LENINIST FOUNDATION OF THE FRATERNAL RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC AND THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

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Foreword

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[Following is a translation of an article by
Jaroslav Sedivy in the Czech-language periodical
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The main content of our epoch is the historically inexorable transition from capitalism to communism and its fundamental feature is the fact that socialism has already reached beyond the boundaries of one country and has become a world system exercising ever-growing influence on the course of history. The existence of the world socialist system, its strengthening, development, and influence are changing the shape of relations between states and nations, promoting fundamental changes in world politics, in the lives of nations and many states.

All socialist countries are contributing their share toward strengthening and developing the socialist system according to their specific capabilities which together constitute a tremendous force directed at attaining the common goal -- construction of a communist society. It is, therefore, not merely a temporary harmony of interests which unites the socialist countries into one whole but a permanent political and economic cooperation based on the same class foundation and on common aims and means toward their achievement.

To the gigantic community of socialist countries, the basic force of which is the Soviet Union and a gigantic support of which is people's China, belongs also, as an inseparable organic part, the people's democracy of Czechoslovakia. Thanks to the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which in its program and activity combines the patriotic feelings of the working people with the internationalist character of its interests, Czechoslovakia was able to develop rich and all-round connections with other socialist states for her own benefit and the benefit of the whole socialist camp.

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At the same time as the socialist order based on common ownership of the means of production is strengthened in individual socialist countries and as the antagonistic conflicts between classes gradually disappear, parallel to the process of gradual victory of the socialist revolution arise new and hitherto unprecedented relations between states which are qualitatively different from the previous ones. Their foundation is the Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism.
But just as proletarian internationalism has been and is the leading principle of the international workers movement, so in the new conditions when the working class has assumed power in a number of states and when socialism, as a peaceful world system, has been firmly established in international relations, proletarian internationalism has in the same way become a foundation of the mutual relations between socialist countries and a foundation of interstate relations of a new socialist type. It is, therefore, already possible to speak rightly in this connection about socialist internationalism which expresses the interests of the working people of the countries of socialism and the leading idea of which is fraternal and mutual aid in carrying out revolutionary social changes. The fact that these countries have under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party already embarked on the road to socialism, the fact that the starting point of their mutual relations is the social class substance of the social and economic order and state power and the identity of aims in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism—all this makes the socialist states into a united and invincible camp.

At the head of the camp of socialist states stands the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union enjoys this position because it was the first socialist country having the richest revolutionary and constructive experience which at present represents the decisive force in international events. This fact is of fundamental importance for the development of internationalist relations between the socialist countries. Referring to this, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev said at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "We are sincerely grateful to the fraternal parties for such a recognition of the historical role of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At the same time, it is necessary to emphasize that in the Communist movement, just as in the socialist camp, there has been and is absolute equality and independence of all Communist and workers' parties and socialist countries."

A sincere and unequivocal orientation of foreign policy toward the Soviet Union is the fundamental phenomenon which in the international field has characterized internal changes in Czechoslovakia since World War II. The alliance with the USSR anchored in the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of alliance of 1943, and sealed by the common struggle against fascism, has been strengthened in the course of revolutionary changes in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and has become one of the fundamental prerequisites for completing the construction of socialism in our country.

The example of the development of our fraternal ties with the Soviet Union makes us realize the Marxist-Leninist ideological steadfastness and consistency of our party which has led the Czechoslovak people along the road of anti-fascist alliance with the USSR to the closest relations of socialist internationalism.
Our alliance with the Soviet Union, therefore, is today indestructible because it is built on the most reliable Marxist-Leninist internationalist foundation. It is today and will forever remain the main direction of our foreign policy.

Our fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union today, as in the past, continues to develop according to the principles of socialist internationalism and is to us a firm support in our relations with the capitalist world.

