is an important factor in further strengthening Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship, and educating the masses in the spirit of internationalism. On the basis of historical experience, the Czechoslovak Side stressed that the strengthening of friendship with the Soviet Union is part of the socialist patriotism of the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

The Party and State delegations of the two countries declare the firm determination of the Soviet Union

and Czechoslovakia to strengthen their fraternal alliance and contribute in every way to consolidating the unity of the socialist community and the growth of its forces and might.

II.

During the talks there was exchange of information on questions relating to Party and state affairs of the two countries.

The Soviet leaders spoke about the efforts of the peoples of the Soviet Union in implementing the immediate and long-term plans of communist construction, in ensuring the flourishing of the economy, science and culture. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union conducts large-scale activity in educating the working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, which enriches man's spiritual world and gives inexhaustible strength to the builders of a new society.

The Czechoslovak leaders informed the Soviet delegation about the implementation of the course outlined by the April, May and September Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia this year, a course aimed at strengthening the leading role of the Party, carrying out to the end the struggle against Right-wing opportunism, strengthening socialist social relations, improving socialist democracy, applying Marxist-Leninist principles in formulating national policy, overcoming difficulties in the economy and raising the living standards of the people. Such a course is an expression of the struggle for the victory of Marxist-Leninist principles and for overcoming the distortions and mistakes that had occurred in the past. It is directed at developing the positive aspects of the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, adopted in January 1968. The Soviet delegation, for its part, expressed full understanding and support for this political course of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Both Sides fully agree that the lessons of the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968-69 are evidence of the ceaseless attempts by imperialism to wreck socialist construction, to hamper the development of the socialist community, to weaken the contacts between its individual links, to breach the system of socialism. The lessons of the Czechoslovak events lay bare the strategy and tactics of the enemies of socialism, their desire to exploit certain difficulties and the existence of unresolved acute problems in an attempt to undermine the leading role of the Communist Party and to shake the foundations of socialist society. The activity of the anti-socialist counter-revolutionary forces is all the more dangerous, the greater are manifestations of revisionism in theory and of opportunism in political practice.

The Czechoslovak comrades emphasized that as a result of the activity of Right-opportunistic forces in the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, various petty-bourgeois and anarchistic tendencies appeared in the country's political and economic life. No decisive struggle was organized either against these tendencies or against the anti-socialist counter-revolutionary forces that actively exploited the obtaining situation. The merger of the Right-opportunistic revisionist trend and internal anti-socialist forces, which, backed by imperialist reaction, sought to demoralize the Communist Party and the socialist state, to destroy the class alliance of Czechoslovakia with the socialist countries, created the real danger of a state-political coup, a direct threat to the socialist social order in Czechoslovakia. All this caused serious damage to the interests of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, its socialist allies and the cause of socialism throughout the world.

In conformity with the decisions of the September Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the highest legislative and government bodies of the CSSR, the Czechoslovak delegation views the actions of the five fraternal

socialist countries in the crucial August days of 1968 as an act of internationalist solidarity, which helped to bar the road to the anti-socialist counter-revolutionary forces.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia fully agree in the class appraisal of the sovereignty of a socialist state as an expression of the power of the working class and all working people. Both delegations proceed from the belief that a class understanding of sovereignty includes the inalienable right of every socialist state, every Communist Party to determine the forms and methods of socialist construction, as well as the duty to defend the power of the working class and the entire working people, their revolutionary socialist gains. In this sense each Communist Party is responsible for its activities to the people of its country and also bears international responsibility to the countries of the socialist community and the international communist and workers' movement.

In full accordance with the Bratislava Statement the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia regard the defence, support and consolidation of socialist gains, which were achieved through the heroic efforts and selfless labour of each people, as the common internationalist duty of all fraternal countries. In the interests of the peaceful, creative labour of the peoples they express firm determination to rebuff, jointly with other fraternal countries, the counter-revolutionary designs by imperialism and all other forces of reaction.

The Czechoslovak people clearly understand, on the basis of the historical experience of the struggle against the danger of German imperialism and revanchism, what great importance the defence of the western frontier of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has for its national existence and state sovereignty. The peoples of Czechoslovakia also realize that this frontier, the security of which is one of the main factors in preserving peace and security in Europe, is at the same time a western outpost of the entire socialist

community. The agreement on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory is of great, fundamental importance in this respect.

