

Statement by the European Communist and Workers' Parties on security in Europe (Karlovy Vary, 26 April 1967)

Caption: Meeting in Karlovy Vary on 26 April 1967, the representatives of the European Communist and Workers' Parties approve the Warsaw Pact proposal for the simultaneous dissolution of the two military alliances, call on all States to recognise the post-war territorial status quo and call for the establishment of a system of collective security based on the principles of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems.

Source: The proposed European security conference 1954-1971. Brief prepared by Mr. E. Nessler, Rapporteur. Paris: Western European Union Assembly, December 1971. 99 p. (General Affairs Committee. Seventeenth Ordinary Session). Soviet News. 02.05.1967. [s.l.].

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Publication date: 05/09/2012



Statement by the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties, Karlovy Vary (26 April 1967)

We representatives of European communist and workers' parties who have gathered in Karlovy Vary, realise our responsibility for the future of our peoples and the cause of the international working class and believe that the preservation of peace is the most important question for all the peoples of our continent.

We have met to discuss the present situation, to exchange experiences and jointly to work out ways and means of helping to unite all the forces of peace and progress in the struggle for European security.

I

The experience of the last few years has borne out the correctness of the communists' thesis that world war is not inevitable and that it can be averted by the joint efforts of the world socialist community, the international working class, the national liberation movement, all the States opposed to war and all the peace forces. These forces have grown considerably, but the aggressiveness of American imperialism has also increased.

The United States, the main force of aggression and reaction, is trying to reverse the march of history and abolish the right of the peoples to decide their own destiny. It is grossly interfering in the domestic affairs of the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa and is extending its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, a war which represents the most serious danger to world peace today.

In this situation the struggle against the imperialist forces is taking on special significance in Europe. Every success in this struggle means not only a step towards a stable peace in this part of the world, but also a new blow at the policy of strength and the system of interconnected aggressive military pacts with which imperialism has girdled the whole globe.

Europe, which has lived through two world wars, remains a troubled region where the main forces of the imperialist camp and the socialist community confront each other. An armed conflict between them would threaten to grow into a total nuclear war. This danger is hanging over the entire life of the European peoples, it retards social and economic progress, vitiates international relations and involves tremendous loss of material means as a result of the arms race. Military intervention by certain European States to suppress the national liberation movements also creates hotbeds of tension and imperils peace.

After the second world war the imperialist nations, headed by the United States, concluded the North Atlantic Pact, which was spearheaded against the socialist States and also against the democratic movements in the capitalist countries. This brought about the division of Europe into opposing military blocs. Having remilitarised the Federal Republic of Germany and supported its unlawful claims to represent the whole of Germany, the imperialists assigned to it the role of an advanced anti-communist bastion, which became a seat of tension and which threatens peace and security in Europe as a whole.

The Bonn State, where revenge-seeking and militarist forces have come to power, has turned into the mainstay of United States global strategy in Europe. The growing strength of the Bundeswehr, which is commanded by former Hitlerite officers, testifies to the increasing scale of the military preparations.

The activities of the communist party of Germany have been banned in the Federal Republic of Germany, while other democratic and peace-loving organisations are being subjected to persecution. At the same time broad scope is being given to the activities of the extreme reactionary and neo-fascist forces. Their growing influence deeply alarms European public opinion, which has learned by painful experience that fascism is always accompanied by aggressive militarism.

The cold war has become for the monopolies of all the European capitalist States an instrument of waging an offensive against democracy and a tool for exerting pressure on the working people with a view to suppressing their struggle for better living conditions, for restricting their social gains and as a means of

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shifting the growing burden of armaments on to the masses of people. The cold war concepts, the myth of the threat of "communist aggression", used by the United States to justify its hegemony in Europe, have failed.