In the process of socialist revolution the bourgeoisie has been completely excluded from participation in decisions on state affairs; thus also disappeared the main cause of the conflicts which in the past often divided the countries which today are building socialism. Marx and Engels showed in the Communist Manifesto that only liquidation of the exploitation of man by man will lead to abolition of the exploitation of one nation by another, that only liquidation of class antagonism within individual nations will also remove the breeding grounds of hostile relations between nations. In our epoch socialist order and the socialist relations between nations have attested to the truthfulness of these words and have demonstrated to the whole world that the internationalist ideology of the working class is the most consistent ideology of peace. The socialist order did away with the causes of conflicts which in the past separated Czechoslovakia from other socialist states of today, and it has created conditions for unifying the efforts of the working people of these countries in the name of the common goal -- the construction of socialist and communist society. Only after the victory of socialist relations in these countries did the people come to realize to the full extent the truth which had been expounded by Communists: that it was the bourgeois oppressive system and the policy of the former ruling classes that dragged nations into nationalistic friction because of the economic conflicts between the exploiting classes of different states. Only under socialist international conditions has Lenin’s idea that the interests of labor require the highest confidence and the closest ties between the working people of various countries been fully realized.

History confirms this fact through the example of relations between Czechoslovakia and some of her neighbors. Only the present state and social order in these countries have put an end to former conflicts and have solved the contested questions in the spirit of internationalist principles. The classic thesis of Marx and Engels is confirmed by the fact that some of these contested questions survived even well into the first years after World War II, when within these countries the process of differentiation was still going on, when in the course of the transition from national and democratic revolution to socialist revolution the bourgeoisie still partly shared power and when it, therefore, still exercised partial influence on foreign policy. But gradually, as the dictatorship
of the proletariat became in these countries the only driving force of socialist transformation of economics, social relations, and culture and the main instrument of re-education of the masses. In the spirit of socialism, the primary causes of contended questions gradually disappeared and in their place came relations based on the principle of proletarian internationalism.

How deep are the effectiveness and the validity of these principles in solving the historical conflicts between states can be shown in the new relations between Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic in which the people of both countries terminated the thousand-year-old policy of hostility which was created between them by the former ruling classes. But the relations between these two countries are of wider validity. Because the German Democratic Republic defends the true national and thereby also international interests of all German people in an indomitable struggle against German imperialism and its instruments -- militarism and revanchism -- our mutual relations with the first peaceful German state are at the same time a manifestation of class internationalist solidarity of the working people of Czechoslovakia and the whole of Germany. Our relations with the German Democratic Republic are no longer burdened by traces of the past but are based on common interests and principles of friendly cooperation and support in all questions. This fact was once confirmed by Comrade Antonin Novotny during his last visit to the German Democratic Republic in November 1959. Thus it was only socialism, the basic feature of which in internationalist socialist relations in adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism, which made the atmosphere of confidence, mutual understanding, and fraternal cooperation prevail in interstate relations.

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The instrument which creates the new relations between socialist countries is the socialist state, the activity of which is directed by the Communist Party. The party infuses Marxist-Leninist theory into the life and the foreign policy of the socialist state in its everyday practical politics. The Communist Party, therefore, is the fundamental active force also in creating internationalist relations between socialist countries.

From Lenin's teachings on the state follow the conclusions that a socialist state, as a political superstructure, arises at the time when there does not yet exist a complete socialist foundation but that it arises as a prerequisite of the transition to socialism. The socialist economic system, which is an economic foundation of the new political power, grows and gathers strength in the transition period and during the process of gradual victory of socialism. Dependent on these facts are the further development of individual functions of the socialist state and, therefore, also its foreign policy. And if it is a historically proved fact -- this was again confirmed at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the
Soviet Union by a profound analysis -- that in present conditions socialist states can build socialism only in close cooperation and in close communion, then new responsible tasks confront foreign policy. By final victory of socialism, said Comrade N. S. Khrushchev at the 21st Congress, "Marxists understand its victory on an international scale" and not merely in one country.

In view of the fact that socialist relations have spread beyond the boundaries of one country and that the world socialist system has been created, the foreign policy of the socialist countries has in the method of its activity also adopted qualitatively new elements. The experiences of the first socialist country the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics -- at first verified the methods of foreign policy only toward the capitalist countries; but the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a number of countries brought also a new system in foreign policy among these countries. The internationalist character of the dictatorship of the proletariat gave rise in these conditions to a new function of the socialist state which has become an instrument of mutual assistance among the socialist countries in the construction of socialism.

