

FBIS 3/

DUBCEK SPEECH TEXT

PRAGUE DOMESTIC SERVICE IN CZECH 1200 GMT 2 AUG 68 A

(SPEECH BY CZECHOSLOVAK PARTY FIRST SECRETARY ALEXANDER DUBCEK--RECORDED)

(EDITOR'S NOTE: THE ANNOUNCER INTRODUCES DUBCEK'S SPEECH BY SAYING: "SHORTLY AFTER 1200 A SPECIAL PLANE FROM RUZYNE ARRIVED IN BRATISLAVA CARRYING THE MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HEADED BY ALEXANDER DUBCEK, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC LUDVIK SVOBODA, AND FOREIGN MINISTER PROF DR JIRI HAJEK, WHO WILL ATTEND TOMORROW'S MEETING OF THE LEADING POLITICIANS OF SIX SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. SHORTLY BEFORE DEPARTURE COMRADE DUBCEK ADDRESSED THE FOLLOWING SPEECH TO THE LISTENERS OF CZECHOSLOVAK RADIO")

(TEXT) HONORED FELLOW CITIZENS AND COMRADES: YESTERDAY WE RETURNED FROM NEGOTIATIONS OF SEVERAL DAYS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE. WE WENT THERE WITH YOUR FULL CONFIDENCE AND AWARE OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TASKS WHICH WE HAVE TO SOLVE IN THE INTEREST OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY AND OUR PEOPLE. WE KNEW OF THE HOPES AND FEARS WITH WHICH YOU FOLLOWED OUR TALKS. ALL THE MORE, I CONSIDER IT MY DUTY TO THANK YOU ALL FOR THE WISE AND CIRCUMSPECT ATTITUDE WHICH RECENTLY HAS CULMINATED IN THE MOVEMENT TO SUPPORT BY SELF-SACRIFICING WORK OUR EFFORTS CONCERNING THE PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE ARISEN AMONG US AND CERTAIN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE INTEREST OF THE FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS AND POST-JANUARY POLICY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY.

ON WEDNESDAY LUDVIK SVOBODA, PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOLIALIST REPUBLIC, SPOKE ABOUT THIS. WE PROMISED YOU TO STAND FIRMLY ON THE POSITIONS OF POST-JANUARY POLICY IN WHICH IT IS OUR AIM TO BUILD IN OUR COUNTRY A SOCIALIST SOCIETY WHICH WILL HAVE A GENUINE IMAGE,SWHICH WILL BE DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALLY JUST, AND OF A MODERN ORIENTATION, IN WHICH SOCIALIST VALUES WILL BE CLOSELY LINKED WITH NATIONAL VALUES, AND IN WHICH, ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN KNOWLEDGE AND CONSCIENCE, OUR CITIZENS WILL SOVEREIGNLY DECIDE THEIR DESTINY. AT THE SAME TIME, WE PROMISED THAT IN THE SPIRIT OF THE TRUST YOU PUT IN US, AS IN THE PAST, WE WILL REMAIN LOYAL TO OUR FRIENDS AND WE WILL NOT BETRAY THE PRINCIPLES OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLABORATION, AND THE COMMON STRUGGLE OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES, IN PARTICULAR THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM.

(MORE)

2 AUG 1331Z BE/TM



ST ADD 31 (DUBCEK SPEECH TEXT)

X X X FORCES OF SOCIALISM.

53/5) WE RIGHTLY EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE IDEAS ON WHICH WE BASED OUR (?ALLIANCE) WITH THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL EMERGE PURIFIED AND STRENGTHENED FROM THESE TESTS. I STATE QUITE FRANKLY THAT IT WAS WITH GREAT RECOGNITION AND APPRECIATION THAT WE ACCEPTED THE FACT THAT WE WERE ABLE TO MEET SO SOON WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CPSU.

THE FEW DAYS DURING WHICH YOU WAITED WERE FILLED WITH INTENSE WORK FOR US. WE EXCHANGED VIEWS IN COMPLETE FRANKNESS WITH THE SOVIET COMRADES ON A VERY BROAD RANGE OF PROBLEMS OF OUR RELATIONS. THE MAIN GUIDELINE IN OUR TALKS WAS OUR POST-JANUARY POLICY AND THE FACT THAT WE WERE NEGOTIATING WITH A FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTY OF AN ALLIED COUNTRY OF OURS WITH WHICH WE ARE LINKED BY PROFOUND INTERNATIONAL BONDS.