The aggressive course of imperialism has been undermined by the active foreign policy of the socialist States, which are consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems, a policy which is being carried through on an ever-greater scale, especially since the 20th Congress of the CPSU. This course has also been undermined by the struggle of the communist and workers' parties and the actions of the masses and the activity of broad sections of West European people.

The joint defensive might of the socialist States, which relies, above all, on the technical and scientific achievements of the Soviet Union, constitutes an obstacle in the path of war. The Atlantic bloc has entered a stage of open crisis. The ruling circles of some western countries are challenging the value and expediency of the policy of military alliance with the United States or participation in the NATO joint armed forces, which threaten to draw their States into war and have nothing in common with their national interests. Tendencies towards emancipation from political and military trusteeship by the United States are growing in the European capitalist countries. At the same time anxiety is growing over the intensifying penetration by American capital.

The contradictions have also been aggravated between the national interests of West European States and the expansionist aims of the Federal Republic of Germany and its desire to occupy the dominating position in NATO, the Common Market and Euratom.

The German Democratic Republic, which has carried out the Potsdam Agreements, has strengthened its sovereignty as a State and its international prestige. Its growing strength and constructive peace policy raise a barrier to the plans of West German imperialism. Recognition of the GDR and the defence of its sovereign rights have become one of the main tasks in the struggle for European security. The existence and development of a peaceable socialist German State has important implications, not only for the peaceful German socialist State, not only for the German people, but also for peace throughout Europe.

The crisis of the cold war policy has opened up new opportunities for the democratic and progressive forces which exist in West Germany, forces that sincerely demand radical foreign policy changes and which deserve every kind of support.

The change of the Bonn government was brought about precisely by this crisis. However, there are no signs that the new government of the so-called "great coalition" has abandoned the imperialist goals of its predecessors. On the contrary, despite assurances of peaceful designs, it upholds the claim to represent the whole of Germany and continues to strive to swallow up the GDR and to restore Germany to the 1937 frontiers, refuses to recognise the unlawfulness of the Munich *diktat*, continues to advance provocative claims to West Berlin and is striving to get access to nuclear arms.

Serious changes are now taking place in public opinion. Awareness of the fruitlessness and danger of the imperialist policy of splitting Europe is constantly growing. Ties of co-operation, and specifically in the economic and cultural fields, are developing between countries with different social systems. In the course of establishing relations, representatives of governmental and public circles of socialist and capitalist countries are carrying out useful exchanges of views on problems of European security.

The constructive proposals for the strengthening of security and peaceful co-operation in Europe, set out by the socialist countries in the Bucharest Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty States, and the proposals put forward by the communist parties of capitalist countries at their meetings and in their decisions provide a realistic basis for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

New and positive trends towards an international détente and co-operation with communists are appearing in the socialist and the social democratic movements in some West European countries. New trends are emerging in Christian circles as regards the problems of progress and peace. New possibilities have arisen

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for contacts and co-operation between various trade union and other democratic organisations. Co-operation between communists and socialists and believers on the issue of European security can promote the cause of peace on our continent.

The peoples of Europe do not want another war! They neither want a cold war nor a "balance of fear" which leads to a still more intense arms race and increases the risk of a deliberate or accidental conflict. It is high time to achieve the establishment of new relations in Europe, relations based on a genuine relaxation of tension and mutual confidence.

We communists, acting in different national conditions, will stint no effort to build a system of collective security, to establish such relations between States which would preclude any possibility of aggression and ensure an enduring peace in Europe and throughout the world. This is a difficult, but feasible task.

II

The European communist and workers' parties are submitting, for the consideration of public opinion and of all the political and public forces concerned, a programme of activities in the interests of creating a system of collective security, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

This requires, primarily, that all States should recognise the actually existing situation as it has developed in Europe in the postwar period. This means:

- Recognition of the inviolability of the existing frontiers in Europe, particularly on the Oder and the Neisse, and also of the borders between the two German States;
- Recognition of the existence of two sovereign and equal German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which requires that the latter abandon its claim to represent the whole of Germany;
- Exclusion of any opportunity for the Federal Republic of Germany to gain access to nuclear arms in any form, either European, multilateral or Atlantic;
- Recognition that the Munich Treaty has been invalid since the moment of its conclusion.