The declaration of the consultative meeting of representatives of Communist and workers parties which was held in Moscow in November 1957, and which summed up the experience in political and economic cooperation of the socialist countries, characterized these relations as based on principles of full equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in internal affairs. These important principles, however, do not exhaust the entire substance of the relations between socialist countries. An inseparable part of these relations is mutual fraternal help which effectively manifests the principles of socialist internationalism. The Moscow declaration emphasized the establishment among the socialist countries, on the basis of full equality, mutual advantages, and mutual considerate assistance, of a broad economic and cultural cooperation which plays an important role in strengthening the economic and political independence of each socialist country and in strengthening the entire socialist community.

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The cornerstone of socialist internationalism in the relations between countries of the socialist system is the unity of views concerning the problems of internationalist socialist relations, world current events and the international Communist and workers movements. This unity is underscored by faithful adherence to the main line of building socialism and communism in conditions where socialism cannot be built away from the socialist camp and its main force the Soviet Union. The communion of aims and methods, the united common basic line, and the leading role of the Soviet Union do not, however, despite the slanders of revisionists, condemn individual socialist
countries to passivity in international relations; on the contrary, they are put in a position to forge conditions for the most extensive activity possible according to their own capabilities and by availing themselves of the resources of their own individual countries.

The unity between socialist countries and the conformity of ideas in understanding their tasks, which follow from the present international situation, acquire greater seriousness precisely from the point of view of developing the initiative which individual socialist countries have won in their foreign policy, especially so in the present stage of development of international relations, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev has more than once pointed out that the struggle between socialism and capitalism goes on, though in a different form, that its center is being shifted into the sphere of economics, politics, and ideology. With the present constellation of forces in the world it is evident that definite victory of socialism is becoming a reality and that the socialist camp has at its disposal power which makes it invincible. This, of course, does not mean, as Comrade N. S. Khrushchev declared in his speech to the Seventh Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, that "the enemies will not use subversive methods within each country, that they will not try to create hostility between socialist countries in order to weaken the forces of socialism." This is one of the forms of class struggle at present; this is also the aim of contemporary revisionism -- to undermine the unity of the socialist countries.

In connection with the demand for unity of socialist countries, the correctness of the previous policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia -- the permanent quality of which has been precisely the effort to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp -- stands out. The Czechoslovak people have more than once manifested their faithfulness to the principle of unity of the socialist countries, especially at the time when it was greatly endangered by the Hungarian counter revolution. In evaluating this fact at the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Novotny said that our party then "in its unity and firm Marxist attitude acted as an important stabilizing factor, a fact which was appreciated by the fraternal parties."

The result of the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which has creatively applied the conclusions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and which in the critical international situation led our people to a constructive effort in building socialism, was the unity, the firmness, and the undeviating attitude of our state that greatly strengthened its international esteem.

In the last two years, representatives of our party and government have negotiated with representatives of the socialist countries; these negotiations again confirmed the concurrence of views in all questions of present international relations and in the problems of
relations within the socialist camp. The unity of Czechoslovakia with other socialist countries is the most reliable guarantee of our security, and at the same time it strengthens the entire socialist camp.

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The leading principle of socialist internationalism is the joining of efforts of all fraternal parties for building socialism, mutual fraternal assistance, and cooperation of the socialist countries so that they may embark on the road toward communism on a broad front. This principle is asserted first of all in the sphere of economic relations of the socialist countries. The focal point of internationalist socialist relations has been transferred to the sphere of economics since the decisive struggle between capitalism and socialism is now taking place in economics. Lenin emphasized this fact as early as 1921 when he wrote: "Today we influence the international revolution chiefly by our economic policy. It is to this field that the struggle on the world scale has been transferred. Let us solve this task -- and then we shall have won on the international scale surely and definitely. For this reason questions of economic construction assume in our view quite exceptional importance." (Works, Vol. 32, p. 413.)

