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JPRS: 3522

12 July 1960

CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY IN THE POST WAR WORLD

by Jiri S. Hajek

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CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY IN THE POST WAR WORLD

The following is a translation of an article by Jiri S. Hajek in Nova Mysl (New Thought), vol. 1960, No. 5, pages 484-494/

I.

One of the decisive features in the development of international relations since World War II, is the appearance of a camp of socialistic states, its consolidation in its struggle against pressure and aggressive provocations of the imperialists, and the strong influence of its strength and authority in international life. This basic agent influences in a decisive manner also other moments and areas. It determines the progress and measures of the enemies of socialism, of the imperialistic powers led by the USA. It also has a marked effect on yet another agent of our era, namely the national liberation movement in colonies and dependent countries. It speeds up the decomposition of colonialism, strengthens the struggle for selfdetermination among dependent nations, supports the formation and stability of independent states in Asia and Africa, and aids them in their efforts to overcome their economical and technological backwardness emanating from their past colonial oppression, and supports their successful resistance to the return of colonialism in any form.

The socialistic camp led by the Soviet Union is therefore an agent which is more and more responsible for the trends in the development of our historical epoch, and the course of its individual stages.

The first stage covers the period from the end of the war to the year 1949. At the beginning of this stage the victorious anti-hitlerite coalition was destroyed by the pressure of class controversies. The Soviet Union the main and most important agent of this coalition emerged from the war morally and politically strengthened. Its authority increased in all countries which were directly touched by the tremors of war. At the same time in these countries the ideas of socialism became more attractive as can be seen from the orientation of the programs of all the anti-fashist and anti-imperialist movements in Europe as well as in Asia and Africa. At this time, of course the Soviet Union and the countries liberated by the Soviet Union were temporarily economically weakened as the result of the second world war.

In contrast to this the United States found itself in the position of the only power which had actually gained from the war. The tremendous expansion, the enormous technological maturity of its capitalistic economy, which had been above all strongly stimulated by the war, culminated in the presumed monopoly on the production of the atomic bomb. The accumulation of war profits created the erroneous idea in the minds of the American bourgeoisie that it also had another world monopoly - i.e. the monopoly on rendering economical aid to

countries which needed it in order to overcome the consequences of war and of colonial backwardness. This gave the United States the illusion of superiority over the entire world. The U. S. policy generally relied on this in its attempts to rule and unify the entire capitalistic world, to stop the process of peaceful evolution of socialism and of the national liberation movement in the colonies. The offensive of the American imperialistic policy supported by these means, actually managed to stop temporarily the marshalling of the revolutionary forces in the lands of western Europe and in some of the Asian countries, and to retard the anti-colonial revolution by forcing the native bourgeois-nationalistic groups to compromise with imperialism. However, this aggressive reactionary pressure did not stop, but on the contrary, accelerated the revolutionary processes in the lands of eastern Europe and in China. Thus, the socialistic camp was born in battle and its development was crowned in the fall of 1949 by the victory of the Chinese people and by the establishment of the German Democratic Republic. The imperialistic camp then declared a cold war against the socialistic camp.

In the second stage - 1950-1954 - this cold war developed in most varied forms: economical discrimination, diplomatic and political pressure, expropriation, military alliances and bases, aggressive threats and provocations, which erupted into open local aggression in Korea and culminated in the preparation of an aggressive attack on the broadest front in Europe and in Asia. Thus, on the surface, the initiative passed temporarily and seemingly into the hands of the imperialists who were responsible for the creation of dangerous situations which brought the entire world to the brink of war, and kept it in a state of constant tension. In reality, of course, even these actions were dictated by the efforts to stop and cripple the primary historical agent of today i.e. the constant growth of the socialistic camp. The socialistic camp became strongly consolidated at this time; it strengthened the bonds of cooperation between its individual members and repelled successfully all attacks and pressures. The imperialistic camp did not succeed in winning over the on a cooperative basis the most important lands of Asia and Africa, where the bourgeois nationalistic groups under the pressure of the masses and also because of their own interests refuse to take on the required military bonds but, on the contrary, are maintaining the policies of neutrality. In some of the more developed capitalistic countries there appeared at that time the unfavorable results of the militarization of economy and of the risks of the new situation. Against the expectations of the initiators of the cold war, the lands of the socialistic camp did not collapse, but, on the contrary, survived and successfully developed. Thus, the American imperialism did not succeed in the maintenance of unity and solidarity of all the capitalistic lands within the framework of its aggressive pacts - in fact, in the very efforts to produce this unity by force there appeared elements of dissention, controversy and disagreement, which in Europe centered especially around the efforts to resurrect German imperialism and militarism as the mainstay of the NATO policies. Already at this stage, imperialism suffered severe defeat in Korea and Indochina, and

