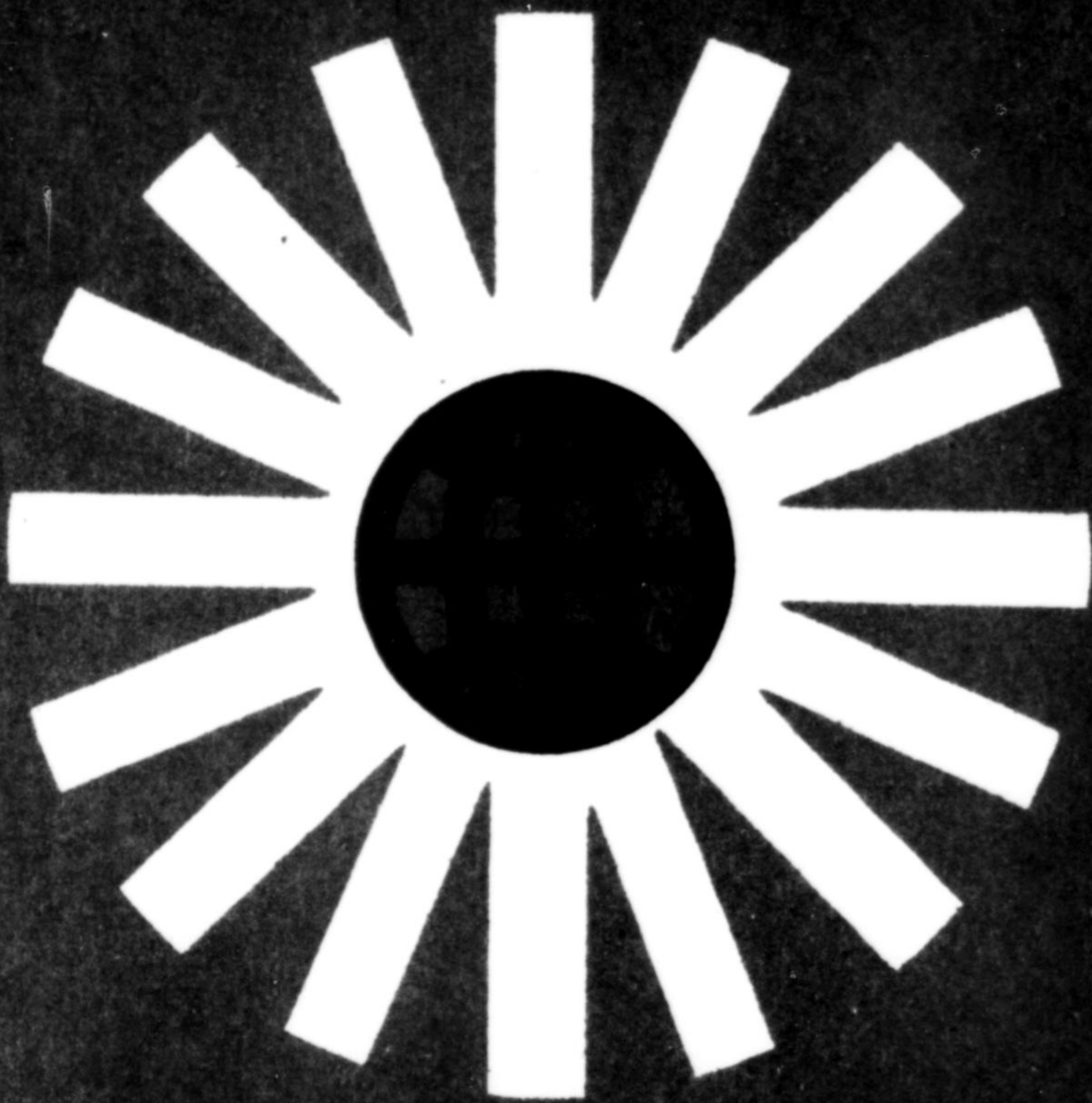
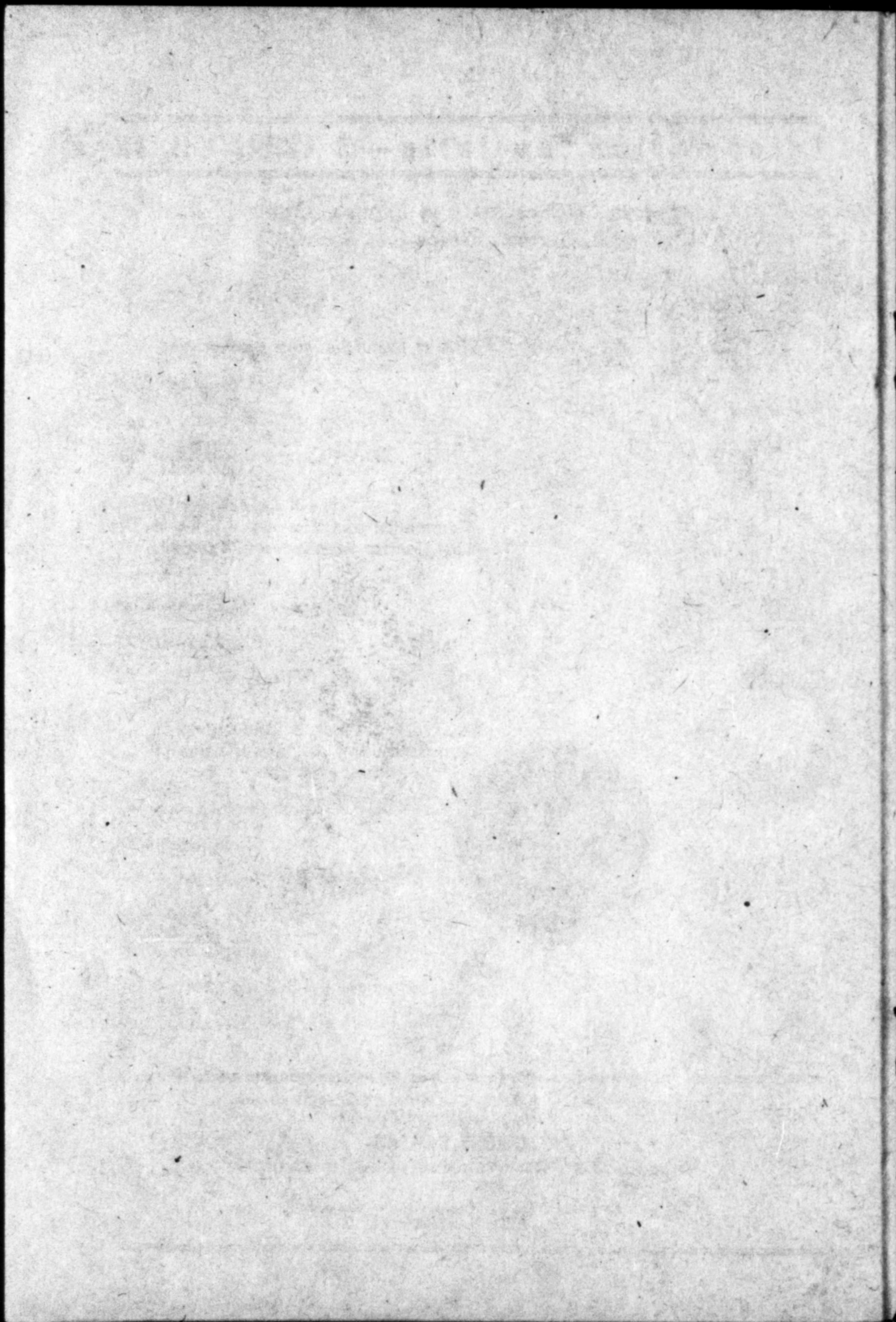


INFORMA





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VISIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD*

At the invitation of Fidel Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Cuba and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, visited Cuba from January 28 to February 3, 1974.

Comrades L.I. Brezhnev and Fidel Castro had meetings and talks during which they discussed the state and prospects of Soviet-Cuban relations and a wide range of topical international issues. The talks took place in a cordial atmosphere and reaffirmed the complete understanding, unity of objectives and positions of the USSR and the Republic of Cuba, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Cuba, their unswerving loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the cause of building socialism and communism.

The talks were attended by:

on the Soviet side: A.A. Gromyko, member of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU, Foreign Minister of the USSR; V.V. Shcherbitsky, member of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine; G.V. Romanov, alternate member of the Politbureau of the CC CPSU, First Secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee of the CPSU; K.F. Katushev, Secretary of the CC CPSU; B.P. Bugayev, member of the CC CPSU, Minister of Civil Aviation; I.V. Arkhipov, first vice-chairman of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for External Economic Ties; N.P. Tolubeyev, member of the CC CPSU, Soviet Ambassador in the Republic of Cuba; as well as K.V. Rusakov, member of the CC CPSU, assistant to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU; A.M. Alexandrov, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CC CPSU; A.I. Blatov, assistant to the General Secretary of the CC CPSU; and L.M. Zamyatin, member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU;

on the Cuban side: Raul Castro, member of the Politbureau of the CC CP Cuba, second secretary of the CC; President of the Republic, Osvaldo Dorticos; Ramiro Valdes; Armando Hart; Guillermo Garcia; Sergio del Valle; members of the Secretariat of the CC CP Cuba Blas Roca and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez; CC members Raul Roa, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Jose Alvarez Bravo, Director of the Cuban Civil Aviation Institute; Jesus

*Pravda, February 4, 1974.

Montane; Osmani Cienfuegos; J. Antonio Naranjo; Severo Aguirre, Ambassador of the Republic of Cuba in the USSR; as well as vice-chairman of the National Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Hector Rodriguez Llompert.

L.I. Brezhnev's visit to Cuba marked a new important stage in the development of Soviet-Cuban cooperation. The leaders of the two fraternal Parties adopted a Joint Soviet-Cuban Declaration setting forth a comprehensive program for expanding all-round ties between the two fraternal Parties and peoples, their close collaboration in building socialism and communism, in the fight for common objectives on the international scene.

Meetings also took place between A.A. Gromyko, and K.F. Katushev and C.R. Rodriguez, R. Roa and O. Cienfuegos; V.V. Shcherbitsky, G.V. Romanov and N.P. Tolubeyev with president of the Cuba-Soviet Friendship Association S. Marinello and other leaders of the association; I.V. Arkhipov with member of the Secretariat of the CC CP Cuba P. Miret, members of the CC CP Cuba, deputy Prime Ministers of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba Z. Domenech, and D. Torralba; B.P. Bugayev with J. Alvarez Bravo. In the course of these meetings various aspects of Soviet-Cuban cooperation were discussed.

During the visit, L.I. Brezhnev, A.A. Gromyko, V.V. Shcherbitsky, G.V. Romanov, K.F. Katushev and the other Soviet comrades became familiarized with the life and work of the Cuban people, visited a number of industrial and agricultural enterprises and educational institutions, met and talked with representatives of the working class, peasants and intellectuals. These meetings and talks took place in the exceptionally friendly and cordial atmosphere that characterizes relations between the USSR and Cuba, giving expression to the profound brotherly feelings of the people of Cuba for the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders.

The mass meeting in Havana's Revolution Square, which was addressed by Fidel Castro and L.I. Brezhnev, became a vivid, exciting demonstration of inviolable Soviet-Cuban friendship.

As a token of homage and admiration for the brave heroes of the Cuban people's liberation struggle, the General Secretary of the CC CPSU laid a wreath at the monument to the great son of Cuba, Jose Marti.

The official inauguration was held of the V.I. Lenin Secondary Polytechnical Boarding School, where 4,500 children are studying. The mass rally held to mark this important event in the further development of public education in Cuba was addressed by Fidel Castro and L.I. Brezhnev.

L.I. Brezhnev and the other Soviet comrades, together with Fidel Castro and members of the Politbureau and Secretariat of the CC CP Cuba, visited Santiago de Cuba, the main city of Oriente Province, where they were

warmly greeted by Jaun Almeida, member of the Politbureau of the CC CP Cuba, and members of the provincial committee of the CP Cuba. During the inspection of the historic places connected with the Cuban people's revolutionary struggle the Soviet friends were warmly greeted by the people of the city and the province.

During the stay in Cuba L.I. Brezhnev was presented the highest award of the Republic of Cuba, the Jose Marti Order, for his outstanding contribution to the development of fraternal friendship between the Soviet Union and socialist Cuba, for his indefatigable work for the benefit of peace and socialism.

L. I. Brezhnev expressed sincere gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba and the whole Cuban people for the warm, fraternal, welcome given him and his party.

On behalf of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government, L.I. Brezhnev invited Fidel Castro, Osvaldo Dorticos and Raul Castro for a friendly visit to the Soviet Union. The invitations were gratefully accepted.

MASSIVE FRIENDSHIP RALLY IN HAVANA

Workers from all parts of Havana, office employees, students, school children, soldiers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces gathered on January 29, 1974 on the Jose Marti Square of the Revolution. There were workers and peasants from all parts of Cuba, delegates from Party and public organizations. All told over one million citizens of Free Cuba came to welcome and hear L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It was an impressive demonstration of friendship with the Soviet Union.

Fidel Castro was given a long and enthusiastic ovation when he mounted the rostrum.

SPEECH BY COMRADE FIDEL CASTRO*

Dear Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Dear Comrades, Party and Government leaders of the USSR accompanying Comrade Brezhnev!

Dear Comrades, members of the Party Central Committee and of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba!

My fellow countrymen!

We have gathered at this massive rally to express to you, Comrade Brezhnev and the Soviet leaders accompanying you, our feelings of friend-

*Pravda, January 31, 1974.

ship, affection and esteem for the great Soviet people and the heroic Party which, under the leadership of the immortal Lenin, performed the first socialist revolution in the history of mankind.

For us your visit is a great honor and an occasion for rejoicing.

It is an historic, unforgettable event in the life of our country and in the development of the splendid, truly exemplary relations between our peoples.

You have set foot on our soil at a time when the Cuban revolution has just celebrated its 15th anniversary. You arrived on the 28th of January, the 121st birthday of the great apostle of our independence, that outstanding thinker and revolutionary Jose Marti. His dedicated work for human dignity, and the marble statue here that symbolizes it, consecrate our rally.

This is the first time a General Secretary of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union has come to Cuba, the first time in history that a people belonging to the community of Latin American nations can play host to so outstanding a revolutionary.

This visit is the logical result of persevering and resolute action by our revolutionary people and of the fraternal solidarity shown by the great land of Lenin, its disinterested and generous aid at a time of dire need.

There are still those in the world who do not know or do not appreciate what this solidarity has meant for us when the very existence of a whole people was imperilled, when the results of our struggle and the sacrifices of whole generations were in jeopardy, with slavery and death the only alternative to our legitimate striving for freedom and peace. And there are those who do not appreciate the strength and courage of the people, its self-sacrificing work in building the new world. There are those who do not understand the feeling of gratitude, for they have never had to fight, and know revolution only from books or artificially contrived theories. But we Cubans know all this from our own experience, and we shall never abandon our loyalty and gratitude.