The resolution of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union also lays down the most immediate task which must be solved in the economic development of the socialist countries, that is, to eliminate economic differences between individual socialist countries, which resulted from historical and natural circumstances. Here is manifested especially the importance of fraternal help of economically more advanced countries of the socialist camp. This fraternal help and cooperation combines in itself both national and international interests of the people of the socialist countries since this is how each individual country is enabled to develop its own productive forces to the widest possible extent while at the same time it contributes toward strengthening the socialist camp as a whole.

In the course of development of the world socialist system the forms of this cooperation and assistance have changed and developed. In the first years, roughly up to 1955, economic relations between socialist countries were confined mainly to the area of trade and subsequently were extended to include scientific and technological cooperation. The tremendous development of socialist economies showed, however, that this form was not enough and that it could soon become an obstacle to the development of the socialist system.

At a certain level of the development of productive forces the necessity arose to unify the production efforts of the socialist countries and in this way to throw open the gates for the tremendous sweep of socialist production. The socialist planned economy
affords ample possibilities for such an expansion, and in this way new and higher forms of cooperation, such as specialization and cooperation of production based on planned international socialist division of labor, are gradually asserted.

Lenin wrote that in the struggle for a new society "tendencies toward the creation of a uniform world economy directed as a whole according to a common plan of the proletariat of all nations" will assert themselves. (Works, Vol. 31, p. 142). This tendency, though only in its beginnings, is already operating at the present time in the economy of the world socialist system, which is gradually advancing toward the establishment of a uniform common direction of the socialist economy by means of coordination of national economic plans of individual countries, specialization of and deeper cooperation in production.

The distinctive feature of the economic development of the socialist countries is that, the more the development of socialist economics within individual countries advances, the more their mutual relations and the world socialist system are strengthened. Contrary to this, the economic growth of one group of capitalist countries has an adverse effect on others which are lagging and inevitably sharpens the competitive conflicts between them. Our state has been spared these consequences only because it is a part of the world socialist system.

In the light of the great tasks which stand before the socialist countries, Czechoslovakia's position in the economy of the socialist camp and its role in the world economy will assume more conspicuous proportions. Czechoslovakia as a relatively small state has only 1.3 percent of the total population of the countries in the socialist camp, but its total volume of industrial production represents 6.2 percent. This shows first of all that the high quality and productivity of labor and the technical maturity of industry constitute the foundation of Czechoslovakia's importance in the development of international socialist division of labor. And since the economic competition of the two world systems is measured not only in terms of the total volume of gross production but also in terms of the level of production achieved per capita, it is, therefore, possible to say that the importance of Czechoslovakia rests in developing high productivity and quality of production, which is also important for this competition.

The high productivity of labor and technical maturity of Czechoslovak industry, as well as the fact that Czechoslovakia manufactures a great variety of commodities of the world's industrial production, predetermine also two roads along which Czechoslovakia travels in equalizing the plane of the economic level achieved by the socialist countries. First, Czechoslovakia concentrates on producing the technically most demanding and perfect products, at the same time partly restricting the assortment of commodities produced by its industry; the latter is a natural consequence of specialization.
and is to the benefit of our economy. Furthermore, by increasing continually the level of scientific and technical cooperation, it also assists those socialist countries which are industrially less developed in consequence of historical circumstances to introduce, in addition to their current production, manufacture of some technically more demanding machinery and equipment.

The basic forms of the economic cooperation of our state with other socialist countries are foreign trade, scientific and technical cooperation, exchange of the latest production experience, joint construction of industrial enterprises, delivery of complete installations of entire plants, grants of purposeful credits, etc.

In foreign trade conducted on the basis of best-term arrangements, trade with socialist countries represents a stable two thirds of the total turnover of Czechoslovak foreign trade. In the period 1948-1958 Czechoslovak foreign trade with socialist countries increased by more than 3.5 times.

The great contribution of our country to the development of relations among socialist states shows what an important part Czechoslovakia has played in the creation of the socialist world market as one of the connecting links between the socialist countries; at the present time, while extensive socialist-international division of labor is gradually being promoted as a higher level of economic cooperation of the socialist countries, to the forefront comes no longer trade but questions of production and purposeful specialization.