failed to fulfill the program of armament designed for the capitalistic lands of Europe within the NATO alliance, and to enlist the aid of the reactionary governments of Asia in formation of other aggressive pacts designed to surround and cut off the socialistic world. Thus, the illusion and practical non-existence of the American monopoly for the production of atomic weapons and for economical aid to underdeveloped countries became obvious. The lands of the socialistic camp survived without this aid; they became an example and later on a source of practical support to non-socialistic, economically less well developed countries, which in contrast to the previous states began to step forward actively along a path leading to peaceful coexistence (after the liquidation of the Korean conflict and the solution of the Indochina question).

The third stage began in the years 1954-1955. In it we can see the increased weight and importance of the socialistic camp in world economy and in international affairs. The imperialistic economical blockade has collapsed and with it the entire system of power politics. Tremendous expansion of Soviet science and technology made possible by the development of socialistic economy presented the socialistic camp with defensive powers and means of such strength that the war threats of imperialism became entirely empty. At the same time the results of this development supplied the peaceful policies of the socialistic camp with means to render aid to such non-socialistic lands of Asia and Africa that were willing to overcome their economical backwardness by their own efforts and did not want to sell their independence for the promise of dollar aid. All this strengthened the active peaceful policies of the Soviet Union, which, striving for the peaceful solution of international problems, approached the imperialistic powers by substantial lenience in many problems e.g. the signing of the Austrian state treaty and the disarmament proposals.

At that time, however, the imperialistic circles did not quite comprehend the full value of the unity and the strength of the socialistic camp, which led them to overestimate their own powers and to oppose the process of international tension reduction by warlike acts and provocations. In the years 1956-1958 this policy culminated in military aggression in the Near and the Middle East, designed to cripple the most active agents of the national liberation and anti-imperialistic front, and to destroy the living bond between them and the socialistic camp. The imperialistic reaction had also tried to create confusion in the international movement of workers and to impair the unity of the socialistic camp with the aid of the revisionists. Extensive reactionary intrigue and machinations culminated in the attempted counter-revolution in Hungary. The defeat and complete collapse of all such attempts resulted in the speeding up of the process of international tension reduction. Substantial sifting of ideas in the imperialist bourgeois camp ensued and strengthened the realistic orientation of its leaders.

Of great importance was here the trip of N. S. Khrushchov to the United States in 1959, and his visit to France in the spring of 1960.

Instead of cold war and power politics we are now meeting with efforts for peaceful coexistence consisting of economical and ideological competition between the socialistic and capitalistic world systems. Even though this direction has not completely succeeded as yet, the supporters of the cold war, the heralds and organizers of warlike pacts and of power politics are today definitely on the defensive and are retreating. The socialistic camp which today is economically strong and consolidated, and whose components collaborate on a more and more harmonious level, is thus taking undeniable initiative in the conduct of contemporary international affairs and dictates the tone in each decisive moment affecting the direction of further development, in the solution of all problems in favor of the interests of peace, well being and happiness of all nations.

II.

What is the role of Czechoslovakia in this historical process?

The victory of the Soviet army over hitlerite fascism in 1945 terminated in the history of the Czech and Slovak nations not only six years of German occupation but also a long historical era of capitalism and the rule of bourgeoisie affected from the beginning to the end by uncertainty and constant fears for our national existence.

Czechoslovakia could be liberated and her nations saved from the exterminatory plans of the hitlerites only by the victory of the Soviet Union and of the front which from its very appearance strived to defeat the Munich decisions at the price of Czechoslovak independence, a front which won in the long run since it represented the historical forces of progress. In the year 1945 the Soviet Union was so powerful that it did not allow the powers of world reaction to misuse the results of its victory against the forces of progress. At that time the Czech and Slovak working class was so strongly and surely led by the revolutionary avantgarde that it did not allow itself to be removed from its leading position in the battle for national liberation and prevented other forces from deflecting this struggle from its true goal. Thus, Czechoslovakia was not renewed as a bourgeois republic but as a people's democracy. She stood at the threshold of a new era but already on the right side of the lively current of world historical development. Czechoslovakia has played from the very beginning an active, positive and valuable role in this development.