The history of our country is short but rich in heroic and revolutionary struggle.

More than a hundred years ago our fathers rose with arms in hand to overthrow Spanish colonial misrule. For nearly 30 years our small and unarmed people, relying entirely on its own forces, waged an unceasing struggle against one of Europe's most powerful colonial armies. Our people marked out with their blood the glorious path to freedom, setting future generations an immortal example of fortitude and patriotism.

But consummation of their heroic struggle coincided with the emergence of imperialism, a process so brilliantly described by Lenin. U.S. capitalism, then on the ascendancy, revealed its imperialist propensities already at the close of the 19th century. It interfered in the Cuban liberation

war, captured many Spanish possessions and sent its troops to occupy our country.

Having shed so much blood, we found ourselves turned from a Spanish into an American colony. Our natural wealth, the best lands, the banks, service industries, foreign trade and emergent industry were all in foreign hands. Economic, political and cultural life was tightly controlled by the United States. The Americans interfered in Cuba's internal affairs — this was provided for in our Constitution — in the most humiliating way. Part of our territory, with the splendid Guantanamo Bay, is still a U.S. naval base. Unemployment, illiteracy, poverty, the big latifundia estates, prostitution, gambling, begging, corruption and ruthless exploitation — such were the bitter fruits of neo-colonialism. Puppet, often tyrannical, governments were docile servants of the exploiters. Was it for this that our people had waged a titanic struggle?

Neo-colonialist exploitation led to the rise of the working class which, together with the peasants and students, continued to hold aloft the banner of struggle. The more advanced detachments of the movement became the conduits of revolutionary proletarian ideas.

The echo of the October Revolution reached our country, too, bringing hope to the humiliated and oppressed, and somewhat later Cuba's first Marxist-Leninist party came into being.

The Soviet people were taking the first steps in their great endeavor. Ahead were years of sweat and blood, the fight to oust the foreign intervention armies, overcome the cruel economic blockade imposed by the imperialists, and, in the difficult conditions of poverty and isolation, lay the technical and material basis of socialism. Then there was the Herculean effort to crush the criminal fascist aggression, accomplished by dint of heroic struggle and at the cost of 20 million lives. Only after that came the emergence of the socialist camp and favorable conditions for eliminating the colonial system and bringing freedom to many people of the world.

U.S. investments in Cuba were bigger, and U.S. domination in every respect stronger than in any other Latin American country. Nevertheless, our people kept alive the heroic traditions of the struggle and did not forget the glorious path of Jose Marti or the revolutionary ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, for which so many were slandered and persecuted. These ideas never lost their magnetic attraction or their relevance as guides to an understanding of reality and to revolutionary action.

When the hour struck, Cuba's sons rescued the hard fight for freedom, and only four decades after the Great October Revolution the bourgeois and pro-imperialist state was demolished and, for the first time in their history, our people became masters of their destiny.

When the Cuban revolution triumphed in 1959, few in the world believed that it would survive.

Just as after the October Revolution, many believed that the Cuban people could not withstand the overwhelming economic, political and, in the final analysis, military might of imperialism.

In the opinion of those who held sway on the continent, no Latin American state had the right to abolish the hated system of capitalist exploitation and build socialism.

Of course, the imperialists many times underestimated the will and strength of our people. That was so when, at the height of the armed struggle against the tyrannic regime, the imperialists thought the revolution could be halted by ousting Batista and installing some other man. Again, at the height of the ideological and political battle after our victory, the imperialists thought that, misled and disoriented by anti-communism, the masses would rise against the revolutionary government. Later still, the imperialists were absolutely sure that the mercenary invasion at Playa Giron would, as in Guatemala, end the revolution. They underrated the ability, courage and determination of our people to carry the revolution to its successful conclusion.

But most of all U.S. imperialism underestimated the historic epoch in which the Cuban revolutionary process took place and the great changes in the alignment of world forces.

One of its main weapons against our small and poor country, with no resources of fuel or basic raw materials, a country, moreover, mercilessly exploited, its development stunted, its economy fully dependent on the U.S. market and U.S. supplies, was economic pressure, and the United States had no hesitation in using it against our people.

Fuel deliveries were suddenly cut off to deal a telling blow to the revolution. It was then that the Soviet Union, thousands of miles away, came to our aid and, overcoming many difficulties, supplied us the oil we could not receive from other sources, then completely controlled by the U.S. monopolies.

The second blow came with the closure of the U.S. market for Cuban sugar, a market built up in more than 100 years for the only product the Spanish colonialists and U.S. imperialists grew in Cuba. This harsh, unjust and cynical act was meant to break our people, bring them to submission by hunger. The Soviet Union made another unforgettable gesture by deciding to buy the sugar we could not sell on the U.S. market. The United States redivided Cuba's sugar quota among other Latin American countries, thus involving many of them in its criminal policies.

In reply to every act of imperialist economic aggression there were acts of solidarity by the fraternal Soviet people. Thus, the ban on shipments of food, raw materials and machinery, followed by the total economic blockade, was countered by Soviet supplies of food, raw materials, machinery and by other economic assistance.

And so, the Communist Party of Lenin, the Soviet state and people, steeled in the crucible of the great October Revolution, were firmly resolved to help the first socialist revolution on our continent to survive despite the heavy economic blows dealt by imperialism.

The imperialists still had another weapon, armed aggression. At that time our people did not possess the necessary defensive weapons. Yielding to U.S. pressure, capitalist countries refused to sell us arms. We all remember how the La Coubre, which brought a small consignment of weapons purchased in Belgium was sabotaged and exploded in the port of Havana, killing more than 100 workers and soldiers.

And again the only military deliveries we could get at that critical hour, when the fate of the revolution — whether it would live or die — hung in the balance, were from the socialist camp, chiefly the USSR. And along with the deliveries came the first specialists, who instructed us in the use of these weapons. When planes, tanks and guns made in the United States were brought into action against us at Playa Giron it was tanks, guns and anti-aircraft batteries made in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, along with our old arms, that were used in the battle by our brave workers, peasants and soldiers, so that the invasion of mercenaries was crushed in less than 72 hours.

Following Playa Giron, the imperialists' stubborn wish to settle the Cuban question by military means caused the Caribbean crisis, as a result of which the U.S. government was compelled, having brought the world to the brink of a nuclear disaster, to accept a compromise and assume the commitment not to attack Cuba, which, along with the firm stand and decisive support of the Soviet Union, served as an important guarantee of our country's security.

Now, our country has splendidly equipped armed forces, and armaments received from the Soviet Union. Despite the high cost of these arms, knowing the special economic conditions of Cuba, that great country gave them to us free of charge. Furthermore, Soviet specialists with their unmatched experience, gained in the heroic battles of the Great Patriotic War, provided us with military knowledge that makes our Revolutionary Armed Forces — the product of our people — an unconquerable citadel of socialism on this continent.

The fraternal Soviet aid became ever more diverse. Thousands of different specialists have been working with us with devotion for nearly 15 years.

And today it is with Soviet aid that we are carrying out our development programs in such important economic fields as energetics, nickel, oil and petrochemicals, automobile repairing, textiles, mechanization of sugarcane harvesting, modernization and expansion of the sugar industry, port installations, reconstruction and modernization of railways, road and dam

building, irrigation and drainage schemes, geological prospecting, communications, equipment of educational institutions, electronic computers, metal and metalworking industries, fisheries, airfields, etc.

The Soviet Union has granted our people trading terms and long-term credits that are a true model of relations between a large industrial country and a small nation which, lacking the necessary natural resources, is fighting for development in conditions of the tight nearly 15 years old imperialist blockade.

The Soviet Union, a socialist and profoundly internationalist country, does not own a single mine, a single hectare of land, a factory, service or transport enterprise, a bank or shop in our country. It has not invested a single kopek in Cuba with a profit motive, and not a single Cuban worker is employed at an enterprise that is Soviet property. That is the profound and fundamental difference between the internationalist relations of socialist Cuba and the Soviet Union and the relations that had existed in the history of our country, which had at first been a Spanish colony and later a Yankee neo-colony, against which our people had so bitterly and selflessly fought for nearly a whole century.

Together with imperialist slavery, our nation put an end to all exploitation of man by man. Today, every Cuban works for himself and for the good of all society. A new sense of collectivism, fraternity and solidarity, and also the essential features of communist consciousness, a profound internationalist spirit, have been gradually wrought in the citizens of our revolutionary land. These new human values elevate the people of Cuba to a higher moral level. And the fact that this has become possible in one of the countries of this continent inspires hope for the future which man can conquer by following the way blazed by the October Revolution.

Our country follows the path of material progress without setting incommensurable aims that would conflict with our natural and technical resources and with the situation in the world, a substantial part of which has to cope and will still have to cope with difficult problems of existence. Our consumption standards should not be oriented on those in developed capitalist societies based on exploitation, anarchy and economic waste, which completely neglect moral and human values. While the material requirements of man can and must have a reasonable limit in conformity with the natural and technical resources and the need to protect the biological environment, there is unlimited scope for the spiritual enrichment and harmonious development of the personality, never cared for in the insane, egoistic, mercenary capitalist society of alienation.

Along with the material achievements that we have gradually attained, we take pride in the gigantic social progress of our people during the years of the revolution.

No other country on this continent has achieved anything like our results

in so vitally important a matter as public health. Child mortality has been reduced to 28 per 1,000 infants — the lowest figure of any Latin American country. Life expectancy, which was barely 54 years before the revolution, is now approaching 70 years.

No other Latin American country has yet achieved as high a level of public education. All children without exception go to school. The number of pupils making satisfactory progress is rising steadily. Young people are flocking into the system of secondary education, and there, in the expanding network of magnificent schools, the communist principle of fusing learning with labor — the cornerstone of our youth's education — is carried into practice.

Our adult population is learning, too, and improving its training. The new generations, possessing a higher culture, are marching boldly along the way of progress and development.

In revolutionary Cuba there is an atmosphere of human dignity born of social justice and genuine equality for all. Ours is an environment in which man's finest feelings and abilities can find full expression.

Other Latin American peoples, notably the fraternal Republic of Peru, are fighting for the repossession of their natural wealth, and for economic development based on justice and independence. The awakening of national consciousness and progressive policies are making headway on this continent. The criminal overthrow of the Salvador Allende government in Chile and the reactionary coup in Uruguay (two countries formerly regarded as models of bourgeois constitutionalism) prove that in many countries of this continent the reactionary classes and imperialism can no longer suppress the popular movement and resort to brute force to retain their hold on power.

Brazil, Chile and Uruguay are governed by typically nazi methods, including systematic refined torture and killings. But no social system can survive endlessly by means of torture and killing. Historically, such methods of government are anachronistic and will be sooner or later swept out by the people.

Despite strong imperialist pressure and the decisions of the OAS, which has lost its prestige, Cuba already has diplomatic and friendly relations with eight countries of this continent — Canada, Mexico, Peru, Argentina, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad-Tobago, and Guyana. The economic blockade has not brought us to our knees. It will leave an indelible stigma on the history of the United States.

The developed capitalist societies of the modern world with their waste and irrational extravagance, their wealth amassed through non-equivalent exchange with underdeveloped countries, are the cause of many serious economic problems bedeviling the world of today.

And we should add irrational and unrestricted waste of natural resources

to the heavy losses inflicted on mankind by capitalism in the past as a result of exploiting colonies and dependent countries, imperialist wars for the redivision of the world, which caused mass bloodshed and destruction, and the backwardness and poverty of many people. Until recently pollution of the environment created rightful and justifiable concern, whereas now there is also the vitally important problem of sources of energy and the possible shortage of many other natural resources before man will tap new sources of energy and natural resources. The developing countries, which account for 70 per cent of the world's population, supply the developed capitalist world with 60 per cent of its oil, 50 per cent of its copper, iron, lead, sulphur and zinc, 80 per cent of its bauxites, and 35 per cent of its nickel, while consuming only 10 per cent of the world output of all these products.

Given the present rate of population growth, there will be seven billion people on earth 25 years from now. In the present-day world, hundreds of millions are undernourished. Hunger has struck many countries of Central Africa due to the drought. Nearly 100,000 people have died in the rural areas of Ethiopia, where there has been no agrarian reform and where the land rent amounts to 75 per cent of a peasant's harvest.

Numerous food products are now hard to come by and there is an energy crisis which has pushed up oil prices to an unprecedented extent. Manufactured goods prices are rising fast. The world of developed capitalism, now shaking and confused, bears the entire responsibility for the present state of affairs. Whatever inevitable attempts are made to remedy the situation, many developing countries which lack sources of energy and have to purchase raw materials, finished products and industrial plants will be faced with truly formidable difficulties.

The prestige of the capitalist world and its latest theories about its ability for continuous economic growth have been dealt a crushing blow. While all countries will be affected in one way or another by any world economic crisis because they are all interlinked, there is no doubt that the socialist community will be better prepared to face it. Our people are aware of what is going on. They will combat difficulties, no matter how great, and press forward, closely coordinating their efforts with those of fraternal socialist countries.

All this, dear Comrade Brezhnev, lends exceptional importance to the Peace Program adopted by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to your own resolute efforts for international détente.

The Soviet state has fought perseveringly for peace ever since it was founded by the great Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. But never before did the Soviet state have as great opportunities to influence international affairs in the interest of peace as today, for never before has the alignment of forces

been as favorable to the international revolutionary and progressive movement as at present.

As we stressed at the Algiers conference of non-aligned countries, the very existence of the Soviet Union is a barrier to the military ventures of the aggressive forces of the imperialist world. Had it not been there, they would long since have undertaken a new redivision of the planet, nor would they have stopped at invading countries which have oil and other basic raw materials.

This new alignment of forces entitles one to hope that mankind will be able to uphold its right to a peaceful future in which there will be no standing threat of a world conflict — a conflict so foreign to the ideals of socialism — and all peoples will have an equal opportunity to enjoy its precious benefits. In view of the acute economic problems besetting the world today, the arms race is an impermissible luxury, a sheer waste of resources, a criminal folly running counter to the peoples' most vital requirements.

Surely it is absurd — in view of the problems of today and tomorrow, the acute shortage of natural resources and food products, the monetary chaos, the fever of inflation and the population explosion — to spend hundreds of billions a year on armaments, which are becoming ever more costly and destructive.

That is why, Comrade Brezhnev, the peoples of the world and the more farsighted political leaders think highly of the Soviet peace policy and your persistent efforts towards easing international tensions and stopping the arms race. Our Party and people resolutely support you in that struggle. They wholeheartedly congratulate you on the gains scored to date and wish you further progress on the same path. We are certain that the present generation, to say nothing of future generations, will be always grateful to you for the outstanding activity which Lenin's Party and state are carrying on for the good of mankind.

To be sure, there are many people who like to slander the Soviet Union and socialism. As soon as the first socialist state in human history came into being and the Russian proletariat abolished the class society in the old, tsarist empire, reactionaries throughout the world set out in a frenzy of rage to fight Soviet rule and the ideology of the proletariat by every possible means. Since then, mud-slinging bourgeois propaganda has never failed to furiously attack every gain of the Soviet Union and of socialism.