The Party and State delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic stated that it regards the all-round cooperation and close alliance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the struggle against a common enemy—imperialism—as guarantee of the genuine sovereignty of Czechoslovakia, of its national security and socialist development.

III.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are following an agreed-upon line in international affairs, a line aimed at ensuring favourable conditions for building socialism and communism and at securing peace and the freedom of the peoples and combatting the aggressive policy of imperialism.

The two Sides consider it their supreme duty to strengthen unity of the countries of the socialist community, to broaden and make more effective their cooperation both on a multilateral and bilateral basis. They will continue to work tirelessly for increasing the defence might of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which restrains the main aggressive forces of imperialism and has at its disposal all means necessary for rebuffing any intrigues of imperialist aggressors.

The USSR and Czechoslovakia will steadily implement the decisions of the 23rd special session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance aimed at developing socialist integration as an objective necessity in achieving economic growth and raising the efficiency of social production in each country and in the entire socialist community.

The USSR and Czechoslovakia, the CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, coming out for the unity of the countries of the world socialist system

on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis, denounce any activity aimed at disuniting the socialist countries or at sowing distrust among them. To weaken the ties and cooperation among the socialist countries would only play into the hands of imperialism.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, together with the other socialist countries, counter the aggressive doctrine of imperialism with a constructive programme of peace based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders. They consistently press for a negotiated settlement of disputed international questions, a gradual solution of the disarmament problem, the development of broad cooperation between nations on an equal basis.

The delegations reaffirmed their determination to continue to render all-out support for the Vietnamese people's just struggle against the continuing US aggression, for their freedom and right to an independent life. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are convinced that the courage and heroism of the Vietnamese patriots and the broad international support for their struggle will deepen the isolation of the aggressors in the world arena and compel them to discontinue the imperialist intervention against the people of Vietnam.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia express solidarity with the struggle of Arab peoples against the aggression of Israel which is supported by the imperialist circles of Europe and America. They insist on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories of Arab countries, a just settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the Security Council's resolution adopted in November 1967.

The Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will give all-round support to the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national liberation and political and economic independence, will develop mutually advantageous relations with them and give them assistance.

In their peace policy the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have always attached great importance to ensuring European security. The great socio-political changes that have taken place in the past twenty years—the victory of socialism in a number of European countries, their unification within the socialist community and the establishment of the first German state of workers and peasants—have decisively strengthened the cause of peace and democracy in Europe.

At the same time there still exist factors in Europe, which complicate international relations and increase tension. A serious danger comes from the bellicose activities of the aggressive North Atlantic Pact, this bastion of all reactionary forces in Europe, and a source of international tension. NATO is a collective instrument of the anti-communist policy of imperialism.

The position of the reactionary forces, specifically the neo-nazi forces in the FRG, which stake on a revision of the results of World War II, creates dangerous tension in Europe. An indication of the sincerity of the proclaimed peaceable intentions of West German Government policy and an essential condition for ensuring a durable peace in Europe may be a realistic approach by the new government of the FRG to such just demands as recognition of the immutability of the postwar frontiers in Europe, international legal recognition of the socialist German state—the German Democratic Republic, the abandonment by the Federal Republic of Germany of its claims to represent “all Germans” and its encroachments on West Berlin which is an independent political entity, renunciation of its claims to nuclear weapons and the unconditional acknowledgement by the FRG government of the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very beginning.

A durable peace in Europe can be ensured by setting up a collective security system. The Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will actively contribute towards preparing for and holding an all-European conference which was suggested by Warsaw

Treaty member-nations in their Budapest Appeal. They believe that conditions now exist for holding such a conference. Favourable reactions from the overwhelming majority of European states to the proposal for calling an all-European conference increase the hopes of the peoples for strengthening peace. In this connection the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia highly appreciate the Finnish Government's initiative which helps prepare for the convening of an all-European conference of states.

The two Sides expressed firm confidence that the consistent peace policy of socialist countries and vigorous actions by the peoples of the whole world can strengthen international security and remove the danger of war.

IV.