Even during the war, in December 1943, the forces of reality and the pressure of the domestic popular movement forced the Czechoslovak government in exile, led by Dr. Benes, to conclude a treaty with the USSR concerning friendship, mutual aid and post war collaboration, a treaty that became the founding stone of the foreign policies of the new Czechoslovakia. From this point of view Czechoslovakia was the first of the lands of Central and Eastern Europe leading an active struggle against German fascism. Even then, the bourgeois leadership admitted that only on the side of the Soviet Union and in closest collaboration with it and the front of social progress will the Czechoslovak nations be able to insure their independence and their happy and glorious future.

All this was obvious to the communists since the great October revolution and primarily since the year 1935, and even the broadest masses of our people became aware of this at the time of Munich and during the occupation. Because of this, there is no question that the principles of the Kosice program, concerning the alliance with the Soviet Union formed the basis of Czechoslovak foreign policy.

In the period from May 1945 to February 1948 it was necessary to fight for this line of approach in all the remaining sectors of our life. Bourgeois political groups strengthened by the pressure of western imperialism directed against the USSR attempted to sway the Czechoslovak republic away from this strong life giving union. The theory of Czechoslovakia as a presumed "bridge between the East and the West", a bridge which the imperialistic camp wanted to use as its approach road against the Soviet nation, played its role in the formation of the front of the February "revolutionaries", and was destroyed along with them. Thus, the attempts of the reaction to enlist Czechoslovakia into the Marshall Plan and to renew our alliance with France - as a counterbalance to the alliance with the USSR - were successfully destroyed at the very moment when the French right wing with the aid of Blum's socialists impaired the unity of the nation, born of the wartime resistance movement, and carried France to the losing and uncertain road of Atlantic politics. It was necessary to destroy intrigues causing nationalistic controversies with Poland and Hungary both of whom were at that time undergoing the process of strengthening of peoples democracy. The struggle against reaction culminating by the February victory in the year 1948 was also one of the substantial and valuable contributions of Czechoslovakia to the creation of the socialistic camp. It insured its western borders and definitively closed the gates to an eastward attack by the imperialistic, expansionist movement.

However all this meant more than is given merely by the geographical position of Czechoslovakia. Already during the period of capitalism our country was industrially advanced, and our nations which had had experience with bourgeois democracy and had lived through the uncertainties and destructive effects of imperialistic alliances, turned fully and definitively from their capitalistic past, in a free and mature decision of the majority. The nation voted for a true freedom, independence and a socialistic future. This was a serious, staggering defeat of imperialism in the cold war which had then barely begun. This defeat will not be long forgotten by the West which will remember it again and again with helpless hatred especially in moments of renewed attacks of the cold war.

In the second stage, Czechoslovakia took active part in the consolidation of the socialistic camp, primarily through the advanced state of her economical and technological development. The very process of the swift transition of our country to the socialistic organization of industry and agriculture was an important factor in the strengthening and growth of the entire socialistic camp. Our great industrial potential, especially in the case of our machine industry, allowed us

to contribute also alongside the Soviet Union to the industrialization of some of our fraternal lands who approached the development of socialism under the burden of economical backwardness caused by past imperialistic exploitation as well as by the exploitation of the domestic reaction. At this time Czechoslovakia led also a decisive battle, alongside the Soviet Union, concerned with the discovery and destruction of the destructive plans of the imperialists within the United Nations Organization as well as in other areas especially those where the aggressive Atlantic policies began to revitalize openly German imperialism and where they aided the militarism and revengism of Western Germany.

In the third stage of the post war historical era Czechoslovakia, as an important member of the socialistic camp, participates in the victorious offensive for peace. The development of our economy which, under the strong party leadership, has led our country to the fulfillment of socialistic buildup, plays its further role in the strengthening of the socialistic camp and in insuring the evenness of its further growth and in the fulfillment of the historical task to be victorious in the economical competition with capitalism. Czechoslovak machinery production and international trade are of grave importance in the industrialization and development of the socialistic camp and in the economical relations with such lands of Asia and Africa who are struggling against imperialism and reaction. Within the frame work of aid rendered by the entire socialistic camp Czechoslovakia played a positive role in the struggle of the Arab countries in Near and Middle East in the years 1956-1958. Czechoslovakia has also contributed to the strengthening of the independence of the lands of South-East Asia, primarily through the buildup of their domestic industry. Free nations of Dark Africa look to Czechoslovakia with trust. The name of Czechoslovakia is also known in the areas where the nations of Latin America are shaking off the bonds of dependence on imperialism.