The impotent hatred of reactionaries and their ideologists grew as the Leninist program achieved victories in the Soviet Union, where it accomplished in a few decades what capitalist countries had required centuries to achieve, and as the world-wide prestige and impact of revolutionary ideas increased.

In the revolutionary movement there are also pseudo-Leftists and re-

negades who slander the Soviet Union from allegedly Marxist positions, foully betray proletarian internationalism and serve imperialist interests. But nobody slandered the Soviet Union more than Hitler did, nor did anybody dream more than he of discrediting and destroying the great state founded by Lenin. However, the truth proved stronger, history proved stronger, the Soviet people's heroism proved stronger, and over the ashes of Nazi slanderers and on the ruins of falsehoods there now rises the first German socialist state, gaining in strength and prosperity.

Twenty years ago, the word "Communism" could not even be uttered in Cuba, 90 miles from the United States. The Soviet Union was viciously slandered by reactionaries and venal oracles serving the exploiters. But flying side by side in this square today, under the red banners of proletarian internationalism, are the heroic and immortal flag of the USSR displaying the hammer and sickle, symbols of labor, and our own heroic flag displaying its unfading star, which shines more brightly and proudly than ever beneath the beloved statue of Marti and in front of the cherished images of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Maceo, Gomez, Che and Camilo, and one million Cuban patriots express through you their loyal friendship, deep love and everlasting gratitude to the Soviet Union.

Neither the blood that was spilled, the crimes that were perpetrated, brute force, infamous lies, unending sacrifices, an overbearing colonialism, nor an arrogant imperialism were able to counter the idea of independence yesterday, any more than they can counter the idea of socialism today. Just ideas become reality and the truth becomes tangible through the people, through the masses and their deeds. And when a noble idea, or a legitimate aspiration, becomes a vital cause of the people no amount of slander, however foul, no tyranny, however bloody, no philosophy, however reactionary, can check its victorious march.

That is the lesson of the eventful history of the Soviet people and the lesson of our own proud history. And how can anyone doubt that the day will come when the peoples of Chile, Uruguay and Brazil, all the peoples who now suffer from tyranny, slavery, exploitation, lies or deviations, will see their dawn? How can anyone doubt that the day will come when the bonds linking all genuine revolutionaries and all liberated peoples will be as fraternal as the bonds linking Cuba and the Soviet Union today? How can anyone doubt that the day will come when the red flags of internationalism will unfurl over the friendship, brotherhood and freedom of all the peoples of the world?

More than a hundred years ago, at the beginning of the last century, when colonial tyranny was at its blackest, an exiled Cuban poet wrote as he was sailing past his homeland the following prophetic lines inspired by deep and unshakable faith in the future of his country:

*Cuba, you will win your freedom
to be as free as a sea wind,
as the waves that brave the tempest,
racing on above deep waters.*

Marx had yet to utter his immortal slogan, "Workers of the world, unite!"

The torches of our freedom had yet to flare up at Yara and Baire and the *Aurora* had yet to fire its shot, the signal for storming the Winter Palace.

Less than 150 years have passed since and yet, in a land as free as the air, the people of proletarians reared by Lenin and Marti's revolutionary sons are now locked in a brotherly embrace under Marx's victorious slogan and linked by close and everlasting friendship.

That is why, being firm in our faith, we must now launch the call: "Workers of the world, unite!"

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live everlasting friendship between Cuba and the Soviet Union!

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev!

Motherland or death!

We shall prevail!

L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, was asked to speak. Once again the square burst into a long ovation.

SPEECH BY COMRADE L.I. BREZHNEV*

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro,
Dear Comrade Osvaldo Dorticos,
Dear Cuban friends,

Yesterday as we stepped on Cuban soil, a land covered with revolutionary glory, we were deeply moved.

We are also moved by the warm welcome given us by the Cuban capital and our first meetings with the Cuban people and their leaders, heroes of the Cuban revolution.

This is my first visit to Cuba although it had always been my dream to visit it. During our meetings in Moscow Fidel and other Cuban comrades told me a great deal about their Homeland, But nothing, of course, can replace personal impressions.

We are deeply moved by the kind words spoken about our country, our

*Pravda, January 31, 1974.

people, our Communist Party and are sincerely grateful to Comrade Fidel and all of you, dear friends.

Allow me to convey warm fraternal greetings to you, citizens of the first socialist state in America, from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and from the entire Soviet people.

Dear friends, in area and population Cuba is not among the big countries, but it holds a great and, I would say, prominent place in present-day international life. Your friends love Cuba and your enemies hate it, and millions upon millions of people are following its development with a feeling of sympathy and solidarity.

There is one reason for this: the victory of the socialist revolution in Cuba. Cuba is the first socialist country in the Western Hemisphere. Therein lies its historic role and its historic responsibility.

The revolution in Cuba which crowned the age-long struggle of your people for freedom and independence was an outgrowth of specific Cuban conditions. It was an explosion of popular protest against oppression by Cuban and foreign exploiters. At the same time the history of the victorious socialist revolution in Cuba is another convincing proof of the irreversible laws of social development that are common to all countries and peoples.

Speaking today of the glorious moments in Cuban history we cannot but pay tribute to the heroic standard-bearers of your revolution. In the conditions of a severe dictatorial regime a handful of fighters courageously engaged the oppressors in battle, stirred up the popular masses with their ideas and aroused them to victorious struggle. That was a truly great feat.

Fidel and his associates understood correctly the aspirations and needs of their people. The very fact that a comparatively small insurgent army could defeat the reactionary regime whose armed forces were scores of times greater than this army, shows that this was a genuine people's revolution. It would have been inconceivable without the people's active support.

The grandeur of the feat of the leaders of the Cuban revolution lies also in the fact that they were able to determine a correct way for the development of free Cuba. This way is illumined by Lenin's teaching. The Communist Party of Cuba is creatively using the experience of the Great October Revolution and of several decades of socialist development in other countries.

Fifteen years have passed since the Cuban revolution. This is not a short period because revolutions develop fast and dynamically. Therefore, when speaking of the new system in Cuba, one may speak, I think, not so much of its youth as of its maturity.

You have coped successfully with great and difficult tasks. The resistance of class enemies inside the country has been decisively broken and attempts to strangle Cuba by an economic blockade, thwarted. The exter-

nal security of the republic has been strengthened. The defeat of the interventionists in 1961, the rallying of the people around their leaders, the strengthening of the defense capacity of socialist Cuba and development of its all-round ties with the fraternal socialist countries — all this has convincingly shown the world that the Cuban revolution is here to stay and that, to use Lenin's words, it must be worth something since it can defend itself.

The aims of your revolution are spelled out loud and clear. They are genuine national liberation, elimination of domination by foreign and domestic exploiters, the establishment of worker and peasant power, ensuring a free, worthy and active life for the working people, in short, the building of socialist society.

These aims constitute for the Cuban people the meaning of their lives. To achieve these aims they are working selflessly, undeterred by sacrifices or privations; they know full well that they are building with their own hands their own, yes, their own, happy future.

What has already been done on the Island of Freedom during these years speaks for itself.

Indeed, is it not a fact that Cuba has ceased to be a fief of foreign monopolies and that for the first time it shapes its own destiny. This is a fact, comrades! Is it not a fact that in Cuba there is no one who now lives by exploiting the work of others? This, too, is a fact!

Is it not a fact that the people of Cuba already enjoy social benefits which capitalism has failed to provide for working people even in developed countries? I am referring to the elimination of unemployment, free education for all, free medical services and many other things. All these are indisputable and very significant facts.

Your society has reached a stage of development when the inevitable and necessary period of breaking the old and the search for new forms gradually passes into a phase of positive planned construction. Party, state and economic development is unfolding confidently on a tried and tested socialist basis. One of the manifestations of this process is the current preparation for the first congress of the glorious Communist Party of Cuba to be held next year which we Soviet Communists wholeheartedly wish every success.

Comrades, Cuba lies thousands of kilometres away from its friends in the socialist countries of Europe and Asia. But the nature of socialist internationalism is such that revolutionary Cuba has never been and never will be alone. Cuba is an active and respected participant in the busy life of a large family of states which are linked by bonds of brotherhood, comradeship and selfless mutual support.

Cuba is now a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and its cooperation with the fraternal countries is growing. Meetings,

contacts, exchanges of experiences and opinions, including those at summit level, are increasing. All this, comrades, makes Cuba still stronger, all this facilitates further success of the world socialism system.

Nor can I fail to mention the great prestige Cuba enjoys among the countries that have gained freedom from colonial domination and that are playing an ever more important role in the struggle against imperialism and for the freedom of the peoples. The experience of the free, independent development of Cuba instils hope in the hearts of those oppressed and exploited in many countries, particularly, of course, in Latin America.

Here in Cuba one involuntarily thinks of the destinies of this remarkable, colorful and original continent with its difficult and heroic past, a stormy present and — it is safe to say — a great future.

The history of the struggle of the Latin American peoples for freedom is more than a century old. The names of Simon Bolivar, Bernardo O'Higgins and Jose Marti, the heroes of that struggle in the 19th century, are immortal. History's roll of honor will include forever the names of such outstanding 20th century fighters for the people's cause as Emilion Zapata, Augusto Sandino, Che Guevara, Camilo Cienfuegos, Salvador Allende and many others. Not only in Latin America but in other continents, too, the peoples know the name of Comrade Fidel Castro, our friend and comrade-in-arms, the leader of the Cuban socialist revolution.

There have been remarkable rises of the liberation struggle, heroic feats and victories in Latin America. But there have also been defeats and bloody suppression of patriots and revolutionaries. Experience shows convincingly: wherever the positions of imperialism and its servants are in danger, the bourgeoisie completely forgets its propaganda talk of "democracy" and the "free world" and does not stop at any violence, any cruelty. This is clearly shown by the events in recent years, the bloody fascist coup in Chile and the onslaught of reaction in some other Latin American states.

But none of the lessons of the past will be lost. Specifically, the experience of the advent to power of the Popular Unity parties in Chile will undoubtedly be used by the fighters for freedom and national independence.

Revolution feeds not on someone's "propaganda" or "subversion" as the imperialist press likes to assert. Revolution feeds on realities, the unbearable conditions in which the peoples have to live. Therein lie its deep and indestructible roots. And any attempts to bar the road to progress, suppress the striving for freedom with the help of terror and reprisals can only increase the anger of the popular masses.

The Soviet Union has always considered impermissible, indeed, criminal, any attempts to "export counter-revolution," any interference from outside with a view to suppressing the sovereign will of a revolutionary

people. Nor do Communists support the "export of revolution." A revolution matures on the domestic soil of this or that country. And how and when it breaks out, what forms and methods may be used in this revolution — are all a matter for the people of a given country to decide.

As to Latin America, we firmly believe that its historical prospects for freedom, independence and social progress are inseparable from the development of the whole of mankind. The Soviet Union believes that Latin American countries should take a more active part in international life and that their independent voice should be heard ever more confidently in the world arena. We are convinced that this will benefit the cause of peace and equitable cooperation among states.

The whole world is in motion today. Stormy events take place now on one continent, now on another. These events are not alike, and are sometimes even contradictory. But the main lines of world development are clear. The might of the world socialist system keeps growing, as does its impact on the destinies of the whole world. The liberation struggle of the peoples wins one victory after another. Step by step the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems is asserting itself in international relations.

"The future of mankind is peace," said Cuba's glorious son Jose Marti. "There was a time," he added, "when war was the first means used in settling conflicts. Today war is the last resort. Tomorrow war will become a crime."

The "morrow" of which Marti was speaking is, comrades, our today, the times we are living in. Following the behests of the great Lenin, the Soviet Union, its Communist Party and other socialist countries and fraternal Parties, together with all peace forces, are today waging a persistent struggle to banish forever wars of aggression from the life of mankind, and to assure a lasting peace.

We are not pacifists. We are not for peace at any price, and we are not, of course, for any freezing of socio-political processes taking place inside the countries.

Peace, as we understand it, is absolute respect for the right of the peoples of the socialist countries to build a new society without any interference from outside. Peace is complete respect for the right of every state and all peoples to sovereign and independent development.

Peace, as we understand it, is a guarantee that the Vietnamese people who have won a historic victory in the struggle against imperialist aggression, will have an opportunity to realize their national aspirations; peace is strict implementation of the Paris agreement, firm opposition to any attempts by reaction to thwart efforts to improve the situation in South-East Asia.

Peace, as we understand it, is restoration of the legitimate inalienable

rights of the Arab peoples, rights trampled upon by Israel's aggression, a constructive and secure settlement of the Middle-East crisis.

This is precisely what the Soviet Union advocates firmly and consistently. The agreement between Egypt and Israel on the disengagement of troops, achieved at the beginning of the Geneva Peace Conference, is a positive step but it represents only a partial measure of a purely military character and affects so far only one of the Arab countries that were involved in the hostilities. Things must not, of course, stop here.

The Geneva Conference must carry out its main mission: achieve a cardinal political settlement, and establish a lasting peace in the Middle East. But this aim can be achieved only provided Israeli troops are withdrawn from all the Arab territories that were occupied in 1967 and the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine are respected. The UN decisions on the Middle East must be fully implemented in all their aspects and in the shortest possible period of time. The Soviet Union will continue to make an active contribution to this important cause.

Peace, as we understand it, is refusal to settle interstate disputes and differences, however deep and complex, by military means. Peace is the creation of conditions for equal and fruitful cooperation between all countries.

In other words, we are for a stable just peace that meets the interests of all peoples, the interests of social progress.

For a long time the statesmen of the capitalist world were deaf to the Soviet Union's proposals to build relations between the two systems on the principles of peaceful coexistence. They tried to crush the world's first socialist state through intervention, to strangle it by an economic and political blockade. They hoped to smash the Soviet Union in a big war. They wanted to intimidate us and other socialist countries by the cold war and hoped to impose their will with the help of a policy "from positions of strength." But all these hopes were futile. The Soviet Union and the entire world socialist system have become a powerful invincible force.

Finally the capitalist world had to face the truth. It had to recognize the impossibility of solving the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism by military means. In these conditions, far-sighted leaders of bourgeois countries found it advisable to respond to the proposals of the socialist states for peaceful coexistence.

As a result, in recent years there has been a turn for the better in the Soviet Union's and other socialist countries' relations with France, the FRG, the United States and some other bourgeois states.

The consistent and active peace policy of the socialist states is yielding ever more tangible results in Europe, a continent so important for the destinies of all mankind. Much of what our countries, and all peace forces, have been striving for during a quarter-century has now become possible.

The main thing is that the inviolability of the postwar frontiers in Europe and the independence of the socialist German state, the German Democratic Republic, have gained wide official recognition. This is very important for preventing the rise of revanchism in Europe, a new aggravation of the situation, in short, for creating conditions for a really stable peace.