The experience of many years of struggle and victories of the international working class, the lessons of a number of serious trials are evidence that socialism as a social order can triumph and become firmly established only under the guidance of a Marxist-Leninist Party. Only a party armed with a scientific Marxist-Leninist understanding of the ways of social development is able to work out a clear-cut programme of struggle for communist ideals, to organize and rally the working people for its implementation, purposefully and systematically to influence social processes, to defend and develop the achievements of the socialist revolution. The strength of the Communist Parties lies in their inseparable link with the working people, with the revolutionary working class, in being loyal to their internationalist duty, in creatively applying the laws of scientific communism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Union of So-

viet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic are united in their understanding of the ways and methods of building socialism and communism. The peoples of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the other fraternal countries are building a new society, guided by the common laws governing the development of socialism, which were discovered and formulated by the founders of scientific communism and developed in the programme documents of the international communist movement, of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. Applying these laws in the specific conditions of their countries, in conformity with their countries' progressive national traditions and peculiarities and the level of social and economic development, the Communist Parties enrich the international experience of socialist construction.

The CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regard as their most important cause the raising of the ideological level of Communists, the inculcating of communist world outlook, internationalist consciousness, socialist patriotism in all members of society. The affirmation of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the defence and consolidation of socialist democracy are marked by determined and sharp struggle against anti-socialist views and concepts, against bourgeois nationalism, Right and "Left" opportunism and revisionism in the communist movement.

In the present situation when the adversaries of communism are increasingly resorting to ideological subversion against Communist Parties and socialist countries, the CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia consider it necessary to step up ideological-educational work while giving a strong rebuff to anti-communism in all its manifestations. In this bitter class-ideological struggle, the mass media of information, whose duty is to fight consistently for implementation of the Party's line and serve loyally the working people and the cause of socialism, are extremely important weapons of the Party and socialist government.

Experience shows that any weakening of Party guidance of the mass media does serious harm to the interests of socialism.

The CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia express solidarity with the working class movement in capitalist countries, and support the struggle of the working people against national and social oppression. Guided by the appraisals and conclusions made by the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow in June 1969, the CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia consider it their duty to enhance the militant solidarity of the Communists of the whole world, to strengthen the world anti-imperialist front.

The CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regard the strengthening of the ideological cohesion and unity of action of the Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism as the most important task whose accomplishment is necessary for achieving further successes in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia consider it important to develop inter-party contacts at all levels: between the Central Committees of the Parties, between regional committees, city committees, district committees, separate primary party organizations, press organs and ideological institutions. Close ties between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia furnish a firm foundation for confidence and friendship in the relations between the two countries.

On the eve of the centenary of the birth of the great leader of the proletarian revolution, V. I. Lenin, the CPSU and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia express their unshakable allegiance to his behests, their resolve consistently to apply the Leninist principles of internationalism in their activity, in the relations between the Parties, to lead the peoples of their countries to the victory of communism.

* * *

Loyal to the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Cooperation signed by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia on December 12, 1943 in the period of the joint struggle against fascism and extended in November 1963, and with the aim of further strengthening friendship and fraternity of their peoples, the two delegations unanimously decided to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation from the Hitlerite invaders with the signing of a new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance which would conform to the higher level of Soviet-Czechoslovak fraternal relations developed in the post-war period.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the President of Czechoslovakia and the Government of Czechoslovakia, the Party and State delegation of Czechoslovakia extended an invitation to the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers to send a delegation of the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia for an official visit. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The Party and State delegations of the USSR and Czechoslovakia express deep satisfaction with the talks and with the full identity of views and stands of the two sides shown at the talks.

The broadening of political, military, economic and cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia strengthens the might of world social-

ism and its attractive force. The unity of socialist countries serves the cause of the communist movement, the cause of freedom of peoples, the cause of peace, socialism and progress.

On behalf of the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics

L. BREZHNEV,
General Secretary, Central
Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union

N. PODGORNYY,
Chairman of the Presidium
of the Supreme Soviet of
the USSR

A. KOSYGIN,
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the USSR

On behalf of the Czechoslovak
Socialist Republic

G. HUSAK,
First Secretary, Central
Committee of the Communist
Party of Czechoslovakia

L. SVOBODA,
President of the Czechoslovak
Socialist Republic

O. CERNIK,
Chairman of the Government
of the Czechoslovak Socialist
Republic

Moscow, October 27, 1969.

ДРУЖБА, ЗАКАЛЕННАЯ В БОРЬБЕ
на английском языке

Цена 10 коп.

63