The working class movement and all the peace and democratic forces of Europe now face the task of ensuring the development of peaceful relations and co-operation among all European States on the basis of respect for their sovereignty and equality.

With these aims in view it is necessary to fight for the realisation of a number of aims which can be achieved in the new situation, namely:

- The conclusion by all European States of a treaty renouncing the use of force or the threat of force in their relations and renouncing interference in internal affairs, a treaty guaranteeing that all disputes shall be solved by peaceful means only, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter;
- The normalisation of relations between all States and the German Democratic Republic, as well as between the two German States and between the GDR and West Berlin as a separate political entity;
- The consistent defence and development of democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany the right

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to demand this is given to the peoples by law, historical experience and postwar international agreements. This envisages universal support for the struggle of the progressive forces in the FRG for the banning of neo-nazi organisations and all revenge-seeking propaganda, the annulment of the emergency legislation, freedom of activity for the democratic and peace-loving forces and the lifting of the ban on the communist party of Germany;

— The conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty as an important step towards the stopping of the arms race.

The system of European security must include the recognition of the principle of neutrality and unconditional respect for the inviolability of neutral States. A more active peace-loving policy on the part of these countries and their contribution to the cause of disarmament would help to establish such a system.

The elimination of artificially created barriers in economic relations between the socialist and capitalist States of Europe would be of particular importance for all States and would be conducive to the establishment of fruitful co-operation, including broad agreements in the sphere of production and scientific research.

Striving to open the way to European security and co-operation, we come out resolutely for the conclusion of agreements on partial solutions, above all in the sphere of disarmament, which would create a favourable climate for more far-reaching treaties. All proposals in this field, advanced by governments, parties, public organisations, political leaders and scientists, deserve thorough examination.

Particularly topical among these proposals are those which deal with the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of European States, the abolition of foreign military bases, the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Central Europe, the Balkans, the territory of the Danubian countries, in the Mediterranean and in Northern Europe, and also zones of thinned-out or frozen armaments, and, in general, zones of peace and cooperation in various regions of the continent. These, like other steps, would check the trend towards the intensification of the arms race.

The 20-year period of the validity of the Atlantic Pact expires in 1969, and this presents a clear alternative: a Europe without military blocs. This alternative must be put on the agenda with all earnestness.

No effort should be spared in order to develop a broad-scale movement of the peace-loving forces of our continent against the extension or any modification of the Atlantic Pact. This movement is favoured by the constructive attitude of the Warsaw Treaty member-nations who have repeatedly stated, and solemnly confirmed in the Bucharest Declaration, their readiness for the simultaneous disbanding of both military alliances.

We second the moves of these States regarding an immediate agreement on the abolition of the military organisations of the Atlantic Pact and the Warsaw Treaty.

We express our readiness to support any initiatives or proposals pursuing the purpose of achieving a detente and strengthening the security of the peoples of our continent.

We fully support the proposals for calling a conference of all European States on the question of security and peaceful co-operation in Europe. The proposal for calling a conference of representatives of all the European parliaments also deserves support.

The consolidation of security and peace will open up new prospects for progress and prosperity before the peoples of our continent.

The peoples of Europe are faced with important social, economic and cultural problems. A Europe, rid of the

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arms race, which consumes tremendous economic resources and the fruits of the labour of workers, engineers and scientists, will be able not only to ensure higher living standards for its population, but also to make a valuable contribution to the development of all mankind.

The struggle for this Europe is closely associated with the struggle for genuine national independence and democracy and against reactionary and fascist dictatorships such as exist in Spain, Portugal and Greece. The fact that the Governments of Spain, Portugal and Greece assist American imperialism in building atomic bases in exchange for United States support for those discredited regimes shows what a great danger they are to Europe.