But the concept of peaceful coexistence is not limited to a mere recognition that war can no longer be seen as a means for settling disputes between states, especially between the two social systems. In our days there is a growing conviction that active and fruitful cooperation among all states is essential.

It is not hard to see why this idea first struck root in Europe. In this continent powerful armed forces of the two world systems confront each other. It is precisely in Europe that because of purely physical conditions, it is particularly clear how crazy is the idea of a war involving the use of modern means of mass annihilation.

A recognition of all this lay at the heart of two very important initiatives in the international life of present-day Europe, initiatives from the Soviet Union and its allies in the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organization. I have in mind the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation (which should now be reaching its final stage) as well as the talks on troops and arms reductions in Central Europe which began comparatively recently.

The task of the All-European Conference is to consolidate the atmosphere of political détente in the continent and the resultant possibilities, to lay firm foundation for long-term European cooperation in the policy of peace, and in the economic scientific and cultural spheres. The aim of the talks in Vienna is to guarantee that the peoples of Europe benefit from détente in the sense of a certain lessening of the danger of military clashes in Europe and a certain reduction of defense expenditure.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries taking part in these important undertakings sincerely want them to be completely successful. We actively search for constructive solutions acceptable to all sides and useful to the cause of peace and détente. Judging by words, all the other participants in the talks in Geneva and Vienna appear to be similarly engaged. But gradually it is becoming clear that there are other aspects emerging in the positions of some countries.

This concerns not only the talks I have mentioned but also other important matters. Under various pretexts some people are dragging out the practical solution of ripe questions. Various reservations and "conditions," most often unrelated to the matter under discussion, are being raised. Attempts are even being made to interfere openly in the domestic affairs of other states. Time and again reactionary propaganda sows slander, attempts to instill suspicions, to confuse people in order to poison the international atmosphere. Some military leaders and civilian politicians

even call for an intensification of the arms race. At the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces some NATO countries are obviously trying to replace an equitable and just agreement by one that would actually lead to an unilateral lessening of the defense capabilities of socialist countries.

All these phenomena put us on our guard. It is difficult to square them with the policy of détente and strengthening of peace proclaimed by the governments of the countries concerned.

What can be said on this matter? If these actions are planned as a means of pressuring the Soviet Union and other socialist states in the hope of securing unilateral advantages to the detriment of our principles and vital interests, this is a futile venture. This should be clear to all. It is much more serious if this conceals something bigger, namely, the hope to impede the improvement of the international climate, to return to the ill-famed times of the "cold war" and to give new impetus to the arms race.

It is indicative that not a single capitalist state now openly comes out as an opponent of détente and expansion of peaceful cooperation. This is understandable since the ideas of peace have now struck too deep a root in the minds of the peoples. But there do exist forces that are dissatisfied with the strengthening of peaceful coexistence. These forces are still considerable and command a certain influence. Imperialism has by no means changed its aggressive nature.

The policy of détente has scored considerable successes but the world is yet far from tranquility. The stockpiling and perfection of weapons, first of all nuclear weapons continues. The danger of this situation is obvious. But mankind's future can be reliably ensured only if the threat of nuclear war is fully eliminated. The Soviet Union's well-known proposals in the United Nations Organization on questions of disarmament, on the non-use of force in international relations and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons are all directed to this end. It is only to be regretted that the attitude of some states still prevents the implementation of these proposals.

The Soviet-American summit talks last June signified a major step forward. I am referring to the agreement on the prevention of nuclear war signed last summer between the USSR and the United States. This, one can say, is the first hopeful sign for a lessening of the threat of nuclear war. The United States has actually undertaken not to use nuclear weapons and force in general against the Soviet Union, its allies and other countries. Naturally, the Soviet Union, too, adopted a similar obligation. We hold that this agreement is in the interests of all socialist countries, of their security.

This agreement accords with the vital interests of all peoples in general because a world war employing modern means of mass annihilation can benefit no one.

It is also indisputable that the current process of normalization of Soviet-American relations has helped to achieve other important aims for

which the countries of socialism and all people who treasure peace have long struggled. These are the Paris agreement on ending the war in Vietnam and the withdrawal of American troops, as well as the ceasefire in the Middle East and the beginning of talks on a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict.

Thus it can be said that the beginning improvement of Soviet-American relations benefits universal peace. We will pursue our principled line in relations with the United States, given, of course, that the other side reciprocates.

On the whole, comrades, it can be said that many positive changes in international life have taken place in recent years. As a result, mankind has heaved a sigh of relief and hopes for a lasting peace have strengthened. We think that this process will go further. The task is to make irreversible the achievements in détente. This calls for stubborn, I repeat, stubborn and vigorous struggle by peace-loving states, by peace-loving forces.

The role of the popular masses in solving questions of international politics and first of all of war and peace has never been as great as now. The peoples demand a lasting peace and guaranteed security. The World Congress of Peace Forces held three months ago and attended by delegates from 143 countries, eloquently confirmed this.

It is becoming ever more clear that in contemporary conditions a foreign policy can be successful only if it takes into account the will of the peoples and actually expresses the aspirations of peace-loving mankind. This is the policy of socialist countries, an honest policy, free of selfish calculations. It should be said openly that if mankind is closer to lasting peace today than ever before, this is primarily a result of the resolute and consistent efforts of socialist countries.

Dear Cuban friends, I believe that our meeting, a meeting of comrades and associates in the struggle for the common cause, obliges me, if only briefly to tell you about the life of my country, about the work of the Soviet people and the tasks that it sets itself.

As you know, all our work, all our efforts and cares are devoted to the great cause of building a communist society. This will be the first practical experience in building communism in the history of mankind. It is a huge, responsible and complex task. But we are quite well equipped for its solution. We have the mighty economy of developed socialism. We rely on the strength of Marxist-Leninist theory, on the rich experience of building socialism in our country. We rely on the political consciousness and high cultural standards of the Soviet people, on the guiding role of the Communist Party and the unbreakable unity of the Party and the people.

The three years since the 24th CPSU Congress, the first three years of our Ninth Five-Year Plan, have brought much that is new in the develop-

ment of the Soviet Union's economy, in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

First of all about industry. Our course is set for a qualitative transformation of the main branches, the introduction of the latest machinery and a substantial increase in labor productivity. And we have already achieved considerable successes. I can say that increased labor productivity now accounts for more than 80 per cent of the entire growth in our industrial output. We persistently continue our efforts for the use of more advanced technology and its more skillful application, for the better organization and discipline of labor, for economizing materials and energy.

Many big industrial complexes with the most up-to-date equipment have been built in recent years. They are of great importance for the entire economy of the country and the fraternal states. It is impossible to list them all here. I only will give two or three examples. The Volzksky Automobile Plant in the town of Togliatti that produces 660,000 passenger cars a year and the world's biggest Krasnoyarsk hydropower station on the great Siberian river, Yenisei, are working to full capacity. The discovery and development by Soviet people of the giant underground treasure-store of oil and gas in the Tyumen area in Northwestern Siberia is one of the most important achievements of recent years. New towns and settlements are springing up there and hundreds of kilometres of railway lines and thousands of kilometres of oil pipelines are being built. Already more oil is now being extracted in that area than was produced in the mid-1950's in the whole country.

In recent years our Party has devoted special attention to agriculture. This is because for a number of reasons agriculture was a lagging sector in our economy for many years.

In 1965, proceeding from the Leninist thesis about the need to combine national interests with the personal interests of working people, we established a more correct ratio between the labor of agricultural workers and their remuneration. This created better incentives for expanding production. As a result, the welfare of agricultural workers has in recent years taken a sharp turn for the better. Since a considerable proportion of the country's population is involved, this in itself, is a considerable achievement.

At the same time large sums are being invested to ensure decisive improvements in agricultural techniques, improve the quality of land by means of extensive development projects and to considerably increase the quantity of fertilizers.

We are now paying great attention to specialists of large collective and state farms and ensuring a basis of their production that approximates to the maximum degree to that of industry. This is the key to the further development of our socialist agriculture.

1973 was a good year for Soviet people. The growth of industrial output considerably exceeded the plan and labor productivity also increased faster than provided for. A big harvest of grain, cotton and other agricultural crops was gathered. Real incomes are growing and the living conditions are constantly improving. All this, of course, evokes a feeling of great satisfaction, for improving the life of the people is the main purpose of Party activity.

The Soviet Union's defense strengthens as the country's economic might grows. Our Party and our state see to it that the Soviet Army is equipped to defend the results of the people's labor. Our army is made up of men who are deeply devoted to their Motherland and to the cause of communism; they are patriots and internationalists. The spirit of militarism and expansion is alien to it, but at any day, at any hour it is ready to defend the Motherland and the gains of socialism.

Relying on our economic and defense might, on the advantages of the socialist planned economy, on cooperation with our brothers and allies, on the successes of our peace-loving foreign policy we confidently look into the future and calmly continue our cause.

All that I have just told you here, dear friends, by no means implies that our construction is going on without a hitch, that we do not have difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes. We have the first, the second and the third. As to the economy, the production of consumer goods still lags behind the planned rates of growth. At times there are unjustified delays in commissioning and mastering new production capacities. Mistakes in planning also occur. To make up for lost time we must not only fulfil the plan for 1974 in its entirety but also considerably overfulfill it. All these questions were discussed in detail, in a businesslike manner at the recent Plenary Meeting of our Party's Central Committee, which outlined ways of improving the situation.

But no plans and decisions will produce the required effect if the people do not take them close to heart, if the struggle for their implementation does not become the vital cause of millions upon millions of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals.

For this reason our Party is doing everything to explain better to working people the essence of the tasks facing them, and the people respond warmly. A mighty movement is developing throughout the country for the pre-term fulfilment of this year's plan. Labor collectives draw up what we call counterplans; that is they undertake additional increased commitments and launch campaigns for the output of only high quality products.

People in socialist countries, brought up on the ideas of Lenin, ideas of communism, are well aware of the revolutionary significance of their labor. And here in Cuba too an excavator or a harvester are the same weapons in the struggle for the revolution as the rifle and the machine-gun

were yesterday. Every ton of steel, every new machine, every centner of grain or sugar produced in a socialist country is a real contribution to the cause of peace and socialism, to the social progress of mankind.

Dear friends, we Soviet people have always viewed solidarity and the utmost support of Cuba as our sacred duty, the duty of Communists, of citizens of a socialist country. And we appreciate that you reciprocate with a similar fraternal friendship, that here in Cuba people know and like the country of Lenin, the country of the October Revolution.

Our ties are absolutely different from those customary in the world of capital. For the Soviet Union, Cuba is not an object of exploitation and application of capital, not a strategic base or a so-called sphere of influence. Our friendship and our closeness is an expression of the socialist nature of our countries, a live embodiment of the lofty principles of socialist internationalism.

Millions of working people today have become the creators of Soviet-Cuban friendship. They are workers, technicians and engineers at Soviet enterprises that manufacture machines, equipment, harvesters and other products for Cuba. They are the participants in the *safra* who know that a part of the sugar produced by them will be sent to Soviet people. They are the Soviet specialists who work in Cuba and the Cuban young men and women who come to study in our country. They are Soviet and Cuban scientists, writers, artists, all those who take part in the intensive exchange of cultural values among our peoples. For every Soviet person and, we are sure, for every Cuban the cause of Soviet-Cuban friendship is near and dear to their hearts.

Soviet-Cuban cooperation is today most diverse. It spreads to the metal-making and power generating industries, agriculture and commercial fishing, research and art. It rises from such simplest forms as trade to cooperation in production and coordination of national economic plans.

Soviet-Cuban ties are now being developed on a long-term basis. This gives them stability and helps to solve large-scale tasks. The economic agreements signed during Comrade Fidel Castro's latest visit to Moscow are a good example of this.

As is known, the Soviet Union is helping Cuba in strengthening her defenses. We know well, as others evidently know too, that Soviet weapons in the hands of Cubans are not weapons for attacking anybody, not a means of aggravating the international situation. They serve the just cause of defending the revolutionary gains of your country, the cause of peace and tranquillity.

We highly appreciate the attention being given by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba to relations with the Soviet Union. We know that this has the constant attention of Comrades Fidel Castro, Osvaldo Dorticos, Raul Castro and other Cuban leaders. I can tell you,

comrades, that we, for our part, also attach prime importance to the deepening of Soviet-Cuban ties. They have the constant attention of the Political Bureau of our Party's Central Committee and the Soviet government.

As you know, our talks with Fidel and other Cuban comrades began yesterday and continued today. These conversations have given us a good opportunity again to exchange information and experience, to discuss many important problems. As is always the case, our new meeting is characterised by sincerity, trust and complete mutual understanding. I am confident, comrades, that the present talks, along with the results of Fidel Castro's visit to the Soviet Union, signify a new stage in Soviet-Cuban cooperation.

Comrades, the scope of the Soviet-Cuban ties allows me to say that a strong, wide and reliable bridge has now been built between the USSR and Cuba over the boundless expanses of the ocean. Traffic over this bridge proceeds without interruption and smoothly. This, comrades, is a bridge of peace, friendship and brotherhood.

Dear friends,

In conclusion I want to thank you all again on my own behalf and on behalf of my comrades for your hospitality, for the warm welcome, for opening your hearts so generously to friends from the Land of Soviets.

May Soviet-Cuban friendship strengthen and flourish!

Glory to the courageous Cuban people and its militant vanguard, the Communist Party of Cuba!

Long live peace and communism!

Viva Cuba!

The speeches of Fidel Castro Ruz and Leonid Brezhnev were repeatedly punctuated by prolonged stormy applause. At the end of the meeting the participants sang the proletarian hymn, the *Internationale*.

SOVIET-CUBAN DECLARATION*

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was in Cuba on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba, Fidel Castro Ruz, from January 28 to February 3, 1974.

This, first, visit by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Commit-

*Pravda, February 5, 1974.

tee to Latin America's first country building socialism; evoked manifestations of revolutionary enthusiasm and comradely solidarity by the Cuban working people and marked a new important stage in the development of Soviet-Cuban friendship. During these days the inviolable unity and comradely solidarity between the Soviet Union and Cuba were demonstrated vividly once again and ways were outlined of further deepening fraternal cooperation between them. The exchange of experience in the internal development of the two countries was useful and valuable. The leaders of the Soviet Union and Cuba declare a complete identity of their views with regard to the present world situation and the aims of the foreign policy of the socialist states, a policy of defending the freedom, independence and sovereign rights of the states and the peoples, a policy of strengthening peace and international cooperation.

CONFIDENTLY MARCHING ALONG THE ROAD OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

The Communist Party of Cuba highly assesses the historic significance of the constructive activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people in carrying out the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

The successful completion of the third, decisive, year of the Five-Year Plan opens new horizons before the Soviet economy, an economy of developed socialism. The 1973 planned assignments were overfulfilled in industrial output and the growth of labor productivity, which is the most important indicator of the efficiency of social production. New big industrial complexes have been built in the country and newly discovered mineral deposits are being successfully developed.