At the same time it is necessary to evaluate another question -- the importance of the world socialist system for the development of our economy. If we compare the rate of growth of our industrial production, which annually averages up to a 10-percent increase as compared with a 2-4 percent rate of growth of production in the capitalist countries, with the fact that the socialist countries receive two thirds of the entire foreign trade of the Czechoslovak economy, the logical conclusion is that cooperation in the framework of the world socialist system stimulates the economic strengthening of our state.

The establishment of the world socialist market, in which Czechoslovakia enjoys a distinct position, has a far wider meaning and impact than its significance for socialist countries. At present it is an important instrument in international relations, a foundation for a peaceful coexistence of different social systems. At the same time, it also makes the monopoly of imperialist economic relations disappear from the world scene; the course of world development and the world economy are more and more influenced by the growing intensity of a new tendency qualitatively different from anything known before, which leads to equal relations between nations and to the development not of competitive struggle but of cooperation between them.

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The conformity of ideas and the indestructible unity in all actions of international politics between Czechoslovakia and the countries of the socialist camp arise not from some accidental and momentary needs occasioned by the present situation but from scientific analysis of the main laws of contemporary developments. The foreign policy of the socialist state directed by the Central Committee of the party is enabled to carry out this scientific analysis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism which is its scientific foundation. The root of the conformity of ideas and common attitude of the socialist countries in regard to international questions is the fact that the foreign policy of the socialist countries is guided by this scientific theory, a fact which imperialist propaganda and revisionists of all types frequently offer as a "proof" of inequality in the relations within the socialist camp.

But it is Marx-Leninist theory and nothing else that enables the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia and of other socialist countries to discover the objective laws of the historical process, to find and follow the correct orientation in international and internal situations, to understand and correctly interpret connections between world events. It makes it possible to see not only how events are developing at present but also what their further development is likely to be. Such theory and analysis then lead also to correct conclusions and later to measures which are undertaken by the foreign policy of the socialist countries on the basis of the scientific analysis.

The united attitude of the socialist countries in all questions of contemporary international politics is, therefore, a result of scientific examination of this policy and it leads to objective harmonious conclusions which correspond to the laws of social development.

This in itself, of course, is not enough for a lively activity of socialist foreign policy. An indispensable condition in its application in foreign policy is the subjective factor, the masterful skill of its interpreters, the exactness in carrying out its basic directives laid down by the Communist Party. Here is applied the creative activity of the foreign policy of the individual socialist countries — their own contribution and experiences out of which at common consultations grow joint measures and joint conclusions. The common aim is the general content of the main line of foreign policy of the socialist countries; the use of various forms toward attaining it is its concrete and everyday content.

The active contribution of Czechoslovakia to the over-all foreign policy of the socialist camp is limited by the resources and other factors at the disposal of Czechoslovak foreign policy: economic maturity of the country, geographic situation of Czechoslovakia in the middle of Europe and at the westernmost edge of the socialist camp, rich traditions of relations between Czechoslovakia and other countries both in the past and at present. These factors determine
Czechoslovakia's role both in the development of fraternal cooperation and help between the socialist countries and in the efforts to secure peaceful coexistence and victory in the competition of the two world systems.

The practical realization of the theory of Marxism-Leninism is the concrete activity of the Communist Party, which in asserting its leading role in the state develops the Marxist-Leninist principles. Then, of course, this necessarily means that the relations between the Communist and workers parties of these countries determine the mutual relations between socialist states. These parties exercise a systematic and purposeful influence on the relations between the socialist states and they guard the inviolability of the main principles of socialist internationalism as the foundation of these relations.

The unity of views and actions of the Communist and workers parties in the basic questions of socialist construction is of great importance for strengthening the world socialist system. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was able to return in this question to the internationalist relations with other fraternal parties as they had been since before World War II, especially to the close relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; it has always learned from the latter's historical experiences and has creatively applied them in its victorious struggle. The fraternal relations have provided the most solid foundation for the subsequent relations between the socialist states.