I STATE FRANKLY: YOU CAN BE COMPLETELY SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS AND THE SPIRIT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE KEPT THE PROMISES WHICH WE HAD GIVEN YOU AND WE RETURNED WITH THE SAME CONVICTION WITH WHICH WE DEPARTED FOR THE TALKS: TO CONTINUE CONSISTENTLY ON THE ROAD WHICH THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY AND ALL OUR PEOPLE TOOK LAST JANUARY. THERE CAN BE NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE FOR OUR NATIONS AND THE WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST FATHERLAND. SPEAKING OF THESE RESULTS, WHICH ARE FOR US SATISFACTORY, ONE MUST FRANKLY POINT TO THE GOOD WILL AND THE EFFORTS OF THE SOVIET FRIENDS TO UNDERSTAND OUR PROBLEMS AND ALSO TO RESPECT OUR SPECIFIC CONDITIONS, AS WELL AS THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF ANY PARTY TO SETTLE INDEPENDENTLY ITS AFFAIRS.

THE SOVIET COMRADES WERE ABLE TO SATISFY THEMSELVES DURING THE TALKS THAT WE ARE DEFENDING THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM JOINTLY AND THAT IT IS OUR WISH TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE STRENGTHENING OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. IT IS OUR INTERNATIONAL DUTY TO CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE BY OUR ACTUAL CONDUCT THAT WE ARE NEVER GOING TO DEVIATE FROM THE PATH OF SOCIALISM, FOR SOCIALISM HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE DECISIVE MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE, COMMUNISTS AND NONCOMMUNISTS, AND OF THE ENTIRE NATIONAL FRONT.

WE CONVEYED TO OUR SOVIET COMRADES THE OFT-EXPRESSED CONVICTION OF OUR PEOPLE THAT THEY WISH TO BASE THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY ON MUTUAL BROTHERLY BONDS OF ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOCIALIST STATES. WE MAY SAY THAT THE TALKS WERE SUCCESSFUL, THAT WE SHALL AGAIN CONTINUE WITH OUR COOPERATION ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE RELATIONS BETWEEN FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SHOULD BE FOUNDED--ON GENUINE INTERNATIONALISM, WHICH IS COMPRISED BOTH OF UNITY AND COOPERATION AND RESPECT FOR STATE SOVEREIGNTY, AS WELL AS FOR THE PRINCIPLE THAT EACH COMMUNIST PARTY IS CARRYING OUT ITS SOCIALIST POLICY IN ITS COUNTRY FOR THE GOOD OF ITS PEOPLE, TO WHOM, AS WE HAVE REPEATEDLY STRESSED, IT IS FULLY RESPONSIBLE.

(MORE)



SECOND ADD 31 (DOUBLE SPEECH TEXT)

X X X IS FULLY RESPONSIBLE.

(TEXT) INTERNATIONALISM WAS NOT A MERE MATTER OF WORDS IN OUR TALKS. OUR TWO PARTIES DECLARED THEMSELVES READY TO UNDERTAKE FURTHER PRACTICAL STEPS WITH A VIEW TO STRENGTHENING OUR MUTUAL COLLABORATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK BOTH OF THE CEMA AGREEMENTS AND THE WARSAW TREATY. OUR COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS NEVER BEEN UNTRUE TO THESE PRINCIPLES. IN THE FUTURE, TOO, OUR COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WILL REGARD OBSERVANCE OF THESE TREATIES AS PART AND PARCEL OF ITS POLICY.

IN THIS CONNECTION I WISH TO STRESS THAT OUR ARMY IS NOT ONLY A FIRM COMPONENT IN THE DEFENSE OF OUR SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, BUT ALSO A SUFFICIENT GUARANTEE OF THE DEFENSE OF OUR STATE FRONTIERS AND, BY THE SAME TOKEN, OF THE FRONTIERS OF SOCIALISM.

I WAS ASKED RIGHT UPON MY RETURN TO THE AIRPORT IF OUR SOVEREIGNTY WAS THREATENED. LET ME SAY FRANKLY THAT IT IS NOT. WE NEED FRIENDSHIP AND GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE USSR PRECISELY IN THE INTERESTS OF SOVEREIGNTY AND PRECISELY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION. I WANT TO STRESS THE NEED FOR THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY TO MAINTAIN THEIR PRUDENT AND STATESMANLIKE ATTITUDE. THERE MUST BE NO MISUSE OF VARIOUS SPONTANEOUS ACTIONS AND MEETINGS FOR EXPRESSIONS OF VARIOUS ANTISOCIALIST AND ANTI-SOVIET SENTIMENTS.