The steps taken by the CPSU and the Soviet Government in the sphere of agriculture have led to a considerable growth in agricultural production. All-time high harvests of cereals, cotton, and some other crops were gathered last year.

The CPSU's activity in managing the national economy is centred on problems of a further advance of the entire Soviet economy through a wide introduction of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and improving the planning and management system. An extensive program for raising the welfare of the Soviet people is being carried out on a planned basis.

Development of nation-wide socialist emulation is a tried and tested method of mobilizing the creative forces of the people for achieving the aims set by the Party. Pre-term fulfilment of planned assignments, counter-plans, and vigorous efforts by the working people to achieve higher labor productivity and better quality of output — all this makes the

Soviet Union still stronger and helps it accomplish the historically important task of building communism.

The Cuban people welcome the successes of the fraternal Soviet people. The growth of the Soviet Union's economic and defense might, its successes in building the material and technical base of communism are of tremendous international importance. The USSR's achievements inspire other socialist countries, instil fresh strength in all those who are upholding the cause of freedom, democracy, national independence and social progress and create an ever stronger material foundation for the struggle for peace and security of the peoples.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people highly assess the successes of the Cuban people who have rallied around their Communist Party, in accomplishing a great task, that of building a socialist society, a society free from exploitation, a society governed by the working people themselves for the good of the entire working people.

The deep-going social and economic changes and the tremendous progress made in cultural development have not only radically changed the life of the Cuban people but have also become an inspiring example to many other peoples fighting for national emancipation and social progress.

Of great importance is the work being done now to improve the organizational structure of the Communist Party of Cuba, strengthen the Party ranks, prepare a Party congress, develop socialist statehood, centralized planning, and educate the broad masses of the people in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The 20th anniversary of the heroic storming of the Moncada barracks and the 15th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban Revolution, which were widely observed recently were actually a nation-wide review of Cuba's achievements in economic, social and cultural development. The 13th Congress of Cuban Trade Unions activated the working class and all working people of Cuba politically and contributed to the growth of their labor achievements.

All this eloquently shows that Cuba is living a busy political and economic life, that the Communists of Cuba are carrying high the glorious banner of the revolutionary traditions of the Cuban people and that the Cuban socialist revolution has entered a new stage of development, consolidating and deepening the successes scored.

FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA IS DEVELOPING AND GROWING STRONGER

The Soviet Union and Cuba are convinced that inviolable friendship and fraternal cooperation between the Soviet and the Cuban peoples, and be-

tween the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and Cuba meet the basic interests of the two countries, of the entire socialist community, the interests of peace and international security. They are determined — in keeping with the principles of socialist internationalism and in the spirit of complete equality and mutual respect for sovereignty — to strengthen and develop in every possible way Soviet-Cuban friendship, a treasured possession of the peoples of both countries which are brought together by the community of their social systems and goals in the peaceful construction of socialism and communism.

Everything will be done for the peoples of the Soviet Union and Cuba to know better each other's life, culture, socio-political, economic, scientific and technological experience, everything will be done to steadily expand Soviet-Cuban cooperation at the level of Communist Parties, state bodies, trade unions, youth, women's and other public organizations and contacts between representatives of different sections of the population of the two countries.

Economic, commercial, scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries will be constantly developed and improved on a planned, long-term basis, in accordance, specifically, with the economic agreements signed in 1972. Special attention will be given to increasing the effectiveness of economic cooperation.

There will be wider cooperation between Soviet and Cuban planning bodies, between ministries and departments of the two countries, and more direct contacts between Soviet and Cuban factory collectives.

Under the agreements concluded between the two governments the Soviet Union will be giving socialist Cuba assistance in developing industry, mechanizing agriculture, and training skilled personnel for various branches of the Cuban economy.

Contacts and constructive cooperation between Soviet and Cuban research institutions, educational establishments and Unions of creative workers will be encouraged.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, speaking on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state, and the entire Soviet people, reaffirmed the readiness of the Soviet Union to continue to give assistance and aid to Cuba in building the new life.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba expressed, on behalf of the Communist Party of Cuba, the Revolutionary Government and the entire Cuban people, deep-felt gratitude to the Soviet Union for its internationalist solidarity, and for its fraternal assistance to Cuba in all spheres of building socialist society.

COMMUNISTS OF THE USSR AND CUBA FIGHTING SHOULDER TO SHOULDER FOR COMMON CAUSE

Lying at the foundation of inviolable Soviet-Cuban friendship is all-round fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba, two revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Parties which have devoted themselves to the struggle for the happiness of the working people, for building a socialist and communist society. The CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba consider it a task of paramount importance to develop this cooperation.

The CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba will be steadily expanding and improving cooperation between them at all levels, will regularly exchange delegations of Party functionaries, strengthen contacts between the Party press of the two countries and share on an increasingly larger scale their experience in socialist and communist construction.

In the present conditions of the unabating ideological struggle in the world arena and constant attempts by reactionary propaganda to surround the socialist countries with a smokescreen of slander, and give the peoples in their own countries a distorted view of socialism so as to distract attention from the growing internal crisis of the capitalist system, the two fraternal Parties stress the need for exposing slanderers tirelessly and effectively, giving strong rebuff to any forms of ideological subversion by the anti-socialist forces and widely informing the world public about life in socialist countries.

The CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba invariably come out for further strengthening the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement. They will continue to counteract vigorously any attempts to oppose individual sections of the world revolutionary vanguard to one another, divide the alliance of the forces fighting for social progress, national emancipation of the peoples and a stable peace. Both Parties are irreconcilable both to the Right-wing and "Left-wing" revisionism, hegemonistic and chauvinist tendencies which contradict the internationalist course that was collectively worked out by the Communist and Workers' Parties. The strengthening of the unity of the ranks of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism has been and remains an earnest of successful development and deepening of the entire revolutionary process.

FOR A LASTING PEACE, SECURITY AND FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLES

Half a century has passed since the death of V.I. Lenin, the great teacher and leader of the working people of the whole world who blazed a path to

socialism for mankind. The course of international events continues to bring fresh proof of the correctness of Lenin's analysis of the main tendencies of world development.

The world is moving in the direction predicted by Lenin.

The might of the world socialist system keeps growing and so does its influence on the course of international events. Historic victories have been won in the national-liberation struggle of the peoples. Under its pressure the chains of neocolonialism, with which the imperialists are trying to replace the former colonial rule, are torn assunder. The further aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism is more apparent today than ever before. The capitalist world is shaken by political and economic contradictions unprecedented in scale and acuteness.

The USSR and Cuba welcome the fact that as a result of the general change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism and under the influence of the concerted policy of the countries of the socialist community and active efforts by all progressive and peace forces the international situation has taken a turn from the cold war to détente, to a further assertion in international relations of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The Soviet Union and Cuba consider it the central task of their foreign policy to contribute in every way to further strengthening the might and unity of the community of socialist states, to further developing close cooperation among them as an important factor for the continued growth of their economic and political potential. They proceed from the fact that the might of world socialism, the unity and solidarity of the countries of the socialist community linked by strong bonds of brotherhood, selfless mutual assistance and support, represent in this age the main revolutionary force which is exercising a determining influence on the course of the world social development.

The Soviet Union and Cuba attach great importance both to the improvement of the existing forms of bilateral and multilateral ties and to constant search for new ways and lines of cooperation between the fraternal countries in the political, economic and other fields. They intend to give, as before, unflagging attention to the questions of socialist economic integration, facilitate in every way the implementation of the Comprehensive Program and other measures worked out for these purposes within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The Soviet Union and Cuba strongly condemn any acts of imperialist aggression that endanger the life and peaceful labor of the people. They solemnly declare their unshakable devotion to the cause of strengthening world peace. Peace is essential for solving the cardinal problems of the times and for further social progress.

For the socialist countries, peace creates favorable conditions for build-

ing socialism and communism; for the peoples waging national-liberation struggle, peace gives wide opportunities for strengthening political independence, achieving economic independence and bringing down colonial and racist regimes; for the working peoples of capitalist countries, peace facilitates their struggle against exploitation and for the lawful rights.

Only a stable, democratic and just peace, based on the principled renunciation of war as a means of settling disputes and differences between states and presupposing strict respect for the sovereignty of all states and excluding any interference in their internal affairs, creates conditions for really equal and fruitful cooperation among the peoples. Peace is indivisible, it must be ensured for all countries irrespective of their size, economic and military might and social system.

The Communist Party and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba stress the great international significance of the purposeful Soviet foreign policy and the successful implementation of the Peace Program worked out by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The Communist Party and the Government of Cuba express solidarity with the principled and consistently class foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government highly appreciate the fact that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba contribute by their active foreign policy to attaining the common goals the countries of the socialist community have set themselves in the international arena. The international prestige of socialist Cuba keeps growing.

The victory of the heroic Vietnamese people in the struggle against imperialist aggression and the conclusion of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam are an event of historic significance. It is a victory for the unbending courage of a people fighting for its freedom and at the same time a victory for the international solidarity of the forces of socialism, of all freedom-loving anti-imperialist forces, all champions of peace and justice. The Soviet Union and Cuba reaffirm their internationalist solidarity with the people of Vietnam. They will continue to strengthen fraternal cooperation with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, give it all necessary assistance and support in restoring its national economy and in building socialism. They also declare full support for the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam which expresses the interests of the South Vietnamese population. The USSR and Cuba condemn sabotage of the Paris Agreement, the actions of those who prevent the people of Vietnam from freely realizing their national aspirations. They express solidarity with the statements of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam which demand faithful observance of the Paris Agreement by all its signatories.

The Soviet Union and Cuba positively assess the Agreement on the Restoration of Peace and Achievement of National Accord in Laos, and express again their solidarity with the struggle of the Cambodian patriots. They support the proposals of the Government of the KDPR for a peaceful democratic unification of the country and the demands of the Korean people for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the south of Korea.

The Soviet Union and Cuba hold identical positions in supporting the national liberation struggle of the Arab peoples against Israel's aggression. The first steps have been made towards practical elimination of the existing hotspot of dangerous tension in the Middle East. Hostilities have been stopped and the Peace Conference opened in Geneva. These are steps in the right direction, steps towards an aim for which the socialist countries and other peace-loving states have been fighting for many years, supporting the just cause of the Arab peoples.

What we have so far are partial measures which do not cover the entire zone of the conflict. The need now is to make a radical peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict a reality, ensuring security for all states, for all peoples of the region. The Soviet Union and Cuba stress most emphatically that this presupposes complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and ensurance of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. Otherwise, the situation in the Middle East will remain explosive.

The Soviet Union and Cuba are deeply satisfied to note that concerted actions by the countries of the socialist community lead to ever more considerable changes towards détente and establishment of peaceful cooperation in Europe. This meets the interests of all the European peoples, the peoples of the other continents and the cause of world socialism.

One important common gain of the socialist states was the final termination of the blockade of the GDR, which was organized by the imperialist forces. The recognition of the German Democratic Republic, the first German state of workers and peasants, on the basis of international law has become an indisputable fact. The recent treaty between Czechoslovakia and the FRG sets the seal on the liquidation of the disgraceful Munich diktat.

The Soviet Union and Cuba consider it very important for the cause of world peace that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is called upon to lay a firmer foundation for the development of relations of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between all European states, should be brought to successful conclusion. Given good will on the part of all participants, this conference can and must adopt important decisions that would direct European developments into a reliable channel of peace and cooperation. Concrete decisions on a reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, now being negotiated in Vienna,

may also mark a new useful step in the same direction.

Ensurance of a lasting peace and stable good-neighborly relations between all Asian states would also constitute an important advance towards a stronger peace on the globe. Therefore the Republic of Cuba shares the Soviet Union's concern and supports its efforts in the foreign policy field to create collective security in Asia.

Favorable changes in international relations are taking place in the conditions of continued confrontation between the two social systems. The nature of imperialism has not changed and aggressive and reactionary forces are still active in the world, opposing international détente, advocating intensification of military preparations and trying to sow distrust and discord among the peoples.

It is precisely under the influence of these forces that a practical solution of a number of pressing problems is being delayed, that artificial obstacles are being raised at the all-European conference and at the talks in Vienna and "conditions" — which are nothing else but an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist countries — are being invented. Opponents of détente and advocates of a return to the cold war are becoming more active in the United States. At present they are concentrating on attempts to thwart the normalization of Soviet-American relations, which represents an important part of the general process of relaxation of war danger and the development of peaceful equal cooperation among states.

True to the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union and Cuba condemn any attempts by the aggressive and reactionary forces to push mankind once again to an exacerbation of international tension and brinkmanship.

The Soviet Union and Cuba want the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, renunciation of the use of force or threat of force to be firmly established in relations between states in Latin America and in other regions of the world. The USSR and Cuba strongly condemn the imperialist policy of interference in the home affairs of the peoples of Latin America.

The Soviet Union resolutely demands an end to the economic and political blockade and other hostile actions taken against socialist Cuba. It reiterates that it considers the demand of the Republic of Cuba for the unconditional removal of the American Guantanamo naval base in its territory to be lawful and just and fully backs this demand.

The USSR and Cuba wrathfully condemn the mass terror, persecution and executions of patriots carried out by the fascist military junta in Chile. They declare full solidarity with the Chilean patriots who are fighting against the bloody reactionary dictatorship. The Soviet and the Cuban peoples, together with all progressive forces in the world, demand freedom for Comrade Luis Corvalan and other victims of the junta's terror and

demand an immediate end to the bloodshed and arbitrary actions.

The temporary setback will not weaken the will of the Chilean people to fight for genuine independence and democracy.

The Soviet Union and Cuba, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, reaffirm their solidarity with the peoples of Latin America which are waging a just struggle for national liberation, for the consolidation of political and economic independence and for social progress.

The USSR and Cuba welcome the development and strengthening of ties between Latin American states and the socialist countries. They are convinced that a more active participation of independent Latin American countries in international life will constitute an important contribution to the cause of peace and cooperation among states.

The non-alignment movement has come to play an important part in world politics in recent years. The USSR and Cuba highly appraise the anti-imperialist orientation of the policy of the non-aligned countries and their desire to promote international détente and strengthen world peace. In this respect the two sides attach due importance to the decisions of the Fourth non-aligned summit conference held in Algiers.

Expressing the solidarity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Cuba with the peoples of Asia and Africa fighting for freedom and independence, the CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba declare:

—The disgraceful system of colonialism in any form or manifestation must be abolished once and for all. The UN decision on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples must be fully carried out.

—The peoples of Angola and Mozambique have every right to solidarity from all the freedom-loving forces in their just struggle for freedom and independence.

—It is the duty of all sincere supporters of progress and democracy to give full support to the struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa against racist regimes.

—The young Republic of Guinea-Bissau which is fighting to strengthen its independence should be given wide recognition on the basis of international law.

The Soviet Union and Cuba come out consistently and undeviatingly for the termination of the arms race that was imposed by militarist circles, and for general and complete disarmament covering both nuclear and conventional arms. The world disarmament conference is to play an important part in this respect. The time has come to begin practical preparations for such a conference.