Because our people had the opportunity to recognize the actual and effective contrast between imperialistic alliances of the past and the bonds and relations of a new type occurring among the fraternal nations of the socialistic camp, they stand fully and vigilantly on guard of the unity and the strength of the socialistic camp. The communist party of Czechoslovakia has always, and primarily in the year 1956 during the concentrated attack against the international workers movement, stood in the first line of battle for the unity of the socialistic camp and for the purity of the revolutionary teachings of marx-leninism. Because of this Czechoslovakia frustrated the hopes of the imperialists and revisionists during the period of contrarevolution in Hungary. This principal belief of our party, government and peoples was and is positively valued by the fraternal parties of all countries and by the revolutionary movement of the whole world. Because of this it is understandable that it is also the target for attack of the western bourgeois politicians and revisionists of all orientations. It was a positive contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the socialistic camp and to the affirming of the authority of our republic in the entire world.

Our foreign policy, alongside the Soviet Union, is at this time

embarking upon many initiative acts in the effort to realize the leninist principles of peaceful coexistence between lands of various economical and social systems. We have expanded our business, cultural and political relations with the majority of the nations of the world. We are taking an active part in the solution of many concrete questions, and are thus contributing to the lessening of the international tension. The voice of Czechoslovakia can be clearly heard in the United Nations Organization and at various conferences and negotiations e.g. the current meetings of the ten-country council for the solution of the question of disarmament in Geneva. Through her historical experience and geographical position Czechoslovakia, as a neighbor of both German states, is in a very good position to participate most actively in the struggle for the insurance of peace in central Europe and for the peaceful solution of the German question primarily by the conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states. At this highly exposed place our policies struggle effectively against one of the most important foci of the cold war and international tension i. e. against German imperialism resurrected and renewed within the framework of the aggressive Atlantic policy.

III.

The foreign policy of socialistic Czechoslovakia, strongly directed by the communist party, emanates from the proved principles of leninism. Proletarian internationalism governs the relations of our republic with other socialistic countries. Our membership in the socialistic camp as well as our active participation in its development and in the strengthening of its unity, and the deepening of our fraternal relations with all the member states are the basic features of the international status of our foreign policy. Our fraternal bond with the Soviet Union is the main agent of this our belonging to the socialistic camp. It is continually deepened in a conscientious and definite effort of both sides for the development of economical contacts which today amount to 1/3 of the entire turnover of the Czechoslovak foreign trade. Technical, scientific and cultural cooperation has been evolved. There is not one sector in the life of socialistic Czechoslovakia in which the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and brotherhood does not act as a rich, life giving source of stimuli and creative powers. It is obvious that even in the future our republic will maintain a close connection with the leading power of the socialistic camp, as well as strengthen, deepen and actively and initiatively take advantage of the stimuli which this relationship affords. At the same time it will stand on the side of the Soviet Union in international life on the side of the struggle for socialism and insurance of world peace.

Proletarian internationalism which in the era of capitalism formed a bridge between the revolutionary proletariat of the lands of central and eastern Europe in its struggle against the chauvinistic and grabbing policies of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners of these countries, has now become a decisive agent of the new relations between these countries following the victory of the working class. Thus the

borders of our country are insured by a lasting friendship of Poland, Hungary and NDR (Nemecka Demokraticka Republika - German Democratic Republic) in a manner never achieved before. The international status of our republic has thus acquired a unique stability which is continuously more strengthened and expanded by further economical, political and cultural collaboration with these countries and with the other people's democratic states of Europe. Thanks to this cooperation Czechoslovakia does not need to fear German militarism on her western borders. Above all, the pressure of German imperialism is affecting only a small sector of our state border, while the great majority of our border is surrounded by friendly and fraternal nations.

At the same time, these countries, under the direction of the Soviet Union are united by a strong economical solidarity. These alliances insure our full of the conjunctural fluctuations of the world capitalistic economy which were the source of the chronic instability of the pre-Munich republic. Our membership in the socialistic economical system assures Czechoslovak economy of a constant planned growth, of a membership in the Council for Mutual Economical Aid, and allows us to cooperate in the concentrated for a mutual, even development of the economy of all the socialistic lands. The membership in the Warsaw Treaty gives Czechoslovakia strength and security against all forms of imperialistic pressure, threats and attempts of aggression, and increases our possibilities for influencing the development of Europe in the direction of assurance of a lasting peace and the peaceful solution of all problems and questions of the mutual relations of the European countries.