In a number of discussions of the delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with the representatives of individual fraternal Communist and workers parties of the socialist countries which were conducted after the historic Moscow session in November 1957, complete agreement in the views of these parties in regard to questions of internal and international development was affirmed; all manifestations of revisionism were condemned during these discussions as the main danger threatening the unity of the socialist camp.

Czechoslovakia's membership in the world socialist system is today the most important feature of her international position. This fact influences and affects also a number of problems which the independent Czechoslovak state encountered in the past, first of all questions of national and state independence and security. It was the foreign policy of new Czechoslovakia which was able to discard the obligations of the former ruling bourgeois class which linked capitalist Czechoslovakia to the western powers and which put it in an unequal position. In the period of the pre-Munich republic it depended first of all on the developments in Germany; the aim of foreign policy of those days was to contribute toward averting the German threat. This activity was, in view of the fact that pre-Munich Czechoslovakia was committed to the imperialist anti-Soviet
system, often covered up by the anti-Soviet tendency of Czechoslovak foreign policy of those days, and in the end the objective results of this policy were the very reverse of what they were supposed to have been.

Today, the efforts of Czechoslovak foreign policy in the German question are directed first of all at strengthening democratic developments in Germany; however, it is not the German problem alone but the continuous growth of the strength and power of the socialist camp and the ever stronger peaceful relations in the world, which place an insurmountable wall in the way of the aggressive plans of the West German continuers of the Nazi policy, that are decisive in the question of Czechoslovak security. The recent consultation of the member states of the Warsaw Pact held in Moscow, which discussed chiefly the question of contemporary development in Western Germany, sounded a warning note in this direction.

Czechoslovakia's position in the socialist camp also opens to her foreign policy quite another possibility in relations with capitalist states. Czechoslovak foreign policy has in this direction an incomparably more favorable field of action than was the case under the bourgeois government since it relies on and is protected by the greatness of the socialist camp. This gives the representatives of our country the possibility of absolute independence in negotiations with the representatives of capitalist countries, as well as the right to demand in their relations full observance of principles of equality and noninterference in internal affairs.

Thanks to the principles to which Czechoslovakia adheres in international relations and with regard to economic possibilities and experiences from the socialist construction of our economy, the Czechoslovak state has become a much-sought-after partner of the economically less developed countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These relations have both economic and political significance since on their foundation is strengthened the world front of peace.

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The current anniversary year of socialist Czechoslovakia furnishes many topics for comparison with the pre-Munich republic. Even in foreign policy this comparison speaks unequivocally in favor of the socialist today and it disproves with final validity the legends disseminated by bourgeois propaganda.

Important facts become obvious as we compare only the aims of foreign policy. Bourgeois foreign policy was concerned, at its best, with the defense of elementary interests of independence and security of the state but, of course, it was an independence and security of the state which insured the ruling class the widest possible exploitation of the workers and which secured to its profit hunters international connections which were in absolute conflict with the true national interests. These reactionary aims inevitably led the
bourgeois foreign policy of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia to a dependence on the reactionary policy of the imperialist powers, to attempts to reach an "agreement" with German fascism, and to capitulation.

Today the fundamental interests of the Czechoslovak people are definitely safeguarded by the existence of the socialist camp of which we are a firm part. Today our foreign policy's concern is to secure the highest possible development of our country; in this we are an example to others, especially in the West. In this also rests the essence of the activity of the present foreign policy of our state.

The entire activity of Czechoslovakia in the international field shows the dialectical unit of the partial interests of our country with the total interests of the socialist camp. The cooperation of Czechoslovakia with the socialist countries is an organic part of the advance of the Czechoslovak people toward completing the construction of socialism and toward a gradual transition to communism. Its foundations are the Leninist principles of internationalism which have been deeply rooted in the broadest sectors of the people since the struggle against exploitation and oppression and which today, when the working class has won in a number of countries, have become the principles of international relations.

These principles contain also a deep peacefulness as the basic feature of asserting internationalist principles of international socialist relations. This peacefulness marks the entire foreign policy of the socialist countries. In the effort to insure peace in the world, Czechoslovakia foreign policy uses all the capabilities and resources which it was able to develop only in the international alliance of the countries of the socialist camp.