In the conditions when the nuclear arms race has not yet been stopped, it is very important to have all states undertake not to use force in international relations and simultaneously ban forever the use of nuclear weapons. It is gratifying that the Soviet proposal aimed at achieving this goal was

accepted by the 27th session of the UN General Assembly.

The CPSU and the Communist Party of Cuba, the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba are determined, together with other fraternal countries and Parties, to work for further positive changes in the international situation and for making them irreversible. It is in the interests of the peoples that détente should be consolidated by concrete steps to develop peaceful mutually beneficial cooperation among states.

Soviet-Cuban friendship is strong and unbreakable. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Cuba, united by commonly held aims and views, and their unshakable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, will continue to do everything necessary to deepen all-round Soviet-Cuban cooperation for the good of the peoples of both countries, the socialist community, the cause of peace and communism.

*L. Brezhnev
General Secretary of
the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet
Union*

*Fidel Castro Ruz
First Secretary of
the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Cuba,
Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of the
Republic of Cuba*

Havana, February 2, 1974

NINTH CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND PANAMA

The Communist and Workers' Parties of Mexico, Central America and Panama held their Ninth Conference at the end of December 1973 and early January 1974.

The documents on this and the following pages were unanimously approved by the conference and were published in **Libertad**, organ of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica and other newspapers.

CHILEAN POPULAR RESISTANCE WILL CRUSH THE GORILLAS

The coup of September 11, 1973 overthrew Chile's constitutional Popular Unity government and brought to power a military junta led by that traitor Augusto Pinochet. The President of the Republic, Dr. Salvador Allende, was dastardly murdered. Since then the Chilean people have been the target of savage terror perpetuated by a despotic dictatorship that has destroyed all semblance of legality and elementary human rights.

The criminal coup has been condemned by workers, intellectuals, by democratic-minded people throughout the world as the product of an alliance of Chilean reaction and Yankee imperialism. The big monopolies, Kennecott, ITT and others, organized and directed a boycott of Chilean businessmen who felt that their economic interests were impaired. The conspiracy was joined by corrupt politicians of the Patria y Libertad movement (its counterparts are Halcones in Mexico, Mano Blanca in Guatemala and Salvador, Mancha Brava in Honduras and the Free Costa Rica movement). They, in turn, were joined by venal politicians of the National Party and the Demochristian Right Wing.

After their ignominious defeat in Vietnam, and with the rising popular liberation struggle and the growing strength of the socialist bloc, the imperialists found themselves compelled to shift from cold war to détente. But that is only a change of tactic meant to retain their control over Latin America. Hence, the coups in Chile and Uruguay, the policies of the military cliques of Pinochet in Chile, Bordaberry in Uruguay, Medici in Brazil, Osorio in Guatemala and the incessant attacks on the governments of Honduras, Panama, Costa Rica and Peru. There is thus ample evidence that the imperialists are bent on implanting fascist governments in Latin

America to compensate for the collapse of their rule in other parts of the world.

The military coup in Chile was followed by the murder of thousands of people with thousands more being kept behind prison bars. Among them are such sterling patriots as Luis Corvalan, Orlando Millas and Clodomiro Almeida. The Chilean people are denied all constitutional rights and subjected to fascist tyranny of the worst kind.

Faced with that situation, the Mexican Communist Party, the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Communist Party of Salvador, the Communist Party of Honduras, the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica and the People's Party of Panama condemn the Yankee supported fascist coup in Chile and call on all the popular and democratic forces of Central America and Mexico to demonstrate their solidarity with the fraternal Chilean people and take all possible action to save the lives of Luis Corvalan and thousands of other political prisoners, put an end to fascist repression and terror, restore to the Chilean people their constitutional rights and hard-won gains.

Chilean popular resistance will emerge victorious!

December 27, 1973

(*Libertad*, Jan. 12, 1974)

AGAINST ARMED CONFLICT

The Mexican Communist Party, the Guatemalan Party of Labor, the Communist Party of Salvador, the Communist Party of Honduras, the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica and the People's Party of Panama believe that the differences between the governments of Honduras and Salvador on border issues and on Honduran non-participation in the Central American Common Market should under no circumstances become the pretext for an armed conflict. There is the experience of history to show that all frontier disputes can be resolved through negotiations, and that, far from solving anything, war can only sow the seeds of fresh conflicts.

The Parties represented at this conference declare that there are no grounds for armed conflict between fraternal Central American peoples. Armed conflicts are engineered only by North-American imperialists and the far-Right bourgeois elements in our own countries.

The Communist and Workers Parties of Mexico and Central America appeal to all the peoples of our region, to all parties and democratic social and political forces to act in a way that will prevent internecine war between Salvador and Honduras.

December 27, 1973

(*Libertad*, January 12, 1974)

ADDRESS TO THE CPSU

On the 50th anniversary of the death of Lenin, the great leaders of the world proletariat, we Communists recall his untimely end with pain and sorrow. But the anniversary is also a fitting occasion for assessing the titanic theoretical and practical work of the founder of the CPSU.

The teaching of Marx and Engels, developed by Lenin, fully retains its truth and effectiveness. Marxism-Leninism remains the main guiding force for millions upon millions — the men and women building socialism and communism, battling the imperialist monopolies, working for the socialist change in their countries. It is also the truest guide for the national-liberation movement. A scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism inspires the struggle of the working class and all the peoples and illumines their path ahead. It has become a powerful material force for advancing social progress at a faster and faster rate.

The ideologists of imperialism and its revisionist fellow-travellers are trying to undermine our scientific teaching, contending that Lenin's theoretical legacy is but a narrow and restricted adaptation of Marxism to the "special conditions" of Russia. It is no accident that anti-Sovietism has become a major weapon of the counter-revolutionary forces, of all those in the service of imperialism.

We Communists see our unswerving duty in upholding Lenin's theoretical legacy and fighting anti-communism in whatever form and from whatever source. This is essential for the development of the revolutionary movement in any country.

The revolutionary movement is gaining in strength and scope by following the path charted by Marx and Lenin. Led by the USSR the socialist camp is developing in progressively closer unity and has become a decisive force in the world.

The fine results of the working-class struggle have contributed to the achievements in carrying out the 24th CPSU Peace Program.

At the same time, the world workers' movement is becoming stronger; more and more non-proletarian elements are joining the revolutionary struggle; remarkable success has been scored in the fight for liberation.

All these changes in a rapidly developing world are inseparable from the theoretical and practical work of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. True to his behests, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle of our era. We Communists of Mexico, Central America and Panama call on the peoples to master Lenin's teachings and use this great weapon in their fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Mexican Communist Party, Communist Party of Salvador, Nicaraguan Socialist Party, Guatemalan Party of Labour, Communist Party of Honduras, People's Party of Panama, People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

January 1974

(*Libertad*, January 19, 1974)

CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE

BRUSSELS, JANUARY 26-28

Below follow the full texts of documents of a conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Western Europe held in Brussels, January 26-28, as they appeared in *L'Humanite*, organ of the French Communist Party.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

A conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe was held in Brussels, January 26-28, 1974, with the agenda:

"The Present Crisis of Capitalism in Europe, the Struggle of Communist Parties for Social Progress, Democracy, National Independence, for Peace and Socialism, and Their Struggle for the Unity of Workers and Democratic Forces."

The conference was attended by representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Belgium, West Berlin, Cyprus, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Greece, Luxembourg, Portugal, San Marino, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey.

Within the framework of a frank and comprehensive debate, which took place in an atmosphere of international brotherhood and solidarity, the conference adopted a political declaration.

It also passed a resolution on the energy crisis and resolutions of solidarity with the peoples of Indochina and Chile.

The participants agreed that the conference was an important step along the road of steadily growing cooperation and joint struggle and a contribution to the unity of the international Communist movement.

The Communist Party of the Netherlands was represented at the conference by an observer.

(*L'Humanite*, Jan. 30., 1974)

POLITICAL DECLARATION

COMMUNISTS IN THE FACE OF A CRISIS IN EUROPE

A profound crisis is at present affecting every aspect of life in the capitalist countries of Europe. It demonstrates that capitalism is no longer able to resolve the pressing problems of contemporary society. On the contrary, it makes them ever more intractable.

The general crisis of imperialism, the crisis of state-monopoly capitalism, brings home more clearly to the workers the necessity for social and political changes. In all the European capitalist countries the peoples' struggles are becoming more and more extensive. There are more favorable conditions today for political changes in this region of the world. A new situation is taking shape in Europe. Major changes have taken place in the world arena. They are the result of the achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and their international policy, of the action of the international Communist and workers' movement, of the struggles waged by the national liberation movements and the forces for democracy and peace.

These changes are the manifestation of the new relationship of forces at the world level in favor of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. Imperialism and especially its leading force, U.S. imperialism, has suffered heavy defeats and is no longer able to impose its rule of violence, oppression and conquest on the world with impunity.

In Europe important advances have been made towards détente and peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. Today, real possibilities exist in our continent for a decisive change of course towards détente and peace, for the establishment of a system of collective security and cooperation.

Nevertheless, the peoples must remain vigilant. Imperialism never abandons its aims, which arise from its very nature. In its pursuit of its aims of exploitation and domination, it adapts to the new conditions in an attempt to maintain its control over whole areas of the world. With new initiatives and in new forms, it persists in its policy of keeping the world divided into blocs and promoting the arms race. It persists in maintaining centers of tension and aggression in various parts of the world and in its policy of direct and indirect intervention against the independence, free-

dom and right of the peoples to advance towards socialism.

The results obtained in peaceful coexistence, far from weakening the struggle against big capital and imperialism, offer the workers and peoples better conditions in which to wage the class struggle more tenaciously in each country and at the international level, strengthening and broadening their united action and developing their mutual solidarity for peace, freedom, independence, progress and socialism.

I. CRISIS

The working class and the people of the capitalist countries of Europe are today called upon to face common problems of a new degree of seriousness and urgency within each country and at the level of Western Europe as a whole.

The deep crisis which is shaking all the capitalist countries of Europe is evidence of capitalism's incapacity to react to current events and solve the great problems of society in ways conforming to the interests, needs and aspirations of the working class and working people. It expresses itself not only in the increasingly difficult and often intolerable living conditions of the working class and working people but also in the intensification of their exploitation, and the impossibility of satisfying their new needs, in the frustrations affecting ever broader strata of the population, in the lack of prospects for the rising generation, the ceaseless infringements of democratic rights and at the ideological and cultural level, in the degradation of essential values.

The greatest difficulties fall directly on the working class, on the millions of over-exploited immigrant workers, on the peasants and the middle classes in general, as well as on the small and medium-sized firms who suffer the consequences of monopoly concentration. There is increasing dissatisfaction among white collar workers and intellectuals, engineers, technicians, teachers and students. Women continue to suffer gross discrimination in their social life and professional activity.

Authoritarian tendencies, which are to be found in the ranks of the big capitalists, the attacks on collective and individual freedoms and on elected institutions and assemblies, the hopes nourished by the most reactionary circles to use the armed forces for repressive ends, represent a permanent threat to the democratic gains of the peoples of capitalist Europe. They are accompanied by attempts to obtain, in various forms, a reactionary outcome to the discontent of the social strata whose vital interests have been harmed by the policies applied by large-scale capital. Inadmissible discrimination is directed against Communists, working-class militants and the other democrats in a number of countries.

The persistence, with the support of the most reactionary forces of

monopoly capitalism, NATO and the United States, of fascist regimes in Spain, Greece and Portugal, of the dictatorial regime in Turkey, represents a danger and a scandal for the whole continent. These regimes deny and flout elementary democratic rights and freedoms. Monstrous sentences are passed for the simple act of organizing the workers in defense of their rights. The fascist repression bears down alike on Communists, Socialists, Christians and democrats of all trends, who are carrying on a tenacious struggle. The widest sections of European opinion are becoming alive to the unacceptability of allowing the survival of these regimes and to the danger they represent as buttresses for the neo-fascist movements in certain countries.

The policies pursued by the big capitalists and by the government and political forces that serve their interests, in opposition to the needs of the peoples of capitalist Europe, bring about, together with monetary chaos and growing inflation, unbridled competition between the capitalist powers. The explosion of difficulties in energy supplies is in itself one of the manifestations of the crisis, which it further sharpens. At the same time, the policies of the big capitalists are responsible for grave and dramatic situations and are incapable of solving such problems as underdevelopment, hunger, transformation of the environment, application of the scientific and technological revolution for the benefit of man and the community, and the rational exploitation of resources.

The multinational companies bear ever more heavily on the economic life of our countries. In particular, they are entrenched in the advanced technology sectors (information processing, atomic energy, telecommunications, chemical industries) and large-scale consumption (food, car and optical industries), where they tend progressively to take control or determine the direction of the main lines of national production and international trade. In the capitalist countries the governments protect and promote the activities of these giant interests in their territories.

The extensive activity of the multinational firms, dominated 75 per cent by American capital, jeopardizes the economic and even the political independence of the European capitalist states. Their power gives them additional means of intensifying exploitation and worsening working and living conditions. They think they are able to ignore the trade union rights and social conquests won by the workers in the various countries, and they support the most reactionary and most authoritarian trends, including fascist trends. By engaging in sudden and massive movements of their capital and activities in search of maximum profits, they deprive thousands of workers of their jobs at a stroke. They are directly responsible for inflation, and are laying their hands on an ever larger share of public finance.

As at the London Conference of Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, political and trade union organizations of the most

varied shades have felt impelled to denounce the activities of the multinational firms. There is a growing awareness of the need for a concerted struggle by the workers, at the level of capitalist Europe and within each firm, in favor of measures which guarantee the workers' and peoples' interests, safeguard the economic potential and independence of our countries and promote true international cooperation.

Economic integration in the EEC is proceeding under the direction and in the interests of large-scale capital. It expresses itself primarily in the consolidation of the big industrial concentrations, the monopolies and the powerful multinational companies. It discriminates against Third World countries. Plans and proposals for the construction, on that same basis, of a political union of the Common Market countries in the monopolies' interests are meeting with popular resistance.

Different situations exist nowadays for Western European countries. In some of them, for which a 15-year's membership of the EEC has created tight economic links, the Communist Parties struggle against its monopolistic orientation and its consequences as well as for its democratization.

In other countries for which membership is very recent, the Communist Parties are working to secure the complete withdrawal of their countries from the Common Market.

In the Western European countries that are not members or associates of the Common Market, the Communist Parties struggle against any attempt to include their countries in the sphere of influence of the monopolies that dominate the EEC. All the Communist Parties are opposed, in any case, to the accession of the European fascist regimes to the Common Market or their association with it.

However, despite this variety of situations, the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe reaffirm that a common reply to the policy of monopolistic economic integration is both possible and necessary. To this end they mean to act together so as to bring about, in the face of the problems that confront all the Western European peoples, solutions in conformity with the interests of them all, as well as truly democratic European cooperation meeting the interests of each and every one of their countries.