The victory of revolution in the People's Republic of China, Korea and Vietnam has brought also these countries close to the life of our people. Today, they are not remote and little known areas to us. They join Czechoslovakia in their thought and experience and provide her with concrete friendship, mutual knowledge, active cooperation and a multisided exchange. The Czechoslovak people are proud and happy that the nations of the Asian socialistic countries value highly their positive role in the development of the socialistic camp. At the same time our people look with marvel and respect to the historical progress experienced by China under the direction of the communist party, a China, which today as the head of the free nations of Asia marches forward as a world power. From the very beginning our foreign policy has conscientiously struggled, and even today continues to struggle against discrimination to which the Asian socialistic countries and primarily China are subjected to in the United Nations Organization and in the international society as a whole. At the same time our policy supports each step with which the socialistic camp led by the Soviet Union blazes the trail leading to the fullest valuation of the weight and importance of these nations in world affairs. In the system of socialistic states, new to history, there have been created also entirely new, until now unheard of, principles of international relations consisting of full equality, mutual respect for territorial totality, state independence and sovereignty, and full, mutual brotherly cooperation. The active use and development of these principles gradually and constantly increases the strength and the importance of the socialistic camp in world affairs, and constantly better its position in the competition with

capitalism. In this way, the moment is approaching speedily when in all the provinces of this competition we will see the definitive superiority of socialism over capitalism, and which will therefore result in the insurance of peaceful development of all countries of the world, and in the elimination of war as means of solution of international problems. Because of this, it is understandable that the strengthening of the unity of the socialistic camp, the increase of its power and authority as well as its effect on world development, remain the main tasks of our foreign policy, to the fulfillment of which we must give our maximum effort.

The revolutionary teaching of marx-leninism has shown the proletariat of industrially advanced countries that one of its natural allies is the national liberation movement in the colonies and the dependent provinces of Asia and Africa and Latin America. This alliance has reached special status in the new forms occurring since World War II, in which aside the socialistic camp which represents the state power of the victorious working masses, there is an increasingly expanding union with the new states of Asia and Africa and the successes of the national liberation movements. The nations of Czechoslovakia who have known in their past the bitterness and terror of imperialistic pressure, and have for a long time themselves fought for their independence and freedom, have always had a deep understanding for the national liberation struggle of colonies and dependent countries. During the pre-Munich republic, the bourgeoisie tried to suffocate these natural sympathies of our people and to direct Czechoslovak foreign policy, against our national interests, to a position of defence of colonialism or at least of tolerance of colonialism. The working class by its victory has enrolled Czechoslovakia fully in the forefront of active understanding, sympathy and aid for the national liberation struggle and the development of young freedom and independence of nations which had risen from colonial slavery. On the basis of equality mutual benefits as well as that of respect and aid for this struggle for true independence, Czechoslovakia as well as the USSR and other advanced countries of the socialistic camp, maintain economical relations with these countries, render them technical aid, and strengthen the resistance of their economy and their capacity for national defense against the attack and intrigues of imperialists. We are developing economical cooperation with India, Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia, United Arab Republic and Iraq, and we extend a hand of friendship to the young African republics especially Ghana whose struggle and developmental efforts are important factors of progress in Africa. Thus our republic contributes to the fact that the socialistic camp practically realizes the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation primarily with those non-socialistic countries which in their own individual ways are developing their economy and resist imperialist pressure and all efforts designed to drag them into aggressive pacts and at the same time strive to express the desire of their nations for the insurance of peace in the world. Even in the future, Czechoslovak foreign policy will seek further ways in which to broaden, strengthen and deepen these connections and to contribute to the strengthening and the insurance of lasting freedom for the nations of these

countries in cooperation with the socialistic camp, so that the prevalence of peaceloving forces will be assured in the swiftest time possible. Because of this we welcome also the regeneration of democratic powers in the lands of Latin America, who are breaking down the cold war dollar barriers, and seek ways of friendship and cooperation with all the countries of the world and primarily with the nations of the socialistic camp.