The European communist and workers' parties express their complete solidarity with and provide support for the important struggle that is now being waged by the united front of workers and the democratic forces in Spain and to all the peoples fighting against reactionary regimes and for freedom and democracy.

Communists, who have always fought against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, will strengthen their solidarity with the peoples who are still fighting for national liberation. They will work for the development of new relations with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, relations based on the principles of respect for national independence, sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs and mutually profitable economic co-operation and effective aid by the industrially highly-developed countries to the countries which have only recently become free and are now following the road of social, economic and cultural progress.

III

The communist and workers' parties of Europe are ready to devote all their forces to the realisation of these tasks, serving the cause of peace, progress and democracy.

Our movement, which this year marks the 50th anniversary of its great victory — the Great October Socialist Revolution — has become a mighty political force, exerting a decisive influence on the development of all of mankind.

Every communist party, in the specific conditions in which it carries on the struggle, bears responsibility for its policy to the working class and the working people of its country and to the people in general. At the same time every party is aware of its international responsibility for the safeguarding of peace and for the formation of new international relations which conform to the needs of our epoch. This sense of responsibility requires of us, European communist parties, the pooling of our efforts for the solution of these problems. The stronger the unity and solidarity of the communist and workers' parties in Europe and all over the world, the more effective our struggle shall be.

This sense of responsibility obliges us to address, primarily, all the working class, which is the main producer of material values, the most conscientious and progressive class in modern society. We also address the closest ally of the working class, the peasantry, and also the middle strata, which are vitally interested in peace and prosperity. The workers and all working people of Europe, combining patriotism with international fraternal solidarity, are capable of playing a decisive role in the struggle for peace and European security, and for democracy and social progress on our continent.

We address the socialist and social democratic parties, which have a wide influence in the European working class and take part in the governments of a number of European countries. The experience of decades has shown that joint actions by communists and socialists enable the working class to exert a decisive influence on political life and to rally around themselves sections of the public who are interested in the maintenance of peace and the implementation of democratic social changes.

We address the trade unions of Europe, which for the past 100 years have been the biggest mass organisation of the working class, defending its material and social interests. We call upon the trade union organisations to use their authority and influence in the struggle for a peaceful Europe.

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We address scientists, writers, artists and all European intellectuals, whose finest representatives have always defended human rights, freedom and the independence of the peoples and have supported international co-operation and peace.

We address the Christian forces, Catholics and Protestants and believers of all religious denominations who motivate their striving for peace and social justice by religious convictions.

We address the younger generation of Europe, whose future is inseparably bound up with victory of the idea of collective security and peace. The place of youth is in the first ranks of the fighters against the policy of war, against reaction and fascism, for freedom and progress and friendship between peoples.

We address women, whose role in social life is increasing all the time and whose participation in the defence of peace and the security of mankind is so important.

We address the capitalist groups which show a realistic approach to modern reality, realise the danger of a nuclear war, wish to rid their countries of dependence on the United States and are ready to support the policy of European security.

We call upon all the peace-loving forces to rally and launch a broad campaign in their countries and on a continental scale to expand direct actions for collective security. We call for support in every possible way for the proposal to call a conference of European nations.

The communists of European countries are deeply convinced that by defending peace and security on their continent against the forces of aggression and war they are acting in the interests of democracy, social progress and national liberation and in the interests of the peoples of the whole world.

The present period of history requires courage and initiative. We address all people of good will, irrespective of their political convictions and party membership, nationality or religion, with an appeal to use all their influence and exert every effort to achieve our common goal — peace. By overcoming all that divides us, we shall be able to create a mighty force, capable of triumphing over war and uncertainty in the future, and of paving the way to lasting peace and prosperity of the peoples.

The peoples of Europe themselves are capable of deciding the questions of peace and security on their continent. May they take the destinies of Europe into their own hands!

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