The hostility felt by the most reactionary circles of Europe towards détente between the capitalist countries and the socialist countries causes them to decide in favor of the maintenance of U.S. armed forces in Europe, the increased participation of the European countries in NATO activities, and an intensification of the arms race. Attempts are also being made to set up a "European Defense Community" equipped with nuclear weapons.

The creation of a new West European military organization, linked in any case with NATO and directed against socialism, would run counter to

the advances in international détente, European security and disarmament which are on the order of the day, and would plunge the peoples into deeper subjection to the United States. This makes more imperative the necessity for joint action by all working-class, democratic and national forces in order to achieve collective security in our continent.

The monopoly direction of economic integration within the EEC, the galloping and generalized inflation, the monetary crisis and the development of the various countries, have acute repercussions on the living and working conditions of the workers, severely limit the effective exercise of democratic rights and conflict with the national interests of the peoples.

At the same time, contradictions are growing and sharpening both within the EEC and capitalist Europe and between the European capitalist countries and American imperialism.

The United States is seeking to strengthen its already tight hold on the economy and policies of the Western European countries. Its current aim is to invade the European markets, "revitalize" the Atlantic bloc, increase the burden of military spending in the Western European countries and draw them in the wake of its new imperialist strategy. These are the goals of the Nixon-Kissinger plan. At the present time, the United States is seeking to take advantage of the energy crisis as well as the monetary crisis — the responsibility for which rests with the monopolies and their governments — so as to undermine the Western European countries' possibilities for economic development, thus modifying to its advantage the relationship of forces with those countries.

It is in this context that the monopolies and the capitalist states supporting them, united by an underlying class solidarity, are stepping up their search for a common policy against the workers and peoples.

II. FOR A EUROPE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

In this situation, where all the contradictions and evils of capitalist-dominated society are worsening, great problems face all the peoples and workers of capitalist Europe. Solutions can and must be found without delay.

What is the question at issue?

It is to meet the pressing demands put forward in common by the workers and people of capitalist Europe: protection and improvement of living standards, fight against inflation, job security, improvement of working conditions, shorter working hours, lowering of retirement age, social security and social rights.

It is to pry open the grip of large-scale capital and especially of the multinationals on all aspects of the life of our countries.

It is to obtain for the immigrant workers — who are today particularly

menaced by unemployment and expulsion — equality of working conditions, pay and social security with the workers of the host country, recognition of their right to work and right of domicile, and more generally of their social, cultural and political rights.

This calls for coordinated action on these major questions and for bold social measures such as the improvement of the social laws of the various countries and their alignment at the level most favorable to the workers, the framing of statutes and agreements at the Western European level on such questions as guarantees of the rights of immigrant workers and the right to employment, regulation of the movement of capital, and the introduction and reorganization of industrial structures so as to hamper the maneuvers of the big monopolies.

The question, also is to extend democratic, individual and collective rights and freedoms, to abolish repressive laws directed against the working class and democratic movement, to put an end to all forms of anti-Communist discrimination, including those at the professional level, to ensure the fair representation of workers and their organizations in social and economic institutions and bodies, to extend their rights at their places of work, to ensure the exercise of the freedom of expression, of thought, of the press and of creation; in short, to democratize all spheres of life and society. The struggle for the defense and extension of democratic freedoms is all the more necessary as the crisis of capitalism deepens, and as the authoritarian and reactionary tendencies characterizing the policy of large-scale capital become more marked.

The question is one of supporting the just struggle of the working people of Northern Ireland for democratic liberties, and the sovereign right of the people of Ireland to determine their own future without British imperialist interference.

The question is to put an end to the scandal which the maintenance of fascist regimes in Spain, Greece and Portugal constitutes for Europe. It is urgently necessary to give a new impetus to solidarity with the mass movement which challenges the survival of the fascist regimes in those countries and which fights to win freedom and democracy, thereby enabling those countries to make their full contribution to the general cause of European peace and cooperation.

The question is to undertake thoroughgoing democratic changes which will enable the peoples of the capitalist countries to emerge successfully from fighting against the crisis engulfing them, and meet the demands for freedom, progress, justice and security on the part of the workers, the masses and the youth.

These changes, which will take account of the conditions peculiar to each country, will be aimed at limiting and then breaking the monopolies' domination of the nation and at democratizing political, economic and

social life in general. They will include nationalization of the key sectors of the economy, or the extension of the public sector under democratic control and with effective trade union participation, the enlargement of workers' rights and powers in the undertakings employing them, and workers' participation in the direction and administration of public affairs.

The development of the struggles of the working-class and the other social strata which are the victims of large-scale capitalism, and the formation of a vast peoples' movement furthered by political alliances with an advanced class content can ultimately lead to the installation of a system which brings about such changes. The fight for these democratic changes is an integral part of the fight for socialism. Its success will create the most favorable conditions for the success of that struggle.

The question is to resist the claims put forward by U.S. imperialism to subordinate the economic and social development and political options of the European nations to its own economic, political and strategic interests.

Only a peaceful, democratic and independent Europe of this kind, sloughing off its subordination to the United States and the international monopolies, can play a role consonant with the interests of the peoples and peace throughout the world, and make its own contribution to détente, to disarmament and to understanding among the peoples. A Europe of this kind, and the individual countries within it, could establish relations both with the United States and the socialist countries, as well as with the emergent national states, and all other countries, based on respect for the full equality of rights and interests of all peoples.

The question is, in face of the obstacles set up by the cold war and reactionary forces to impede the progress of détente and peaceful coexistence, to develop the popular movement for peace so as to consolidate the results already achieved and the agreements already reached and make the change of course initiated in the European situation irreversible.

The object in view, in working for a positive outcome to the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in the shortest possible time and at the highest level, is to lay a firm foundation for security and the development of normal and mutually beneficial relations between the European countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence. The process of political détente must be supplemented by a military détente and especially by reductions of armaments and the armed forces. This will open up the prospect of abolishing the opposed military blocs which at present divide Europe and the world.

Improved conditions now exist for achieving these goals, thanks to the developments in favor of détente resulting from the peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries, and from the struggle of the people in the capitalist countries of Europe. At the same time, under the pressure of these struggles and inter-imperialist contradictions, a more realistic

policy has emerged in some of these countries in favor of establishing new relations between East and West.

The Mediterranean region, with the cooperation of the states and the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and peace forces there, must become a region of peace and détente. The Communist Parties reaffirm their solidarity with the Arab peoples and stress the necessity of rapidly arriving at a political solution of the Middle East conflict, based on the application of the UN resolutions, with the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, and recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and on the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and on the rights of all peoples and all states in the region to existence, independence, sovereignty and security. They support the struggle of the Cypriot people for a unitary, independent and sovereign Cyprus.

The necessity for radically new relationships between the countries of Capitalist Europe and the developing countries is one that today confronts our peoples with unprecedented insistence. The problem of raw materials, especially of oil, lends emphasis to the fact that real solutions lie in the recognition of the right of every country to control its own wealth, the total liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, and the establishment of broad cooperation based on equality and mutual advantage. Conscious of the solidarity which unites the workers with the peoples fighting for political and economic liberation, the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe reaffirm their strong condemnation of colonial wars and the imperialist aggression, and their determination to fight relentlessly against imperialism's exploitation and oppression of the peoples of other continents.

In conducting their struggle for social progress, democracy, peace and socialism, in the part of the world for which they have a special responsibility, the Communist Parties of Western Europe do not and will not in any way neglect their full range of duties as internationalists. In particular, at this moment when the United States and the Thieu administration are cynically violating the Paris Agreements, they reaffirm their active solidarity with the people of Vietnam, as well as with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia. They call on the working-class, the democratic and anti-fascist movements in their countries to give more active support to all the peoples and forces in the world who, from the Portuguese colonies to Chile, from the Near East to South Africa, are struggling for freedom, national independence, democracy and progress.

The crisis increasingly reveals the contradiction between the policy imposed by the big monopoly groups, aimed at preserving their domination, making the maximum profit and exerting heavier pressure at this juncture on the living standards of the working people, and the need to provide a positive answer to the imperative demands for freedom and economic,

social and cultural progress advanced by the broad masses of the people.

This contradiction cannot be overcome, nor these needs answered in an effective and lasting manner, without tremendous mass struggles in all fields and without far-reaching democratic changes, aimed at circumscribing the monopolies' domination and opening the way to its abolition, thereby contributing towards solving the most pressing problems affecting the structures of society. This is an essential condition for promoting the progress of the nations, for developing productive forces and for satisfying the needs of the people, be it in connection with industry, agriculture, town-planning, protection of the environment, education, health or transport.

Socialism increasingly stands forth as an objective necessity for progress in all spheres of life, for the development of the nations and the future of the world. This is the direction followed by the history of mankind since the October Revolution of 1917, which destroyed the absolute power of imperialism and founded, with Lenin and the Party of the Soviet Communists, the world's first socialist State, which is now successfully laying the material and technical foundations of Communism. Historical experience shows that only socialism can provide a basic solution to the great problems facing the masses in the capitalist countries.

In the development of the revolutionary process, there are in all countries general objective features which express themselves in different forms and modes within each country's specific conditions. Every Party works out, in complete independence, its road towards the democratic and socialist transformation of society, and the building of socialism in accordance with its country's conditions and traditions. It is on the basis of those premises that the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries of Europe conduct their fight for the construction of a socialist society.

III. FOR A DIALOGUE, COOPERATION AND ALLIANCE

There are enhanced possibilities today for bringing about a change of course towards far-reaching democratic transformations of society in the individual capitalist countries and in Western Europe as a whole. The development of working-class and mass struggles, their greater cohesion from the trade union and political standpoint, and their higher level of consciousness have in many countries made it possible to register important social and political gains, with the extension of working-class rights, influence and alliances with broader social strata. In some countries it has been possible to make definite advances towards the unity of the democratic and trade union forces, even to the extent of reaching major agreements on common platforms. Positive new developments are also taking place at

the international level. The important meeting held by European central trade union bodies in Geneva is evidence of this.

These advances provide a new basis for the prospects of action aimed at satisfying the needs and demands of the working class and people, of successfully achieving great democratic changes and advancing towards socialism.

The strengthening of relations based on collaboration and understanding between the Communist and workers' parties of Capitalist Europe is assuming an entirely new importance. In the face of the grave new problems that are emerging, the Communist Parties of capitalist Europe are resolved to raise their unity of action to the level required by the present dimensions of the struggle. Stronger ties and coordination of their efforts are decisive factors for positive advances in carrying forward the great battles for social emancipation, democratic changes and socialism.

At the same time, they are a contribution towards strengthening the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement, its solidarity and cooperation, on the basis of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the ideas of proletarian internationalism, with full respect for the autonomy and equality of each party.

The working class and democratic forces, faced with common problems, must also intensify their common struggles. It is possible at the present time to work out goals for democratic renewal with which all the forces today representing the working class, the working people and the middle strata of the capitalist countries of Europe can identify and to achieve which they can work together. This policy of broad alliance of all democratic, progressive and peace forces of the people is based on mutual respect and recognition of the equality, diversity and original contribution of each force. For the Communists it is a permanent and principled policy which they apply in accordance with the concrete conditions in each country: today for the development of democracy and transformation of society, and tomorrow for the building of socialism.

To create this new democratic Western Europe, to advance towards socialism, it is necessary to break down all the barriers, obstacles and prejudices — such as anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism — that have divided the working class and democratic forces for so many years. Progress has been made in this direction in several countries. Awareness of the need for democratic transformation has spread to new social and political sectors. To varying degrees and in various forms, these sectors are raising such questions as the planned organization of the economy, democratic management and participation in the interests of the community and in opposition to the omnipresence of the monopolies and the profit motive, and control and even social ownership of the basic means of production, distribution and exchange.

The insistence on progress and social change increasingly motivating a growing section of the urban and rural middle strata makes possible henceforward the forging of new alliances by the working class. Similarly, the present situation enlarges the objective basis for the alliance — today of paramount importance — between the working class and the intellectuals. The Communist Parties are taking important steps to promote these alliances which help to strengthen the working class and democratic movement.

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe express their determination to pursue their efforts to seek out similarities of approach and common actions and initiatives with socialist and Christian forces. In particular, with all the working class and democratic forces, they turn to the Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties first and foremost, looking beyond the differences and even divergences which exist between them. More favorable conditions, as well as the requirements of the struggle against the effects of the crisis, make common action more urgent as well as more achievable. The number of immediate objectives shared is growing.

Although certain Social-Democratic leaders are still acting as defenders of the capitalist system, yet in varying degrees and in a wide variety of situations, within the Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties, there is growing criticism of class collaboration and a growing interest in consistent action against the domination of large-scale capital, and in the idea that profound political and economic changes are essential. This development, although uneven and sometimes still too limited, is already having a positive effect in a number of countries on the relationships of working class and democratic forces.

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe stress their readiness, on this basis, to engage in contacts, consultations and joint action with the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties, in favor of objectives reflecting the urgent needs of the workers and the cause of security and cooperation in Europe. On this dialogue and this joint action depends, in decisive measure, the success of the struggles of the working class and other working people for social progress, democracy, peace and socialism.

The growing perplexity of Christians in face of the crisis of contemporary society leads a number of them to condemn its injustices and to conclude that it stands in need of far-reaching changes. Their disquiet finds expression even within inner Church circles. The attraction of socialism is growing among Christian workers and some of their organizations.

The Communist Parties pay close heed to these developments and to the closer relations emerging among workers, whether believers or not. They express their support for convergent and united action with the representative forces of the people and the Christian movements. They consider that

the fight in support of the people's demands and for socialism calls for a coming together, discussion and joint action by the workers irrespective of their belief, on the basis of mutual respect. The same applies to cooperation with all anti-fascist and progressive forces and peoples' organizations which reflect the aspirations of the various social categories.

The Communist Parties are ready to engage in dialogue and cooperation of this kind with all these forces, and this applies at the level of capitalist Europe also.

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe propose solutions to the pressing problems facing the workers and peoples. In proposing these goals for struggle, their aim is to contribute, together with all the democratic forces, towards finding the unanimous and vigorous response that needs to be made to the big monopolies' disastrous policies and the imperialists' pretentious claims.

At the close of their conference, the Communist Parties of capitalist Europe turn to all political and trade union bodies of the labor movement and to all democratic forces, with the proposal that they decide together on joint action on the burning questions of the day, and embark on it without delay.

In the face of the present crisis, the Communist Parties of capitalist Europe propose that joint action be conducted for the defense of living and working conditions, and the struggle against the disastrous activities of the multinational companies so that a fighting answer can be given which opens the way to new solutions in line with the interests of the workers and people of this part of Europe. They propose that to ensure further progress towards European security, joint action be taken to frustrate the attempts by the adversaries of détente to salvage the policy of military blocs and create a Western European nuclear arsenal.

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe stand ready to hold discussions in this spirit with the other working class and democratic forces who strive for a new conception of Western Europe.