Toward the capitalistic states we maintain the leninist idea of peaceful coexistence of countries with different economical and social systems. With many of these countries we have had previous, well developed economical, cultural and political connections. These were strengthened during the period of our common effort against the hitlerite coalition during World War II. During the "cold war" imperialism interrupted the progress of these contacts and developed a campaign of enmity and discrimination against our country. An atmosphere of threats, provocation and sabotage, and the pressure of aggressive circles had decreased the extent of our relations with these capitalistic states. The growth and expansion of our socialistic economy and the strengthening of our authority within the framework of the socialistic camp have shown, however, to the capitalistic world that cold war directed against us did not reach the goals envisaged by its authors. Today, this whole policy is obviously ended in a blind alley, and its results are most difficult especially for the weaker countries of the capitalistic world.

In this situation our republic willingly meets all the efforts of the bourgeois circles which under the pressure of reality and public opinion of their own countries have realistically evaluated the present day situation and are striving to end the cold war and to normalize business, cultural and diplomatic relations. Socialistic Czechoslovakia has much richer connections than the pre-Munich bourgeois republic. We are trading with 101 countries and are maintaining diplomatic relations with 63 states. Many capitalistic countries have shown a willingness to normalize fully their relations with Czechoslovakia, and to take advantage of a further development of such relations. It is obvious, that we will continue to welcome such efforts. However, in this we will maintain, and fully require from the other side respect for our national independence and sovereignty, the principle of non interference in internal affairs of other states, and we will fully take advantage of the mutual benefits emanating from such connections. We will not cease, however, to discover and destroy all imperialistic aggressive circles which do not desire peaceful coexistence but on the contrary are striving to preserve and possibly even increase international tension, the foci of conflict and the possibility of warlike outbreaks.

In this respect our policy has an important role, especially in relation to Germany. By the defeat of hitlerite fascism, and by the Potsdam agreement, new conditions have been created for the development of Germany, and, at the same time, also new presumptions for the relations of Germany with her neighbors. Possibilities have been created for the true liberation of the German nation from the domination of the traditional forces of German and European reaction, and for the development of

democracy and progressive government in its land. The Western powers which have prevented such development in the western part of Germany, are responsible for the creation of the militaristic, reactionary, imperialistic, and revengistic Bonn republic. In contrast to this the Soviet policy in the eastern part of Germany has open wide the gates leading toward democratic and peaceloving development, which culminated in the creation of the German Democratic Republic, the first state of workers and farmers in German history. In this way, socialistic Czechoslovakia has found on her border a German state toward which she is able to extend a hand of friendship on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Lively and warm friendship between Czechoslovak and German peoples is an entirely new phenomenon in the history of the nations of both countries, a great luxury of socialism, and a noble expression of the new type of relations between the socialistic states. In contrast to this in western Germany the government rests in the hands of reactionary forces which seek to strengthen their dominion not only within their own country but also to influence and form a hegemony over the capitalistic portion of Europe. These are forces which are traditionally opposed to the national and state existence of the Czechs and Slovaks, forces which are today despised in Czechoslovakia with telling passion primarily because today she is a socialistic state. It can be said, that the renovation and the resurrection of the power of the German militarists, is the most pronounced result of the policy of the Atlantic alliance. Czechoslovakia, on the side of the USSR and the other socialistic countries, has from the very beginning stood against these developments. She has demanded a return to the principles of the Potsdam conference, rejected the remilitarization and rearmament of western Germany under any title, and has, with all her power, taken a stand on the side of the idea of an all European system of collective security. She has especially taken a stand against the arming of western Germany and against the transformation of the country into an advanced rocket and A-bomb base of the aggressive imperialist powers in Europe. We support the efforts of the NDR and of the progressive powers of the whole of Germany striving for the peaceful solution of the German question, for the renovation of German unity through gradual approach between the two existing German states, and their eventual fusion. Our republic has always stood and stands today fully behind all the proposals of the Soviet Union, presented to the Western powers, concerning the ending of the abnormal state in Germany, full liquidation of the vestiges of the second World War, and the peace treaty with Germany. In this the Czechoslovak republic is considering realistically the existence of the two German states and she is willing to sign a peace treaty with both. In this effort for the solution of the most important problem of contemporary Europe, Czechoslovakia will make use of her advantage emanating from her geographical position as a neighbor of both German states, and to use all the experiences acquired by her nation in their struggle in against German nationalism.