~~W/ FULLBACK OF LAST TWO LINES~~

AND STATESMANLIKE ATTITUDE. THERE MUST BE NO MISUSE OF VARIOUS SPONTANEOUS ACTIONS AND MEETINGS FOR EXPRESSIONS OF VARIOUS ANTISOCIALIST AND ANTI-SOVIET SENTIMENTS.

ESTEEMED FRIENDS! I AM CONVINCED THAT ON THE BASIS OF THE RESULTS OF OUR TALKS WE NOT ONLY ARE FULLY ENTITLED, BUT THAT WE EVEN HAVE THE DUTY TO LOOK FORWARD, ABOVE ALL, TO CONCENTRATE OUR FORCES ON THE TASKS WHICH WE HAVE DECIDED TO UNDERTAKE AND WHICH WE HAVE OUTLINED IN THE ACTION PROGRAM OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY AND FOR THE REALIZATION OF WHICH WE HAVE OBTAINED FURTHER ROOM THROUGH OUR NEGOTIATIONS AT CIERNA NAD TISOU.

TOMORROW WE ARE TO HOLD A MEETING WITH THE SAME OBJECT IN BRATISLAVA, WHERE WE HAVE DECIDED, AFTER AGREEMENT WITH THE CPSU, TO INVITE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES OF BULGARIA, HUNGARY, THE GDR, AND POLAND. DURING OUR TALKS AT CIERNA NAD TISOU GOOD FOUNDATIONS WERE LAID FOR THIS MEETING.

(MORE)

2 AUG 1430Z BE/TM



FRIS 38

THIRD AND LAST ADD 31 (DUBCEK SPEECH TEXT)

X X X FOR THIS MEETING.

(TEXT) THE PREPARATION OF THE MEETING, THEREFORE, DOES NOT CALL FOR ANY FURTHER BILATERAL TALKS, SIF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN CONSIDERATIONS OF TIME IN VIEW OF THE IMPENDING 14TH CONGRESS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY.

AT THE BRATISLAVA MEETING WE SHALL CONCENTRATE OUR ATTENTION ON THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE (?COMMUNIST MOVEMENT) AND WE LOOK ON THIS MEETING AS A PRACTICAL STEP IN THIS DIRECTION IN THE INTERESTS OF INTERNATIONALISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. AFTER THIS STEP, OTHERS WILL FOLLOW.

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THIS MEETING THERE WILL BE TALKS WITH OUR FRIENDS FROM YUGOSLAVIA AND RUMANIA. WE WISH TO SHOW IN OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THE SAME PRUDENCE, THE SAME SENSE OF INITIATIVE AS IN OUR INTERNAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST POLICY. WE BELIEVE WE SHALL SUCCEED IN THIS AND THAT BY SO DOING WE SHALL BE HELPING NOT ONLY OUR OWN DEVELOPMENT, BUT THAT WE SHALL ALSO BE MEETING OUR OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM AND THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE WORLD AND, THROUGH OUR CONTRIBUTION, WE SHALL CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

ESTEEMED CITIZENS, COMRADES! THANKS ALSO TO YOUR HELP, WE HAVE DONE A PIECE OF HONEST WORK AT CIERNA NAD TISOU TOGETHER WITH OUR SOVIET FRIENDS, TO WHOM WE MUST EXPRESS OUR GRATITUDE AND THANKS FOR THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY APPROACHED OUR NEGOTIATIONS.

I REPEAT AGAIN: ALL OF US, AND ALSO OUR FRIENDS ABROAD, MUST NOW SEE TO IT THAT WE SEEK WAYS--PATIENTLY, CALMLY, AND WITH SUSTAINED ENDEAVOR--OF STRENGTHENING OUR COOPERATION, FRIENDSHIP, AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. BY SO DOING WE SHALL CREATE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR A SUCCESSFUL PREPARATION OF THE 14TH CONGRESS OF OUR PARTY FOR THE CREAZION OF ENDURING SAFEGUARDS OF THOSE IDEALS FOR WHICH (WE--ED) FOUGHT AT THE JANUARY PLENUM AND DURING THE POST-JANUARY ERA. LET US, IN THE INTERESTS OF THESE AIMS, DEMONSTRATE AGAIN THE PRUDENCE AND STATESMANLIKE WISDOM OF OUR PEOPLE. LET US WELCOME THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTIES IN A MANNER BEFITTING THE MATURITY OF OUR PEOPLE, IN A MANNER WORTHY OF OUR CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST HOMELAND.

(ENDALL)

2 AUG 1447Z BE/TM