The Communists of the capitalist countries of Europe confidently call for action, for the alliance of the broadest social strata and of all working class and democratic forces, for an upsurge in their common struggles. This call is also addressed with particular force to the millions of young people who are no longer able to identify with unjust systems dominated by the law of profit and who are entering wholeheartedly into the struggle.

To counterpose to the Europe of the monopolies the alternative of a Europe of the workers, to set Western Europe on the road to security and cooperation, to defend the right of our peoples to choose their future freely, to make a specific contribution to the universal fight for social and human progress, for socialism — this is a glorious task worthy of the capacity for

initiative of the working class, the working people, the young people and the advanced forces of this part of Europe. And to accomplish this task we Communists are resolved to struggle shoulder to shoulder with all the forces of progress, of democracy and of peace.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF INDOCHINA

On this day, marking the anniversary of the signing of the Paris Agreement on the cessation of the war and the re-establishment of peace in Vietnam, the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, meeting in Brussels, express once again to the peoples of Indochina their heartfelt solidarity.

A year ago the people of Vietnam frustrated the aggression carried out against it with unheard of ferocity by the most powerful imperialism. The heroic struggle which it waged at the cost of immense sacrifices, was able to count on the effective aid of the socialist countries, the solidarity of the national liberation movement, and the working class and democratic forces of the capitalist countries.

However, American imperialism and the Saigon authorities are today seeking to undermine this historic victory. Thieu, with the support of his American protectors, is refusing to restore democratic freedoms and to liberate the 200,000 prisoners and is opposed to the formation of a national coalition government. He is trying to start up the war again by ceaselessly attacking the zone administered by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Leading figures in Washington have mooted the possibility of resuming American bombing. This constitutes a challenge to world conscience and a danger to world peace.

International solidarity is thus more necessary than ever in order to ensure that the Agreements on Vietnam and Laos are respected. And it is no less necessary with respect to the people of Cambodia, who are successfully fighting to put an end to American intervention and secure the liberation of their country.

The vast united front around Vietnam and the peoples of Indochina proved effective in the past. What was done then, in stopping the aggressor, should be continued now, in order to re-establish peace on a sound basis.

To support the just cause of the people of Vietnam and the other peoples of Indochina, to insist on the full application of the Paris Agreement, to demand the establishment by the Western European governments of relations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government, and to continue and increase material aid, especially for the reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, all these are pressing duties.

This noble cause requires that an effective united chain of solidarity should be forged on the broadest base possible.

Brussels, January 27, 1974 (*L'Humanite*, Jan. 28, 1974)

SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN PEOPLE

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe, meeting in Brussels from 26 to 28 January 1974, reaffirm their strong condemnation of the military and fascist coup which overthrew the lawful government of Popular Unity in Chile.

They pay tribute to the memory of President Salvador Allende and all the democrats who laid down their lives in defending freedom and democracy in Chile.

American imperialism and the forces which acted as the henchmen of fascist reaction inside Chile bear a heavy responsibility. All political and trade union freedoms have been annulled, and a regime of terror and repression has been instituted. The military junta which has seized power has been, and is, engaging in massacres, reprisals and the deportation of thousands upon thousands of democrats.

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of Europe express their active solidarity with the Popular Unity parties and with all the democratic forces which are today fighting, under difficult conditions, against dictatorship and for democracy and freedom in Chile.

They call upon workers, democrats and anti-fascists to leave no stone unturned to save the lives of Luis Corvalan, Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Chile, and all the Communist and Socialist militants and other democrats, threatened by the junta. They appeal to public opinion in the capitalist countries of Europe, and to political and trade union forces, to intensify and combine their efforts, and to strengthen still further the broad movement of the popular and democratic forces in our countries, so as to isolate the fascist junta and its accomplices and call a halt to the brutal repression.

We voice our confidence in the Chilean people, which is uniting its forces for the defeat of the junta and the victory of democracy and freedom.

Brussels, January 28, 1974 (*L'Humanite*, Feb. 2, 1974)

ON THE PROBLEMS OF ENERGY

The energy policy followed for many years by the big oil monopolies, mainly American owned, and by the governments of Western Europe is

facing crisis. In concert with the big oil trusts, the governments of the capitalist countries of Europe are trying to cheat the people.

On the one hand, they assert that there is an energy crisis, though there is no real crisis of resources. On the other hand, they try to divert attention from the fact that the difficulties facing the people — inflation, attacks on living standards, the growth in unemployment — do not date from the recent months; they have existed for years.

The monopolies and the West European governments want to hide from the peoples the fact that they and their policies are responsible for the difficulties, the burdens of which they are shifting on to the shoulders of the working people.

For many years the ruling circles of the capitalist countries of Europe have followed a colonialist and neo-colonial policy. They have based their plans on the expectation of indefinite supplies of cheap oil from the developing countries.

For this reason, and to assist the oil monopolies to continue making huge profits, they deliberately cut back coal production in Western Europe, closing down hundreds of coal mines and dismissing thousands of miners.

For the same reason, they neglected the production of nuclear energy. The same hopes of never-ending supplies of cheap oil have contributed towards the extravagant waste of energy supplies by the capitalist monopolies and the ruthless exploitation of natural resources.

We fully support the important steps taken by the peoples of the Third World to assert their rights to own and control their own natural resources, and to enter into economic relations with other countries that will assist their own industrial development. The people of the developing countries are fully justified in ending a situation in which they have been used as sources of cheap labor and cheap raw materials to enrich the big monopolies and international firms.

Such a transformation is fully in the interests of the working people of Western Europe, too, since it would provide a basis for constantly expanding and mutually beneficial economic relations between our countries and those of the Third World.

The role of the oil monopolies has been exposed in the recent period. Their search for profits is a permanent threat to our peoples as well as to those of the Third World. We support the struggle of the workers and of all working people against the forcing up of prices by the oil monopolies.

We support the demand that the profits of the big oil corporations be curbed and that the high taxes weighing upon oil products be lowered.

We urge that the oil monopolies in Western Europe be placed under public control, or nationalized.

Such measures would facilitate the adoption in each West European country of an integrated fuel policy, based on the planned use of coal, gas,

electricity, oil and nuclear power, and research into new forms of energy, as well as on the development of cooperation and relations with the oil producing countries on a basis of equality.

Brussels, January 26-28, 1974 (*L'Humanite*, Jan. 31, 1974).

STATEMENT BY GCP DELEGATION

On the closing day of the Brussels conference, the delegation of the German Communist Party released a statement. Following is the full text of the statement as published in *Unsere Zeit*, January 29, 1974.

With the crisis of capitalism in Western Europe steadily growing, the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries of our continent gave their answers to pressing questions of today. While international big capital, aided by the governments of our countries, shifts the burden of deep crises of the capitalist system on the shoulders of the working population of Western Europe, the Communist Parties, speaking from the rostrum of this conference, call for joint struggle against the disguised huge power of multinational companies.

While the democratic rights of the working population are rapidly and grossly done away with and the state monopoly system finds itself in a grave political and moral crisis, the Communist Parties, speaking from the rostrum of this conference, call on all democratic forces to uphold and extend democratic rights and to fight in common for an anti-monopoly democracy, for a new state and society.

While political reaction tries by stepping up the arms race and anti-communism to block the process of détente and its real possibilities, the Communist Parties, speaking from the rostrum of this conference, call on all peace forces to fight in common so as to ensure peace and cooperation among the peoples of our continent.

The GCP puts it on record that the Brussels conference has given a new and important spur to the struggle for the socialist future of the peoples of Western Europe. The GCP is confident that this conference will make for a new major upswing in the class struggle. In keeping with the spirit of the conference, it will fight for the unity of action of Communists, Social-Democrats and Christians to achieve these goals.

The exchange of views at this conference, which proceeded in an atmosphere of proletarian internationalism, revealed that the Communist Parties proceed from the conditions of struggle prevailing in their countries and foster solidarity among themselves. The Parties represented at Brussels expressed the conviction that the significance, prestige and policy of the socialist countries of Europe had a beneficial effect on the conditions in

which the Parties have been fighting in capitalist countries. The GCP delegation believes that the time is coming when a general European meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties should be held.

The Brussels conference showed again that the working class has a leading and unifying role to play in social battles, democratic movements and the struggle to transform society. This applies, first and foremost, to the FRG.

The GCP will discuss the results of the conference and the document adopted by it. It will accomplish its duty towards the working people of our country and the peoples of Europe and do its utmost to go from strength to strength as the party of the West German working class. For this conference showed convincingly that the Communist Parties are the force which offers the working population of each country solutions for the urgent problems of our time.

COMMUNIQUE OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY*

1. The Political Bureau approves the work of the French Communist Party delegation to the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of European Capitalist Countries, held in Brussels on January 26-28, 1974.

The Political Bureau holds that the Brussels Conference is a significant event for the workers' and democratic movement in this region of the world. The work of the Conference and the solutions which it suggests to the laboring masses and peoples of all Western Europe are of special significance in view of the sharpening crisis of capitalism.

The Conference has shown that the Communist Parties are determined to fight together against the Europe of high prices and unemployment, the Europe of Atlantic control and multinational firms. The Conference came out for united action by all working-class and democratic forces, particularly the Communist and Socialist parties, and also the Christian forces, in order to further the aim of a Europe of the working people, a peace-loving democratic and independent Europe.

Expressing its satisfaction with the broadly collective and democratic methods used in preparing and conducting the Conference, the Politbureau of the FCP approves the Political Declaration adopted in Brussels as a contribution of the first order to the struggle of the Communists and peoples of Western Europe for social progress, democracy and peace. The

*L'Humanite, February 2, 1974

French Communist Party will apply every effort to carry its ideas and aims into reality.

The Political Bureau regards the Brussels Conference as an important stage in fortifying the unity of the Communist Parties of capitalist Europe and as a valuable contribution to the unity of the world Communist movement and to proletarian internationalism.

2. The FCP Central Committee statement published under the title, "Struggle against Anti-Sovietism Is the Concern of All," is now being distributed by Party members throughout the country.

The harm of the systematic mud-slinging campaign against the socialist countries is becoming ever more obvious. This campaign is conducted against the interests of the laboring masses, democrats, and patriots. The authorities and reaction have brought vast resources into motion. The weekly *Nouvel Observateur* has revealed its true face as a principally anti-Soviet and anti-Communist publication that goes out of its way to split the Left forces. The serious damage which this vicious campaign inflicts on the dignity of France, requires of all those who aspire to social progress, freedom, peace and socialism that they should denounce it firmly.

The Political Bureau recommends that the leaderships of federations and sections, and all Communist cells, should, as the Central Committee has instructed, organize an offensive in order to repulse anti-Sovietism and spread the truth about the socialist countries through all possible information media and through discussions.

3. Party organizations in the Paris area are actively preparing for the large-scale public assembly at which Georges Marchais will address the working people in the Sports Palace at Saint-Ouen on February 7.

The Political Bureau recommends first of all that sections, Party Committees and factory cells should come forward with good initiatives assuring the broadest possible attendance of workers, office employees, technical specialists and administrative workers, teachers and scientists — all those who come from factories, building projects, offices, schools and elsewhere. The explanation of solutions responding to the interests of the laboring masses and of France, must have the biggest possible echo.

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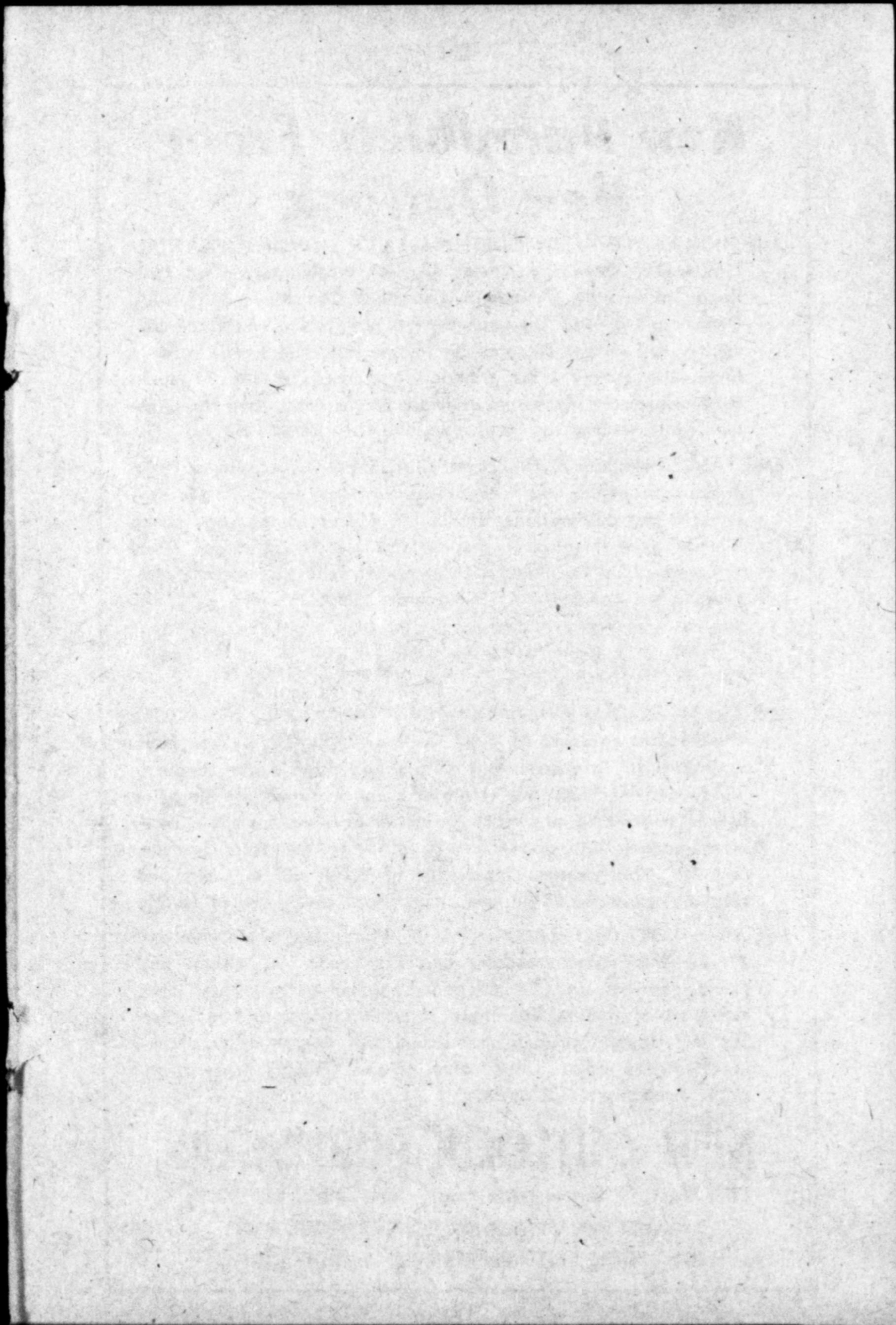
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