The significance of the international organizations and institutions is increasing in the present day international development. Long

past are the times when the American imperialists were able to misuse the mechanical voting machinery for their own aggressive plans. The growing strength and authority of the socialistic camp and the active role of the new states of Asia and Africa enable us to use effectively many of these organizations and institutions in order to put across the principles of peaceful coexistence, to truly strengthen the belief in peace, and to isolate and render harmless all war nests and foci. Czechoslovakia has already in the preceding eras, on the side of the Soviet Union and the other socialistic countries, used successfully international organizations primarily as speaker's platforms for the uncovering of imperialistic aggression, and for the clarification of the peaceful principles of her policy. Today, our country works initiatively within these organizations for measures which will open the road toward economical and cultural cooperation between the nations of the whole world. Czechoslovakia participates also in many important negotiations which contribute to the solution of many important problems of contemporary international affairs. Thus, already in 1953, along with Poland, Czechoslovakia became a member of the neutral supervisory commission insuring the liquidation of war in Korea. She has taken part in the work of many committees of the United Nations Organization as an important representative of the socialistic camp. In the effort to solve the most important question of our times - the question of disarmament - our republic has participated actively in some of the partial aspects (conference of experts on the possibility of control of atomic explosions, negotiations concerning measures against unexpected attack) as well as in the total solution attempted at this time by the committee of ten countries in Geneva. At these meetings, disarmament has acquired a new level of political and technological possibilities and measures. It is significant, that in these varied negotiations, socialistic Czechoslovakia has frequently been a partner of those countries which had never even recognized the pre-Munich, capitalistic republic as an equal partner and participant in important negotiations. In the past, while in the tow of imperialistic powers of the West, Czechoslovakia had struggled desperately to maintain her insignificant place, and even that she lost by her very dependence on the West. Today, on the side of the Soviet Union, and in alliance with equal socialistic countries, our republic fully expresses her strength and authority, and acts as a self-assured, equal partner of even such imperialistic states of the West which in their own camp have a complete disregard for small states of equivalent size.

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The review of the past fifteen years justly fills the Czechoslovak people with proud and happy self-assurance. Under the planned and wise leadership of the communist party, our people have become truly the masters of their land and her good managers. Their freedom, independence and continued development especially in the province of economy is fully guaranteed by their alliance with the USSR and by their strong and full membership in the world socialistic system. The fifteenth anniversary of our liberation is therefore being remembered at a time

when according to the directives of the XIth congress of the KSC, we are putting finishing touches on the socialistic build-up of our economy, completing our cultural revolution, and when we are giving our country a socialistic constitution. Our people as true creators of our historical future are, especially in these days, directing their efforts toward the preparation of the third five-year plan which contains brave perspectives of development of full and happy life of socialism and the approach to communism.

Shortly after the May anniversary, fifteen years after the end of the second world war, a conference will be held at the highest level, in order to decide on the peaceful solution of the most important and burning questions of current international relations. The very fact that this conference is going to meet, is in itself a great victory for the untiring efforts of the Soviet foreign policy, which with the aid of the entire socialistic camp and all peace-loving forces in the world, has patiently, step by step, overcome the resistance and unwillingness of the imperialistic circles, and has forced and led them to a more realistic evaluation of the situation and to the recognition of the fact that at the present day balance of power and technological development, the past power politics are not only dangerous and criminal but also ineffective from the point of view of the capitalistic goals and interests. A decisive factor in this victory is the substantial change in the balance of power contrasting to that existing at the beginning of the post-war era. The powerful growth of the socialistic camp, its economical development, the strengthening of its authority in the entire world are the expressions of this change. Thus, also our socialistic development and its successes as well as the activity of our foreign policy have had their share in this common effort.

To insure that this high-level conference will in its result mean a true change in the post-war history, and that it will represent the beginning of a new era in which peaceful coexistence would be fully insured on the basis of a peaceful course of economical and ideological competition of both of the world social systems, we will have to exert yet, much strength and many efforts. It will be necessary to strengthen further the basis of peaceful cooperation and to guard watchfully the efforts of the reactionary powers striving to undermine this cooperation. We must decisively fight against this, and to isolate and destroy all such efforts. Even though this struggle is conducted in conditions which are continuously better and more advantageous for us it will not be easier or less demanding. In fact, it will be necessary to conduct it with a much greater thoroughness and ability. The constant adherence to our principles, and the strong and experienced conduct of our party, insure that even in this further struggle, Czechoslovakia will fulfill her international duty toward the great cause of socialism and communism.